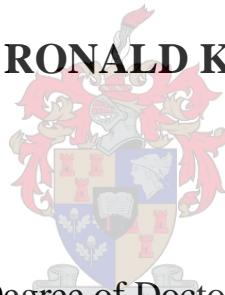


**PARTICIPATION AND DECISION MAKING IN LUGANDA:
AN APPRAISAL AND GENRE-THEORETIC
INVESTIGATION OF SPOKEN DISCOURSE AT
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECT MEETINGS**

BY

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Dissertation presented for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of
Arts and Social Sciences at the Stellenbosch University

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DECLARATION

By submitting this dissertation electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Date: 30 August 2012

ABSTRACT

If they don't come out clearly to show us the true picture of different areas, it means that some areas that do not get the weather forecast cannot profit from their farming activities. This pushes our country into more poverty. If an agency can be identified and charged with the responsibility to disseminate the forecast to the various parts of the country, it would greatly help the farmers and Uganda as a country to develop.

These are the words of a participant at one of fifteen Ugandan farmer group meetings that were convened and asked to discuss a tape-recorded seasonal weather forecast, following their own rules of procedure. The audio recordings and transcriptions of these meetings, which are in Luganda, form the object of inquiry for this study. Using a multi-perspective approach to spoken discourse analysis, this study investigates manifestations and patterns of participation and decision-making as they emerge through evaluation and appraisal in the context of participatory community development processes. Taking the discourse of farmer group meetings as a genre of business meetings, where the public is included in decision-making interactions between government and citizens, the study invokes the appraisal theory, genre analysis theory, citizenship talk analysis model, and the business-meeting negotiation approach to explore how participants use Luganda to express assessment and make decisions during interactive discourse.

The study identifies three main styles of making decisions, which demonstrate a culturally constructed concept of participation in Luganda. Whereas *subtle decision-making* involves spontaneous group positions that are not formally announced as a decision, *explicit decision-making* manifests positions that are overtly announced by a participant. *Virtual decision-making* involves intermittent moves towards a group position. While some meetings have moderators, several others have the role of moderator performed by various participants. Indeed, in several cases participants take turns to speak in a spontaneous way, without having to seek the permission of the moderator. Despite the difference in styles of decision-making, the overarching goal of participation in this genre of Luganda discourse is to reach consensus and to demonstrate a collective identity. This goal however does not take away the right and freedom of participants to reason critically, negotiate for a position, express conflict, and to question authority. This study breaks the ground for further research into areas of evaluation, intercultural

communication, forensic linguistics, professional discourse, and other fields of applied linguistics in Ugandan languages, as well as in other African languages.

OPSOMMING

As hulle nie duidelik na vore kom om aan ons die ware prentjie van verskillende gebiede te toon nie, beteken dit dat sommige gebiede wat nie die weervoorspelling kry nie, nie wins uit hulle landbou-aktiwiteite kan maak nie. Dit dompel ons land al meer in armoede. As 'n agentskap geïdentifiseer kan word en met die verantwoordelikheid getaak kan word om die voorspelling na die verskillende dele van die land te versprei, sal dit die boere baie help en Uganda as 'n land help ontwikkel.

Dit is die woorde van 'n deelnemer by een van vyftien vergaderings vir Ugandese boere wat byeengeroep is en gevra is om 'n bandopname van seisoenale weervoorspelling te bespreek deur hulle eie reëls van prosedure te volg. Die bandopnames en transkripsies van hierdie vergaderings in Luganda was die navorsingsonderwerp vir hierdie studie. Met behulp van 'n multiperspektiefbenadering tot gesproke diskoersanalise het hierdie studie manifestasies en patrone van deelname en besluitneming ondersoek soos dit deur evaluering en waardebeplanning teen die agtergrond van deelnemende gemeenskapsontwikkelingsprosesse na vore gekom het. Met die diskoers van vergaderings deur boeregroepe as 'n genre van sakevergaderings, waar die publiek by besluitnemingsinteraksies tussen regering en burgers ingesluit is, het hierdie studie sig op die teorie van waardebeplanning, die teorie van genre-analise, die model vir die analise van burgerskapgesprekke, en die benadering tot sakevergadering-onderhandeling beroep om te verken hoe deelnemers Luganda gebruik om assessering uit te druk en gedurende interaktiewe diskoers besluite te neem.

Die studie het drie belangrike besluitnemingstyle geïdentifiseer wat 'n kultureel gekonstrueerde begrip van deelname in Luganda demonstreer. Terwyl *subtiele besluitneming* spontane groepsposisies behels wat nie formeel as 'n besluit bekend gemaak word nie, gee *eksplisiete besluitneming* blyke van posisies wat op owerste wyse deur 'n deelnemer aangekondig word. *Virtuele besluitneming* behels intermitterende beweging in die rigting van 'n groepsposisie. Terwyl sommige vergaderings moderators het, voer verskeie ander die rol van moderator deur verskillende deelnemers uit. Om die waarheid te sê, in etlike gevalle neem deelnemers beurt om op 'n spontane wyse te praat, sonder om die toestemming van die moderator te verkry. Ondanks die verskil in besluitnemingstyle is die oorkoepelende doel van deelname in hierdie genre van

Luganda-diskoers om konsensus te bereik en 'n kollektiewe identiteit te toon. Hierdie doel neem egter nie die reg en vryheid van deelnemers om krities te redeneer, vir 'n posisie te onderhandel, konflik uit te spreek, en gesag te bevraagteken weg nie. Hierdie studie baan die weg vir verdere navorsing ten opsigte van gebiede van evaluering, interkulturele kommunikasie, forensiese linguistiek, professionele diskoers, en ander gebiede van toegepaste linguistiek in Ugandese tale, asook in ander Afrikatale.

OBUFUNZE

Naye ne bataviirayo ddala kutulaga bulamba ebitundu eby'enjawulo bwe binaatambula, ebitundu ebimu ebiba tebifunye nteebereza ya budde tebisobola kulima bintu ne bivaamu; eggwanga lyaffe ne lyeyongera kubeera nga lyavu. Singa amawulire gano gafuna ekitongole ekigasasaanya, kyandiyambye abalimi b'eggwanga lyaffe ne Uganda yaffe okukula.

Ebyo bye bigambo by'omu ku beetaba mu nkiiko 15 ez'ebibiina by'abalimi abaatuuzibwa ne basabibwa okukubaganya ebirowoozo ku mawulire g'enteebereza y'obudde agaali gakatiddwa ku katambi. Okunoonyereza kuno kuli ku bigambo ebyayogerwa mu nkiiko zino ezaali mu Luganda era amaloboozi gaazo agaakwatibwa ku katambi n'oluvannyuma ne gawandiikibwa. Okunoonyereza kuno nga kweyambisa ekintabuli ky'obukugu n'endowooza ezitali zimu ezikwata ku lulimi olwogere, kwekenneenya enneeyoleka n'enneebonga y'olulimi mu kwetaba mu nsonga n'okusalawo ensonga ng'abantu beeyambisa omusono gw'okulamula n'okugera mu mirimu gy'okukulaakulanya embeera z'abantu ba bulijjo. Omusono gw'olulimi lw'enkiiko z'ebibiina by'abalimi gubalibwa ng'omusono gw'enkiiko enkulu, ng'abantu ba bulijjo beenyigira wamu ne gavumenti mu kusalawo ensonga ezibakwatako. Mu ngeri eno, okunoonyereza kuno kweyambisa endowooza ezitali zimu okwekenneenya engeri abateesa gye bakozesa Oluganda okulamula n'okusalawo ensonga mu mbeera ez'okwogeraganya

Waliwo engeri ssatu ezeyambisibwa mu kusalawo ensonga mu lulimi Oluganda. Waliwo okusalawo *okwebonga*, ng'ensonga etuukibwako naye nga terangirirwa nti kye kiteeso ekisaliddwawo. Waliwo okusalawo *okw'enkukunala*, ng'ensonga esonjolwa era n'erangirirwa nti kye kiteeso ekisaliddwawo. Ate waliwo okusalawo *okwekukuma*, ng'ebiteeso n'ensonga biri matankane. Enkiiko ezimu zirina abazikubiriza. Naye mu zisinga obungi, abateesa bawanyisiganya omukisa gw'okwogera bokka na bokka mu bukkakkamu nga tewali abakubiriza. Mu ngeri zino zonna ekiruubirirwa ekikulu kwe kukkaanya n'okutambulira awamu. Wabula ate kino tekiremesa bateesa kweyogerera, kwerowooleza, na kugamba ku bakulu. Okunoonyereza kuno kutemye omusingi ku mulimu gw'okwongerera okwetegereza ensonga z'obulamuzi, olulimi lw'ekikessi, empuliziganya ttababuwangwa, emisono gy'olulimi lw'ekikugu, n'ensonga endala ezikwata ku nkozesa y'ennimi ennansi mu bulamu obwa bulijjo mu Uganda ne Afirika okutwalira awamu.

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*In the flowers by the roadside
In the orange of the sunrise
In the curtsey of the willow trees
In the jewelled water of the sea
In these, your name for me is printed.*

(Susan N. Kiguli 1998: The African Saga)

With these poetic lines invested with emotion, I would like to extend my profound gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Marianna Visser, who took me by the hand and walked me through the thick woods of this academic journey; always helping me to discover new things; always taking me to new heights of knowledge and wisdom; but above all, doing all this and more with humility. Prof. Visser, thank you so much for being such a *wonderful* mentor to me.

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Finally, to all the people I have mentioned above, and to several others that I have not mentioned, I want to use another of Susan Kiguli's ideas of expressing sentiments to say that; I come from a place in Uganda where mats are treasured and are woven in many colours. I believe that what makes our mats so resplendent is the weaving together of many strands of sisal in different colours to make a most wonderful blend of colours. I know my work is invested with the efforts of very many people and any good anyone sees in it, I must acknowledge, comes from the fact that many brains have contributed to it in different ways and in varying magnitudes. I am deeply grateful to all and even when I single out those names that have added the most dashing of colours; I cannot forget those others that have influenced this work in one way or another and I want to say - *thank you* - a phrase that is very simple but the only one that means what I feel I want to say. *Thank you.*

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A key to the representation of appraisal resources and other rhetorical features

The following typeface conventions, as adopted and modified from Thomson et al. (2008: 70), are employed in the analysis of appraisal resources and generic properties of the meetings:

bold underlining – inscribed (explicit) negative attitude

bold – invoked (implied) negative attitude

italics underlined – inscribed positive attitude

italics – invoked positive attitude

agency FB = turn control, citizenship and/or identity construction

The sub-type of attitude is indicated in square brackets immediately following the relevant span of text.

[j] = judgment (positive/negative assessments of human behavior in terms of social norms)

[ap] = appreciation (positive/negative assessments of objects, artifacts, happenings and states of affairs in terms of systems of aesthetics and other systems of social valuation)

[af] = affect (positive/negative emotional responses); 1st af = first-person or authorial affect;

3rd af = observed affect, i.e. the participant describing the emotional responses of third parties.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction and background to the study

In 2005-2006, a group of researchers from Columbia University in the United States of America (USA), and funded by the Centre for Research on Environmental Decisions (CRED), conducted a study on the effects of social interaction on the understanding and use of climate information by Ugandan farmers. The study was part of a larger project that studied the role of group processes in shaping people's understanding of probabilistic information, and which attested to Bednarek & Caple's (2010: 8) observation that there is a growing recognition of the importance of attention to language in the context of environmental sustainability. The research team presented a tape-recorded message (seasonal climate forecast) to farmer group meetings, after which the meetings were asked to discuss the message. As Roncoli et al. (2011: 127) explain the discussions which were conducted in Luganda, were audio-recorded, transcribed and translated into English, with the purpose to identify behavioral patterns, social and political contexts, and recurrent cultural and ideological themes that shaped group interaction during the meetings.

As Iedema (1997: 73), Rugambwa (2006: 63), Williams (2006: 197), Orlove et al. (2010: 243), and Roncoli et al. (2011: 127) observe, working in groups has particularly been emphasized by Government, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and development agencies, as an important component of participatory rural development and empowerment. However, Cleaver (1999: 597), Hausendorf & Bora (2006a: 1; 2006b: 85), and Roncoli et al. (2011: 123) argue that the process of rural development through groups brings with it new challenges of participation discourse of members at meetings. One of the challenges is how different actors, including participants at community development project meetings, construe the notion *participation*.

In a general sense, participation means 'to take part'. It may also be viewed linked to the language of evaluation and appraisal in issues of negotiation, decision-making, and problem-solving through sharing and joining activities between the individual and larger reference groups

(Duranti 1997: 20), and as Tannen (2007: 27) observes, through the expression of internal and emotional connections that bind individuals to other people, places, things, activities, ideas, memories and words. Participation may also, according to Firth (1995: 3) and Sidnell (2010: 1), be viewed as ubiquitous talk by which we use language to negotiate, to argue, to complain, to woo, to plead, to threaten, to persuade, to denigrate, to justify, to flatter, and so on. On the other hand, Merrit (as cited in Tannen 2007: 27) construes participation as mutual engagement, which is an observable state of being in coordinated interaction, as distinguished from mere co-presence. And, as Grillo (2005b: 1, 10) adds, participation as a discursive practice, whether conceived as a social activity or as a social product, is closely related to the notions of power and conflict.

The foregoing argument highlights three important definitions of participation: (i) participation as an academic concept in linguistic anthropology, emphasizing face-to-face discursive practices in interactive speech; (ii) participation as a political concept in government and community development work projects, emphasizing the involvement of local communities in decision-making processes; and (iii) participation as a genre-specific notion, emphasizing how specific communities of practice manifest and demonstrate the notion of 'taking part' in their practice. The three definitions are not mutually exclusive but they demonstrate, as Bhatia (2004: xiv) suggests, that although language plays a part in creating the reality that surrounds us, the real world of discourse is complex, dynamic, versatile, unpredictable, and sometimes appears to be confusing and chaotic.

Therefore, as Bhatia & Bhatia (2011: 32) contend, the description and explanation of language use in context requires a multidimensional framework in order to appreciate the complex and dynamic nature of the discursive realities of the discourse of specific genres of practice that are more accurately understood through multiple as well as complementary perspectives. In this respect, the current study draws from the afore-mentioned CRED project to explore the evaluative language of spoken discourse in social interactions and group dynamics of participation as exhibited through farmer group meetings on rural community development work. For this purpose, I use a multi-perspective theoretical framework (Firth 1995; Martin 1997; White 2002; Bhatia 2004; Martin & White 2005; Hausendorf & Bora 2006; Handford 2010) to

harness the three definitions in the analysis of a corpus of spoken Luganda discourse from the transcripts of the CRED project farmer group meetings. Through the multi-perspective framework I analyze the language of appraisal and evaluation, in order to explore the linguistic manifestations of participation, citizenship, negotiation and decision-making within the context of the genre of business meetings on rural community development work.

1.2 Rationale of the study

My motivation for this study is to explore the manifestations of the properties of citizenship. Citizenship, as Bora & Hausendorf (2006: 23-4, 27) explain, is an empirically constituted communicative achievement perceived by the participants themselves in the context of including the public in decision-making interactions between government and citizens. I am particularly interested in investigating the manifestations of citizenship, as they emerge through the language of appraisal and evaluation in a rural Ugandan group decision-making process. In this respect, I am interested in exploring the significance of appraisal and evaluation in the business discourse of the wider context of rural African communities.

I am interested in contributing to the applied/functional scholarship of African Languages, because my experience of teaching language studies at Makerere University for the past fifteen years has revealed to me that a fair amount of research and scholarship in African Languages is in form of grammatical descriptions of the languages. Little work has so far been done on African languages in the area of discourse analysis in interpersonal, group and professional use of language. And yet, as Simpson (2011: 1) notes, applied linguistics connects knowledge about language to decision-making in the real world, and the role of applied linguistics is to make insights drawn from areas of language study relevant to such decision-making.

Therefore, my study is a contribution to the efforts that address Bhatia & Bhatia's (2011: 35) observation that a lot more work needs to be done with regard to research in areas such as the relationship between discursive activities and professional practices in several disciplinary and institutional contexts before we can find convincing answers to the question, 'why do most professionals use language the way they do?' In this regard, I consider the discourse of rural

farmer group meetings as a discourse of business meetings, which are organized to make decisions and solve problems in the context of participatory community development processes.

1.3 Statement of the research problem

The study seeks to explore the linguistic realization of participation and decision-making, through appraisal and evaluation, in Luganda spoken discourse at rural community-development project meetings. The depth of the study is in analyzing transcripts of the CRED project meetings, using four theoretical models (highlighted above and outlined in section 1.6 below), to capture information on how, through the assessment of ideas, events, people, objects and other phenomena, participants express attitude, citizenship, power, identity, negotiation practices, as well as decision-making strategies.

1.4 Aims of the study

The general aim of this study is to determine, through the analysis of spoken discourse, how linguistic cultural context and group interaction at a community development project meeting shapes and influences decisions among rural communities. However, the study is guided by the following specific objectives:

- To examine how the spoken discourse of evaluative language in Luganda displays the notion of participation,
- To explore the language of appraisal and evaluation in Luganda argumentation, negotiation and decision-making at a rural community development project meeting,
- To determine the expression of power and identity in Luganda, as exhibited through the use of evaluative language.

1.5 Research questions

In order to reach the above objectives, the study poses the following research questions:

- a) How does spoken Luganda discourse exemplify properties of citizenship in participation?
- b) How are particular ideological positions of participants expressed through the language of appraisal and evaluation?
 - how are appraisal devices of *judgment*, *appreciation* and *affect* exhibited by participants?

- what dialogic resources and *involvement strategies* do participants employ to engage with alternative positions/voices?
- c) What individual and group identities are constructed through the language of appraisal and evaluation in spoken Luganda discourse?
- d) How are participants' orientations to the context of decision-making reflected in spoken discourse through evaluation and appraisal?
- e) How do participants evaluate and negotiate meanings in a decision-making process within the context of the genre of business meetings?
 - what features, stages and practices of the genre do participants exhibit?
 - how do participants exhibit the *social, professional, generic* and *textual* features of the genre?
- f) Can the principles of the theories that are invoked in this study be extended to new dimensions through the analysis of evaluative discourse in spoken Luganda?

1.6 Method of investigation and Theoretical framework

The study is based on corpus data from fifteen transcripts of the CRED project farmer group meetings. I officially secured the transcripts as well as the permission to use them in this study, from CRED as evidenced by the letter of ethical clearance in the attached Appendix. The study was subsequently endorsed by the Stellenbosch University Research Committee. Bearing in mind the methodological guidelines of corpus linguistic analysis (Biber et al. 1998; Biber et al. 2007), and following the conventions of conversation analysis (Drew & Curl 2008; Sidnell 2010), I cleaned, edited, organized and coded the data. I then invoked the conventions of spoken discourse analysis (Thomson et al. 2008) to generate a template with which I refined the coding of the data, and onto which I mapped the appraisal resources as well as the generic properties of each meeting transcript. Indeed, each of the meetings/transcripts that are analyzed in chapters three, four, and five is presented in the format of this template.

The typeface conventions of the template (outlined in the introductions of each of chapters three, four, and five), which I used to characterize the generic features of the transcripts generated information about the multi-perspective analytical richness of each meeting. I particularly sought information relating to the expression of evaluation and appraisal, participation, citizenship,

negotiation, problem-solving and decision-making. At this stage, I dropped three meetings/transcripts, which had very little information for the purposes of this study. I therefore remained with twelve meetings/transcripts that I herein analyze, categorize and discuss in chapters three, four, five, and six. The analysis, categorization and discussion of the data are within the realms of the multi-perspective theoretical framework which I outline below and which I espouse in chapter two.

Whereas I take into account theories of speech acts (Levinson 1983; Harnish 2010; Martinez-Flor & Uso-Juan 2010) and conversation analysis (Cameron 2001; Drew & Curl 2008; Gonzalez-Lloret 2010), as well as the prerequisite requirements of corpus linguistic analysis (Biber et al. 1998; Biber et al. 2007; O’Keeffe & McCarthy 2010), this study generally falls within the domain of spoken discourse analysis. According to Tannen (2007: 5-6) discourse analysis is a uniquely heterogeneous subject that does not refer to a particular method of analysis; it does not entail a single theory or coherent set of theories; it does not describe a theoretical perspective or methodological framework. Following Tannen’s argument, I regard spoken discourse analysis as a research design under which I invoke a multi-perspective spectrum of theoretical models to explore the discursive patterns of participation, citizenship, negotiation, problem-solving and decision-making among rural communities in a meeting setting.

I specifically invoke the *appraisal theory* (Martin 1997; White 2002; Martin & White 2005; Bednarek 2008), *genre analysis theory* (Bhatia 1993; 2004), *citizenship talk analysis model* (Hausendorf & Bora 2006), as well as the *business-meeting negotiation approach* (Firth 1995; Handford 2010). I select these theories because, as I mentioned earlier, studying language in a social context requires a multidimensional approach in order to answer a variety of questions that arise during the analysis of the spoken discourse in question. The theories are interrelated and they augment each other in exploring linguistic realizations of appraisal and evaluation in spoken discourse of negotiation and decision-making. Also, the multi-perspective approach provides an exhaustive analytical framework in which theories dialogue and supplement each other in exploring the social functions of language.

The appraisal theory (discussed in section 2.7 of chapter two) is concerned with the analysis of linguistic resources by which speakers/texts express evaluation, attitude and emotion, and ultimately construct interpersonal proposals and propositions in discourse. I specially invoke the *attitude* domain of appraisal theory to analyze the discursive features by which speakers attach value to participants and processes in reference to emotion or culturally-determined value systems. The value attachments are either in form of *affect*, which is the characterization of phenomena by reference to emotion, or in form of *judgment*, which is the evaluation of human behavior with respect to social norms, or they are in form of *appreciation*, which is the evaluation of objects and products other than human behavior.

The CRED project meetings, whose transcripts are the corpus data for this study, were a participatory rural community development intervention. The discourse in the transcripts provides a good forum for the analysis and interface of the academic, political and community-of-practice definitions of participation. In this regard, I invoke the citizenship talk analysis model (discussed in section 2.4 of chapter two) to analyze patterns of identity construction and consensus-building as they emerge through an empirically constituted communicative achievement perceived by the participants themselves in the context of including the public in decision-making interactions between government and citizens.

Additionally, I invoke the business-meeting negotiation approach (discussed in section 2.5 of chapter two) to analyze the genre-specific/professional characteristics of running a meeting. I specifically invoke the business-meeting negotiation approach to discuss issues relating to moderation of a meeting, opening and closure, turn-taking, argumentation, disagreement, intertextuality, power relations, conflict-resolution, problem-solving, and decision-making.

I also invoke the genre analysis theory (discussed in section 2.6 of chapter two) with which I bind the other models together by identifying and analyzing the structural properties and communicative strategies of the discourse of meetings. Genre analysis theory is a multi-perspective model of written discourse analysis, but also applicable to spoken discourse. I invoke the theory to combine textual and social approaches in the analysis of discourse as *text* (surface level properties), discourse as *professional practice* (use and exploitation of professional

knowledge and experience), and discourse as *social practice* (features of context, such as changing identities of participants, social structures or professional relationships that the discourse is likely to change or maintain).

The multi-perspective theoretical framework that I have introduced above and which I discuss at length in various sections of chapter two is convincingly defended by Tannen (2007:5-6), who asserts that to construe discourse analysis as a homogeneous discipline with a unified theory and an agreed upon method is not only hopeless but pointless.

1.7 Significance of the study

The study is an addition to the functional scholarship of African languages, which is a departure from the more common pure grammatical descriptions. The subject of participation has so far been little studied in Linguistics and Anthropology. And yet development communication and other rural-empowerment interventions emphasize the importance of participatory decision-making in the process of total emancipation of poor communities from the dangers of illiteracy, poor governance, political dictatorships and economic backwardness. This study adds to the existing body of knowledge on the subjects of participation and evaluation, which are valuable and yet narrowly studied so far. The study also contributes to discussions of the nature of participation and decision-making in local governance in Africa. Additionally, this study creates new theoretical and functional insights (through refinement, extension and/or modification) for the theories that I invoke to analyze evaluative aspects of spoken Luganda.

1.8 Organisation of the study

In the previous sections of this chapter, I have explained the technical and theoretical phenomena on which the study is based. I have outlined the background and rationale, study aims and objectives, as well as the research design, methods, theoretical framework and significance of the study. In chapter two, I review literature that places the study in the context of evaluative discourse in linguistic analysis. I discuss theoretical perspectives that relate to language use in specific contexts, discourse analysis, participation and decision-making in community development work, citizenship and negotiation as definers of genre in the discourse of business

meetings. I also discuss issues of appraisal and evaluation in relation to the discourse of participatory decision-making processes.

In chapters three, four, and five, I invoke the theoretical notions espoused in chapter two to present, analyze and discuss the data under specific themes. In chapter three, I discuss a cluster of three *subtle decision-making* meetings; while in chapter four, I discuss a cluster of four *explicit decision-making* meetings. In chapter five, I discuss a cluster of five *virtual decision-making* meetings. I wrap up the study with chapter six, in which I present a summary of the research findings. I also make conclusions from the theoretical and analytical arguments that emerge from the previous chapters. I conclude the thesis with suggestions about potential areas for further research in relation to the major findings and conclusions of the study.

CHAPTER 2

PERSPECTIVES ON PARTICIPATION AND DECISION-MAKING, BUSINESS MEETINGS, GENRE ANALYSIS, EVALUATION AND APPRAISAL

Key words: participation, decision-making, negotiation, evaluation, citizenship, genre, discourse

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews literature that places the study in the context of evaluative discourse in linguistic analysis. The chapter starts with a review of works on discourse analysis (DA) and conversation analysis (CA), which provide a general linguistic framework for explaining language-use in specific contexts. The chapter proceeds to discuss the concept of participation in a cultural-linguistic context and its role in community development. The review also explores citizenship and negotiation as definers of genre in the discourse of business meetings. The final section of the review discusses issues of appraisal and evaluation in relation to the discourse of participatory processes.

2.2 The study in the general context of discourse analysis and conversation analysis [as models of explaining language-use in specific contexts]

2.2.1 Theoretical overview

Whereas the study takes into account theories of speech acts (Levinson 1983; Harnish 2010; Martinez-Flor & Uso-Juan 2010) and conversation analysis (Cameron 2001; Drew & Curl 2008; Gonzalez-Lloret 2010), it generally falls within the domain of spoken discourse analysis. The study also takes due cognizance of the methodological concerns of the general theory of corpus linguistics (Biber et al. 1998; Biber et al. 2007; O’Keeffe & McCarthy 2010). Indeed, Adolphs & Lin (2011: 597) submit that corpus linguistics is concerned with language-use in real contexts, and that researchers across different disciplines are exploring innovative ways of using corpus-

based research as part of their methods toolkit. Adolphs & Knight (2010: 38) also add that spoken corpora provide a unique resource for the exploration of naturally occurring discourse, and they provide a value to a diverse number of research communities.

According to Cameron (2001: 1), spoken discourse analysis requires the researcher to interact with research subjects or to record their interaction with each other, in order to produce data in form of talk, and, as Dolon & Todoli (2008: viii) add, the analysis “does not assume or take anything for granted; it unwinds or rather rewinds, generating new questions where the answers are apparently given and accepted, problematizing in an endeavor to engender compromise and commitment.” The data that I analyze in this study fits this description, as I explained earlier in chapter one.

In this context, I use the term *discourse* in its general sense, which as Bhatia (2004: 3) explains is “language use in institutional, professional or more general social contexts, including both written and spoken forms, to communicate meaning in a particular context”. According to Bargiela-Chiappini et al. (2007: 50), discourse is a “resource or a semiotic mode that is a socially constructed body of knowledge, developed in a specific context by a particular community of social actors to suit that community’s specific needs.” As Firth (1995: 35) explains, the term *discourse* has been used in several different ways in language study but the sense that I adopt in this study is “the situated use of language-in-social-interaction.” With these three mutually compatible working definitions of discourse, Bhatia (2004: xiv) contends that the analysis of discourse requires the analyst to “understand and account for the realities of the world as we see them - complex, dynamic and constantly changing.” The foregoing argument is anchored by Nevile (2008: 36) who emphasizes that “research in the analysis of such linguistic data uses recordings of naturally occurring interaction to uncover the language, practices and processes of reasoning by which people accomplish social action.”

In a treatise on culture and context, Liddicoat (2009: 117) contributes to the discussion of the need to understand the realities of the world as they appear in context, by arguing that “culture as context consists of the knowledge speakers have about how the world works and how this is displayed and understood in acts of communication.” Duranti (1997: 332) clarifies the meaning

of 'acts of communication' by submitting that "to have a culture means to have communication and to have communication means to have access to a language." Liddicoat (2009: 117) further adds that "unfortunately, the linguistic dimension of world knowledge is often ignored, although such knowledge of the world is associated with and invoked by language and other semiotic systems." Liddicoat's argument implies that the message in an act of communication is not only a sum of the linguistic elements of which the message is composed, but it also includes additional elements, like the context of an utterance. Bhatia et al. (2008: 228) support Liddicoat when they remark that "discourse is simply one of the many cultural tools with which individuals take action and which link them, through these actions, to their socio-cultural environments."

Drew & Curl (2008: 22) note that scholars in different fields are increasingly getting interested in the part played by language in the creation of the reality that surrounds us. Duranti (1997: 338) illustrates the point raised by Drew & Curl by arguing that "linguistic anthropologists are moving toward a notion of language as an aggregate of features, tendencies, and acts that are sometimes the background and other times the foreground for the constitution of the social world in which we live. What used to be thought of as *outside of* language is now more and more often seen as *part of* language." The interest expressed by various scholarly fields in the social functions of language has been accompanied by the development of several theories and methods for the study of language use and its role in human society.

Bhatia et al. (2008: 1-5) contend that discourse analysis is one of these methods, because it deals with the analysis of linguistic behaviour beyond the limits of individual sentences, "focusing primarily on the meaning constructed and interpreted, as language is used in particular social contexts." In this case, language is analyzed as a tool for social action, where social context is the central aspect of communication. Bhatia et al. (2008: 1-5) add that communicative competencies (Drew & Curl 2008: 22), in this regard involve not just mastery of the linguistic system, but the ability to use language in conjunction with social practices and social identities in ways that others in the community will recognize. In other words, as Bhatia et al. (2008: 228) contend "discourse is on the one hand seen as consequential in so far as it works to either limit or amplify particular social actions and the social identities that are associated with the actions. On the other

hand discourse is not automatically privileged as an object of study, but only seen as important in so far as it relates to concrete actions in the world.”

Additionally, Tannen (2007: 5-6) argues that discourse analysis is “uniquely heterogeneous; it will never be monolithic because it does not grow out of a single discipline,” in which case the term *discourse analysis* “does not refer to a particular method of analysis; it does not entail a single theory or coherent set of theories; it does not describe a theoretical perspective or methodological framework at all; it simply describes the object of study - language beyond the sentence - which is not a particular, homogeneous kind of data, but an all-inclusive category.” For this reason, Tannen concludes that if discourse analysis “attempts to admit a broad range of research to the analysis of language, then it is by nature interdisciplinary,” and since it embraces a variety of culturally different disciplines, the goal of a “homogeneous ‘discipline’ with a unified theory, an agreed upon method, and comparable types of data, is not only hopeless but pointless.”

2.2.2 Language in interactive social context

According to Duranti (1997: 7), “language is the most flexible and most powerful intellectual tool developed by humans. One of its many functions is its ability to reflect upon the world, including itself.” Additionally, Placintar (2010: 486) argues that using language is the most “peculiar means of all human behavior, and speech, being created, processed, and evaluated in the context of face-to-face interaction, is particularly grounded in interpersonal relationships. This relational feature is the *sine-qua-non* of any occasion of spoken language, and the study of actual instances of speech is primarily concerned with how people use language as a social instrument in building and maintaining relations with other people.” Schegloff et al. (2006: 132) express a similar view when they argue that language is a vehicle for the living of real lives with real interests in a real world, and that life is in many ways a series of conversations, although talking is something we tend to take for granted.

In light of the foregoing argument, Stubbs (as cited in Thompson & Hunston 2000: 18) contends that investigations should be done into language, “which is used to express personal beliefs and adopt positions, to express agreement and disagreement with others, to make personal and social

allegiances, contracts, and commitments, or alternatively to disassociate the speaker from points of view, and to remain vague or uncommitted.” Cameron (2001: 7) completes the argument by asserting that “when linguists and other social scientists analyze spoken discourse, their aim is to make explicit what normally is taken for granted. It is also to show what talking accomplishes in people’s lives and in society at large.” Consequently, as Brown & Yule (1983: 3) note, the overriding function of spoken language is to maintain social relationships. Indeed, Sidnell (2010: 1) argues that “talk is at the heart of human social life. It is through talk that we engage with one another in a distinctively human way and, in doing so, create a *communion of reciprocally sustained involvement*. We use talk to argue, to complain, to woo, to plead, to commemorate, to denigrate, to justify, to entertain, and so on. Clearly, if we didn’t talk we would not have the lives we do.”

Schegloff (2006: 158) summarizes the argument by concluding that “until the characteristics of locally organized settings are investigated and explicated in appropriate detail, the extraction of language from them is a procedure with unknown properties and consequences.” According to Lerner (2006: 64), language and its rules grew out of the “cauldron of situated social action”, and so Pennycook (as cited in Bargiela-Chiappini et al. 2007: 27) observes that one of the central goals of applied linguistics is to place questions of language in their social context. For this matter, a “critical dimension is needed to reveal hidden connections between language structure and social structure, between meaning-making and the economy of the social situation.” Witczak-Plisiecka (2010: ix) contends that the notion of language in action, as espoused by Drew & Curl (2008: 22), is central to the aim of “accounting for the nature of meaning in context.”

Van Bertalanffy (as cited in Wagener 2010: 174) illustrates the notion of language in action by arguing (also see Brown & Yule 1983) that studying constituents and processes of language as if they were isolated is not sufficient. It is necessary to solve the decisive problems caused by the organization and order of the constituents and processes. In this sense, Wagener (2010: 174) adds that systems have to be studied as a “whole made of parts, which are interacting through dynamic processes, where speakers may be seen as interactive systemic elements, altering their behaviors depending on their relations within this system.” The implication of the argument in

this paragraph, as Bhatia et al. (2008: 228) point out, is that “discourse cannot be studied in isolation from situated social actions that people take with it.”

The central argument in the works, which I discuss in subsections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2, is summarized by Levinson (1983: 364) who argues that a large proportion of the situated significance of utterances can be traced to the surrounding sequential environments in which the utterances are made. Drawing lessons from the above sources, I examine how participants interact at a rural community development project meeting. In particular, as Brown & Yule (1983: ix) argue, I examine how “addressers construct linguistic messages for addressees and how addressees work on linguistic messages in order to interpret them. All the works that I have reviewed so far emphasize the need to appreciate language-use as a social interactive activity, which must be analyzed with due cognizance of the context of the discourse. In other words, discourse, whether spoken or written, is a product of interaction in specific contexts, and discourse analysis ought to regard context as an integral part of corpus.

2.2.3 The analysis of discourse in situated context

In the previous two subsections, I have highlighted some of the views on the concept of discourse as well as the issue of language and context. In this subsection, I will relate the theoretical views to the analysis of spoken discourse. Flowerdew L. (2008a: 115) observes that although “one of the main concerns regarding corpus-based analyses is their lack of contextual features for interpretation of the corpus data, another dimension to the analysis of corpus data is to view the data as shedding light on the social and cultural context from which the corpus is extracted.”

The relationship between language and discourse on the one hand and practical situations of interactive talk on the other hand is well illustrated by Garzone & Gotti (2009: 8) who contend that “with the decline of the fordist economy as a regime of accumulation centered on the production of material goods, and the consequent shift away from manufacturing and industry towards services and the knowledge economy in a context of increasing interconnectedness and globalization, language and discourse have taken on an ever more substantial role in the business enterprise’s life. The process of globalization offers a topical illustration of the interaction

between linguistic and cultural factors in the construction of discourse, both within specialized domains and in wider contexts.”

Garzone & Gotti’s contention is supplemented by Yeung (1998: 81) who notes that “in the post-fordist economy of the world, work is no longer simple and repetitive. Rather, the complex nature of work requires employees to use their own ingenuity and resourcefulness to cope with the ever-changing demands of unique situations. As a result, employees have been regarded as decision-centers, with their own spheres of autonomy. Such a basic change in orientation towards the employees can hardly fail to be reflected in management discourse.”

As Brown & Yule (1983: 1) argue, the two observations above demonstrate that the analysis of discourse is necessarily the analysis of language in use. As such, the analysis of discourse cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purpose or functions, which those forms are designed to serve in human affairs. The foregoing argument implies, as Martinez-Flor & Uso-Juan (2010: 5-6) and Gonzalez-Lloret (2010: 57) observe, that apart from users and context (Seedhouse & Richards 2007: 17; Pallotti 2007: 37), “interaction plays an important role in discourse analysis, since the process of communication does not only focus on the speakers’ intentions, but also on the effects, those intentions have on the hearers.” Drew & Heritage (2006: xxvi) reaffirm the argument by noting that “the social worlds of the law, medicine, corporations and business negotiations, as well as other institutional and workplace settings are conducted through talk-in-interaction.”

In other words, as Pallotti (2007: 37) asserts, the analysis should be a way of “describing human behavior based on the careful observation of everyday interactional practices (Drew & Curl 2008: 22), seeing linguistic productions as moves within social exchanges.” Pallotti (2007: 42, 50) and Gumperz (2001: 217) further advise that the description and interpretation of the corpus (Bhatia et al. 2008: 83) should be based on what is “directly observable to participants and the analyst, where the main object of investigation are the actions performed by participants in their moment-by-moment coordination in order to achieve orderly interaction.” Sidnell (2010: 20) concludes the point by cautioning that “however rich our imaginations are, if we use hypothetical

versions of the world we are constrained by reference to what an audience can accept as reasonable.”

Lakoff (2001: 200) also defends the need for a contextual analysis of discourse by opining that “even if a case could be made for the autonomous treatment of some aspects of language, discourse in interaction (Heller 2001: 250-264) cannot be satisfactorily analyzed in a vacuum.” In other words, the analysis of discourse (Mey 2001: 793) studies talk or text in context (Tracy 2001: 725-749). In this sense, as Skillington (2006: 124) argues, the analyst should “see through the opaque surfaces (Bhatia et al. 2008: 1-17) of the text where ideological effects are apparent, and observe the underlying meanings beneath.” Handford (2010: 31) completes Skillington’s proposition by adding that by observing the underlying meanings beneath a discourse, the analyst is able to move “every interpretative discourse beyond its appearances.” Indeed, Flowerdew L. (2008a: 125) concludes that it is important to have a contextual perspective to the interpretation of genre.

However, Lee (2008: 87) laments that the challenge of doing “exhaustive discourse analyses has not been taken up by many people so far.” Biber (2008: 102) adds a voice to Lee’s concern by observing that strides have been made in the analysis of English discourse, but the “challenge is to extend similar analyses and approaches to other languages.” Research (Bhatia et al. 2008: 193; Chouliaraki 2008: 211) indicates that studies in discourse analysis have neglected the less developed parts of the world. Strauss (2005: 222) suggests that the concerns raised by Lee, Biber, Chouliaraki, Bhatia et al., and other scholars can be addressed by the adoption of a critical multimodal approach to the analysis of the less privileged languages, like Luganda. Fairclough (as cited in Flowerdew J. 2008: 196) argues that the multimodal approach “brings a variety of theories into dialogue.” Fairclough’s point is emphasized by Flowerdew J. (2008: 196) who notes that the multimodal approach enables the analyst to “view discourse and society as mutually constitutive”, and that the analyst is ultimately “grounded in the interplay of text and context.”

My study addresses the above concerns by making a contribution to the analysis of the evaluative discourse of Luganda in the genre of business meetings, using a multidimensional

approach. The study uses a multi-perspective framework of approaches (espoused in Firth 1995; Martin 1997; White 2002; Bhatia 2004; Martin & White 2005; Hausendorf & Bora 2006; Handford 2010)¹ to analyze issues relating to participation, negotiation and decision-making in evaluative language that is used in spoken discourse of participants at farmer group meetings. The analysis of the discourse is within the context of rural community development work.

Flowerdew L. (2008a: 115) proposes an alternative to Strauss' (2005: 222) approach by suggesting that "one perspective to the contextual analysis of discourse is to view the data shedding light on the social and cultural context from which the corpus is extracted." Chouliaraki (2008: 215) also adds that through the alternative approach, "discourse manages to articulate universal values of human conduct, and in so doing, discourse places human beings into certain relations of power to one another." Chouliaraki (2008: 228) further argues that discourse analysis, under the alternative approach, "studies relations between discourse, power, dominance and social inequality." In other words, as Bhatia (2004: 20) claims, "discourse as social practice, takes the interaction with context further in the direction of broader social context, where the focus shifts from the textual output to the features of context, such as the changing identities of the participants, the social structures or professional relationships that the genres are likely to maintain or change."

Although Flowerdew L. (2008a: 115) and Chouliaraki (2008: 215) claim to propose an alternative approach to the multimodal approach proposed by Strauss (2005: 222), the two perspectives are only complements to each other. Indeed the perspective suggested by Flowerdew and Chouliaraki can be one of the many possible models that make up the multi-perspective theoretical framework proposed by Strauss. The multi-perspective analytical framework that I adopt in this study captures the two proposals above, with Flowerdew and Chouliaraki's proposition particularly dealt with under the appraisal theory (espoused in Martin 1997; White 2002; Martin & White 2005; Bednarek 2008).

¹ Details of these models are provided in later sections of this chapter.

2.3 The issue of *participation* in discourse

2.3.1a What is participation?

The preceding subsection (2.2.3) explains discourse as a product of social interactive processes (Mayes 2003: 1) between the individual and larger reference groups (Duranti 1997: 280). This explanation brings with it challenges of the notion of participation, where speaking is part of larger activities. The Oxford English Dictionary (1997: 1062) defines participation as “the process or fact of sharing in an action, sentiment, etc.; (now esp.) active involvement in a matter or event, esp. one in which the outcome directly affects those taking part.” Tannen (2007: 27) defines participation as the “internal, even emotional connection individuals feel which binds them to other people as well as places, things, activities, ideas, memories, and words.” On the other hand, Merrit (as cited in Tannen 2007: 27) construes participation as “mutual engagement, which is an observable state of being in coordinated interaction, as distinguished from mere co-presence.”

Duranti (1997: 20) explains that “to be a speaker of a language means to be a member of a speech community, which in turn means to have access to a range of activities and uses of language. The concept that is used to capture the fact that speaking is part of larger activities is *participation*.” Gumperz (as cited in Tannen 2007: 26) contends that “participation is not merely a matter of passive understanding. It is not enough to decipher the meaning of a given utterance without having a broad grasp of where the utterance came from and where it is headed, how it fits into a recognizable schema in terms of the organization of the discourse and the interaction.” Duranti (1997: 21) further argues that the notion of participation “stresses the inherently social, collective, and distributed quality of any act of speaking in which we use sounds that allow us to participate in interaction with other people by evoking a world that is usually larger than whatever we can see and touch.” Bora & Hausendorf (2006: 36) conclude that in this case “persons perceive and present themselves and others not only, and not primarily, as unique individuals, but as members of social groups.”

2.3.1b Language and culture as reflectors of participation

However, Duranti (1997: 21) argues that participation can also be viewed as a system of cultural practices, thus the “idea of culture as a system of participation is related to culture as a system of

practices and is based on the assumption that any action in the world, including verbal communication, has an inherently, collective, and participatory quality.” Liddicoat (2009: 118) subscribes to this view of participation by arguing that “world knowledge is by nature embedded and complex, but its operations can be seen through specific instances of communication in which assumed shared world knowledge is fundamental to the message being communicated. Communication involves complex interrelationships between language and culture. These interrelationships apply at all levels of language in use. Communication is thus the use of a culturally shaped code in a culturally shaped context to create and interpret culturally shaped meanings.”

Mayes (2003: 1) adds that a “common indicator of some of the regularities that constitute social structure within a culture is language. As such, language is a useful tool for exploring how actors instantiate the events, situations, and even the institutions that make up the reality of our daily lives.” In this case, as Piller (2011: 84) argues, “the key question is what categories of identity people in a given context orient to; what does culture mean to them? What does difference mean? What does communication mean? And do any of these categories actually matter to these people?” Consequently, communication ought to place an emphasis on attitudes, beliefs, values, and value orientations.

2.3.1c Participation as a form of negotiation or problem-solving event

Alternatively, as Duranti (1997: 21) and Bora & Hausendorf (as cited in Fairclough et al. 2006: 98) argue, participation can be viewed as a problem-solving event where it entails the cognition to manage the retrieval of information and the prediction of others’ action necessary for problem-solving, as well as the ways in which participants act and are treated by others. Duranti (1997: 313) adds that it is through the different ways in which different individuals are allowed to be “part of certain kinds of activities that social identities are created and reproduced. Whether or not someone’s voice will be expressed, someone’s point of view recognized depends in part on the interactional arrangements that are possible in the situation.”

The foregoing argument treats participation as a form of negotiation², which, according to Linell & Fredin (1995: 314), is any verbal/non-verbal interaction in speaking or through the exchange of written texts, that amounts to doing work in and through language.” Have (1995: 319) adds that negotiation constitutes of “interactions in which parties at the outset take a stand that differs one from the other after which they put forward alternatives, together with assessment of the acceptability of those alternatives which may lead to a settlement when one aligns with the other or when they agree on a compromise.” Firth (1995: 3) and Wagner (1995: 223) contend that participation as a form of negotiation is necessarily a “problem-solving event”, which, according to Firth (1995: 3) is a “discourse-based and situated activity constructed in concrete social settings.” Bell (1995: 50) adds that negotiation is, in this sense, a linguistic activity that involves the use of language “to cajole, persuade, threaten, induce, drive, blackmail, intimidate, or flatter, with the objective of arriving at a resolution or a collective agreement.” Handford (2010: 33) also adds that the process through which “the practice of negotiating is linguistically realized is worthy of attention.”

2.3.2 Participation, negotiation and power

Whether participation is regarded as the speech component of larger activities, or as a system of cultural practices, or a problem-solving event, or a form of negotiation, Boden (1995: 94) cautions that participation is not simply an “interactional matter; rather it is constituted in and through the structure of the talk itself. The social actors create talk-based environments of both consensus and conflict,” and as Allen (as cited in Tannen 2007: 14) adds, “all texts, therefore, contain within them the ideological structures and struggles expressed in society through discourse.” Jones K. (1995: 142) also adds that participation as a “form of negotiation involving the presentation and management of diverse viewpoints and goals is a potentially difficult activity.” Grillo (2005a: viii) also notes that “speakers, in their discursive activities, aim to enforce their own positions or conceptions.” Cameron (2001: 161) also adds that “if life is in many ways a series of conversations, it is by no means an irrelevant or insignificant fact that those conversations take place among persons who occupy certain places in the world and have certain kinds of social relationships with one another. They are not all the same, nor are they all necessarily equal in any given social situation.”

² The notion of negotiation is dealt with in detail in section 2.5.

Indeed, Fairclough (as cited in Tannen 2007: 14) wonders; “What is it about existing societies that produces poverty, deprivation, misery, and insecurity in people’s lives? What possibilities are there for social change which would reduce these problems and enhance the quality of lives of human beings?” Mayes (2003: 61) retorts that the participant “who fills a particular position is able to activate or consummate specific privileges and responsibilities.” Chouliaraki & Fairclough, and Briggs (as cited in Tannen 2007: 14) conclude that the analysis of discourse “must be combined with a theory of power,” containing “an active process; a means of creating, sustaining, and/or challenging power relations.”

The argument in the previous three paragraphs links negotiation to struggles of power and identity³, in which case, according to Grad & Martin Rojo (2008: 5), “the production, circulation, and reception of discourses are embedded in relations of power.” In this respect, Cameron (2001: 161) argues that “language-use is among the social practices through which people assert their identities and distinguish themselves from others. Hence, discourse is a resource for understanding how identity and difference, or/and dominance, are constructed in verbal interaction.” Therefore, as Grillo (2005b: 1, 10) adds, discourse, whether conceived of as a “social activity or as a social product, is closely related to power, and if discourse pertains to power, then discourse is a battlefield” within which individuals and groups have to fight for “social and political existence and recognition” (Linell & Fredin 1995:300). Morand (2000: 236) also adds that “understanding how power differentials are encoded in language can shed light on processes of status-leveling in organizations,” because, as Grad (2008: 112) maintains, discursive practices have both “creative and reproductive power in the performance and the representation of social practices and social actors, where discursive practices construct, perpetuate, transform, and dismantle identity.”

Indeed, Morand (2000: 235) illustrates the relationship between negotiation and power by observing that “organizational literature emphasizes various bases and structural contingencies that give rise to power differentials, but little attention is paid to how individuals display and communicate relative power at the face-to-face level. If one can detect how power differentials

³ The notion of identity is discussed further in section 2.7.

are embedded in everyday speech it may be possible to understand how the more abstract role requirements of organizational positions are translated into the minutia of everyday gestures and interactional ritual.” Gal (2001: 426) sums the discussion on participation and power by asserting that “power is more than the chance to participate in decision-making. The strongest form of power may well be the ability to define social reality, to impose visions of the world. And such visions are inscribed in language and, most important, enacted in interaction. The precise form of questions and turn-taking is crucial in understanding the construction of different floors in meetings.”

However, in spite of the argument in the preceding paragraph, Heritage (2006: 11) notes that the “design of actions in interactive discourse can contribute to the maintenance of social solidarity. There is a bias intrinsic to many aspects of the organization of talk which is generally favorable to the maintenance of bonds of solidarity between actors and which promotes the avoidance of conflict.” Indeed, Duranti (1997: 5) supports the view that participation, as a form of negotiation, can enhance social solidarity whereby, through language-use, “we enter an interactional space that has been partly already shaped for us, a world in which some distinctions seem to matter more than others, a world where every choice we make is partly contingent on what happened before and contributes to the definition of what will happen next.”

Duranti (1997: 5) argues further that “if, in order to communicate our thoughts to other people, we need to have access to such a public resource, as we know language to be, we need to ensure that we can bend it to our needs. Words can carry in them myriad possibilities of connecting us to other human beings. Speaking is thus an act of participation in a community of language users.” Becker et al. (1996: 141) add that much of “social hierarchy is represented and instantiated through speech that the study of any social system would not be possible without an understanding of the language that supports and represents such a system.” Therefore, as Chafe (2001: 686) suggests, it is better to think of interactive discourse as a “uniquely human and extraordinary important way by which separate minds are able to influence and be influenced by each other.”

2.3.3 Summary

In section 2.3, I have explored some of the theoretical perspectives on the notion of participation. I have discussed participation as a concept, as a form of negotiation, as a cultural practice, as a problem-solving event, and as a decision-making process. The major issues and notions that emerge in the arguments in section 2.3 are discussed further in the subsequent sections of this chapter. The next three sections of this chapter do not only discuss the emerging issues/notions in detail, these sections also relate the issues/notions to real life situations.

2.4 ***Participation in community development and issues of citizenship***

2.4.1 Perspectives on participatory discourse and participatory community development

As Iedema (1997: 73), Rugambwa (2006: 63), Williams (2006: 197), Orlove et al. (2010: 243), and Roncoli et al. (2011: 127) observe, working in groups has particularly been emphasized by Government, Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) and development agencies, as an important component of “participatory rural development and empowerment.” Roncoli et al. (2011: 123) argue that “experimental cases suggest that participatory approaches can facilitate understanding and use of information.” However, Cleaver (1999: 597), Hausendorf & Bora (2006a:1; 2006b:85), and Roncoli et al. (2011: 123) argue that the process of rural development through groups brings with it new challenges of participation discourse of members at meetings.” Roncoli et al. (2011: 123) further add that only few of the experimental studies on information dissemination among rural African communities “integrate critical reflections on participation, which reveal how participatory approaches can miss social dynamics of power at the community and in the broader context.”

The arguments raised so far in the preceding paragraph bring five questions to the fore, which questions I will attempt to answer in this section. The questions are:- What are participatory approaches? What is community participation? What is participatory discourse? Who participates and how do they participate? What are the outcomes of participatory processes?

Williams (2006: 197-9) defines community participation as the “direct involvement/engagement of ordinary people in the affairs of planning, governance and overall development programs at local or grassroots level. The very notion of participation assumes a wide range of discourses,

meanings and applications within and across different contexts.” Building on William’s definition of community participation, Firth (1995: 3), and Hausendorf & Bora (2006a: 1) argue that “participatory discourse emerges whenever a decision-making process requires the public to be included in an activity of social decision-making.” For that matter, as O’Mahony & O’Sullivan (2006: 72) add, “citizenship rights of a participative kind enable individual persons to democratically influence their own status.” Roncoli et al. (2011: 129-130) also add that participation entails “not only expressing and advancing one’s views in a culturally appropriate way, but also supporting others as they do so. By contributing to the dialogue, people demonstrate their allegiance to the group and their commitment to the ultimate goal of participation, which is to reach consensus.”

While discussing cultural styles of participation in Luganda, Roncoli et al. (2011: 125-9) affirm that the “ways in which people communicate is pivotal in cultural understandings of participation, whereby culture and language shape the micro-politics of exclusion, persuasion, agreement, resistance and contestation during public debates at local levels. The Kiganda style of participation is informed by cultural norms of social interaction, which stress courtesy, modesty, reserve, and respect. In this respect, the purpose of participation is to demonstrate unity and to reach decisions by consensus.”

Roncoli et al.’s observation is couched in Tannen’s (2007: 28) contention that “coherence and involvement are the goal – and, in frequent happy occurrences, the result – when discourse succeeds in creating meaning through familiar strategies. The familiarity of the strategies makes the discourse and its meaning seem coherent, and allows for the elaboration of meaning through the play of familiar patterns, and it sends a metamessage of rapport between the communicators, who thereby experience that they share communicative conventions and inhabit the same world of discourse.”

Another example that illustrates community participation as a collective effort towards consensus is provided by Yeung (1998: 81-4) who in an analysis of the discourse of over twenty meetings in three banks in Hong Kong, indicates that “consultative management talk is a type on the continuum of participative decision-making. Apart from making decisions about their own

work, employees are also encouraged to contribute to organization-wide decisions. In such a scenario, decision-making is no longer the precinct of managers alone. The basic difference between consultative management and the more authoritarian forms of management is the presence of choice for the subordinates in decision-making. In other words, in decision-telling and decision-selling talk, the proposition coming from the superior is to be construed as a directive. On the other hand, in decision-advising talk, the subordinate is asked to consider the superior's proposition as a suggestion only. The final decision is a joint decision of both parties."

However, in a discussion of the lessons on community participation in post-apartheid South Africa, Williams (2006: 197-9) argues that "most community participation exercises are largely spectator politics, where ordinary people have mostly become endorsees of pre-designed programs, which are a miracle of reconciliation in the international arena of consensus politics. Informed discussions and rational debates on the merits and demerits are non-existent, even though 'community participation' features as a key component of planning programs at the local level. This state of affairs suggests that the nature of community participation depends on the nature of organization and mobilization at the grassroots level as well as the programmatic purpose of such participation."

Williams (2006: 199) argues further that "community participation is not an unproblematic engagement of contestatory power relations. It would seem that participatory modes of governance and decision-making are profoundly influenced, if not shaped, by the contradictions, tensions, conflicts and struggles straddling not merely the political relations of power but also the economic and ideological apparatus at local level." Roncoli et al. (2011: 124) support Williams when they note that the "last decade has seen a maturation of critical thinking on participation, which consists of the recognition that participatory approaches often conceal social and political differences. This perspective shows that participatory approaches may not always be unequivocally beneficial to the majority of members of a community, and in particular may offer little or nothing to the marginalized sectors of society."

2.4.2a Participatory community development as an expression of citizenship

The three examples of participatory cases that I have cited above (i.e. Uganda, Hong Kong and South Africa) illustrate how, according to Fairclough et al. (2006: 120), “established relations of social dominance, expressed through language, affect processes of persuasion and assent. In this case, participation relates to evaluation and appraisal⁴ in issues of negotiation, decision-making, and problem-solving through sharing and joining activities between the individual and larger reference groups.” This view of participation raises the notion of citizenship (Hausendorf & Bora 2006a: 1, 85), which is a communicative achievement (Fairclough et al. 2006: 98) or participation perceived by the participants themselves and manifested in their communicated images of self and others (Norris 2008: 134).

Bora & Hausendorf (2006: 40) argue that citizenship “means more than being a member of a nation. It means to have rights to information, rights to participation, voice, and being treated in a certain way.” Hausendorf & Bora (2006a: 1) add that citizenship is a “mode of including people in the political system that goes beyond the formal mechanisms of representative democracy in favor of good governance. Citizenship also generates participatory discourse which comprises a broad variety of communicative events. Some of the communicative events include oral arena of debating between experts, politicians, and the public, formal as well as informal gatherings, singularly occurring local meetings or regularly occurring gatherings of focus groups.” Hausendorf & Bora (2006a: 14) further add that “emphasis on participation of the local public obviously lies at the heart of the notion of citizenship.”

From the definition and descriptions of citizenship given in the preceding two paragraphs, the analysis of citizenship talk proves to be a relevant notion in my study. My study is an appraisal and genre-theoretic investigation of Luganda spoken discourse at community development project meetings. The meetings are farmer group meetings that convene to receive seasonal weather forecasts from meteorological experts. The meetings then proceed to discuss the weather forecast, and to make decisions about their farming activities. This is definitely a community participatory, interactive, decision-making event that links to the exercise of citizenship. Hausendorf & Bora (2006a: 3) pose two important questions through which the link between my

⁴ The notion of evaluation and appraisal is discussed further in section 2.7.

study and the notion of citizenship emerges. The analysis of discourse in my study provides answers to the questions which are: What are the results of citizen participation as far as the inclusion of citizens in decision-making is concerned? What kinds of social images of self and others are activated when citizens are invited to take part in decision-making processes?

2.4.2b Other perspectives on citizenship

Bora & Hausendorf (2006: 26) note that citizenship is a contested concept, and as such it has to be grasped according to theoretical and empirical respects. Therefore, the procedural shaping of the decision-making process becomes an important issue, because the communication of citizenship cannot be separated from the social arena in which it actually takes place.” Bora & Hausendorf seem to be advocating for a more contextualized definition of citizenship, other than the one provided by Fairclough et al. (2006: 98). Consequently, Strauss (2005: 211), Bora & Hausendorf (2006: 23, 27), O’Mahony & O’Sullivan (2006: 62), and Norris (2008: 134) argue that citizenship should be understood as a communicative achievement or participation perceived by the participants themselves and manifested in their communicated images of self and others emerging from their cultural and traditional backgrounds, in the context of including the public in decision-making interactions between government and citizens. To this definition, Bora & Hausendorf (2006: 240) add that “citizenship should be empirically constituted within the interactions between government and citizens.”

The above definition of citizenship puts the concept in the context of experiences and perceptions of participants in real life situations. Strauss (2005: 211), Bora & Hausendorf (2006: 24), Hausendorf & Bora (2006b: 85), and O’Mahony & O’Sullivan (2006: 62) further explain that the communicated images of identity⁵ emerge from the cultural and traditional backgrounds of individuals, in the context of including the public in decision-making interactions between government and citizens. Hausendorf & Bora (2006b: 16) complete the argument by asserting that “social positions and their communicative manifestation are considered to be the communicative vehicle for communicating citizenship. It is in the nature of social positioning

⁵ The notion of identity is discussed in section 2.7. The occurrence of images of identity in citizenship analysis justifies further the need for a multimodal framework for a thorough analysis of discourse.

that verbal action in terms of speech plays a prominent role whenever images of self and others are set in relation to each other.”

Bora & Hausendorf (2006: 24-7) further argue that “citizenship goes beyond and differs from an inevitable outcome of civil rights and entitlements that the actors are supplied with. Therefore, conceptualizing citizenship as an outcome of a social positioning process implies taking the form of decision-making in terms of procedures for citizen participation into account.” Sbisá (2006: 151) also adds that “citizenship involves rights, obligations, and legitimate expectations, which are often relied upon, appealed to, challenged, confirmed or specified in actual social interaction.” O'Mahony & O'Sullivan (2006: 72) add further that “citizenship rights of a participative kind enable individual persons to democratically influence their own status.”

However, Hausendorf & Bora (2006a: 17) caution that “communicating citizenship does not mean that the category of citizen itself is present.” Bousfield (2008:33), and Placintar (2010: 487) add that in the exercise of citizenship, “each member will strive to have both a *positive face* – the need for approbation that guarantees the satisfaction of having one’s values approved and being appreciated and accepted by others, and a *negative face* – the need for autonomy that conditions one’s unimpeded freedom of action.” Hausendorf & Bora (2006a: 2) argue further that citizenship has, up to now, been a primarily normative concept more or less neglecting the concrete participation process as the social arena where citizenship has to prove itself empirically.” Whereas Morand (2000: 237) observes that there is a “general expectation that actors who surround us in daily interaction will provide us interactional support and affirmation”, Cameron (2001: 79) concludes that “many of the things people need or want to do in the course of interacting with one another are inherently face threatening acts. These acts have the potential to cause damage to the positive or negative face of the speaker, the hearer, or both.”

Handford (2010: 32) certainly concurs with Cameron in the contention that conventions of discourse are “socially ratified within the specific unfolding context by the powerful participants and the tacit agreement and involvement of the less powerful participants, and are acquired over time through membership of a particular community.” The foregoing argument is summed up by Skillington (2006: 131) who submits that “the process of participants assigning, ascribing and

evaluating intrapersonal as well as interpersonal discursive behavior in participatory community development tasks implies that discourse on citizenship transgresses various fields of action.”

Williams (2006: 212) concludes the discussion on community participation and citizenship by arguing that “communities need to realize that it is only when they have achieved the position of an informed citizenry with the capacity to enjoy constitutional rights through effective community participation in local programs that they can ensure equitable access to resources. With the view of encouraging meaningful dialogue, engagement and empowerment at the grassroots level, it is important that government leaders continually evaluate the public value of their initiatives, ensuring that the voices of the ordinary people are heard and valued during community participation sessions.”

2.5 Participation as negotiation in the discourse of business meetings

2.5.1 The notion of business meetings

Handford (2010: 1) observes that the term *business meetings* can “provoke many reactions, some of them not very positive. This seems especially true for those who spend a considerable amount of their working lives talking, listening and not listening in meetings.” However, Borden (as cited in Bargiela-Chiappini et al. 2007: 8; Handford 2010: 1) contends that talk, and especially talk in meetings, is the lifeblood of organizations. Handford (2010: 1) further observes that “managers regularly have meetings with subordinates to review, check, delegate and plan tasks and duties. Colleagues meet to solve or defer, and sometimes to create problems. Face-to-face introductions and discussions are organized to develop relationships.” Therefore, as Handford (2010: 1) concludes, there is need to explore the language that people use in business meetings, and how this language may relate to and constitute the immediate and wider contexts in which meetings unfold.

According to Chapelle & Hunston (2010: ix), business meetings are an important part of the working life for many people. Business meetings frequently involve discussion of people, events and values that are referred to in inexplicit terms. These meetings vary considerably depending on their purpose and the relationships of the people involved.” Handford (2010: 76) adds that “although the structure of meetings may sometimes seem to be messy, it does not imply that

participants are not purposeful in what they are doing. The apparent messiness can be explained with reference to recurrent practices being applied to novel situations, as well as to creative strategies that experienced speakers purposefully employ.”

2.5.2a Business meetings as a form of negotiation

The notion of negotiation was introduced in subsection 2.3.1c, where I discussed participation as a problem-solving event. In the following two subsections, I discuss the notion of negotiation in detail, especially in as far as it relates to the discourse of business meetings. Bell (1995: 47), Firth (1995: 3), Gonzalez-Lloret (2010: 63-9), and Handford (2010: 1) submit that the discourse of business meetings is a form of negotiation, involving discursive behaviors like topic control, turn-taking, argumentation, conflict, disagreement, or consensus-building. Morand (2000: 245) anchors the submission by arguing that “labor in the post-industrial service and information economy increasingly manipulates not material goods, but symbols and information, including language. The course of every workday encompasses interruptions, criticisms, requests, and disagreements where face threatening, conflictual occasions are unavoidable.”

Antaki (1994: 186) highlights the notion of argumentation in the above definition by arguing that “explanations in argumentation, as in other domains, are part of the way in which people prosecute their interactional business. They do so by the language they use in various interactive situations. When participants argue and explain, they set up different versions of what is the case in the world, and deal with each other’s proposals for how those different versions might be resolved.” Mazzi (2006: 271) adds that “argumentation is seen as a costly activity, both cognitively and interpersonally, and no one engages in it unless they are compelled by an opponent’s resistance to their opinions or theses” because, as Smith & Bekerman (2011: 1683) point out, “arguing, by its very nature, is an asymmetrical activity.”

On the other hand, Handford (2010: 218) highlights the notion of turn-taking in business-meeting discourse by explaining that “turn-taking is concerned with exploring the transition from speaker to the next in naturally occurring speech.” Sacks et al. (2006: 1) add that “turn-taking is used for the ordering of moves in meetings, debates and conversations. It is obviously a prominent type of social organization, one whose instances are implicated in a wide range of

other activities. Turn-taking is a basic form of organization for interaction, in that it would be invariant to parties, such that it could be selectively affected by social aspects of context.” Handford (2010: 218) further argues that analyzing turn-taking shows how the discourse is shaped and constrained by the participants’ orientation to the context.” Drew & Heritage (as cited in Handford 2010: 218) also add that examining how the context affects the unfolding language in and across turns and how language is used to achieve social actions furthers our understanding of institutional discourse, of which business meetings are an example.

Handford (2010: 34) argues further that “communities of practice develop suitable genres for the discursive activities in which they are involved. Meetings embody and provide a platform for various practices. In other words, genres, such as meetings, are the participatory frameworks through which the community can address its goals and develop the enterprise. In this case, communities of practice are the discursive practices that bind and move the community forward.” In this respect, as Handford (2010: 76) adds, “speakers want to achieve their personal and corporate goals, and in order to achieve these goals they activate various discursive practices. These practices and the language that constitutes them can actualize the specific structural elements of the genre.”

In summary, business meetings are made up of various stages, wherein different practices can be inferred by looking at the language that is found in such stages. So, Handford (2010: 31) concludes by asserting that “practices, by definition, tie the communicative event to the wider social context and therefore allow for greater understanding of the reflexive relationship between language and context. Thus, language and other semiotic forms do not merely reflect entities and relations in social life but actively contribute to their construction and constitution. Business meetings, therefore, partly construct the companies in which they occur.”

2.5.2b What is negotiation, and how does it manifest itself?

In the context of the definitions and discussions outlined in subsections 2.5.2a, and 2.3.1c, meetings are indeed a form of negotiation, which, according to Wagner (1995: 223), is a formal face-to-face problem-solving encounter. Bell (1995: 42), and Roloff et al. (2003: 804) note that the term *negotiation* has an interesting history. “Its roots (*neg* – not, and *otium* – leisure, i.e.

business) identify the origin of the term in the marketplace, where it referred to the process of haggling in the barter or sale of goods. The present connotations of the term embrace a wide spectrum of settings and issues, ranging from collective bargaining in the workplace to the loftiest reaches of summit diplomacy.”

Roloff et al. (2003: 803) define negotiation as a “communication-based activity through which parties attempt to create understandings, agreements, or contracts that define the nature of their future interdependence.” As Firth (1995: 3) suggests, negotiation can also be viewed as a ubiquitous, problem-solving event, and a social decision-making activity. Therefore, as an activity of social decision-making “where decisions on substantive matters are made conjointly, negotiation is not restricted to formally defined events.” Firth’s view is completed by Roloff et al. (2003: 804) who contend that negotiation is a “means to determine how resources will be exchanged or distributed.”

Roloff et al. (2003: 801) proceed to argue that “negotiation processes pervade our daily lives. Whether we are buying a house, negotiating a contract at work, or bargaining with a spouse to see a movie, we often decide among an array of options through exchanges with others. Negotiation helps to manage conflict effectively and to avoid capitulating, withdrawing, or relying on decisions made by higher authorities.” Virtanen & Hamari (2005: 5) take up Roloff et al.’s idea by suggesting that one of the options we have is persuasion, which is “those linguistic choices that aim at changing or affecting the behavior of others or strengthening the existing beliefs and behaviors of those who already agree.” Indeed, Perelman (as cited in Virtanen & Hamari 2005: 5) asserts that persuasion is a constituent part of the more general notion of argumentation, which covers “the whole range of discourse that aims at persuasion and conviction, whatever the audience addressed and whatever the subject matter.” Morand (2000: 245) also adds that during negotiation, “speakers necessarily engage in remedial, linguistic work to deflect and to mitigate ensuing social friction.”

Therefore, as Bargiela-Chiappini et al. (2007: 11) argue, “there is need to develop a methodological framework that can accommodate the dynamics of negotiations, and that acknowledges them, not as one-off events, but as steps in a sequence of events that make up the

business relationship.” Virtanen & Halmari (2005: 4) conclude the foregoing argument by reaffirming that negotiation, as a form of persuasion, is such an integral part of human interaction that learning to understand it better will always be meaningful, because learning about persuasion is learning more about human nature.

2.5.2c Do negotiations entail conflict⁶?

Bulow-Moller (2005: 27-9) provides another perspective to Virtanen & Halmari’s argument by contending that “contrary to many people’s belief, in business negotiations persuasion is sometimes an indicator of deadlock. There is something special about business negotiation that sets it apart from mere persuasive talk – it has two parties, each trying to persuade the other. So, negotiation is characterized by the need to accommodate both sides, in order to attain a result that is preferable to both starting positions.” Handford (2010: 36-7) amplifies Bulow-Moller’s view by arguing that “all human interaction has the potential to develop into conflict, and it would be incorrect to conclude that spoken business discourse is consistently polite.” Thus, according to Grillo (2005b: 29), negotiation is “an institutional discursive practice strategy whose explicit social purpose is to allow for a peaceful solution of a social conflict.”

Bargiela-Chiappini et al. (2007: 18) contend that negotiations are “subject to constant change, both in terms of the power balance between participants at various stages, and the business relationship between organizations over the long term.” Smith & Bekerman (2011: 1683) also add that negotiation, as a form of arguing, is, by its very nature, an asymmetrical activity. For example, the presentation of a point of view is quite different from taking on someone’s point of view.” On the other hand, Dersley & Wootton (2006: 171), while discussing the notion of disagreement in argumentation, argue that “the more recent literature on argument has been shaped significantly by what we know of its converse – agreement. Within certain forms of ordinary conversation, it has been claimed that there exists a preference for agreement, which is manifested through various aspects of turn and sequence organization. However, in argument sequences, disagreements can be shaped in ways that are confrontational.”

⁶ Any type of verbal or nonverbal opposition ranging from disagreement to disputes, mostly in social interaction (Kakava 2001)

Therefore, as Bousfield (2008: 1) argues, “we must recognize that there are discourses in which conflictive illocutions are not marginal human phenomena. Indeed, there are discourses in which conflictive illocutions are rather more central than may be the case in discourses which can be considered to be operating within normal circumstances.” Kakava (2001: 659), and Wagener (2010: 171-9) add that “negotiation, at its core, does not only imply cooperation and talk, it also implies conflict.” Roloff et al. (2003: 803) also assert that “negotiation is a form of conflict management; in fact bargaining is a way to manage incompatibilities through finding mutually acceptable solutions. It is a classic style of conflict management, compromise, as a way to uncover options, reframe the situation, and explore potential settlements. It is a unique form of social interaction, rooted in managing conflict and addressing perceived incompatibilities, incorporating argumentation, persuasion, and information exchange into reaching agreements and working out future interdependence.”

On the other hand, Gouran (2003: 852) submits that “even if the climate in which a decision-making group functions is exceptionally positive, from time to time, conflicts of various sorts are almost certain to arise.” Similarly, Wagener (2010: 171) argues that during conversation, “speakers select some socially or culturally marked behavior, which might lead the conversation to an open conflict.” Jones (2009: 85) also asserts that “business discourse is inherently conflictual. Doing business consists of discursive practices, through which coherent discourses are espoused and/or enacted. These discourses in turn legitimize positions and strategies, and since they mirror and enact the disparate interests of different parties, they are always in potential or actual conflict. Hence, discursive conflict is characteristic of all business communication.” Handford (2010: 188) echoes Jones’ view by asserting that “business is concerned with problems and decisions, both real and hypothetical. Conflict can arise from perceived problems, and decisions may be made in response to actual or potential problems.”

However, Roloff et al. (2003: 803), Malamed (2010: 199), Eslami (2010: 217), Uso-Juan (2010: 237), and Martinez-Flor (2010: 257) argue that business negotiations, like all other forms of conflict or social interaction, involve disagreement, refusals, requests, suggestions, as well as other speech acts that must always be put in perspective of the cultural context of the participants and situation. Therefore, as Bell (1995: 43, 50) argues, negotiation entails politics, which is the

deliberate use of communication to change outcomes. Marriott (1995: 267) also adds that the political talk that takes place during negotiation must be understood in relation to the underlying political culture of the participants, which brings to surface the evaluative behavior of participants in relation to the cultural and communicative norms of each participant.

Marriott's view is well illustrated by Saito (2011: 1691, 1703) who, in an analysis of the management of confrontation in Japanese, observes that the Japanese society highly values group harmony, and that the Japanese prefer to avoid overt confrontation. Hence, Japanese superiors "skillfully and carefully employ a variety of interactional styles, ranging from direct and aggressive to conciliatory and addressee-oriented approaches, when in confrontational situations." The argument raised by Marriott and Saito above is supported by Clifton & Mieroop (2010: 2450) who note that "negotiation involves persuasion, and within this discursive framework, persuasion is locally constructed in interaction. It is not a matter of changing the other participants' mental states. Rather, in discursive terms, it is a question of getting to yes."

Indeed, Virtanen & Halmari (2005: 3) contend that all language use can in a sense be regarded as persuasive, and that persuasion has intrigued researchers since antiquity; yet, it is a topic which continues to have immense relevance in all human interaction. A similar view is also raised by Wagener (2010: 178) and Malamed (2010: 201) who contend that cooperation still remains a fundamental component of interaction and is therefore a vital process, especially in discordant conversations. "If any speaker needs or wants to argue about something or triggers a conflict, he still needs the presence of an enemy, whose main pragmatic quality is to be an interactional partner. Individuals cannot argue about something alone."

2.5.3 Interpersonal creativity in business meetings, negotiation and conflict

As I have highlighted in subsections 2.5.1 and 2.5.2, the discourse of business meetings is indeed a form of negotiation, and negotiations entail conflict. However Wagener (2010: 179) observes that "while speakers may disagree on a conversational topic, a relationship, a nonverbal utterance or a factual or conceptual interpretation, they are still walking on the same path", and, as Gouran (2003: 835) adds, "a decision will ultimately be made, because decision-making is an activity in which individuals and groups engage numerous significant times virtually every day." So, like

Wagener (2010: 191) and Malamed (2010: 214) argue, “discordant interactions must not necessarily be labeled as unhealthy communicational situations.”

Instead, the solution lies in identifying and implementing what Henry (as cited in Handford 2010: 186) calls “creative problem-solving and decision-making strategies” or what Tannen (2007: 1, 32) calls “involvement strategies.” As Handford (2010: 185-6) notes, although creativity “is not always a word that springs to mind when thinking about work or business,” if “we are to accept that business meetings are often concerned with discussing, preventing, and sometimes offering solutions to and solving real and hypothetical problems,” there is need to appreciate that “creativity is central to success in business,” and as Tannen (2007: 1) adds, creative strategies “reflect and simultaneously create interpersonal involvement.” Indeed de Bono and Henry (as cited in Handford 2010: 185-6) observe that “creativity is used to solve problems and resolve conflicts. Any situations that require thinking demand creativity; and to solve problems effectively you need flexibility to use both imaginative and evaluative thought.”

In the context of business meetings, Handford (2010: 185-200) suggests that creativity can be expressed through the use of “stylistically or culturally significant interpersonal items” like metaphors, idioms, metonymy and hyperbole which are “inherently evaluative” and which help “to construct the overall process of creative problem-solving through indexing specific discursive practices.” Tannen (2007: 2) adds that creativity in problem-solving is like the “sound or music of language, by means of which hearers and readers are rhythmically involved, and at the same time involved by participating in the making of meaning.” Tannen (2007: 37) further argues that “no text of any kind would be comprehensible without considerable shared context and background, which makes the discourse effective because the more work readers or hearers do to supply meaning, the deeper their understanding and the greater their sense of involvement with both text and author.” Levin (as cited in Tannen 2007: 36) also adds that through creativity, “one says what one is thinking but encases it in a stylish frame.”

In light of the foregoing argument, Friedrich (as cited in Tannen 2007: 38) observes that “the metaphor is only one kind of analogy and part of a much larger context of analogical devices or tropes, including irony and proverb,” among others, which are so pervasive in language that

“even a single word in context involves a plurality of tropes.” In this respect, Kovecses (2010: 4) defines metaphor as “understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain. For example, we think and talk about life in terms of journeys, about arguments in terms of war, about love in terms of journeys, about theories in terms of buildings, about ideas in terms of food, about social organizations in terms of plants.” Gibbs and Gerrig (as cited in Handford 2010: 212) add that “a metaphor is used to foster intimacy between interlocutors; as understanding metaphor relies more heavily on shared mutual knowledge or conversational common ground than understanding literal knowledge, the function of metaphor is to highlight this common ground.” However, Handford (2010: 214) observes that “while there is evidence to support the position that idioms are markers of convergence, the opposite is also seen to hold in meetings featuring conflict and disagreement.”

Another linguistic choice that demonstrates interpersonal creativity in interactive discourse is repetition, which, according to Rieger and Stiver (as cited in Tannen 2007: 16), is a strategy by which speakers “continue their hold on the floor, either to gain planning time or to discourage another speaker from taking the floor, or to indicate that the other speaker should change the focus of the conversation.” Indeed, Tannen (2007: 25) argues that “repetition, dialogue, and imagery work along with other linguistic and nonlinguistic strategies to create involvement,” and that such strategies are “spontaneous and pervasive in conversation because they reflect and create interpersonal involvement,” since “conversational involvement is the basis of all linguistic understanding.” Gumperz (as cited in Tannen 2007: 25) also adds that “once involved in conversation, both speaker and hearer must actively respond to what transpires by signaling involvement, either directly through words or indirectly through gestures or similar nonverbal signals.”

Tannen (2007: 58-63) further contends that “by facilitating production, comprehension, connection, and interaction” in discourse, repetition serves “an over-arching purpose of creating interpersonal involvement, giving talk a character of familiarity, making the discourse sound right; demonstrating that repetition is pervasive, functional and often automatic.”

Tannen (2007: 32, 40) also identifies narrative as another linguistic strategy of enhancing involvement of participants in interactive discourse. Cortazzi & Jin (2000: 111) suggest that “narrative reflects culture, and at the same time constitutes culture.” In this respect, Labov (as cited in Patterson 2008: 33) defines narrative as one method of “recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which actually occurred.” But Polanyi (as cited in Patterson 2008: 33) points out that Labov’s definition of narrative is a “culturally-specific conceptualization of narrative,” noting that “non-Indo-European stories may be structured so that later actions, states or events precede earlier ones. In addition some narrative traditions organize stories around place, or around the hierarchy of ranks of the characters or their relationship to the speaker, rather than around time.” Polanyi’s view is of particular interest in the current study because it allows a flexible extension of the frontiers of the analysis of the use of narratives to demonstrate evaluation in Luganda, which is a non-Indo-European language.

According to Patterson (2008: 37), narratives are texts which bring “stories of personal experience into being by means of the first person oral narration of past, present, future or imaginary experience,” and as Squire (2008: 43) adds, “narratives are the means of human sense-making.” Coates, Holmes and Marra (as cited in Mullany 2009: 158) also argue that through story-telling “we create and re-create our identities and experiment with possible selves, and it is precisely in narratives that people’s individuality is most clearly expressed.” The Personal Narratives Group (as cited in Patterson 2008: 33) also contend that narratives “do not reveal the past, neither are they open to proof but through interpretation they reveal truths about narrators’ experiences and how they want to be understood.”

Cortazzi & Jin (2000: 103) argue that conversation stories are “highly structured linguistic productions and a teller’s evaluation of the meaning of such a story seems to be part of this structure, implying that judgments about whether a stretch of talk reporting personal experience is a narrative or not depend on whether the speaker uses evaluation.” However, Cortazzi & Jin caution that this view leaves out the “relationship between teller and listener, and that the view does not fully consider features of narrative performance or culture, and that the view does not pay sufficient attention to context. So, evaluation is not only in the narrative itself. Analytical

considerations need to be broadened out to take into account how evaluation is negotiated between speaker and hearers.”

The conceptual controversies surrounding the notion of narrative notwithstanding, Rosen and Bruner (as cited in Tannen 2007: 41) assert that the “emotional and meaning-making power in all discourse derives from personal narrative,” and that the narrative mode of thinking is an important component of cognitive science because it “strives to put its timeless miracles into the particulars of experience, and to locate the experience in time and place.” Tannen summarizes the discussion on narrative by arguing that “stories are a different order of discourse genre than the other strategies, because stories make use of all the other strategies; and yet telling a story in conversation can itself be an involvement strategy.”

Handford (2010: 214) summarizes the role of narratives, repetition, proverbs, metaphors and idioms, as well as other tropes in creative problem-solving in business meetings by asserting that these involvement strategies “index evaluative discursive practices, enabling speakers to propose, negotiate and agree on action plans.” This way, as Tannen (2007: 38-42) argues, the working of involvement strategies is “more the norm than the exception in language, because most meaning is communicated in language not by the logical processes of induction and deduction but by abduction – the lateral extension of abstract components of description,” and for that matter all the involvement strategies work “to communicate meaning and to persuade by creating involvement; all involvement strategies are speakers’ ways of shaping what they are talking or writing about; they are evaluative; they contribute to the point of the discourse, presenting the subject of discourse in a way that shapes how the hearer or reader will view it; they contribute to the metamessage, the level on which a speaker’s relationships to the subject of talk and to the other participants in talk are negotiated.”

Bousfield (2008: 1) concludes that “as non-marginal human linguistic phenomena within certain types of discourse the concepts of conflictive illocutions within interaction are therefore worthy of study, much as research on social interactions has tended to concentrate on collaborative or supportive illocutions.” Marriott (1995: 247, 267) also adds that “although intercultural communication problems have been studied for a variety of reasons, there has been relatively

little study to date of negotiation interaction in naturally-occurring situations. More in-depth work is needed on native speaker negotiation encounters which, in turn, will allow contrastive patterns to be identified in international negotiations.”

2.6 Analyzing the genre of business meetings

2.6.1 What is genre?

In the previous section (2.5) I have identified meetings as a specific interactive activity of problem-solving, negotiation and decision-making. The analysis of such an activity requires an understanding of language as a professional and social practice. Bhatia (2004: 189) argues that analysis of discourse in a situated interactive activity can only be put in a proper perspective by appreciating that “language is power, and the power of language is the power of genre. Thus the power of genre is to not only construct, use, interpret and exploit genres, but also to innovate novel generic forms.” In section 2.6, I discuss the discourse of business meetings as a ‘specific-situated-professional-use-of-language’. Such a use of language is called *genre*, which, according to Mayes (2003: 18), is a “typified communicative action associated with recurrent situations.”

According to Bhatia (1993: 13), *genre* is any “recognizable communicative event characterized by a set of communicative purposes identified and mutually understood by the members of the professional community in which it regularly occurs.” Henry & Roseberry (1998: 121) argue that genre can also be regarded as “a text, either spoken or written, that serves a particular purpose in a society and is composed of a series of segments, called *moves*.” As such, Martin (1997: 6) explains that “genre is concerned with systems of social processes, where the principles for relating social processes to each other have to do with texture – the ways in which field, mode, and tenor variables are phased together in a text. Genre accounts for the relations among social processes in holistic terms, with a special focus on the stages through which texts unfold.” Gotti (2005: 117) also adds that the considerable codification of genres increases semantic-conceptual coherence and transparency, as signaled by textual organization.”

On the other hand, Hausendorf & Bora (2006a: 8) contend that while a *discourse* is related to the ways of representing the social world from different perspectives, a *genre* refers to the ways of acting and interacting with other people according to socially recognizable ways of speaking and

writing.” Yotsukura (2003: 64) adds that “an individual’s communicative competence is commensurate with his/her knowledge of speech genres and the work of performing genres is done by the speakers themselves.” Bhatia (2004: 186) also adds that “it is through genres that professional objectives are achieved, and it is through shared generic knowledge that professional solidarity is maintained.” Thus, like Handford (2010: 60) concludes, “genres allow participants to attend to relationships and to transact appointed or negotiable goods, services or information.”

Bhatia (2004: 186) goes ahead to explain that “genres, like other forms of discourse, are socially constructed and even more intimately controlled by social practices. Genres are the media through which members of professional or academic communities communicate with each other. The consensus is arrived at and negotiated through professional conversations and practices amongst the informed and practicing members of a professional community. Genres, in other words, are socially authorized through conventions, which, in turn, are embedded in the discursive practices of members of specific disciplinary cultures. The discursive practices reflect not only conventions used by disciplinary communities, but also social conventions, including social changes, social institutions and social knowledge.”

While Swales (as cited in Virtanen & Halmari 2005: 8) defines genre as “classes of communicative events with sets of communicative purposes, that are dynamic, intentional and audience-oriented,” Virtanen & Halmari (2005: 8) opine that genre can also be defined in terms of its “structure, form, function, and meaning.” In this respect, Mayes (2003: 18) submits that “genre is similar to such notions as *schema*, *frame*, *prototype*, *speech activity*, which notions are all based on the idea that our ability to interpret the actions of others and act appropriately in a given situation is based on previous experience with situations that are perceived as similar. Genres have schematic aspects – i.e. aspects that are predictable based on experience with typified patterns. Genres also have emergent aspects – i.e. aspects that change as interaction occurs. Genres are also constituted and reconstituted by actors’ actions. Plus, genres are continuous and intertextual. And finally, genres are part of a system, which means that they do not occur in isolation.”

Tannen (2007: 8-9) concurs with Mayes by observing that all modern cultural life, through which professional discursive interaction is expressed, is embedded in intertextuality, which is the expression of “notions of relationality, interconnectedness and interdependence in discourse,” in which case “meaning in language results from a complex of relationships linking current to prior instances of language.” However, Scollon (as cited in Tannen 2007: 12) cautions that recent works on intertextuality have tended “to lose sight of people in their focus on texts,” and yet “language, whether spoken or written, is seen as a mediational means by which actions are undertaken, not the action in itself.” Jakobson (as cited in Tannen 2007: 101) also argues that utterances do not occur in isolation. They echo each other in a “tenacious array of cohesive grammatical forms and semantic values,” and intertwine in a “network of multifarious compelling affinities.” Therefore, as Tannen (2007: 101) concludes, one cannot understand the “full meaning of any conversational utterance without considering its relation to other utterances – both synchronically, in its discourse environment, and diachronically, in prior text.”

2.6.2 What does genre analysis entail?

Bhatia (1993: xiii) observes that “in taking linguistic analysis from description to explanation, genre analysis brings significant enrichment to it. Genre analysis takes as its key characteristic feature the communicative purpose that gives a particular text-genre its meaningful and yet typical cognitive structure. The analyst takes on the role of detective, in order to unravel the mysteries of the artifact under consideration and to emphasize the importance of motive as a clue to the nature of the artifact, thus introducing a kind of excitement rarely experienced in other approaches to linguistic analysis.” Tessuto (2006: 291-2) concurs with Bhatia by arguing that “the way in which genres behave in professional and institutional settings has led genre to be analyzed in terms of typification of rhetorical action, regularities of staged, goal-oriented social processes, or a set of communicative purposes. Although it is true that such analyses lay emphasis on language use in conventionalized communicative and rhetorical contexts, they account for genre variations within disciplinary domains and distinct communicative contexts.”

But Handford (2010: 60) cautions that “attempting to tie meetings down to a purely formal or deterministic description will be flawed. This is because participants constantly test the boundaries of the activity they are involved in, both within and across meetings.” However, for

purposes of genre analysis, a business meeting features the following elements; i) a set of participants, ranging from dyadic to multiparty, ii) evidence of an agenda or topic, iii) a purpose, reason or goal for the meeting, iv) specific, constrained turn-taking modes, v) the influence of institutional, professional or national culture, vi) recognizable beginnings and endings, and, vii) degrees of intertextuality.”

Bhatia (1993: 18; 1999: 21) proposes that the “analysis of genre emphasizes, among other things, that text by itself is not a complete object possessing meaning on its own. It is an ongoing process of negotiation in the context of issues like social roles, group purposes, professional and organizational preferences and prerequisites, and even cultural constraints.” Henry & Roseberry (1998: 121) add that “the aim of genre analysis is to identify how the rhetorical moves are organized in a given genre, identify the linguistic features chosen by participants to realize their communicative purpose, and explain these choices in terms of the social and psychological contexts.” Bhatia (2004: 20) and Bhatia & Gotti (2006: 9) argue further that discourse as genre extends the analysis beyond the textual product to incorporate context in a broader sense to account for not only the way text is constructed, but also for the way it is often interpreted, used and exploited in specific institutional or professional contexts to achieve specific disciplinary goals. Thus, genre knowledge that makes sense of the text at this level includes, in addition to textual knowledge, the awareness and understanding of the shared practices of professional and discourse communities.

Bhatia (2004: 112) proceeds to assert that “in genre theory, there has often been an emphasis on the analysis of linguistic resources, with little attempt to integrate the socio-cognitive factors that contribute to the act of genre construction, interpretation, use and exploitation to achieve non-linguistic ends in real life professional contexts. One of the consequences of this lack of attention to the social and cognitive aspects of genre has been that genre theory continues to be weak on the processes and procedures of genre participation. For this reason, generic integrity is important in enhancing our understanding of the role and function of genres in everyday activities that we are all engaged in not only through language, but also through other semiotic means.”

Whereas Bhatia (2004: 112) maintains that “genres operate within their own territorial boundaries”, Mayes (2003: 61), Bhatia & Gotti (2006: 9), as well as Gillaerts & Shaw (2006: 9) argue that “boundaries are fluid between genres, and in the context of present-day interdisciplinary and dynamic world of work, as well as the permanent need for innovation, it is often difficult to keep the individual generic boundaries intact. The focus of genre analysis has consequently shifted to more complex and dynamic aspects of discourse construction and interpretation.”

Interestingly, Bhatia (2004: 155) seems to change his earlier position on the foregoing argument by asserting that “analysts now have to account for not only the use of textual genres, but also the way they influence and are in turn influenced by the recipients of discourse, including their attitudes, opinions, decisions and identities.” Bhatia (2004: 188) reaffirms his new position by arguing that “even in the case of business communities, we often find different organizations displaying their unique identities through their organizational preferences in the matters of their choice of generic forms.”

Bhatia (2004: 160) further confirms his new position by concluding that a “comprehensive investigation of genres in the real world of discourse, should not only cover the textual space that accounts for the use of text-internal features of language use, but it should also explore professional space that accounts for participant relationships, and their contributions to the process of genre construction, interpretation, use and exploitation. The analysis often goes further to investigate the social space in an attempt to account for the influence of broad social actions in creating and sustaining social identities, social structures and the functioning of social institutions through discursive practices. Such a critical look at language use is crucial to our understanding of social and institutional practices in a broader framework of language and social action.”

Virtanen & Halmari (2005: 10) confirm that “genres are flexible enough to allow interlocutors to profit from them in particular communication situations, in view of their communicative goals; which suggests that genres can, without losing their identity, vary from context to context, thus helping interlocutors to construct those very contexts. Genres also vary through time and

culture.” For example, Gotti (2009: 45) observes that “the recent strong moves towards globalization have implied relevant consequences not only in cultural and professional terms but also in the discursive practices adopted. In recent years, business and marketing genres have become increasingly versatile and creative in order to meet the double requirement of promoting globally the sale of products and services, remaining sensitive to local socio-political as well as cultural constraints.”

Gillaerts (2006: 23) concludes that the observation made by Gotti illustrates that “genre theory has paved the way for a better understanding of the intrinsic social life that texts commonly have. This understanding brings to surface the complex interactions between text and community.” However, Virtanen & Halmari (2005: 13) caution that in the discussion of genre, “it is necessary to separate two levels of analysis: genres as abstractions and genres as concrete realizations of those abstractions. Their relationship needs, however, to be seen as a two-way one, in line with the relation of genres to their contexts. In other words, the actual texts realizing the virtual genres manifest aggregates of concrete linguistic features which we can study.”

2.7 Appraisal and evaluation in relation to the discourse of participatory processes

2.7.1 What is evaluation?

As already noted, genre analysis does not only account for use of textual genres, but also the way the genres influence and are in turn influenced by the recipients of discourse, including participants’ attitudes, opinions, decisions and identities. Hyland & Tse (2009: 703) add that “opinion-related meanings are a ubiquitous feature of human interaction.” The act of participants in discourse exercising attitude and opinion towards other discourse participants and situational variables is called *evaluation*, which, according to Hyland & Tse (2009: 703) is “an umbrella term for the expression of the speaker or writer’s attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about entities or propositions that he or she is talking about.” Indeed Handford (2010: 187) argues that “evaluation is a constant in many areas of institutional discourse. It is intrinsic to all stages of problem-solving.”

However, like the notion of genre, evaluation has been defined and applied in a variety of ways within and across disciplines. Indeed, evaluation has been studied across the disciplines of

sociolinguistics, discourse analysis, pragmatics, linguistic anthropology, and social psychology, affirming Thompson and Hunston's (2000: 22) observation that "one of the reasons why there are so many different terminologies in the area of evaluation is that the act of evaluating something can be done along several different parameters." As Gales (2010: 48) observes, interest in the study of the notion of evaluation has increased tremendously within the past few decades, yet reviewing literature on the notion is not easy for two main reasons – "first, a wide variety of labels have been used to define, broadly or more narrowly, the same concept, making generalizability of the concept within and across disciplines difficult at best; second, the three main labels in use, 'appraisal', 'evaluation', and 'stance', have been theoretically operationalized in varying ways, making it difficult to create a uniform understanding of the phenomenon."

Therefore, the analysis of evaluation in the Luganda discourse of participatory community development and decision-making processes will provide a new evaluation-based genre that contributes to the growing study of evaluation as it is realized through language. Like Gales (2010: 48) observes, the analysis of the Luganda corpus "will shed light on the ways in which our socially-constructed understanding of language and language practices is reflected in its actual use, and it will offer insight into new ways in which markers of evaluation function based on the socially-situated context in which they are construed." So, section 2.7 of this chapter locates my study of evaluation within the broader literature on the language of appraisal, espousing for a multi-perspective approach to the analysis of discourse.

According to Bednarek and Biber et al. (as cited in Gales 2010: 52), evaluation is defined as a speaker or writer's culturally-organized personal feelings, attitudes, value judgments, or assessments about a theme, recipient, or proposition being presented. Gales (2010: 69) further adds that evaluation, as it is ultimately manifested in language, "is not only ubiquitous, but it is also a rich interpersonal resource of socially- and culturally-shaped evaluation, affect, commitment, and positioning utilized between ideologically-situated individuals within a shared semiotic space." On the other hand, Bednarek (2010: 16) as well as Thompson & Hunston (2000: 6) submit that evaluation is concerned with the expression of speaker/writer opinions, and is worthy of attention because it fulfills three important functions: "expressing speaker/writer

opinions that reflect their value systems and those of their community, constructing relationships between speakers and readers, and organizing text.”

2.7.2a How does evaluation manifest itself?

Bednarek (2010: 18) argues that “language can express evaluative meanings along semantic lines such as certainty, obligation and desirability. These semantic dimensions or evaluative parameters are the standards, norms, and values according to which we evaluate something through language. For example, speakers and writers can evaluate situations as good, bad, expected or unexpected, important or unimportant, and so on.” However, in light of Bednarek’s argument, Goodwin & Goodwin (2006: 95) ask a pertinent question: “What consequences does the fact that a speaker doesn’t just describe something, but also does an assessment of it, have for how that talk is to be heard and dealt with by recipients?” Bednarek (2009a: 170) answers the question by noting that the importance of evaluation becomes apparent when considering that “it is difficult if not impossible for human beings to speak with a completely objective voice, not to impose evaluations on one’s utterance, and not to communicate value judgments.”

Bednarek (2009a: 147) explains further that in evaluating, through language, writers/speakers “appeal to a number of evaluative standards, norms or dimensions, and in so doing, they can use evaluative language that makes explicit reference to these evaluative dimensions. Hence, evaluation can be a cognitive operation as well as a linguistic expression of speaker/writer opinion.” Culler (as cited in Patterson 2008: 32), while discussing the issue of evaluation in narratives, illustrates Bednarek’s argument by noting that “a clause that appears to be a simple narrative clause referring to an event is not necessarily present in the text just because it is what happened – for all narration is highly selective – but may have been selected for inclusion because it supports the point of the narrative. Its primary function may, therefore, be evaluative rather than referential.”

Duranti (1997: 214) argues that “not only do certain expressions require an understanding of the surrounding world for their interpretation; they also actively shape such a surrounding world, especially in terms of social identities. The use of certain expressions provides more than the information necessary to identify the referent in discourse. They reveal the stance a speaker is

taking vis-à-vis a given character in a discourse.” After all, as Bednarek (2008: 2) argues, ‘our emotions and how we talk about them are an essential part of what makes us all human. Even if animals may also have emotional experiences, humans can reasonably be regarded as the most emotional of all sentient beings. Therefore, the study of human discourse about emotion probes one of the most fundamental human characteristics.’ Goffman (as cited in Mayes 2003: 60) uses the term ‘footing’ to refer to the “alignment that conversational participants take with respect to one another” arguing further that “changes in footing are reflected in the way an utterance is produced or received.”

Duranti, Bednarek and Goffman imply that during interactive discourse, participants do not only engage in discussing the topic at hand, they also evaluate each other as well as other phenomena in the context of the interaction. Pomerantz (2006: 45-6) also articulates a similar view by contending that “when persons partake in social activities, they routinely make assessments. Participating in an event and assessing that event are related enterprises. Although assessments may be seen as products of participation in social activities, the proffering of them is part and parcel of participating in such activities.” Goodwin & Goodwin (2006: 92) add that “one activity, which both speakers and recipients perform within the turn at talk is evaluating in some fashion persons and events being described within the talk.”

For example, Bednarek (2008: 211-4), while discussing the functions of emotion terms, contends that in the context of story-telling, emotion terms are employed by narrators to describe the emotive reaction of characters (including the speaker) in a narrative or by hearers to provide an evaluative comment on it. In this respect, emotion terms belong to the evaluative resources that story tellers use to show the point of a story or which story recipients employ to show appreciation of story content or narrative performance, often providing explanations for behavior or justifications of decisions.

2.7.2b Evaluation and the construction of identities

Building on the manifestations of evaluation that emerge in subsection 2.7.1a above, and picking up the idea of identity, which I introduced earlier in subsection 2.3.2, I will now extend the discussion to capture the notion of constructing identities through stance in interactive discourse.

I must however, clarify that this study does not intend to engage in the debate about the definitions and/or meanings of the concept of identity, which debate is, in any case, sufficiently discussed by Grad & Martin Rojo (2008: 3-22) and Wenger (1998: 143-221). Rather, with due cognizance of the multiplicity of meanings and uses of the concept of identity, I discuss the discursive construction of identity in terms of the way identity construction corresponds to an activity of representation or how, according to Grad & Martin Rojo (2008: 6), people project themselves or how they are projected in the interactional process.

Harrison (as cited in Omoniyi 2009: 11) submits that “identity is generated through culture – especially language – and it can invest itself in various meanings.” Omoniyi & White (2009: 2) and Suleiman (2009: 50) add that language is now seen to be playing a central role in both interpreting and proclaiming identity, whence “identity is not fixed; it is constructed within established contexts and may vary from one context to another; the contexts are moderated and defined by intervening social variables and expressed through language; identity is a salient factor in every communicative context whether given prominence or not; identity informs social relationships and therefore also informs the communicative exchanges that characterize them.” Indeed, Bauman (as cited in Block 2009: 34) contends that “identity is today’s talk of the town and the most commonly played game in town,” where, according to Drew & Curl (2008: 22), “people construct, establish, reproduce and negotiate their identities, roles and relationships in conversational interaction.”

Schiffrin (2001: 54) also argues that the production of coherent discourse is “an interactive process that requires speakers to draw upon several different types of communicative knowledge, where they display personal and social identities, to convey attitudes and perform actions, as well as to negotiate relationships between self and others.” Placintar (2010: 486) puts Schiffrin’s argument in context by observing that “in work-related communicative situations, where participants are mainly concerned with the achievement of specific tasks, the transactional function of language is prevalent. Maintenance of relationships through talk at work can be a goal in itself and can help in the achievement of transactional goals. Thus ‘face’ may be a public property granted to individuals by other people’s judgment and perception of their interactional behavior, as well as a private property that intrinsically belongs to the self.”

Mead (as cited in Norris 2008: 132) also notes that “the self is not something that exists first and then enters into relationship with others, but it is, so to speak, an eddy in the social current and so still a part of that current.” Mead’s idea is built upon the notion of interaction as evolving from the awareness of the participants’ inter-subjective reality in the context of their situated identities. In other words, according to Smith & Bekerman (2011: 1678), “those imbued with power do not simply exert a causal influence over what kind of interaction takes place. It is the awareness of each other’s positions that drives the sequential development of the argument and its structure.” Bhatia (2004: 20) also argues that discourse as social practice takes the “interaction between discourse and context much further in the direction of broader social context, where the focus shifts from the textual output to the features of context, such as the changing identities of the participants.”

Certainly, like Norris (2008: 134) observes, “identity elements are attributed to social actors by others and are constructed by social actors themselves. Further more, identity construction is shaped by larger societal norms that are constructed and re-constructed on every level of interaction from personal and family interaction to interactions in organizations and public spheres. Such normative prescriptions are taken on by a social actor when constructing their personal identity and the structures are enforced and re-enforced through limited choices given in the world. Ultimately, identity elements are not constructed by a single social actor, but are always constructed by a participant in unison with other social actors and the environment.”

Bargiela-Chiappini et al. (2007: 63) put the foregoing argument in the context of participatory events by asserting that “there are several factors which influence the linguistic strategies that participants use to perform their identities at meetings,” and, as Omoniyi & White (2009: 3) conclude, “identity is fluid and people negotiate between several identity categories or selves in different moments of identification.”

For example, while discussing the issue of constructing identities in narratives, Phoenix (2008: 67) notes that “participants may construct themselves as having particular philosophies and habitual ways of dealing with the world that constitute a projection of identity or that signal their

preoccupations.” Gready (2008: 137) also adds that “self narration allows the narrator to relive, control, transform, re-imagine events, to reclaim and construct chosen identities, social interactions and communities.” Also Tannen (2007: 12), while discussing the role of intertextuality in creating identity, concludes that “the relationship of text to text, language to language, is not a direct relation but is always mediated by people’s actions as well as through material objects of the world.” In other words, as Scollon (as cited in Tannen 2007: 12) puts it, discourse is not “a text making dialogical reference to a prior text” but rather “a person using text to appropriate both prior texts and prior human actions with those texts.”

2.7.3a The analysis of identity and other aspects of evaluation in the discourse of participatory events

Wenger (as cited in Block 2009: 38) couches the notion of identity construction in the relationship between social participation and communities of practice where social participation refers “not just to local events of engagement in certain activities with certain people, but to a more encompassing process of being active participants in the *practices* of social communities and constructing identities in relation to these communities.” Cameron (2001: 170) concludes the discussion on the construction of identities in interactive discourse by noting that “whatever else we do with words, when we speak we are always telling our listeners something about ourselves. Therefore, language-using is an act of identity. Traditionally, this axiom was most often taken to imply that the way language users speak reflects or marks the identities that the speakers already have. But this view of identity and its relationship to language has increasingly been challenged. The current position is that a person’s identity is not something fixed, stable and unitary that they acquire early in life and possess forever afterwards. Rather, identity is shifting and multiple, something people are continually constructing and reconstructing in their encounters with each other and the world.”

Block (2009: 38) affirms Wenger and Cameron’s view by opining that identity “is a process and not an essentialized fixed product; it is about the constant and ongoing positioning of individuals in interactions with others.” Therefore, as Skillington (2006: 136-7) asserts, there is need to study “publicly manifested constructions of self and ‘other’ in discourse practice. An actor’s strategic use of frames proves to be a vital means through which *I*, *we*, and *they* positioning

devices are used not only to communicate argumentative differences between actors, but also reference components of wider cultural models. In the process, deeper schisms, like political and cultural differences come to be expressed through acts of social positioning. Through the process of framing, actors' symbolic efforts to create various public 'personas' of the self become embroiled in a series of correspondences with wider cultural systems of knowledge. An actor's social performance in interactive discourse reflects their attempt to impress upon others and often the actor themselves that their character is what they claim, that their actions mean what they intend, and that their definition of the situation transparently reflects *the obvious*."

Hausendorf & Bora (2006a: 8) observe that "it is in the nature of social positioning that verbal action in terms of speech plays a prominent role whenever images of self and others are set in relation to each other. *Styles* and *voices* are related to the ways of identifying self and others according to social and institutional identities. For example, while discussing the construction of social identity in Arab-Jewish group encounters, Smith & Bekerman (2011: 1675) observe that "the development of the argument and the corresponding gaps in talk are intricately bound up with the construction of the social roles and the orientation of participants to each other. Speakers construct their identities by careful choice of the appropriate linguistic features that will convey the specific social information that identifies them as part of a particular speech community."

Thus, from such a discursive perspective, Clifton & Mieroop (2010: 2449) contend that "identity in talk should not primarily be seen as a *true* reflection of the inner self, but it originates from the social realm and is an *in situ* members' accomplishment which is dialogically achieved in interaction. Therefore, identity is indexical and occasioned, and it carries with it associated features and characteristics, which are made relevant when participants orient to particular identities. Consequently, claiming an identity for oneself or projecting an identity onto another only has sense in the local context in which it occurs. From this perspective, identities can be worked up or worked down according to the situation, they can be used subversively and they can be projected on to others."

But Block (2009: 35) cautions that identity, “as an ongoing conflictive struggle in which individuals constantly attempt to maintain a sense of balance, often leads to feelings of ambivalence, where individuals are at the crossroads of the past, the present, and future; constantly reconciling their current sense of self and their accumulated past, with a view to dealing with what awaits them in the future; with the uncertainty of feeling a part of activities or collectives of individuals and feeling apart from them; involving the conflicting feelings of love and hate; feelings of affirmation and negation; tensions between self and other, desire and lack, life and death, consciousness and unconsciousness, nearness and farness.”

However, Smith & Bekerman (2011: 1676) argue further that “it is through conversation that we present ourselves to the listener who, when taking his turn, confirms or questions our views. The subjective reality of each participant in conversation is checked out in this way against the subjective reality of his/her interlocutors. The development of our interaction indexes our identities, which exist and are reconstructed only in unison with other participants. Therefore, constructing an identity consists of negotiating the meanings of our experience of membership in communities. So, by examining the turn-by-turn development of interaction and all of its subtleties, we can see how participants collaborate in order to achieve meaningful communication and construct their social worlds.”

According to Liddicoat (2009: 116) the view espoused by Smith and Bekerman implies that “in communication, *getting the message across* is only one element of what is involved in language use. Speakers are constantly invoking, interpreting and confirming social relationships through talk. Language therefore is fundamental in creating the social context in which language itself is used and constructs the ways in which participants understand the social activity in which they are engaged. Where participants share the same language and underlying cultural assumptions the social dimension of communication is interpreted on the basis of shared perceptions of the role of language in creating the social world.” Liddicoat’s argument helps to anchor the justification for examining identity construction, as well as other aspects of stance and appraisal in the discourse of community development meetings, which were conducted in Luganda. The participants at the meetings share a language and so contributions and counter-contributions are based on shared perceptions of the world.

Grad & Martin Rojo (2008: 8) anchor the link between Liddicoat's argument and the current study by asserting that through the analysis of what Delli Carpini et al. (as cited in Roncoli et al. 2011: 128) call 'discursive participation', we are able to see "how personal and social identities are shaped in social interactions, and how they are created, reproduced, negotiated, imposed, or even resisted through discourse." The foregoing argument is an amplification of Goffman's (as cited in Grad & Martin Rojo 2008: 7) observation that "changes in purpose, context, and participant role are common in interaction, and these changes are signaled in subtle ways, by shifts in intonation, timing, rhythm, lexical, grammatical and code or register choices," in which case, as Grad & Martin Rojo (2008: 7) argue, the analysis of discourse will "focus precisely on how language varieties and linguistic resources provide a repertoire that allows speakers to signal changing stances."

2.7.3b A case for the appraisal framework of analyzing evaluation

The definitions and theoretical perspectives of the notion of evaluation, which I highlight in subsections 2.7.1 – 2.7.3a, contribute to our understanding of evaluation, which, according to Bednarek (2008: 214), is that "research into appraisal and humor is still in its infancy." Nevertheless, Bednarek (2009a: 169) argues that "theories of evaluation in linguistics and theories of appraisals and emotions in psychology both suggest that different evaluative dimensions are at play when psychological and speaking entities evaluate the world cognitively and linguistically." Consequently, like Lerner (2006: 64) observes, "syntactic structures and their constituent boundaries are oriented to and analyzed by participants. However, because participants to a conversation must analyze every syntactic structure both within its course and within its context, the components of participants' syntax must be described within these constraints and with the situated interests of the participants in mind." Bhatia (2004: 20) also adds that the analysis goes further to investigate the social space in an attempt to "account for the influence of broad social actions in creating and sustaining social identities and social structures."

However, Goodwin & Goodwin (2006: 120) note that "one interesting thing about assessments is the way in which they integrate a range of phenomena occurring within the turn that are

frequently studied separately. In so far as assessments are achieved through the collaborative action of multiple participants they provide an elementary example of social organization within the boundaries of the turn. In addition, they provide an example of how affect and the display of emotion are organized as interactive phenomena. The study of assessments thus permits analysis in an integrated fashion of a range of phenomena relevant to the organization of language, culture, cognition and emotion in the midst of actual interaction.” Thompson & Hunston (2000: 14) also add that “the advantage of looking at evaluation conceptually is that it does not restrict what can be counted as evaluation.”

But Gales (2010: 44) notes that “what is missing from the various works on evaluation and appraisal is a more multi-faceted functional approach to the analysis of data.” And yet Bednarek (2009a: 169) as well as Gales (2010: 3) argue that evaluation is an extremely difficult, and complex phenomenon that deserves attention from different perspectives. In this context, Gales (2010: 51) asserts that “a combined approach of methods to the study of evaluation helps to approach the analysis from both the form and function of the discourse.” Bednarek (2010: 37) adds that “the actual analysis of evaluative language in discourse should address the question of how evaluation can be identified, and how it can be analyzed.”

White (2002a: 2) suggests that “the appraisal framework provides techniques for the systematic analysis of evaluation and stance as they operate in whole texts and in groupings of texts. It is concerned with the social function of these resources, not simply as the means by which individual speakers/writers express their feelings and take stands, but as the means by which they engage with socially determined value positions and thereby align and dis-align themselves with the social subjects who hold to these positions.” Bednarek (2008: 13) contends that “the classification of the resources of interpersonal meaning by the appraisal theory “lends itself in particular to discourse analytical purposes. Its focus is on language in its social function, and it is based on the analysis of naturally occurring discourse.”

White (2002b: 1) further argues that “within this context, there is accounting for the interpersonal functionality and aspects of language by which participants construct identities/personae or positions for themselves and other participants. The appraisal theory is

concerned with the linguistic resources by which texts/speakers come to express, negotiate and naturalize particular inter-subjective and ultimately ideological positions. Within this broad scope, the theory is concerned more particularly with the language of evaluation, attitude and emotion, and with a set of resources which explicitly position a text's proposals and propositions interpersonally. The theory is concerned with those meanings which vary the terms of the speaker's engagement with their utterances, which vary what is at stake interpersonally both in individual utterances and as the texts unfold cumulatively."

The appraisal theory is a pertinent framework for the analysis of ideological positions in participatory processes like business meetings, which are the subject of investigation in this study. Indeed, Bednarek (2008: 12) argues that even though appraisal theory works within systemic functional linguistics (SFL), it can also be "adopted in a more theory-neutral way to the analysis of language," and as Martin (as cited in Bednarek 2008: 213) adds, appraisal theory "anticipates expansion, with respect to the attitudes available for negotiation, as speakers align and individuate by way of negotiating solidarity relations." The theory proposes three interacting domains of analysis (White 2002b; Martin & White 2005; Bednarek 2008; Bednarek, 2009b):-

(i) **Attitude** – the meanings by which texts/speakers attach value to participants and processes by reference to emotion or culturally-determined value systems. The value attachment can be in form of *affect*, which is the characterization of phenomena by reference to emotion, or *judgment*, which is the evaluation of human behavior with respect to social norms, or *appreciation*, which is the evaluation of objects and products other than human behavior.

(ii) **Engagement** – the linguistic resources which position a text's proposal and propositions inter-subjectively. The analysis of expression of opinions involves identifying linguistic features of probability, usuality, reality, negation, counter-expectation and other modal adjuncts.

(iii) **Graduation** – the values that amplify or tone down other meanings. This domain accounts for the use of intensifiers, amplifiers and/or emphatics by participants in the discourse.

As Bednarek (2008: 14) explains, the **attitude** domain is concerned with evaluations relating to emotion, morality/ethics and aesthetics, consisting of the three sub-systems of *affect*, *judgment* and *appreciation*. while **graduation** and **engagement** concern the modification of the intensity

or force of an utterance (graduation) as well as the degree of speaker commitment towards the utterance (engagement). Although all the three domains are relevant resources in the analysis of spoken discourse, for purposes of this study, I particularly invoke the domain of **attitude** (with its three sub-systems). However, I also occasionally invoke **graduation** and **engagement** resources, as the situation may require within the broad multi-perspective framework of data analysis in the study.

Martin & White (2005: 1) explain that “the analysis of discourse under this framework is concerned with how writers/speakers approve and disapprove, enthuse and abhor, applaud and criticize, and with how they position their readers/listeners to do likewise. It is concerned with the construction by texts of communities of shared feelings and values, and with the linguistic mechanisms for the sharing of emotions, tastes and normative assessments. It is concerned with how writers/speakers construe for themselves particular authorial identities or personae, with how they align or dis-align themselves with actual or potential respondents, and with how they construct for their texts an intended or ideal audience.” Therefore, as White (2002a: 23) adds, “The framework provides an account in which the lexico-grammatical, semantic and the social and contextual aspects of a text are integrated. This integration enables the provision of linguistically based explanations of such social effects as attitudinal positioning, the construction of authorial personae and negotiations of solidarity.”

Bednarek (2008: 13) affirms that appraisal deals with the “expression of interpersonal meanings, including resources for modalising, amplifying, reacting emotionally (affect), judging morally (judgment), and evaluating aesthetically (appreciation).” The case for the appraisal framework is best summarized in Thompson & Hunston’s (2000: 10) argument that “evaluation can be used to build a relationship between writer (speaker) and reader (listener), in particular by assuming shared attitudes, values, and reactions which can be difficult for the reader, as the subordinate in this relationship, to dispute. This relationship does not exist only in terms of the information in the text, however, but in terms of the text itself. In other words, the writer (speaker) does not only tell the reader (listener) ‘this happened, and this is my opinion about it’, but also tells the reader (listener) ‘this is the beginning of our text, this is how the argument fits together, and this is the end of our interaction.’”

2.8 Summary

One of the major issues that emerge from the literature reviewed above is that the majority of studies that have been done on participation and negotiation, discourse and genre analysis, citizenship, appraisal and evaluation, are about the English language, save for a few isolated cases like Japanese and, from Bhatia et al. (2008: 19) other Asian languages. Other such studies explain language use in the more developed parts of the world. Indeed, like Bargiela-Chiappini et al. (2007: 16) observe, societies and languages of the less developed parts of the world, like Africa, have hardly been covered in the theory and application of these academic advances. The analysis of participation and decision-making in Luganda does not only address this gap, it also helps to test specific theoretical models on yet another language situation. Bargiela-Chiappini et al. (2007: 24) elucidate my argument by asserting that “critical discourse analysis purposively engages with the inequalities and asymmetries in social practices and with a commitment to changing it.”

The other major issue that emerges from the literature is that the analysis of participation, genre, and appraisal in discourse requires a multimodal approach, because the issues under investigation require an understanding of the participant practices as well as the context of the text. Norris (2008: 132) espouses this point by arguing that “a multimodal approach can offer opportunity to grasp complex, fluid and ever-changing notions.” Jewitt & Jones (2008: 149) express a similar view by contending that “a multimodal approach opens up new possibilities for understanding the realization of discourses, including those that are produced and re-produced silently.” Bhatia (2008: 166) also adds that “recent work in genre theory indicates a strong shift of emphasis from *text* to *context*, making the analysis increasingly multidisciplinary, and going beyond the textual analysis of linguistic data in order to incorporate a multidimensional and multi-perspective framework for the analysis of genre.”

Similarly, Berkenkotter (2008: 178) argues that “taking a multi-method approach to studying the textual dynamics of genres in their socio-historical contexts provides a lens through which to examine various practices.” Bhatia (2004: 115) further contends that “genre is a dynamic, complex, multifaceted construct, whose analysis needs a multidimensional approach.” Gales (2010: 51) also reaffirms that “a combined approach of methods to the study of evaluation helps

to approach the analysis from both the form and function of the discourse.” Bargiela-Chiappini et al. (2007: 50) conclude by reasserting that “multimodality is all about multiplicative meanings and multimodal discourse is a landmark in the communication environments that characterize the business world today. In other words, they potentially afford business discourse researchers the means to explore the interplay between the various modalities, *including language*, that constitute situated practice as a whole.” Afterall, like Virtanen & Halmari (2005: 10) conclude, “most texts are *multitype* or *multigenre* in character. In other words, texts are blends of several different genres” whose analysis will necessarily require a multi-perspective approach.

In light of the strong defense and illustration of a multimodal approach to the analysis of discourse, I use a multi-perspective theoretical framework (Firth 1995; Martin 1997; White 2002; Bhatia 2004; Martin & White 2005; Hausendorf & Bora 2006; Handford 2010) to investigate a corpus of spoken Luganda discourse from the CRED project (Roncoli et al. 2011) farmer group meetings to analyze patterns of participation, decision-making, and evaluation within the context of rural community development work.

I specifically invoke the *appraisal theory* (Martin 1997; White 2002; Martin & White 2005; Bednarek 2008), *genre analysis theory* (Bhatia 1993; 2004), *citizenship talk analysis* (Hausendorf & Bora 2006), as well as the *business-meeting negotiation approach* (Firth 1995; Handford 2010). The theories are interrelated and they augment each other in exploring linguistic realizations of appraisal and evaluation in spoken discourse of negotiation and decision-making. The multi-perspective approach provides an exhaustive analytical framework in which theories and models supplement each other in exploring the social functions of language.

Finally, the literature cements the need for investigating language in applied contexts, as well as the relevance of this particular study to Africa’s problems of peace, power, democracy, participation, and decision-making. Bhatia et al. (2008: 229) argue that “discourse cannot be studied in isolation from situated social actions that people take with it. On the one hand discourse is seen as consequential in so far as it works to either limit or amplify particular social actions and the social identities that are associated with them. On the other hand discourse is not

automatically privileged as an object of study, but only seen as important in so far as it relates to concrete actions in the world. Discourse is simply one of the many *cultural tools* with which individuals take action and which link them, through these actions, to their socio-cultural environments. Our ability to take everyday concrete social actions such as preparing a meal, buying a cup of coffee, or putting on a condom is inextricably linked to large issues of policy and power.”

Thus Scollon (as cited in Bhatia et al. 2008: 229) concludes that “all instances of concrete, real time social actions represent both the production and reproduction of the structures of our social worlds, structures which either enable us or prevent us from taking subsequent social actions. Thus every action holds within it not just the history of the society in which it is taken, with its structures of domination and power, but also the opportunity to resist these structures of domination and create positive social change.” Tannen (2007: 187) also adds that “the scientific study of language must include the close analysis of particular instances of discourse as they naturally occur in human and linguistic context.”

CHAPTER 3

A MULTI-PERSPECTIVE ANALYSIS OF SUBTLE DECISION-MAKING MEETINGS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents, interprets and analyzes three meetings. The interpretation and analysis of the discussions follows the multi-perspective framework, which I espoused in chapter two, to track the patterns of participation, decision-making, and evaluation within the context of meetings on rural community development work. The multi-perspective framework captures generic information on citizenship and negotiation, as well as appraisal and evaluation resources in the discourse of business meetings. The three meetings in this chapter form a cluster of ‘subtle decision-making’ discussions, where participants reach consensus or take an implicit group position on a matter without anyone announcing formally that the position is a decision. The chapter gives an introductory overview for each of the meetings, provides a multi-perspective template of the appraisal and generic move structure of the meeting, before presenting a detailed analytical characterization of the meeting. The chapter concludes with a summary of the multi-perspective trends that emerge from the ‘subtle decision-making’ cluster of meetings, especially as far as they relate to various themes and perspectives of the literature reviewed in chapter two.

The following typeface conventions, as adopted and modified from Thomson et al. (2008: 70), are employed in the analysis of appraisal resources and generic properties of the meetings:

bold underlining – inscribed (explicit) negative attitude

bold – invoked (implied) negative attitude

italics underlined – inscribed positive attitude

italics – invoked positive attitude

agency FB = turn control, citizenship and/or identity construction

The sub-type of attitude is indicated in square brackets immediately following the relevant span of text.

[j] = judgment (positive/negative assessments of human behavior in terms of social norms)

[ap] = appreciation (positive/negative assessments of objects, artifacts, happenings and states of affairs in terms of systems of aesthetics and other systems of social valuation)

[af] = affect (positive/negative emotional responses); 1st af = first-person or authorial affect;

3rd af = observed affect, i.e. the participant describing the emotional responses of third parties.

3.2 A multi-perspective analysis of meeting 3a (March 9th, 2006)

3.2.1 Introductory overview

The meeting does not have a formal opening, but there is a chairman (Male 1) who, after the weather forecast is played, opens the discussion by stating that he wonders whether crops will grow to maturity, in light of the weather forecast that has been presented. Other members follow by reacting to the chairman's statement and subsequently taking turns to assess the implications of the weather forecast to their farm work. The reaction to the chairman's statement as well as the subsequent spontaneous turns in the discussion (as I will illustrate later) demonstrate the role of *repetition* in enhancing production and comprehension of discourse, as well as facilitating connection and interaction among participants. The functions of *repetition* in this respect support Tannen's (2007:101) contention that one cannot understand the full meaning of a conversational utterance without considering its relation to other utterances, in its discourse environment as well as in prior text.

There is a free expression of a wide range of opinions and turn-taking regarding what and when to plant. Male 1, Male 2, and Male 4 attempt to close the discussion at various stages, but the discussion is re-opened by other members who either persist to conclude an unconcluded topic or raise a new topic all together. Decisions are made in subtle ways, without clear moments of conclusion. Participants negotiate for their positions in the discussion freely. The taking of turns is spontaneous, except in a few instances when a participant tries to moderate the discussion by reflexively inviting fellow participants to take turns. The meeting closes when members have no more contributions to make, and after several turns of various participants expressing agreement to end the discussion. There is no formal announcement from the chair or any other participant

about the end of the discussion. Rather, there is the use of a metaphor – **egenda kutumwa enviiri** (hunger is going to shave off our hair) – to express the view that farmers are bound to have poor harvests because there is likely to be little rain for the crops during the coming rain season. After the citation of the metaphor, participants raise no more opinions to the debate, apart from taking recursive turns to express their concurrence to end the discussion.

3.2.2 Analytical template of appraisal resources and the generic move structure of the meeting

Participant		Luganda	English translation	Cognitive moves
Male 1	001	Ebintu byaffe binaakula ebyo [ap]?	Will our crops grow to maturity [ap]?	Expressing concern for community
Female 1		Simanyi [ap]!	I don't know [ap]!	Expressing despair
Male 1	005	Abamu babadde sibannasiga [ap] <i>nga balinda enkuba</i> [ap]!	Some people had not planted yet [ap]. <i>They were waiting for the rains to come</i> [ap]!	Expressing concern for community
Female 1		Sinnasiga wadde okuteekayo ekimu [ap]!	I haven't planted yet, not even a single thing [ap]!	Expressing lament
Male 1	010	Kaakati gye mulinda eriwa? Akasana kaaka, olwo olutonnya teruwera! Luwandaggirira eyo, ne bye twasiga mu ttaka ebimu byatise [ap]!	Now, where is the rain that you have been waiting for? The sun is scorching (the weather is hot and dry). The little rains we receive are insufficient! It drizzles that side (of the village), even some of the crops we planted have the ground starting to crack. (This is referring to the ground that is getting very hard and dry and is beginning to develop cracks/small fissures due to heat pressure) [ap]!	Expressing lament and despair
	015			
	020			
Female 1	025	Bifunfugu. Tolina na bijanjaalo wojja kubiteeka [ap]!	There are hard lumps of soil, you cannot even plant beans [ap].	Affirming lament
Female 2		Awo njala njereere kati [ap]!	We are now bound to face hunger [ap]!	Affirming despair
Male 2		Erabika era njala yejja okujja [ap]!	It seems we are going to experience hunger [ap]!	Expressing agreement
Female 1	030	Hu [ap]!	Yes [ap]!	Confirming agreement
Male 1		Kaakati, musimbe busimbi binaafiira mu ttaka [ap].	<i>You just have to go on and plant. Let the crops/seeds rather die in the ground</i> [ap].	Proposing a decision Showing despair
Female 1		Mu bifunfugu omwo [j]?	In those hard lumps of soil [j]?	Expressing disagreement

Male 1	035	<u><i>Ebimera bimere</i></u> [ap], yiiyo mu Gwokutaano nga musana!	<i>So that whatever will germinate may germinate</i> [ap], after all May will be dry!	Reasoning critically
Male 2	040	<u><i>Ya bijanjaalo eyo. Egenda kubaza bijanjaalo</i></u> [ap].	<i>That rain will be good for growing beans. It will help the beans to yield</i> [ap].	Expressing hope
Male 1		Obummonde bunaakula?	Will Irish potatoes grow (well)?	Moderating discussion
Male 2		Anti obummonde bukulira kumu n'ebijanjaalo. Mpozzi kasooli.	Irish potatoes take the same time to mature as the beans. Perhaps the maize.	
Male 4	045	<u>Naye ekizibu kuba nga tetonnye kuwera mu bimera</u> [ap].	But the problem is that the crops haven't received enough rain [ap].	Expressing fear, reservation
Male 1		<u>Obummonde bwe tusimba tebumera</u> [ap].	The Irish potatoes that we plant do not sprout [ap].	Expressing concern
Female 4	050	Okusiga ojja kusiga, <u><i>awagonvu bigende nga biteguramu</i></u> [ap] <u>kimukimu, ebisinga bifiiremu</u> [ap].	You will plant <i>but only those seeds that fall on soft ground will sprout</i> [ap]; most of them will die [ap].	Expressing determination Projecting loss
Female 1	055	<u>Kati olaba nga mu bifunfugu byange wali obiteekaayo bijja</u> [ap]?	Do you think any crops can survive in those hard lumps of mine [ap]?	Showing hesitation, reservation
Male 3		Era olina kusiga kati bino ebiseera.	But you have to plant now, at this time.	Showing insistence
Female 2		Ate onoobisiga Gwakuna [j]?	Will you plant in April [j]?	Expressing scorn
Female 4	060	<u>Nange ansobedde</u> [j]!	She perturbs me with her idea [j]!	Affirming scorn
Male 1		<u>Okutema ng'ettaka lyonna likaluba liringa oluku. Enkuba tetonnya neeweramu</u> [ap]!	The ground is as hard as a piece of firewood. It has not received enough rain [ap].	Reiterating lament, reservation
Female 2		Tugenda kukola tuti...	This is what we are going to do...	Making a suggestion
Male 2	065	Naye nze leka mbe ng'abuza. Kiki ekireese ekyo [ap]?	If I may ask, what is the cause of all this [ap]?	Reasoning critically
Female 2		Wosanga awagonda...	Wherever you find a soft ground..	
Male 2		<u>Mbuuzizza mukulu oli</u> [1 st af].	I addressed the question to the other gentleman [1 st af].	
Male 1	070	<u>Ekireese ekyo, ha, era nkuba ntono. Ogiwulira. Enkuba ntono nnyo</u> [ap]. Naye wano babagambye kukubaganya birowoza. Musiga oba mulekayo?	The cause of this is, well, little rain. You have heard about it before. The rain is very little [ap]. But, you were told to discuss. Will you plant or not?	Identifying a problem Moderating discussion
Female 2	075	<u><i>Tujja kusiga</i></u> [ap].	<i>We shall plant</i> [ap].	Taking a decision
Female 1		<u><i>Tujja kusiga</i></u> [ap] bifiirevo, ate tunaakola ki [ap]?	<i>We shall plant</i> [ap] and lose; do we have a choice [ap]?	Confirming decision
Female 2	080	<u><i>Enaatonnya ye enaabimeza</i></u> [ap]. Ate kati ggwe onaalinda kusiga mu Gwakuna [ap]?	<i>Whatever amount of rain the crops receive is what will help them to sprout</i> [ap]. Will you wait to plant in April [ap]?	Reiterating decision

Male 1	085	<u>Ate Ogwokuna gyeri? Baqambye mu Gwokusatu muno ejja kutonnyamu ntono, gwake</u> [ap].	<u>Will there be rain in April? We have been told that there will be some little rain in March, to be followed by a dry period</u> [ap].	Alluding to authority Reiterating decision
Female 2	090	<u>Kati tulina kusiga ne bibeera mu ttaka, bwenatonnya nga bimera</u> [ap]. <u>Bwe binaayokebwako omusana mu Gwokuna, ate wasigadde ennaku mmeka</u> [ap]?	<u>We now have to plant and leave the seeds in the ground so that they can germinate whenever it rains</u> [ap]. <u>In case they are scorched by the sun in April; by the way how many more days are left</u> [ap]?	Showing determination Confirming decision
Male 1	095	<u>Anti ekizibu, etonnye bubi, tewera ebintu kumera. Kaakati bwe tutonnya nti mpozzi egize, mu ttaka okutema nga ki</u> [ap]?	<u>The problem is that there has not been enough rain for the crops to germinate. In case it rains and we think that it has; when you dig into the ground, you find that it is what?</u> [ap].	Identifying a problem Expressing fear
Several		<u>Nga wakalu; Nfuufu</u> [ap]	<u>It is dry; Dust</u> [ap]	Expressing consensus
Female 2	100	<u>Ejja kuwera</u> [ap] lwa nsonga kubanga <u>omwana bwajja n'amaanyi tazaalika. Ate eby'e Lyantonde tewabiwulidde bwe yazze ne kibuyaga</u> [ap].	<u>The rain will intensify</u> [ap] because <u>when a baby comes with force it is not easy to deliver it. Didn't you hear what happened at Lyantonde where the rain came with strong winds</u> [ap].	Expressing hope Alluding to experience Using a metaphor Expressing fear
Female 1	105	<u>Aah ah nange okujja bwetyo nedda owange</u> [1 st af].	<u>If it is to come like that, it would rather not come at all</u> [1 st af].	Affirming fear
Female 2	110	<u>Ne kibuyaga abantu yabalese bweru. Okujja n'esuula ennyumba erekayo</u> [1 st af].	<u>The winds left people homeless. It would rather not come at all instead of leaving us homeless</u> [1 st af].	Reiterating fear
Female 1		<u>Okujja n'ensigula we mbadde ngumidde ate ne nsigala mu kyereere</u> [1 st af]!	<u>For it to come and displace me, leaving me with nothing at all</u> [1 st af]!	Expressing agreement
Male 1	115	<u>Okulwayo ate nejja n'amaanyi ate n'eyonoona</u> [1 st af]!	<u>For it to delay and then come with a lot of destructive force</u> [1 st af]!	Reiterating agreement
Female 1	120	<u>Uh uh uh, eyo ey'okwonoona ebintu</u> [1 st af]! <u>N'omwana bwajja amangu ayonoona omuntu</u> [j]!	<u>No, no, no, that one will be destructive</u> [1 st af]. <u>Even when a baby comes with force, it damages a person (the mother)</u> [j].	Confirming agreement Using a metaphor
Male 1	125	<u>Eyo njala, gye tutegese okufuna</u> [ap]. Male 4 ogambye otya?	<u>We are bound to experience hunger</u> [ap]. Male 4, what do you have to say?	Showing concern Moderating discussion
Male 4	130	<u>Nze nnalabye nga njala yezze, ggwe ate bamaze okupima ne balaba, amazzi matono. Kati ate njala si yeetutuuseeko</u> [ap]?	<u>I think we are going to experience hunger since they have already gauged and seen (established) that there is going to be little water. Aren't we headed for hunger</u> [ap]?	Reiterating concern Alluding to authority

Female 1	135	<u>Aah nze ow'okubirya</u> [j] <i>ηηenda kubisiga bibeereyo. Ate kati bwe naabirya ate n'etonnya nti singa nabisiga. Aah ah. ηηenda kubiteeka mu ttaka</i> [ap].	<u>Since I know I may eat the seed</u> [j], <i>I will just go ahead to plant it and leave it in the ground. I might regret later if I eat the seed now only for the rain to come later. No, I will go ahead to plant</i> [ap].	Making a decision Showing determination
Female 2		<u><i>Tujja kusiga busizi</i></u> [ap].	<u><i>We just have to plant</i></u> [ap].	Making a group decision
Male 1	140	<u><i>Luli lwe bajja baatubuulira. Baagamba nti ejja kutonnya, gyeri ntono, naye yatonnya</i></u> [ap].	<u><i>The last time they came they told us that there was going to be some little rain, but all the same it rained</i></u> [ap].	Expressing trust of authority
Female 1	145	<u><i>Yee, etonnye ensaamusaamu naye nga teyonoonye</i></u> [ap].	<u><i>Yes, the rain would rather be moderate but not destructive</i></u> [ap].	Re-opening finished topic
Female 5		<u><i>Yee, bwebeera ntonotono njaagala</i></u> [ap].	<u><i>Yes, I prefer the moderate rainfall</i></u> [ap].	Reiterating earlier position
Female 1		<u><i>Naye eyo etonnya n'ereka abantu ebweru</i></u> [ap]!	<u><i>But not the kind that leaves people homeless</i></u> [ap]!	Expressing agreement
Male 4	150	Naye nga byo ebirwoozo byo byebya. Byebya, ate waliwo ebirala?	But those are the ideas. That is all, do we have any more?	Closing discussion
Female 2		Naye kuva dda na dda abantu basiga Gwokusatu. Ggwe wali osizeeko Ogwokuna?	But since time immemorial people have always planted in March. Have you ever planted in April?	Reaffirming group decision Alluding to experience
Male 3	155	Naye nga <u><i>basuubirayo enkuba etonnya</i></u> [ap].	But they <u><i>expected the rains to come</i></u> [ap].	
Female 2	160	<u>Eya ddi? Eya May? Kati eya May n'esigibwamu? N'osiga ebijanjaalo ku nkomerero y'Ogwokuna</u> [ap]?	<u>What rains? The ones of May? Can you plant in the May rains? Would you plant the beans at the end of April</u> [ap]?	Expressing hopelessness
Female 4		<u>N'ogamba nti nsize ebijanjaalo</u> [j]?	<u>And you claim to have planted beans</u> [j]?	Affirming hopelessness
Male 1	165	<u><i>Egenda kutonnya ng'eyanika bweti, anaaba asize ebijanjaalo ajja kufunamu, kubanga wayinza okutonnyayo ekire ekimu nga kya maanyi, ebimera ne bimera</i></u> [ap].	<u><i>It is going to rain with some dry periods; whoever will have planted beans will gain, because we might receive one heavy shower that will help the crops to germinate</i></u> [ap].	Re-evaluating forecast Expressing an opinion
Male 2	170	<u><i>Era na kati kiba kyetaaga kusiga</i></u> [ap].	<u><i>We need to plant now</i></u> [ap].	Proposing group decision
Male 1		<u><i>Anti akasana bwe kaakamu ne bigira ate n'etonnyayo, ah, bwotyo</i></u> [ap].	<u><i>The crops will get a mixture of both dry and wet periods</i></u> [ap].	Emphasizing decision
Female 2		<u><i>Tugende tutandike okusiga</i></u> [ap].	<u><i>We should go and start to plant</i></u> [ap].	Pronouncing group decision
Male 2	175	<u><i>Bisangibwayo n'omusulo nagwo ne guyamba</i></u> [ap]. Ate wabaayo n'ekirala...	<u><i>The rain will find the crops in the ground and the dew will also be of some help</i></u> [ap]. The other point is that...	Confirming decision
Female 4		<u><i>Omala gateekayo</i></u> [ap].	<u><i>You just take the risk to plant</i></u> [ap].	Expressing hopelessness

Female 1	180	<u>Si kumala gateekayo [j]. Muteekayo [ap] naye si gamala [ap].</u>	<u>Not just taking the risk for the sake [j]. You plant [ap] but not simply for the sake [ap].</u>	Dismissing hopelessness Emphasizing hope
Male 1	185	<u>Obutonde bw'ensi emiti mugimalamu. Mugitemye ne mugimala [j].</u>	<u>You have done away with all the trees in the environment. You have cut and finished all of the trees [j].</u>	Identifying a problem
Female 2	190	<u>Kati e Lyantonde gye yakubye emiti bagimazeeyo [j]? Oba embuyaga eyakubye ekkansa mu kibuga tewaabadde miti [ap]?</u>	<u>Are there no more trees in Lyantonde where the rain was destructive [j]? Or were there no trees in town where the winds destroyed a church building [ap]?</u>	Expressing disagreement
Male 1		<u>Kye kituleetedde n'enkuba okutoniwa [j].</u>	<u>That's why the rains have decreased [j].</u>	Reiterating problem
Male 2	195	<u>Amanda [j]</u>	<u>Charcoal [j]</u>	
Male 1		Ndwooza bye mukubaganya biwedde.	I think that is all you had to discuss.	Moderating, Closing discussion
Male 2		Byebyo	That is all.	Ending discussion
Male 1		Ndwooza bituweddeka.	I think we have nothing more to contribute.	Ending discussion
Male 4	200	<u>Tusimbe emmere eyanguwa. Kasooli tumuveeko [ap].</u>	<u>Let us plant the fast-maturing crops and leave the maize [ap].</u>	Pronouncing decision Constructing group identity
Man 5	205	<u>Kasooli bamuveeko kuba ogw'okutaano enkuba eija kuba egenze [ap].</u>	<u>You should leave the maize because by May the rain will have stopped [ap].</u>	Reasoning critically
Male 4		<u>Tusimbe ebijanjaalo n'obummonde [ap].</u>	<u>We should plant beans and irish potatoes [ap].</u>	Reiterating group decision
Male 1		<u>Tusimbe ebijanjaalo n'obummonde [ap].</u>	<u>We should plant beans and irish potatoes [ap].</u>	Emphasizing group decision
Male 4	210	<u>Umm, bye bikulira emyezi ebiri n'ekitundu [ap].</u>	<u>Yes, they take only two and a half months to mature [a].</u>	Confirming group decision
Male 1		<u>Ebyanguwa [ap].</u>	<u>They are fast-maturing [ap].</u>	Reaffirming group decision
Man 5	215	<u>Nze nange kye ndabye [ap].</u>	<u>I share that view [ap].</u>	Reaffirming group decision
Female 1		Mubiwulidde. <u>Egenda kutumwa enviiri [ap].</u>	You heard it all. <u>Hunger is going to 'shave off our hair' [ap].</u>	Using a metaphor Closing discussion

3.2.3 Analytical perspectives on appraisal, citizenship, the business-meeting genre, and negotiation

Participants, through **inscribed** and **invoked** appreciation and judgment, concur on their critical evaluation of the weather forecast, which is that ‘**the rain will be too little to sustain a full crop cycle**’ and for that matter ‘**the community is bound to face hunger**’. This **negative attitude** is illustrated, through the expression of **despair** and **lament**, by various participants in different turns (Male 1: 001-013, 048-9, 061-3, 070, 093-6, 123; Female 1: 003, 007, 023-4, 054-5, 076-7, 216; Female 2: 026, 079-080; Male 2: 028; Male 4: 045, 059, 126-9; Female 4: 052). The **negative attitude** is made more clear by a collective assessment ‘**nga wakalu; nfuufu**’ (it is dry; dust: 099), which is a ‘consensus’ appraisal of the situation. The assessment is concluded with a **metaphor** (216), which also serves to close the discussion.

Indeed, before the concluding metaphor, other **metaphors** (101-2, 119-120) are employed as resources of evaluation to express **negative attitude** toward extreme weather conditions. While – **egenda kutumwa enviiri** (hunger is going to shave off our hair: 216) – is invoked to express ‘serious’ concern about the potential impact of insufficient (**too little**) rain to the crops and consequently to the community, a similar ‘magnitude’ of concern is expressed about the impact of excessive (**too much**) rain when – **omwana bwajja n’amaanyi tazaalika** (when a baby comes with force it is not easy to deliver it: 101-2) and **n’omwana bwajja amangu avonoona omuntu** (when a baby comes with force, it damages a person - the mother: 119-120) – are invoked.

The metaphors allude to practical fearful and unwanted experiences of the ordinary life of participants, hence making the discussion less abstract. Thus, the precision with which the three metaphors capture the properties of **negative attitude** which the participants intend to express in this meeting illustrates Handford’s (2010:204) argument that “cultural allusions and metaphors tend to be extremely evaluative.”

At a lexico-grammatical level, the **negative attitude** is particularly expressed through the recursive use of specific linguistic units as negative keywords, most notably the following: the negative marker **si-/te-** (not: 003, 004, 007, 011, 024, 045, 049, 093, 102, 106, 109, 112, 114,

149), food noun **njala** (hunger: 026, 028, 123, 126), weather verb **-aaka/-okya** (scorch: 010, 088), weather nouns **sana** (sun: 010, 088) and **kibuyaga** (wind: 104, 108, 189), adjectives – **sana/-kalu** (dry: 036, 084, 099) and **-tono** (little: 011, 084, 128, 142), nouns **kizibu** (problem: 045, 093) and **maanyi** (102, 115, 120), verb **onoon-** (destroy: 116, 118, 120, 145, 187, 189).

However, through *inscribed appreciation*, participants make an implied group decision to *take the risk and plant* (Male 1: 031; Female 2: 075, 086, 138, 173; Female 1: 076; Male 2: 169; Male 4: 206; Male 5: 215). The decision can be regarded as a group decision because it is suggested and reiterated by various participants in different turns. The reiteration of the ‘decision-making’ phrase is a form of repetition which, according to Tannen (2007:61), does not only tie parts of discourse to other parts, but also bonds participants to the discourse and to each other, linking individual speakers in a conversation and in relationships. The *implied group decision* is particularly expressed through the reiteration of the following positive keywords: farm verbs *simb-/sig-* (plant: 031, 057, 073, 075, 076, 086, 133, 135, 136, 138, 152, 180, 200, 206, 208), *mer-/tegulur-* (germinate/sprout: 035, 051, 078, 087), weather verb *tonny-* (rain: 078, 082, 084, 087, 093, 134, 141, 156, 163, 172), the modal verb *-jja* (shall: 075, 076).

The **lamentation** (001-030, 090-099, 123), **desperation** (076, 126-130, 216), as well as the *consensus to take the risk to plant* (075-6, 086-7, 169, 200-215) build a platform for constructing a group identity, which is expressed by the consistent use of “*tu-*” (we) in the dialogues. The group identity is especially reaffirmed by the use of the metaphor – **egenda kutumwa enviiri** (hunger is going to shave off our hair: 216) – which is a moment to express ‘inclusive’ humor and also to close the discussion. The position of the “concerned individual” that is assumed by participants in the above-cited cases of constructing group identity is an expression of *citizenship* as a collective and participatory decision-making process.

Indeed, when Female 1 tries to show hesitation (054-5) about the ‘collective decision’ of *taking the risk to plant*, she is **judged** by Male 3 (057) and Female 2 (058) as proposing an outrageous idea which is against group consensus and therefore against the spirit of group identity. The **negative judgment** of Female 1 is confirmed by Female 4 who explicitly retorts – **nange ansobedde!** (she perturbs me with her idea: 059). In this segment, Female 1 is isolated as a ‘bad

member of the group’, confirming Grad & Martin Rojo’s (2008:15) argument that from a sociolinguistic and interactional standpoint, there is labeling with which categories are built in interaction. “These categories, when referring to a phenomenon or a person with either implicit or manifest authority, may construct the social representation that others will adopt for that phenomenon or person in terms of exclusion or inclusion or in terms of what it means to be a good member of the group.”

Citizenship is also expressed through **inscribed judgment** of reckless tree-cutting and charcoal-burning (183-195). The condemnation of acts of tree destruction, using the voice of the “organized protestor”, illustrates a sense of feeling for the natural environment and the welfare of the larger community. The shifting to and from the identities of “organized protestor” and “ordinary participant”, which Male 1, Female 2, and Male 2 perform in this segment of the meeting does not only demonstrate expression of *citizenship* by participants, it also illustrates Omoniyi & White’s (2009:3) contention that “identity is fluid and people negotiate between several identity categories or selves in different moments of identification.”

The cognitive move structure of the discussion presents in three juxtaposed parts – i) evaluation of the weather forecast and its implications for the community (001-030, 041-090); ii) critical reasoning on the state of affairs (091-169); iii) decision-making and closure of discussion (031-040, 170-216). The totality of constitution of the three parts of the discussion arises from the iterative nature of their respective cognitive moves. Two of the **metaphors** (101-2, 119-120), which I mentioned above, come in the second segment of the meeting where participants endeavor to make sense of the apparently complex weather-related phenomena.

The understanding of the complex phenomena is facilitated by the use of the two metaphors, in which case, as Tannen (2007:2) argues, creativity in problem-solving serves as the “sound or music of language, by means of which hearers and readers are rhythmically involved, and at the same time involved by participating in the making of meaning.” Another **metaphor** (216) comes in the third segment of the meeting and after it is invoked the discussion closes. In this sense, interpersonal creativity is used not only to affirm group identity, but also to summarize a position. The use of a metaphor to facilitate the making of a group decision and the closure of a discussion

is testimony to Carter's (as cited in Handford 2010: 212) argument that "creativity in common speech often seems to be connected with the construction of a relationship and of interpersonal convergence."

A further look at the cognitive move structure of this meeting also reveals that the chairperson (Male 1) does not assume his role as moderator to open the meeting. Instead, the chairperson takes the first turn to contribute to the debate and then he leaves other members to spontaneously take turns to participate in the discussion. Similarly, the chairperson does not take the last turn to close the discussion. However, the chairperson takes occasional intervals (041, 072, 124) to moderate the discussion by controlling turns and topics, as well as to close the discussion (199). All participants, including the chairperson, take their discursive turns in a spontaneous manner, without having to seek the permission of the chair. The spontaneous nature of taking turns illustrates further the sense of *oneness* and *citizenship* among the participants, because through it members demonstrate both their individual and collective 'belonging' to the group by allowing an orderly exchange of the opportunity to hold the floor.

3.3 A multi-perspective analysis of meeting 3b (September 9th, 2005)

3.3.1 Introductory overview

The meeting has a chairperson (Female 1) who opens the discussion by inviting other members to contribute ideas. The chairperson, throughout the meeting, moderates the proceedings by introducing and controlling topics, switching subjects, asking rhetorical questions and summarizing issues. There is contention over various positions on issues, considering of various options, and decisions are generally reached in form of implicit consensus or invoked alignment to particular positions of sub-groups or individuals. There is an outstanding scenario of 'conflict' when the topic of 'growing or not growing millet' comes up. Interestingly, the apparent conflict helps, rather than frustrate, the efforts of consensus-building. Some topics, through a cyclic cognitive move structure, are discussed and concluded but get re-introduced later. A very active participant (Female 2) grabs the opportunity to close the meeting, in which case the chairperson involuntarily cedes her power to close the meeting.

3.3.2 Analytical template of appraisal resources and the generic move structure of the meeting

Participant		Luganda	English translation	Cognitive moves
Female 1	001	Ndowooza bannange muwulidde embeera y'obudde nga bwaginnyonyodde.	So, members, you heard the weather forecast.	Opening discussion
Several		Tuwulidde.	We heard it.	
Female 2	005 010	Embeera y'obudde nga bwe tugiwulidde nsaba, kati okusinziira nga bwe tuwulidde kati kiba kyetaagisa ebirime ebyo ebirwawo, ebitwala emyezi emingi, tubisimbe mu Gwomwenda guno, kati ate ebyo eby'enkuba ebitwala enkuba entono, eby'emyezi emitono byo tubisimbe mu Gwekkumi nga gutandika awo.	From the forecast, I suggest that we should plant the long-cycle crops in September. Then we shall plant the short-cycle crops at the beginning of October.	Alluding to authority Reasoning critically Making a suggestion
Female 3	015	Kati ebijanjaalo ebitaagala nnyo nkuba, <u>bwe tunaabisimba mu budde buno ate eri ennyingi tebyonoone</u> [ap]?	But beans don't require a lot of moisture. <u>If we plant them now won't the intense rains damage them later</u> [ap]?	Expressing fear
Female 2		Maama Female 4, ggwe okyogerako ki ekyo?	Female 4, what is your opinion on this issue?	Moderating discussion
Female 4		Nze madde nsaba tusimbe mu Gwomwenda nga guggwaako awo, ebijanjaalo	I suggest that we should plant beans around the end of September.	Making a suggestion
Female 1	020 025	Naye nze nga bwe mpulidde enkuba eyo nga bwegenda <u>okubeera entono</u> [ap] mu Gwomwenda bwe bagambye gujja kuba musana n'enkuba, kasooli aba asobola okukula, oyo gwe tugenda okusimba mu Gwomwenda?	From what I heard in the forecast, there will be little rain in September; there will be some dry spells. Will the maize grow well, if we plant it in September?	Alluding to authority Weighing up options
Female 5	030	<i>Nedda, kasooli aija kubeerawo, atera okugumiikiriza ku musana. Enkuba eri ey'omu maaso eija kumusangayo</i> [ap].	<i>No, maize will survive. It is resilient. It will stay to catch the rains later</i> [ap].	Building confidence
Female 3		<u>Naye ayinza okuwotoka, n'akala</u> [ap].	<u>But it might wither</u> [ap].	Expressing fear
Female 2	035	Nze kye mbadde njamba, mu guno Gwomwenda tusimbiremu kasooli kubanga ye atwala emyezi mingi, ate byo ebijanjaalo ebitafa nkuba nnyingi nnyo, tubitandikire mu Gwekkumi.	I suggest that we should plant the maize during September because it has a long cycle. We can then plant the beans in October because they have a short cycle and they need a lot of moisture.	Making a suggestion Reasoning critically
Female 1		Ate bwo obummonde buba butandikibwa mu mwezi ki?	In that case, what month should the irish potatoes be planted?	Moderating discussion
Female 3	040	Nabwo era mu Gwomwenda.	They, too, should be planted in September.	Reiterating suggestion
Female 2	045	<u>Wabula kye nzudde kiri nti, enkuba nga bwe bagambye nti eyinza okuba entonotono tuyinza okufuna obulwadde,</u>	<u>Since from the forecast, we may receive little rain, I have a fear that we might get disease and pest attacks. Pests might attack</u>	Identifying a potential problem Expressing reservations

		ebijanjaalo byaffe oba ne bikwatibwa ebiwuka [ap]	the beans [ap]	
Female 6	050	Oluwukawuka [ap] . Kaakati awo, <i>tujja kulaba omulimisa atuwe ku magezi olw'oluwuka olwo olunaaba luzze, kubanga yatusomesaako n'agamba nti waliwo eddagala nga bafuuyira oluwuka olwo ne lufa [ap]</i> .	Yes, some pests [ap] . In that case <i>we shall need to see the Extensionist for advice. I remember he once taught us that there is a pesticide which we can spray to kill such pests [ap]</i>	Reiterating potential problem Suggesting a solution
Female 1	055	Eddagala eryo nga lifuuyirwa mu Gwamwenda oba mu Gwakkumi?	Would the pesticide be sprayed in September or October?	Moderating discussion
Female 6		Bwolaba oluwuka lutandise.	Whenever you see the pests.	
Female 2	060	<i>Kati n'ekirala ekisobola okulwisaawo amazzi gaffe okuba amangi, tuteme n'emikutu ennimiro tugitemeko emikutu tulabe nga tukwata amazzi, tusobole okulaba nti ebirime byaffe bifuna enkuba emala [ap]</i>	<i>Also, in order to help the ground retain the rainwater sufficiently, we need to dig terraces and run-off channels to trap the water, so that the fields can have enough water [ap].</i> If we leave the water to flow away, we might get	Suggesting a solution Constructing group identity Alluding to authority Reasoning critically
	065	ate ng'amazzi ago singa tunaagaleka ne gagenda bugenzi tuyinza okufunamu obuzibu [ap] , ate okusenziira nga bwe bagigambye nti mu	problems [ap] . Secondly, it has been mentioned that the rains may intensify in November. This might come with heavy winds	
	070	Gwekkuminoogumu eyinza okuba ennyingi eyinza okuleeta ne kibuyaga [ap] . N'olwekyo <i>tusaana tusimbe n'emiti, obutiititi okwetolooza ennimiro zaffe tuti tulabe nga tuziyizaako ku [ap]</i>	soil erosion [ap] .	
	075	mukoka [ap] .		
Female 6	080	Kaakati bannange nga bwe batugambye nti enkuba ejja kuba ntono [ap] <i>kyetaaga tusimbe emmere, naddala emmere ey'okulya [ap]</i> kubanga enjala erabika ejja kubaayo mu maaso [ap] .	Members, since we have been told that we shall get little rain [ap] , <i>we need to plant food crops [ap]</i> because there is likely to be hunger after [ap] .	Constructing group identity Alluding to authority Expressing concern for community Suggesting a solution
Female 2		<i>Ekyo kituufu [ap]</i>	<i>That is right [ap]</i> .	Expressing agreement
Female 5	085	<i>Era muwogo ye asaana okusimbibwa [ap]</i> .	<i>Indeed, we need to plant cassava [ap]</i> .	Confirming solution
Female 1		Naye ate muwogo yavingirwa obuwuka [ap]!	But cassava gets attacked by the mosaic [ap]!	Identifying a problem
Female 5		Tusaze magezi ki olwo?	What shall we do then?	Controlling topic
Several	090	Tujja kulaba <i>omulimisa [ap]</i>	We shall contact the <i>Extensionist [ap]</i>	Taking a group decision
Female 7		Obulo mwayiye?	Have you already planted the millet?	Introducing new subtopic
Female 1		Abange omuwemba ogutannaba kuyiibwa	Members, will the sorghum do well if it has	Controlling

	095	guyinza okukula kati?	not yet been planted?	topic Moderating discussion
Female 6		<i>Era kati kye kiseera ekirungi</i> [ap].	<i>Now is the right time</i> [ap].	
Female 2	100	<i>Naye okusenziira ku nkuba wabadde wetaaga ebijanjaalo nga bya mbala, ebifuuyire</i> [ap] kubanga tuyinza okufuna obuzibu bw'okugira ettaka lino engeri ennaku zino ebiseera bino libulwambulwamu enkuba	<i>But given the rain patterns, we need to use a good quality treated seed of beans</i> [ap]. Since there will a mixture of wet and dry spells, the conditions may be conducive for pests. We may get problems with the ground when it gets infested with diseases [ap].	Proposing a solution Expressing fear for potential problem
	105	liyinza okuzuula obulwadde obungi [ap].		
Female 5		Obulwadde bujja kwanguwa kubanga ettaka teririna mazzi bulungi [ap].	Pests are indeed likely to multiply because the ground is not very wet [ap].	Confirming fear of potential problem
Female 1	110	Naye Female 2, ebijanjaalo ebyo bifunibwa buli mulimi yenna?	But Female 2, can all farmers easily access the improved bean seed?	Controlling topic Expressing concern for community
Female 2	115	Naye kati nga bwe twegasse, engeri gye tuli mu kibiina eky'okwegatta tutuukirira omulimisa ne batuguza ebijanjaalo. Oba oluusi batuwola kati ffe mu kukungula ne tuzzaayo ssente	Since we are organized in a farmers' group, we can contact the Extensionist if we need to purchase the beans seed. Alternatively, we could get the seed on credit and pay after harvest.	Emphasizing group identity Reaffirming concern for community
Female 1	120	<i>Awo kirungi</i> [ap]. Kaakati ndowooza muwulidde. <i>Buli omu agende ategeke ennimiro ze asige</i> [ap] kubanga tugenda kufunamu omusana [ap].	<i>That is good</i> [ap]. Now, I think we all know what to do. <i>Each one of us should immediately go back, prepare their fields and plant</i> [ap] because we expect some dry spells [ap].	Announcing group decision Sounding warning
Female 2	125	Zo zategekebwa dda.	The fields have already been prepared.	
Female 3		Naye kati nnamba esinga etandise okusiga	Most people have started planting already	
Female 1		Nsubira nti enkuba evinza obutawera [ap]	I don't think we shall receive enough rain [ap]	Expressing fear
Female 2	130	Nange mbadde ngveraliikiridde [1 st af].	I, too, was worried about the rain [1 st af]	Reiterating fear
Female 1		Wabula ab'omuwemba ne kasooli tusimbe?	Should we plant the maize and sorghum now?	Controlling topic
Female 8	135	Ffe tuluddewo era ffe tuluddewo ffe abatannaba kusimba [j].	Whoever has not planted yet is late [j].	Emphasizing earlier decision
Female 2	140	<i>Okusenziira ku mbeera y'obudde tukole emikeeka mu nkuba gibeere nga mingi n'ebibbo, tulaba ng'obudde buno, obw'enkuba, mu biseera by'enkuba, enkuba bweba etonnya buli mukazi waali tukwate emikeeka tulabe nga buli</i>	<i>I suggest that during the rainy periods, we should make crafts. All women should keep busy with making crafts whenever it is raining, and then go to the gardens in the afternoon when the rain ceases. We should not</i>	Making a suggestion Considering options Expressing concern for community

	145 150	<i><u>lwe tuva mu mikeeka akawungeezi tukka mu nnimiro zaffe ng'enkuba ekedde bweti nga tusiga, tulabe nga tetugenda kwenyigira ku bijanjaalo byokka okusinziira ku mbeera eno nga bwe mubirabye ebirime. Tukwate ne bino ebintu ebikalu tuluke</u></i> [ap].	<i><u>concentrate on growing beans only. We should also engage in making crafts</u></i> [ap].	
Female 1	155	<u>Naye ate ekibi okulima ebijanjaalo bino ku luno twabuliddwa akatale obulungi</u> [ap]. <u>Abasuubuzi bajja nga batugula mu ndebe, endebe erimu kkiro nga 50, nga ate batugula ku bbeeyi entono ennyo</u> [j]!	<u>Indeed there is a problem with growing beans. The market was not readily available last time</u> [ap]. <u>The traders bought a 50 kg tin of beans at a very small price</u> [j]!	Identifying a problem
Female 2	160 165	<u>Oh! Oh! Oh! Mukazi wattu kyoyogedde ekyo kyennyini nze kyansobedde n'okunsobera, omusajja yangula endebe emu ng'erimu ebikopo 56! Ab'endebe nze nange mu butuufu nedda</u> [j]!	<u>Oh! Oh! Oh! Fellow woman, what you are talking about happened to me. A trader came and used a 56-cup tin to buy my beans! The traders who use tins, no</u> [j]!	Affirming problem
Female 1		<u>Nali mbala nti nfunye ensawo y'ebijanjaalo, naye okukakkana ng'endebe ttaano</u> [ap]!	<u>One time I thought I had harvested a full sack of beans, but it only came to 5 tins</u> [ap]!	
Female 2	170	<i><u>Singa Katonda atuyamba luutu eno gye tulimu ne tufuna ababigula nga babigulira mu kkiro, mu butuufu kijja kutuyambako</u></i> [1 st af].	<i><u>I pray to God that this time we get buyers who buy our beans in kgs. It will save us a lot</u></i> [1 st af].	Alluding to God
Female 1	175	<i><u>Kati awo kyenya nnyamba nti tukole buli kimu nga tukikyusaamu</u></i> [ap].	<i><u>For that matter I urge that we should do everything differently this time</u></i> [ap].	Proposing a solution
Female 8	180	<u>Bizibu nnyo kubanga ennaku zino batuyiiviza amagezi ensawo bwe baba bazitugulako</u> [j].	<u>It is not easy. These days, traders cunningly pack the sacks a certain way</u> [j].	Identifying a problem
Female 1		<u>Yee, bazikozesa okutunyaga</u> [j].	<u>Yes, they use the sacks to cheat us</u> [j].	Reiterating problem
Several	185	<u>Mukyala leka, bagenda bazisalaasala. Ekitundu ky'ensawo bakibalamu endebe emu</u> [j].	<u>Fellow woman, there is a way they cut the sacks. They count half a sack as equal to one tin</u> [j].	Emphasizing problem Proposing a solution Expressing consensus
Female 9	190	<i><u>Kati ffe kye tulina okukola, ng'abakyala bwe tuli wamu tweyambe. Tulina okukola buli kantu konna akatuusikako emikono, ne tusobola okuvaayo</u></i> [j].	<i><u>What we need to do as women, who are united in this group, is to diversify our activities. We should take up various activities that will improve our lives</u></i> [j].	Emphasizing group identity Proposing a collective solution

Female 1	195	Bannange, ku bisolo mugamba mutya abakyala ab'ekibiina? Ku by'ebisolo? Tukyuseemu ku kigamba ky'ebisolo nga bwe tubadde tulunda embizzi, tulunde embuzi? Tukole tutya? Ekintu ekyo kye tulunda tukifunyeemu omugaso?	Members, what views do you have about the animals we keep? Should we change from pigs to goats? Do we gain much from keeping pigs?	Controlling topic Emphasizing group identity Reasoning critically Moderating discussion
Female 8	200	<i>Ekintu ekyo kye tulunda tukifunyeemu omugaso era tukifuniddemu ddala nnyo okusinga byonna</i> [ap].	<i>We have gained lots of things from keeping pigs, than from anything else</i> [ap].	Expressing attitude
Female 1	205	Kati ate akatale k'emikeeka tukaggye wa? Kubanga akatale k'emikeeka keviluzeviluzeemu [ap].	And now, where do we get the market for our mats? The market for mats has not been good of late [ap].	Controlling topic Moderating discussion
Female 6		Yee, era n'embuzi nazo kati tuteekewo era [ap].	Correct, <i>we should start to rear goats as well</i> [ap].	Considering options
Female 1	210	Bannange okusenziira ku mbeera y'obudde nga bwe bagambye <i>tusaana tulunde enkuba ejja kubaayo, tulunde ebintu ebisobola okugiramu ng'omuddo gumeze</i> [ap].	Dear members, from the forecast, we have been told that the rain is coming. <i>We should therefore rear animals because there will be plenty of green fodder for their food</i> [ap].	Emphasizing group identity Alluding to authority Making a proposal
Female 2	215 220	Embizzi tuzisimbire ebiragala ebya lumonde bino ebigazi, tusobole okufuna n'ebisolo kye birya kuba enkuba egenze kuwera [ap], yee, luli obuwuka bubadde bututawaanya ku malagala ga lumonde ago [ap].	<i>We should plant the large-leaf sweet potato for the pigs</i> [ap], much as, of late, we have had a problem of caterpillars in sweet potato gardens [ap].	Reiterating group identity Proposing a solution Identifying a problem
Female 1		Kati omutemezi wa lumonde mulwooza asaana kutemera mu budde ki okusenziira ku mbeera y'obudde?	When do you think one should plant the sweet potatoes?	Controlling topic Alluding to authority
Female 2	225	Kati, kati mu kiseera kino.	Now, right now, during this time.	
Female 6		Bannange mutemere. Enjala eyinza okubaayo mu maaso [ap].	Dear members you should plant the sweet potatoes quickly; otherwise we might face hunger later [ap].	Mobilizing members Sounding a warning
Female 2	230 235 240	Naye ate nze okusenziira bwe ndabye embeera y'obudde eno, enkuba eyinza okuwera ate n'ekya mangu kati ate ne tufuna ekyeya eky'amaanyi [ap]. <i>Wabula kye nsaba tulime bingi tufune n'ebiyagi ndowooza mwe tunaabitereka</i> [ap] kubanga kati engeri gy'etandise mu Gwomwenda, nga bwe batugambye kati n'Ogwekkumi etonnye okutuuka mu Gwekkumineebiri mu Janaury awo eyinza okwekuba ate omusana ne tuddamu	From my analysis of the forecast, the rain might stop early only to be followed by a very strong drought [ap]. <i>So I urge you all to grow a lot of food and organise to keep some of it in granaries</i> [ap]. We expect to have rain from September through December. The rain is likely to stop in January where we might experience very dry conditions, which will be very disastrous if we grow little food now [ap].	Expressing uncertainty Proposing a solution Mobilizing members

	245	okugufuna nga gwa maanyi nnyo kyokka ate emmere nga twalimye ntono [ap].		
Female 1		Naye ate embeera y'ensuku mugiraba mutya?	What do you have to comment about the condition of the banana gardens?	Moderating discussion Controlling topic
Female 8	250	Embeera y'ensuku ereeteddwa biwuka [ap].	The condition of the banana gardens is a result of pests [ap].	Expressing attitude
Female 6		Naye okutwaliza awamu, <i>ensuku zibadde tezinnafa nnyo [ap].</i>	Generally, <i>the banana gardens have not degenerated so much [ap].</i>	Expressing hope
Female 1	255	Emmere mweri?	Is there food in the banana gardens?	Controlling topic
Several		Temuli mmere [ap]	There is no food [ap].	Expressing consensus
Female 6	260	Kaakati bannange nga tumaze okulima ebintu byaffe, kyetaaga tunoonye akatale wa gye tunaabitunda mu budde. Nga twakamala okubisimba awo, <i>tunoonye akatale nga bukyali [ap]. Tugenda ne tufuna obuzibu bw'akatale bannange [ap].</i> Mulabye mutya nga mmwe?	Members, after growing the crops, <i>we need to find market for them in good time (early) just after planting [ap]. Sometimes we get marketing problems [ap].</i> What is your view about this?	Constructing group identity Involving others Moderating discussion Identifying a problem
Female 2	270	<i>Naye anti kati nga bwe tugambye nti tujja kukanoonya akatale ng'ekibiina, kye tulina okukola, buli aba agenda okutunda ebijanjaalo bannange abironde [ap], ebintu ebyo bisuula nnyo omutindo [ap], mulimu ayinza okulonda n'alekamu ebivinza okutwonoonera [j] kubanga kati bannange nga bwe mulabye, ebintu bino byetaagamu okwekenneenya tulabe nga naffe tuvaayo [j].</i>	<i>Well, we have already said (agreed) that we shall look for the market together as a group. What we have to do is to ensure that whoever has to sell beans sorts them properly [ap] because this is where we compromise quality. Some people do not make an effective sort [j], leaving things that tarnish our job [ap]. We need to be very careful in order to be able to improve our welfare [j].</i>	Stressing group identity Proposing a solution Showing concern Sounding caution Mobilizing members
Female 6	280	Ekyo kituufu kyo, kuba twasomako omusomo ne batugamba nti <i>tulina okulonda ebijanjaalo okusobola okufuna ebbeeyi gye twagala [ap].</i>	That is right, because we were once told in a seminar that <i>we always have to sort the beans in order to get a good price bargain [ap].</i>	Expressing agreement Alluding to authority
Female 1	285	Kati abakyala b'ekibiina, kye mbabuza, sizoni eno tulime bijanjaalo byokka oba tulime ne lumonde omuzungu?	Dear members, I now would like to ask you something. Should we grow only beans this season or we should grow irish potatoes as well?	Constructing group identity Moderating discussion Seeking a decision
Female 6		<i>Bw'onooba tolimye mmere, ate onoolima ki [j]?</i>	<i>Can you do without growing food [j]?</i>	Using rhetoric
Female 2	290	Onkwata ebijanjaalo ate tomanyi nti enjala egenda kujja? Ggwe onoolya bijanjaalo byokka [j]?	Can you depend on beans alone? What if hunger strikes? Will you eat beans only [j]?	Expressing concern for general welfare

Female 5	295	<u>Lumonde omuzungu ye alina n'akatale kati ak'amaanyi</u> [ap].	<u>Remember that Irish potatoes are on very high demand currently</u> [ap].	Projecting hope
Female 2	300 305	<u>Naye ate eno enkuba enewuunyisizza sizoni eno. Bulijjo enkuba si bwetonna bweti. Abamu twafunye n'okutya okugamba nti evinza okuba nga, nze nagitidde eno bannange, kubanga enkuba etonna bweti kumukumu, era ky'ova olaba nze nagyekanze</u> [1 st af].	<u>But I am amazed by the way the rain is behaving this season. The rain has not always behaved like this. Some of us are even a bit worried, thinking that it might, I am worried, because it rains very frequently. I am really worried</u> [1 st af].	Expressing worry
Female 1		<u>Enkuba kirabika mu maaso teriyo</u> [1 st af].	<u>It seems there may not be more rain after this</u> [1 st af].	Reiterating worry
Female 2	310	<u>Mu maaso evinza obutabaayo no bannange, n'etonna bweti ennyo ennyo, mu maaso era n'eija! Ng'efuuse ya buli lunaku</u> [ap]!	<u>There may not be more rain after this. With such frequency, I don't expect it to rain after this. It rains almost daily</u> [ap]!	Reiterating worry
Female 5		<u>Enkuba etonna ennyo bwetyo etegeeza enjala</u> [ap].	<u>Such high frequency rain signifies hunger</u> [ap].	Emphasizing worry
Female 2	315 320	<u>Ekitegeeza guno omwaka tuyinza okubeera obulungi</u> [ap], <u>naye kye tuba tetwerabira buwuka. Bwolaba enkuba eweze n'obuwuka bujja kujja nga bungi, naddala bi mukuba-nta, biryoke bisale enkagga mubirabe, ne bindiwulira mu kasooli</u> [ap].	<u>This means that this year is likely to be a good one for us</u> [ap]. <u>But we should not forget about the pests. Normally if the rain comes in plenty, so do the pests, especially the caterpillars which attack the young bean pods, and the maize borer</u> [ap].	Expressing hope Reiterating warning Expressing concern
Female 5	325	<u>Enkuba entono</u> [ap] si yereeta ebintu ebyo?	Aren't those pests more rampant during <u>little rains</u> [ap]?	
Female 2	330	Nedda! <u>Waliwo enkuba lwewera ennyo, ennyo ne bivingiramu. Tokimanyi nti ekijanjaalo bwe kiduumuuka omukoola ne guba mungi nnyo nnyo ebiwuka byekweka muli munda</u> [ap]?	No! <u>When the rain is too much, the pests enter into the plants. Don't you know that when a bean plant grows a lot of leaves, pests hide under these leaves</u> [ap]?	Reasoning critically on concern
Female 5		<u>Naye omusana bwe gugira guleeta nnyo ebiwuka</u> [ap].	<u>But pests multiply more under warm conditions</u> [ap].	Reasoning critically on concern
Female 2	335 340	<u>Yee, omusana guleeta oluwukawuka naye nga terulinga olw'enkuba, bi mukuba-nta ne bivingira mu nkagga omwo munda ng'enkuba etonnve zonna ne zivunda nabyo bwe bizirya</u> [ap].	<u>Yes pests multiply under warm conditions but not as much as under rain, when caterpillars eat into the pods and cause rotting</u> [ap].	Reasoning critically on concern
Female 1		<u>Anti enkuba oluwera</u>	<u>When the rain intensifies the</u>	Switching topic

	345	ng'obuwuka bujja [ap]. Enkuba, batugambye mu Gwomwenda teri nkuba.	pests appear [ap]. We have been told that there won't be rain in September.	
Female 2	350	Yee enkuba ntono egenda kutandika mu Gwakkumi, Kkuminagumu, Kkumineebiri - bwe batugambye, mmwe abatabaddeewo, nti egenda kubeera nnyingi.	Yes, only a little rain, serious rain will come in October, November and December. For those of you who were not around, that is what we have been told.	Alluding to authority Constructing group identity
Female 5	355	Enkuba bweyitirira ng'ebijanjaalo bimaze okweweeka, biteekamu amazzi [ap].	If there is too much rain when the bean pods are forming, instead of the seed you get a liquid substance inside the pods [ap].	Re-introducing earlier topic
Female 2		Ekitegeeza mu Gwomwenda tosiga nnyo bijanjaalo [ap].	Which means, one should not plant a lot of beans in September [ap].	Proposing a decision
Female 5	360	Aaaah! Byo ebijanjaalo biba bya kwejalabya. Bya kulyako buli [ap].	Exactly. Beans will be a kind of luxury; only a few for home consumption [ap].	Expressing agreement
Female 2		<i>Kasooli gwe banyikirira</i> [ap].	<i>Emphasis should be put on maize</i> [ap]	Confirming decision
Female 5	365	<i>Aaah! Kaakati kire kya kasooli kyennyini</i> [ap].	<i>True. Now is the right time for maize</i> [ap].	Emphasizing decision
Female 8		<i>N'obummonde</i> [ap].	<i>And Irish potatoes</i> [ap].	Reaffirming decision
Female 2		<i>N'emiti gya muwogo</i> [ap]	<i>Also cassava</i> [ap].	Reaffirming decision
Several		Yee	Yes	Expressing consensus decision
Female 8	370	N'akalo. Naye ate obulo?	And millet. What about millet?	Controlling topic
Female 1		<i>Naye nze kye ndabawo bakyala, nze kye ndaba ekyandibadde ekyangu okutununula bwandibadde bulo</i> [ap].	<i>Millet might indeed be the thing to save us in these circumstances</i> [ap].	Tabling topic
Female 5	375	*Obulo [1 st af]!	Millet [1 st af]!	Expressing stance
Female 1		<i>Yee! Obulo tebuwumba, obulo tebugenya, obulo bugumira enkuba ne bweba etonnya etya</i> [ap].	<i>Yes. Millet is resistant to weevils, wilts and drought</i> [ap].	Reacting to stance Taking a position
Female 6	380	Bannange nsanze mubwogeddeko, naye mu bisambu budda [ap]?	Well, I join when you have already discussed about millet, but does it do well in a fallow [ap]?	Facilitating discussion
Female 1	385	<i>Yee, bwoba wakirongoozza bulungi</i> [ap].	<i>Yes, if you clear the fallow properly</i> [ap].	Affirming position

* The Baganda (native speakers of Luganda) generally do not eat **akalo/obulo** (millet). Their staple food is **matooke** (bananas). The Baganda despise millet, as well as the communities that eat millet. The growing of millet therefore becomes a contentious issue at this meeting because of the negative cultural attitude that the Baganda hold toward the crop and the communities that eat it.

Female 8		<u>Budda, naye butawaanya</u> [ap]	<u>It grows well, but it is quite strenuous</u> [ap].	Expressing different position
Several		<u>Butawaanya; Tebutawaanya</u> [ap]	<u>It is strenuous; It is not strenuous</u> [ap]	Expressing different opinions
Female 6	390	<u>Kati okudda mu bulo ng'oija kulima omwezi gumu</u> [ap], <i>Iwaki tolima bijanjaalo emyezi 6</i> [ap]?	<u>Instead of wasting time on millet for one month</u> [ap] <i>why don't you grow beans for six months</i> [ap]?	Supporting a position
Female 2	395	<u>Weebale nnyo wamma</u> [ap].	<u>Thank you very much my dear</u> [ap].	Applauding support
Female 8		<u>Ebijanjaalo biwumba</u> [ap].	<u>Beans are prone to weevils</u> [ap].	Expressing assessment
Female 6		Ate okuwumba, <u>bannange</u> [j], eddagala Iyajja.	Weevils! <u>Come on</u> [j], pesticides are available for weevils	Countering assessment
Female 2	400	<u>Nnima kasooli wange nga mungi</u> [ap] <u>mu kifo ky'okudda mu bulo</u> [ap].	<u>I would rather grow maize in large quantities</u> [ap] <u>instead of wasting time on millet</u> [ap].	Affirming position
Female 1		Mu kifo ky'okulima ebijanjaalo ebingi, tulime obula.	Instead of growing beans in large quantities, I rather we grow millet.	Proposing a group decision
Female 6	405	<u>Kale wulira nti nnime obulo</u> [j; 1 st af]!	<u>Hear that! Can you imagine that someone is advising me to grow millet</u> [j; 1 st af]!	Expressing distaste
Female 2		<u>Ahaa, nze nnima kasooli wange nga mungi ne mmukoola mangu</u> [j; 1 st af].	<u>No way! I would rather grow maize in large quantities and weed it early</u> [j; 1 st af].	Emphasizing position
Female 1	410	Kati buli omu...	Let everyone...	Attempting to make a decision
Female 6	415 420	<u>Bannange twogere ng'abagundi</u> [j]. <u>Okulima obulo omwezi gumu, oija kuggyamu endebe y'obulo emu</u> [ap], <i>kyokka nze nnime emyezi gyange 6 egy'obummonde oba egy'ebijanjaalo kale ng'ebijanjaalo bifudde ovinza okuggyamu ensawo nga 4</i> [ap]. Kati awo twenkanye mu kukungula nnyabo?	<u>Colleagues, let us talk like (sensible) people</u> [j]. <u>If you grow millet for one month, you will harvest one tin</u> [ap]. <i>But if you grow Irish potatoes or beans for 6 months, and even with a poor harvest, you will harvest about 4 sacks</i> [ap]. Are the two harvests equal to each other?	Expressing emotions Defending position
Female 5	425	<i>Anti kaakati ye ono engeri akalo gyakalima, akamanyi</i> [j].	<i>Well, since she has the experience of growing millet, she knows about it</i> [j].	Alluding to experience
Female 8		<u>Ako omusana ne bwe guba nga gwase</u> [ap]...	<u>Even under dry conditions, millet</u> [ap]...	Defending a position
Female 6	430	<u>Naye akalo tetugaanyi tukoogereko, akalo nze mu butuufu siraba nnyo babunoonya nti banoonya bulo, banoonya bulo</u> [ap].	<u>Well, we are talking about millet, but I never see traders who want to buy it</u> [ap].	Reiterating distaste
Female 8		<u>Nedda, babugula</u> [ap]. <u>Bukulema bulemi kulima</u> [j].	<i>No, no, no. The buyers are there</i> [ap]. <u>You just don't want to</u>	Countering distaste

	435		grow it [j].	
Female 6		<u>Mpozzi olw'okuba nti nze mbadde sibulima [j].</u>	<u>Perhaps it is because I have not been growing it [j].</u>	Expressing disinterest
Female 5		<u>Anti era eno ababulima tebaliyo [j; 1st af].</u>	<u>There are no people grow it here anyway [j; 1st af].</u>	Reiterating disinterest
Female 8	440	<i>Babunoonya Eh! Eh! Eh! Obusera. Akalo kagumira embeera y'obudde [ap].</i>	<i>Oh! There are buyers for it. Millet is weather resilient [ap].</i>	Countering disinterest Defending s position
Female 1		Abakyala akalo ...	Ladies, millet ...	Moderating discussion
Female 6	445	<i>Bannange munyumya kutereka nti tutereke emmere. Naye ne ssente [ap].</i>	<i>Members you are talking of storing food, but we should also save money [ap].</i>	Controlling topic Considering options
Female 2		<i>Mpozzi akalo kanyuma kutereka kuba tekawumba [ap]</i>	<i>May be, millet is good for storage because it is not prone to weevils [ap].</i>	Expressing compromise
Female 8	450	<i>Naye kagumira embeera y'obudde gundi [ap].</i>	<i>But it is quite weather resilient [ap].</i>	Reiterating defence of a position
Female 2	455	<i>Ku mbeera y'obudde eno ekyukakyuka, akalimye asinga. Eno ekyukakyuka, alimye akalo asinga [ap].</i>	<i>With such changing weather patterns, it is wise to grow it. It is better to grow millet [ap].</i>	Reiterating compromise
Female 8		<i>Akalo kano kagumira embeera y'obudde [ap].</i>	<i>Millet is weather resilient [ap].</i>	Persisting to defend a position
Female 2	460	<i>Yee, opakira mu kyagi kyo ng'olaaza, olinda musana lwe gunaayaka [ap].</i>	<i>Yes, you only need to store it in the granary and wait for the dry season [ap].</i>	Affirming compromise
Female 8		Mukabuuze NK eyakalimako.	You should ask NK, because she once grew it.	Seeking support
Female 6	465	<i>Katonda yamuyamba kwolwo [ap], naye nze akalo bannange ahaha [ap; 1st af]. Nze nnima ebijanjaalo [ap].</i>	<i>It was only by God's grace [ap], but I personally will not grow millet [ap; 1st af]. I will grow beans instead [ap].</i>	Alluding to authority Reiterating opposition
Female 5	470	<i>Weebale nnyo [j]. Nze nange bwe mba ndaba mu butuufu akalo kadda, naye tekatuuka [ap] ku birime birala gamba ng'ebijanjaalo, bummonde, kasooli [ap].</i>	<i>Very good point [j]. In my assessment, millet grows well but it does not pay as well as [ap] the other crops like beans, Irish potatoes, and maize [ap].</i>	Emphasizing opposition
Female 1	475	<u>Obulo tebulimika lwa nsonga. Obulo bwagala ettaka eppva, tovinza kuddira kisambu n'okiteekamu bulo [ap].</u>	<u>Millet is a bit of a headache to grow because it needs fresh soils, which you don't find in a fallow [ap].</u>	Reiterating opposition
Female 8		<i>Naye ate kye kintu ekiwezeka [ap].</i>	<i>But it is relatively easier to raise the amounts of millet you want [ap].</i>	Countering opposition
Female 1	480	<u>Bannange kiwezeka naye [ap; 1st af]!</u>	<u>Well, it is easy to raise the amount but [ap; 1st af]!</u>	Reiterating opposition
Female 10		<u>Obulo, ng'okwata enkumbi n'obulo, ebirala byonna</u>	<u>You simply cannot grow millet along with other crops. You</u>	Affirming opposition

	485	obisaanyawo [ap].	will be forced to abandon the other crops [ap].	
Female 1		Akammonde ko okasimba mu kisambu n'okabaza?	Would Irish potatoes do well in a fallow?	Moderating discussion
Female 6		<i>Bwotandika ebijanjaalo, ebijanjaalo olima bingi lumu</i> [ap].	<i>If you grow beans, you grow one large field at once</i> [ap].	Confirming opposition
Female 2	490	Tebiwumbe [ap]? Mpozzi ng'olabye omuguzi	Won't weevils attack them [ap]? Unless you get a buyer quickly.	Countering opposition
Female 6		<i>Ebijanjaalo birungi</i> [ap].	<i>Beans are good</i> [ap].	Defending opposition
Female 10		Ng'obulo butawaanya bannange [ap].	Members, millet is very demanding [ap].	Reiterating opposition
Female 11	495	<i>Nze nalima obulo sizoni eri ey'omunda, nkyabulina bulamu</i> [ap].	<i>I grew millet the last but one season, and the millet is still safe and intact</i> [ap].	Alluding to experience Supporting a position
Female 2	500	<i>Naye ate nga nalimye emiwogo gyange bulungi ne nsala mutere</i> [ap]?	<i>But suppose I grow cassava and dry it</i> [ap]?	Considering options
Female 11		Aah! Mutere awumba [ap], <i>naye nga walimye obulo</i> [ap]	<i>Dried cassava is prone to weevils</i> [ap] <i>but if you grow millet</i> [ap]....	Disqualifying option
Female 12		Tolima birala [ap]	You can't grow other crops [ap]	Expressing opposition
Female 11	505	<i>Nga lwaki? Yiyi, nnima obulo ate ne nnima n'ebijanjaalo mbikoola n'obulo bwange mbukoola</i> [ap]	<i>Why not? I would be able to grow millet and beans and still weed both of them</i> [ap].	Countering opposition
Female 12	510	Eeh! Nze nabulimako lumu naye bwankooya. Yee, nabulimako, naye bukooya [ap]!	I grew millet one time but it was very strenuous, very strenuous [ap].	Alluding to experience Reiterating opposition
Female 11		<i>Bukooya naye ogamba ababulima tebalima n'ebirala</i> [ap]?	<i>It is strenuous but don't you think people who grow it grow other crops as well</i> [ap]?	Countering opposition
Female 1	515	Naye ate kawo ono ali atya? Kawo alina sente?	What about cowpeas? Is it profitable?	Proposing alternative
Female 12		<i>Alina sente naye okufa, naddala enkuba ng'eyitiridde</i> [ap].	<i>Cowpeas is profitable but very vulnerable too, especially during heavy rains</i> [ap].	Disqualifying alternative
Female 1	520	Naye ekizibu aliibwa ennyonyi [ap].	And the problem is that cowpeas is attacked by birds [ap].	Disqualifying alternative
Female 11		<i>Obulo bwo tebabulya nnyo</i> [ap]	<i>Millet is not attacked that much</i> [ap].	Re-echoing position
Female 1	525	Kawo aliibwa ennyonyi, aliibwa emmese kwe kugamba ebintu ebiwalanya kawo bingi [ap].	Cowpeas is attacked by birds, rats. Generally cowpeas are threatened by a number of things [ap].	Disqualifying alternative
Female 2		Uhm, byo bingi.	True, there are many threats.	
Female 1	530	Okusinzira ku mbeera y'obudde gye boagedde, bw'oba olima kootimiiru mpozzi omulime Okwekkuminooqumu.	According to the weather forecast, if you want to grow parsley, you should plant it in November.	Controlling topic Moderating discussion
Female 11		Era Gwakkuminagumu.	November, of course.	

Female 2		Yee, <i>okusinziira ku mbeera emmere yeestinga</i> [ap].	Yes, <i>basing on the forecast, it is better to grow foodcrops</i> [ap].	Taking on new topic
Female 6	535	Emmere nga lumonde, bummonde, kasooli ne muwogo.	Foodcrops, like sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, cassava, and maize.	Reacting to new topic
Female 1		<i>Bye bigumira embeera y'obudde</i> [ap]. Naye bino ebirala byonna [ap]	<i>Such crops are weather resistant</i> [ap], but all the other crops [ap]	Expressing assessment
Female 2	540 545 550	Kuba nze okusinziira nga bwe ndabye enkuba eno, mbadde simanyi nti omuntu atuuse ne mu kiseera eky'okulima, kubanga mu biseera bino tubeera mu musana nga gutwokya, <i>naye kati tewaayase na kyeya bannange. Nze saakirabye. Tekyabaddeyo</i> [ap]. Kati era kiyinza okutwennyamiza okulaba enkuba ng'eggwaavo mangu [ap].	I didn't expect the planting season to start this early. Usually at this time of the year, we are still in the dry season, but this time round, <i>I don't remember going through any dry period at all</i> [ap]. It wasn't there and we might be disappointed when the rains stop early [ap].	Expressing surprise Expressing fear
Female 9		<i>Aha! Si kye kyabadde kitupapya okulima amangu</i> [ap].	<i>That is why we are hurrying to plant early</i> [ap].	Indicating strategy to cope with fear
Female 2	555	<i>Yee, era kati mu butuufu kunyiikira, tewakyali kuzannya</i> [j].	<i>Yes, we should work hard. No time to waste</i> [j].	Reiterating coping strategy
Female 1	560	<i>Era tulina okusiga nga bukyali</i> [j]. Luli twasiganga nga Ogwomwenda guggwaako, enseenene ne zigwa mu Gwakkuminagumu.	<i>Indeed, we should plant early</i> [j]. Before, we used to plant in late September and then the grasshoppers would appear in November.	Proposing a decision Affirming coping strategy
Female 2		Yee, naye ensi egenda ekyuka [ap]	True, but times have changed [ap].	Expressing concern
Female 6	565	<i>Waliwo omwaka lwerwawo ng'etonnya, enseenene ne zigwa nnyo enkuba n'etuuka mu January, emmere n'ekula</i> [ap]. Bannange kati ffe abafunye enkuba tusige.	<i>Sometimes the rains are prolonged into January so that we get bumper harvests of grasshoppers and food</i> [ap]. Dear members, we should plant with the rain we have received so far.	Proposing a decision Constructing group identity
Female 2	570	Uhm, tusige. Tusige	Yes, we should plant.	Approving decision
Female 1		Nga tusiga ki? Bijanjaalo?	What should we plant? Beans?	Seeking clarity
Female 8		Byonna, byonna kati, byonna!	Everything! Anything!	
Female 2	575	Okusinga ennyo kasooli, kubanga tomanya enkuba eyinza okukya amangu ate ye alwawo okukula [ap]. Ye yetaaga nkuba. Kati gwe tuba tusoosaayo.	Especially maize because the rains may stop early and yet maize has a long cycle [ap], it needs a lot of water. We should therefore plant the maize first.	Giving clarity Expressing caution Reasoning critically
Female 1	580	Ye tuludde, singa ameze n'okumera kati [j]. Abakyala abegasse ekyo tukitegedde. Kati ebintu	We are in fact late for the maize. It should have sprouted by this time [j]. Well group-ladies	Declaring a group decision Controlling

		ebyo bye tulimye oba bye tuteeseteese okulima <u>tunaaganyulwamu</u> [1 st af]?	(members), we know that now. However, <u>shall we profit</u> [1 st af] from what we plan to grow?	topic
Several	585	<u>Yii! Nnyo</u> [ap]!	<u>Of course</u> [ap]!	Consensus opinion
Female 2	590	<u>Kye tufunye kiri nti, buli muntu abadde tamanyi nti oba enkuba egenda kutandika ddi oba ddi. naye okuganyulwa kwo kubaawo. Buli lwosimba ekintu, lwokola ekintu, manya nti oba onoonya kuganyulwamu</u> [ap].	<u>What we have gained is that none of us knew when the rains would start, but now we know. So, that is a gain. Whenever you plant, or do something, your aim is to gain profit</u> [ap].	Attempting to wind up discussion Alluding to experience
Female 1		<u>Ebbeeyi y'ebirime eyinza okuba ngeeri wansi</u> [ap].	<u>The crop prices might be very low</u> [ap].	Expressing fear
Female 2	595 600 605 610	Kati omanyi ensawo y'amatooke kw'eyimiridde? 15,000/= ey'obummonde kati 25,000/=, ate kati waliwo abanoonya ensigo, 25,000/= bw'oba togirina mu nju togiggyaamu. <u>Kati okusobola okulaba nga bye tukoze naffe tufunamu, kiba kyetaagisa tulimire mu bungi. Ate n'okwanguwa okutunda kuno, kirungi naye si kirungi. Kyetaagisa ng'olimye bingi kati n'otundako half, half endala n'ogitereka, wali ebintu we birinnyira awo naawe n'otundira ku kabeeyi. Eh! Abaatereka kati bo balina ssente kati</u> [j].	Currently, a sack of banana costs 15,000/= while that of irish potatoes costs 25,000/= especially now that some buyers want the irish potatoes for seed. <u>We should grow things on a large scale in order to make enough profit. We should also not hurry to sell our produce early. We can only do this if we produce in bulk so that we sell a part during the peak season and keep a part for the moment of scarcity when the prices rise. Those who stocked from the previous season are now rich</u> [j].	Using concrete examples Proposing a solution
Female 1	615	<u>Kati abaatunda amangu ebirime, ku luno tebagenda kusiitaana okuzzaayo abaana mu ssomero</u> [j]?	<u>Will those who sold their produce early not find it hard to send their children back to school</u> [j]?	Alluding to experience
Female 8		<u>N'abaakeera okusimba, abaakungula nga bukyali nabo baafuna, ebijanjaalo endebe baatunda 10,000/=</u> [j].	<u>But those who planted early and harvested before the harvesting peak gained a lot too. They sold a tin of beans at 10,000/=</u> [j].	Alluding to experience Using concrete examples
Female 2	620 625 630	<u>Ahaa! Otyo! Kyetaagisa era osooseeyo ebisooka, ebinaatundirwa ku bbeeyi esooka ey'amaanyi awo. Ate era oyongere okufunayo ebinasembayo eby'ebbeeyi esembayo ebisobola okuterekebwa. Kubanga ate oli singa yatereka bino ebyasooka nga talina ddagala, biyinza okuba nga byamala dda n'okuvunda. Kyetaaga ogende ng'osimbira mu</u>	<u>That's right. It is therefore important that one plants an initial batch to catch the high early off-season price, and also a late batch to store in anticipation of the end of season price. This is because if you store the early stock without treating it, it may go bad. It is good to stagger the planting</u> [j]. But then, we normally experience strong winds during this rainy season. <u>We should guard against</u>	Expressing agreement Reasoning critically Alluding to authority Alluding to experience Constructing group identity Identifying a problem

	635	<i>phases</i> [j]. Naye okusenziira nga bwe muwulidde enkuba ya sizoni eno bulijjo tugimanyi ebeeramu kibuyaga. Kibuyaga temumwerabira ne muzira [ap].	winds and hail stones [ap].	
Female 1		<i>Abalina ensogasoga muyambe</i> [ap].	<i>Whoever has some castor oil trees should help others</i> [ap].	Emphasizing group identity
Female 2	640	Naye temubiteekamu bugayaavu, temugayaala [j]. Ate engeri gye tuli ku nsozi [1 st af], <i>emikutu, emikutu, emikutu</i> [ap]. Waliwo ekire ky'enkuba ekvatonnya ekyajjuza awo wammanga [ap].	You should not relax, don't sit back [j]. And since our area is hilly [1 st af], <i>we need to dig terraces, terraces, terraces</i> [ap]. One day it rained and flooded all the low lands [ap].	Calling for vigilance Proposing a solution Alluding to experience
Female 1	645	Anti era obutonde bw'ensi	That is how nature behaves.	Identifying a problem
Female 8		<i>Kati twongere okusimba emiti</i> [ap].	<i>We must plant more trees</i> [ap].	Proposing a solution
Female 1	650	<i>Gituyamba n'okufunako enku</i> [ap]	<i>Trees also help to provide firewood</i> [ap].	Confirming solution
Female 2	655	<i>Naye mumanyi omukutu tegutemeka ng'oli bwomu. Mbadde nsaba tuveemu ennaku tusooke nga tutema woomu emikutu olunaku oluddako tuteme ew'omulala kuba enkuba ejja kubeera ya maanyi. Ate engeri gye tuli ku nsozi, emikutu egyo gyetaagisa</i> [ap].	<i>But it is not easy to dig terraces single handed. I suggest that we pool labour and take turns to dig terraces in our gardens. Remember we expect a lot of rain; and since our area is hilly, we need the terraces very urgently</i> [ap].	Constructing group identity Proposing a collective solution
Female 8	660	Naye bakyala bannange nze nandisabye musookere mu nnimiro yange.	But fellow women I request you to start with my garden. .	Reaffirming group identity
Female 2	665	Ee, wuwo maama, okusookera ewuwo [1 st af], <i>tujja kukwata bululu</i> [ap] bwe tiva wano tulonde olunaku olw'okutema emikutu. Yee, kubanga mu butuufu engeri gye tuli ku nsozi	At your place madam, to start with your place [1 st af], <i>we shall cast votes</i> [ap]. When we are through with this, we should select a day of digging the terraces. Indeed since we are on the slopes and some of the hills have been burnt down [j], you will see the amounts of erosion which will come down . It will turn out to be like the other one, I don't remember the exact year when people made losses because the rain had swept away their gardens [ap].	Proposing alternative way of making decision Alluding to experience
	670	abantu obumu obusozi babwokezza [j] enkuba ejja kufubutuka evo, mujja kugiraba. Ejja kufuuka ngeri va oba gwali mwaka ki lwe yayerula ennimiro zonna zonna abantu ne balimira bwereere [ap].		
	675			
Female 8	680	<i>Ate mwattu bitulemera bwereere. Nga twasituse mulowooza olunaku tutema emikutu emeka</i> [j]?	<i>And there is no reason for us to fail, in case we decided to do it, how many terraces do we dig in a day</i> [j]?	Supporting collective solution
Female 2		<i>Yii nga twasituse ennimiro</i>	<i>In case we decided we could</i>	Expressing

		<i>y'omuntu omu tugimala [j], ate agali awamu omanyi [j]...</i> ,	<i>finish one person's garden [j]. The saying is that 'when the teeth hold together [j]...</i>	support Using a proverb
Female 1	685	<i>Ge galuma ennyama [j]</i>	<i>They bite through the meat [j]</i>	Completing proverb
Female 2	690	Omanyi eby'abangi tebinga byomu, bwotemayo ng'oli bwomu ogayaala [j] , naye <i>bwe muba abangi [ap]</i> ...Tulonze lunaku ki?	With combined effort it's not the same as when you work alone, when you are alone you may become lazy [j] , but when <i>you are many [ap]</i> ...Which day have we chosen?	Reaffirming collective solution Seeking a decision
Female 8		Olunaku tujja kululonda,	We will choose a day.	
Female 2	695	<i>Uh! Nedda tulonde olunaku lwe tunaasobola okulonda abagundi. Tutuule ku Ssande tulonde gye tusookera. Tuve wano oba nga tubironze [ap].</i>	<i>No, let's decide on a day when we will pick on whoever, we should meet on Sunday and decide on where to start. Maybe we should leave this place when we are decided [ap].</i>	Pushing for a decision
Female 1	700	<i>Era mu butuufu mu kifo ky'okwonoona obudde tuve wano nga tubironze [ap].</i>	<i>Indeed, instead of wasting time we should leave this place when we are decided [ap].</i>	Pushing for a decision
Female 2	705	Gye tunaasookera. <i>Aah ah tulonde kati. Bw'olindiriza ekintu ovinza okusanga ku Ssande ng'omulala alwadde. Tuve wano nga tubironze [ap].</i>	On where to start. <i>No we should select it now. In case you wait you may find one person sick on Sunday. We should leave after deciding [ap].</i>	Pushing for a decision
Female 1		Olw'okusooka tugenda mu katale.	Munday we are going to the market.	Controlling topic
Female 8		Naye waliwo abatagenda mu katale.	But some people won't be going to the market.	Pushing for a decision
Female 2	710	Tujja kutema ffe wamma	The two of us will dig the terraces my dear.	Reiterating push for a decision
Female 5		Kati olwo tunaaba tunaakwatagana [j]?	Shall we be able to move together in that case [j]?	Re-emphasizing group identity
Female 2	715	<i>Yee, tukwatagana [j]</i> , wakyaliwo olulala. Mukyalina eby'okwagera?	Yes, <i>we shall be able to move together [j]</i> . There will be another turn. Do you still have more issues to discuss?	Affirming decision Closing discussion
Female 1		Bituweddeko	No, we don't.	Closing discussion

3.3.3 Analytical perspectives on appraisal, citizenship, the business-meeting genre, and negotiation

Participants, through *inscribed* and *invoked* appreciation and judgment, concur implicitly on their interpretation and assessment of the weather forecast, which is that '**there is going to be little rain, which however, will intensify later**'. This *positive attitude* is iteratively expressed by various participants in different turns (Female 3: 014; Female 1: 021, 128-9, 210-214; Female 5:

029; Female 2: 044, 071, 130, 344-350; Female 6: 078-9). The iterative expression of the *positive attitude* is, according to Tannen (2007:61), to use allo-repetition or paraphrase to show acceptance of another person, his utterances, as well as his participation, and the repetition gives evidence of one's own participation.

The *positive attitude* is particularly expressed through the recursive use of the following lexico-grammatical units as positive keywords in various turns throughout the discussion: the modal verb phrase *-taaga tusimbe/tusige* (we should/we need to plant: 006, 018, 079, 568, 570), weather noun/verb *nkuba/tonny-* (rain: 013, 020, 029, 043, 064, 078, 098, 104, 138, 140, 145, 212, 218, 231, 296, 298, 302, 306, 313, 342, 343, 345, 346, 566, 587), weather noun *nkuba/mazzi* (moisture/water: 036, 059, 062, 065, 108), farm nouns *mulimisa* (extensionist: 049, 090, 115), *ddagala* (pesticide: 053, 055), *mukutu* (terrace: 060, 642, 651, 655, 658, 666, 679), *birime/mmere* (crops: 006, 063, 080, 150), *miti* (trees: 073, 647) and *mmere* (food: 080, 235, 245, 255, 256, 287, 567), farm verb *simb-/yiw-/sig-* (plant: 007, 018, 034, 073, 079, 086, 092, 094, 120, 127, 132, 136, 146, 215, 223, 226, 237, 261, 543, 553, 557, 568, 570), business noun *katale* (market: 259, 262, 264, 267, 294), business verb *gas-/fun-/gany-* (gain/benefit/profit: 199, 201, 586, 588), and adjective *-lungi* (good: 100, 118, 316).

On the other hand, **negative attitude** is particularly expressed through the recursive use of the following lexico-grammatical units as negative keywords: adjectives **-tono** (little: 021, 044, 079, 246, 324) and **musana** (dry: 023, 122, 243, 544), farm nouns **-lwadde** (disease: 045, 105, 107) and **-wuka** (pest: 047, 048, 050, 054, 057, 088, 219, 251, 317, 319, 331, 334, 343), food noun **njala** (hunger: 081, 226, 290, 314), emotion noun **-zibu** (problem: 068, 102, 152, 220, 264), emotion verb **laliikirir-/tya** (worry/fear: 130, 300, 301, 304), and weather noun **kibuyaga** (wind: 072, 634, 635).

Through both **negative** and *positive* inscribed appreciation, judgment, and affect, participants acknowledge the role of 'strategic planning' (*planting at the right time*: 005-010, 018, 025, 034-040, 095-100, 120-125, 130-135, 222-226, 362-368, 616-630; *using good farming practices*: 058-075, 636, 642, 646-650; *ensuring food security*: 080-086, 234-236, 287-8; *ensuring good quality inputs and outputs*: 097-100, 270-281; *pooling resources*: 113-9, 188-192, 265-270, 651-

660, 676-690; *diversifying activities*: 137-151, 175, 194-203, 208-218, 293-4; *making financial savings*: 445; *sourcing for markets*: 257-262, 600-610), and ‘expert/scientific knowledge’ (*alluding to authority*: 005, 020, 050-055, 090, 170, 280) in helping farmers to avoid **potential loss** (**extreme weather conditions**: 015, 031, 065-076, 100-110, 230-233, 326-343, 350-360, 635-645, 670-675; **crop disease and pests**: 045-055, 087-8, 100-110, 219-221, 250-256, 316-323, 326-343; **hunger**: 080-085, 226, 245, 289-292; **poor crop market and prices**: 152-169, 178-187, 205, 263-4, 271-4, 593, 611-5).

The citation of specific sums of money (595-600) and units of measurement (157, 163-4, 167-9, 186, 595) to demonstrate the importance of strategic planning (in form of *sourcing for markets*) to avoid loss (in form of **poor crop market and prices**) illustrates the role of ‘details and images’ as a creative strategy among various linguistic choices that I discussed in subsection 2.5.3 of chapter two, which speakers can employ to facilitate the involvement of other participants in interactive decision-making processes. The role of details and images in this respect is well captured by Tannen (2007: 134) who contends that “the power of images to communicate meaning and emotions resides in their ability to evoke scenes. Understanding is derived from scenes because they are composed of people in relation to each other, doing things that are culturally and personally recognizable and meaningful. The particularity and familiarity of details make it possible for both speakers and hearers to refer to their memories and construct images of scenes: people in relation to each other engaged in recognizable activities. And the construction of a scene in comprehension by hearers and readers constitutes mutual participation in sensemaking.”

The ‘common’ interpretation and assessment of the weather forecast, which is achieved through critical reasoning, builds a platform for constructing a group identity that is expressed by the consistent use of “*tu-*” (we) in almost all the above-cited turns of appraisal. The assessment in this context can be regarded as a group decision because it is made and reiterated by various participants in different turns, as illustrated above. The implicit group decision and construction of group identity are expressed more specifically in the problem-solving and decision-making turns – ‘**Tosiga nnyo bijanjaalo; kasooli gwe banyiikirira; n’obummonde; n’emiti gya muwogo**’ (one should not

plant a lot of beans; emphasis should be put on maize; and irish potatoes; also cassava: 356-367), to which there is a ‘chorus’ response – ‘*Yee*’ (Yes: 368).

The collective decision and group identity are also strengthened by decision-making turns – ‘*Kaakati ndowooza muwulidde. Buli omu agende ategeke ennimiro ze asige*’ (Now, I think we all know what to do. Each one of us should immediately go back, prepare their fields and plant: 118-120), and ‘*Bannange kati ffe abafunye enkuba tusige. Uhm, tusige*’ (Dear members, we should plant with the rain we have received so far. Yes we should plant: 568-570). The decision in each of these turns is specially marked by the implicit modal verb of obligation - ‘*should*’.

Group identity and *citizenship* are particularly reaffirmed by the use of a proverb – *agali awamu; ge galuma ennyama* (when the teeth hold together; they bite through the meat: 683-5) – which is an expression of ‘inclusive’ humor and also a call for unity and collective effort. Whereas, as already discussed in subsection 3.2.3 of this chapter, participants in meeting 3a employ metaphors as resources of evaluation; participants at meeting 3b invoke a proverb to construct group identity and to demonstrate *citizenship*.

The shared recitation (between Female 2 and Female 1) of the proverb, its implied meaning (*united, we stand*), as well as the topic of discussion (*pooling labor to dig terraces in members’ gardens*) are not only demonstrations of *citizenship* as a participatory decision-making process; they also illustrate the desire of the participants to forge a collective identity. A proverb is a ‘cultural expression’, and its multipurpose use in a discursive event like a meeting illustrates the relationship between language, culture and participation as discussed in subsection 2.3.1(b) of chapter two, in which case, according to Liddicoat (2009: 118), communication implies “the use of a culturally shaped code in a culturally shaped context to create and interpret culturally shaped meanings.”

The positions of both the “local” and “concerned individual” that are assumed by participants in the above-cited cases of constructing group identity are an expression of *citizenship* as a collective and participatory decision making process. Indeed the positions of the “local” and “concerned individual” emerge clearly when Female 1, Female 2 and Female 8 use narrative and hyperbole

(155-183) as evaluation resources to construct **negative judgment** about traders who use cunning tricks to cheat farmers during the time of buying produce. The three ‘emoters’ in this segment are able to win the support of the other participants (184-7). In this segment, the ‘emoters’ use narrative to relive their bad experiences and consequently, through presenting themselves as “concerned individuals”, construct an identity for themselves that is convincing to the other participants.

This creative way of using narrative for interpersonal goals in discourse demonstrates the link between perspectives on narratives as well as evaluation and the construction of identities that I discuss in subsections 2.5.3, 2.7.2(b) and 2.7.3(a) of chapter two. In this respect, the ‘emoters’ illustrate Grad & Martin Rojo’s (2008: 10) argument that “identity is built by narratives, which are shaped both by the person herself or himself and by others, and even by social discourses. So, in narratives, people do an interpretation of themselves, attempting to give meaning to their lives and construct a socially recognizable self.”

The cognitive move structure of the discussion presents in four angulated parts – i) interpretation of the weather forecast and assessment of its implications for the farmers (001-136, 296-355, 633-650); ii) critical reasoning and strategic planning for the common good (137-295, 531-567, 582-632, 651-710); iii) open conflict (370-530); iv) decision-making and/or closure of discussion (356-369, 569-581, 651-710, 715-718). The totality of constitution of the four parts of the discussion arises from the iterative nature of their respective cognitive moves. The *proverb* (683-5), which I mentioned above, comes in the fourth (decision-making) segment of the meeting. In this sense, a ‘cultural expression’ is not only used to affirm group identity, it also serves to summarize a position or a decision.

The third segment (open conflict) of the meeting is a transition from critical reasoning to decision-making. In this segment, participants use their individual and group power of negotiation to align themselves to one of two positions (growing or not growing millet). Through **negative** as well as *positive* judgment, appreciation and affect, participants bargain, allude to God, personal experiences, and support from group members, to express their emotional feelings and responses towards the decision to grow or not to grow millet. Several participants get

involved in the conflict but Female 6 is particularly outstanding in projecting a **negative judgment** of the participants who support the idea of growing millet. Her stance is iteratively echoed in the following turns: **Bannange!** (Come on! 397); **Kale wulira nti nnime obulo!** (Hear that! Can you imagine that someone is advising me to grow millet! 404); **Bannange twogere ng'abagundi!** (Let us talk like [sensible] people! 412); **Nave nze akalo bannange ahaha!** (I personally will not grow millet: 464).

The recursive expression of **negative judgment** in these turns is an implicit form of automatic self-repetition by which, as Tannen (2007: 60) contends, a speaker evidences her attitude, showing how the attitude contributes to the meaning of the discourse. The tone and lexicogrammatical structure of the turns in this segment are also signs of a conflict in which the speaker iteratively uses 'insults' to push for her position and to provoke the opposing party into sustained rebuttal, therefore proving Handford's (2010: 36-7) argument that "all human interaction has the potential to develop into conflict, and it would be incorrect to conclude that spoken business discourse is consistently polite."

It is however interesting to note that in spite of the emotionally-charged conflict, participants push for a 'collective' decision on the matter. None of the participants that take turns in the conflict suggests an individual decision. Indeed, the conflict is sustained because participants want the matter to be resolved with a consensus decision. In this sense, conflict serves to enhance group identity and *citizenship*. Indeed, the matter is not resolved with a particular decision. Rather, the chairperson (Female 1) assumes her regulatory position to moderate the conflict by successfully switching the topic of discussion (515 and 530). The manner in which this conflict is resolved bears testimony to Wagener's (2010: 179) observation that "while speakers may disagree on a conversational topic, a relationship, a nonverbal utterance or a factual or conceptual interpretation, they are still walking on the same path", and, as Gouran (2003: 835) adds, "a decision will ultimately be made, because decision-making is an activity in which individuals and groups engage numerous significant times virtually every day."

A further look at the cognitive move structure of this meeting also reveals that the chairperson (Female 1) assumes and exercises her role as moderator to open the meeting. She takes the first

turn to make a contribution to the debate and then rolls out the floor to other members to spontaneously take turns to participate in the discussion. However, the chairperson takes regular intervals to guide the meeting, by controlling turns and topics (001, 038, 055, 087, 094, 110, 132, 195, 204, 222-4, 247, 255, 283-5, 443, 486, 515, 530, 571, 700); summarizing and announcing decisions (118-120, 410); as well as to close the discussion (718). In spite of the chairperson's conspicuous moderation of the proceedings, all the participants take their discursive turns in a spontaneous manner, without having to seek the permission of the chair. The spontaneous nature of taking turns illustrates further the sense of *oneness* and *citizenship* among the participants, because through it members demonstrate both their individual and collective 'belonging' to the group by allowing an orderly exchange of the opportunity to hold the floor and to express an opinion.

3.4 A multiperspective analysis of meeting 3c (March 13th, 2006)

3.4.1 Introductory overview

Unlike meetings 3a and 3b which I just presented above, this one does not have a chairperson. However, Female 1 seizes the opportunity to take the first turn and subsequently invite other members to participate in the discussion. Female 1 also continues to moderate the proceedings by controlling turns and topics, but also making personal contributions to the debate. In spite of Female 1's occasional attempt to moderate the discussion, the taking of turns is generally spontaneous. Decisions are reached by consensus, but in a subtle way. One member makes a suggestion to which the rest of the group, either as individuals or in chorus, express agreement and support.

There is consensus on the interpretation of the weather forecast, and the decisions to make on the farm (like what crops to plant and the precautionary measures to take), thus demonstrating Tannen's (2007: 60) contention that repetition of sentences, phrases, words, and ideas is not only evaluative; it also helps to link new utterances to earlier discourse and to link ideas to each other. There are specific efforts to construct and maintain group identity in the discussions, through which a sense of 'community belonging' is cultivated and emphasized. The group identity is also strengthened by constant and deliberate allusion to authorities (like extensionists and other experts, meteorologists, God) and experience (like personal decisions, past incidents and events).

The discussion ends when Female 5 and Female 2 announce that the participants have no more ideas to contribute.

3.4.2 Analytical template of appraisal resources and the generic move structure of the meeting

Participant		Luganda	English translation	Cognitive moves
Female 1	001	Bakyalabannange ebyo mubiwulidde?	Fellow women did you hear the message?	Constructing group identity Opening discussion
Several		Tubiwulidde.	We heard it.	
Female 1	005 010 015 020	<i>Naye okusinga mukulike sizoni ewedde kubanga amawulire ag'ekika kino era twagafuna</i> [ap]. <i>Abaakeera okusimba baafunamu</i> [j]. Naye nga naffe bwe tuwulidde amawulire gano, <i>akatono ke watandiseeko okulima kiba kyetaagisa otandike okusiga</i> [ap], kubanga batugambye enkuba mu Gwokusatu ejja kutonnya ate eyamulemu eteekemu omusana . Kati ekitegeeza tugenda kusiga ebirime ndowooza bya sizoni eri empanvu. <i>Ebitya ennyo omusana byetaaga okukeerebwa amangu</i> [ap] ng' ebyemyezi ena. Wamma Female 2 olabye otya?	<i>Bust most of all I congratulate you upon last season because we got this type of information</i> [ap]. <i>Those who planted early benefited</i> [j]. But as we heard in this message, <i>whatever part of the field you prepare requires you to start planting</i> [ap], because we have been told that it is going to rain in March with a dry period. This means that we should plant crops which we would have planted during the longer (rain) season. <i>The crops that are extremely vulnerable to dry conditions, for example the 4-month cycle crops, should be planted early</i> [ap]. Female 2, what is your take on this?	Controlling topic Using intertextuality Making an assessment Alluding to authority Making a suggestion Inviting other participants
Female 2	025 030 035	<i>Nange bwe nkiraba</i> [ap]. Kaakati nga bwe batugambye nti enkuba egenda kutonnya ng'eyanika, kati mu Gwokusatu guno <i>tusige enkuba eri ennyingi egende okutonnya ng'ebirime byaffe bigenze bisembera</i> [ap]. Egende okuggwaayo nga bimaze okukula, egaane okubisuulirira [ap]. Naye kasooli asaana tumusimbe kati, bwe tutamusimba ku budde buno tetugenda kukwatamu [ap]. <i>Ate tusimbe ayanguwa</i> [ap]. Waliwo kasooli alwawo. Alwawo tajja kukula [ap].	<i>I don't differ from you</i> [ap]. We have been told that we shall have both rain and dry periods. So, <i>we should plant (the crops) during the month of March such that by the time the heavy rains come, our crops will have grown to an advanced stage</i> [ap]. By the time the rains stop [ap], the crops will have matured. But for the maize we need to plant it now, if we do not plant it at this time, we may lose badly [ap]. <i>We should plant the short-cycle varieties</i> [ap]. There are long-cycle varieties. Long-cycle varieties will not mature (do well) [ap].	Expressing agreement Alluding to authority Making a suggestion Constructing group identity Explaining suggestion
Female 3	040	Alwawo ye afaanana atya?	What do the long-cycle varieties look like?	Seeking clarification
Female 2		Yii [j] waali <i>waliwo ono kasooli</i>	Come on [j], <i>there are high-</i>	Expressing

		<i>ow'embala ayanguwa (hybrid) [ap]</i>	<i>yielding varieties of maize, which have a short maturation cycle (hybrid) [ap].</i>	surprise Explaining suggestion
Female 1	045	Ye abaffe nga bwe tuwulidde nti enkuba ya myezi ebiri gyokka, ebirime ebisinga teebireke nga bito [ap] ?	By the way , since we heard that the rain will only last for two months, will it not stop while most of the crops are still at a tender stage [ap] ?	Moderating discussion Expressing fear
Several	050	Era bwe kiri naddala kasooli [ap]	That is true especially for the maize [ap].	Expressing consensus opinion
Female 2	055	<i>Ebijanjaalo ebikula amangu bye bijja okukula. Bye tujja okukwasakwasaamu era tusaana tusige mangu [ap].</i>	<i>The short-cycle beans will grow to maturity. They are the ones from which we shall get some gain. So we need to plant early [ap].</i>	Proposing a decision
Female 4		<i>Tusigirewo abamaze okulima [ap].</i>	<i>Those of us who have finished preparing our fields should plant immediately [ap].</i>	Supporting decision
Female 1	060	Naye ekyo tekitweyibaaza. Tuyinza okulowooza nti ejja kukoma awo ate noolekayo eby'omugaso [j].	But that should not make us complacent. We may assume that the rain will stop there and then we leave the important things to do [j].	Supporting decision Expressing caution
Female 2	065	Ate luli temwagiraba kye yatukola? Temwagiraba [ap] ?	Didn't you see what the rain did to us last time? Didn't you see it [ap] ?	Reiterating caution
Female 1		Twagiraba [ap]. Female 5 obadde owaawo kirowoozo ki awo?	We saw it [ap]. Female 5, what is your suggestion in regard to this matter?	Affirming caution Moderating discussion
Female 5	070 075 080	Nze ekirowoozo ekyange kye nandiwadde okusenziira enkuba etonnya gye batuwadde nga ya kutonnya buli biseera, <i>tusaana neeyo emmere gye tugamba nti erwawo okukula nayo tugisige, tomanywa [ap]. Tuyinza okusiga ekula amangu ne tugamba ku nkuba entono gye tugenda okufuna gye tusiga ate enkuba neeba nnyingi. Ffe tuba twefiiriza [j].</i>	My suggestion, based on the rain patterns that have been given to us, that it is going to rain throughout, <i>we should as well plant the long-cycle crops, because you never know [ap]. We may plant short term crops assuming that we shall get little rain, only to end up getting much rain. We shall be putting ourselves at a disadvantage [j].</i>	Interpreting forecast Making a suggestion Considering options
Female 1	085	Naye abaffe bwereeta amayinja agazze eggulo, bye tulimye tuyinza obutakwasa [ap].	But if the rain comes with hail stones, like the ones we got yesterday, then we may suffer severe losses with what we planted [ap].	Making an assessment
Female 6		Go mu butuufu [1st af]!	Oh! The hail stones [1st af]!	Confirming assessment
Female 4		Engeri gyebadde etandise [1st af]!	Oh! The way the rain started to fall [1st af]!	Emphasizing assessment
Female 6	090	Empanguka gye yawanguseemu	If the rain falls the way it did	Reiterating

		eggulo bwetandika bwetyo [ap]!	yesterday [ap]!	assessment
Female 4		Eya kibuyaga [ap]!	Rain that comes with wind blowing [ap]!	Affirming assessment
Female 7		Kibuyaga wa maanyi [ap]!	The winds were strong [ap]!	Reaffirming assessment
Female 3	095	Ebitooke byagudde [ap]!	The banana trees fell to the ground [ap]!	Confirming assessment
Female 2	100	<i>Byagala kuggyako bisanja nga bukyali. mubiggyeeko ebisanja, tusalire, embuyaga egende okujja ey'amaanyi nga tebizitowa</i> [ap]. Female 5 olaba otya ggwe? Muteese tulabe. Muwogo anaaba atya?	<i>The banana trees need to be pruned early. Prune off the dry leaves, such that by the time strong winds come, the plants are not heavy</i> [ap]. Female 5, what do you have say? Members, make contributions. What about the cassava gardens?	Proposing a solution Moderating discussion Controlling turns Controlling topic
Female 1	105	Bannange muteese, okusinziira nga bwe mwawulidde <i>tusobole okuggyamu omulamwa</i> [j].	Colleagues make contributions to the discussion, on the basis of what you heard, <i>so that we (the meeting) may be meaningful</i> [j].	Moderating discussion Alluding to authority
Female 5		<i>Tusaana okumusimba</i> [ap].	<i>We need to plant the cassava</i> [ap].	Supporting idea
Female 1	110	Eno enjala ejja kututta singa tetugiyiyiza magezi [ap]!	Hunger will kill us if we do not do something about it [ap]!	Expressing a concern
Female 4		Ejja kutuyisa bubi nnyo [ap]!	It will affect us seriously [ap].	Reiterating concern
Female 5		Umm, bwe tutagisalira magezi [j]. <i>Twandisimbye kasooli</i> [j].	Yes, if we do not strategize [j]. <i>We should grow maize</i> [j].	Affirming concern
Female 1	115	Naye ku luwedde twali tulimye okusinziira ku mawulire ge twali tufunye naye omusana ne gutukola bubi [ap].	But last time we grew crops following the information that we received but the sun mistreated us [ap].	Alluding to authority and experience
Female 4		Ebijanjaalo byonna byafudde ebyasookayo [ap].	All the beans which were planted first died [ap].	Making an evaluation
Female 2	120	Temwalaba bwe yatonnya n'etulimbalimba ne tusiga kati byonna bye twasiga byakaze [ap].	Didn't you see how the rain fooled us by raining and getting us to plant, but in the end all our crops got scorched [ap].	Affirming evaluation
Female 4	125	<i>Twandibadde tusiga ebijanjaalo, buli mmere yonna kwe kugamba ne tusiga oba oli awo tuyinza okuyambibwa enkuba ate neewera. Naye ng'emmere ebadde ey'emyezi eminene ate nayo neesangibwa ng'ekula</i> [ap].	<i>We should plant beans and other food crops, perhaps we shall be lucky to have the long-cycle crops grow to maturity in case the rain intensifies</i> [ap].	Proposing a solution Alluding to authority
Female 1	130			
Female 1	135	Naye nga bwe ndaba, kati enkuba ebuzaabuza [ap]. Ovinza okugirinda n'ogamba nti leka nninde [j] kubanga baagamba nti gyeri. Noogumiikiriza ate banno abasigidde wano ku luno olutono olujja [ap] <i>ebyabwe ne bikula</i> [ap].	The rain seems to be confusing us now [ap]. You may wait on it patiently [j], because we have been told that it will come, and in the process the colleagues who planted with the little showers [ap] end up with <i>their crops growing to maturity</i> [ap].	Considering options

Female 2	140	<i>Luli tewalaba? Baasooka ne basiga, abaasiga okusooka be baabaza</i> [ap]. Abaasembayo byafiira ddala. Nakati, biri bye twasooka byafudde [ap].	<i>Didn't you see what happened last time? The people who planted first got a good yield</i> [ap]. Those who planted last did not have any yields at all. But this time, what we planted first died [ap].	Alluding to experience Appraising decisions
Female 6	145	Byafudde, era tugenda kuddamu buzzi kusiga [ap].	The crops died, and we are going to have to plant again [ap].	Affirming appraisal
Female 2		Era tubadde tumanyi nti tewakyali na nkuba egenda kutonnya [ap].	And we knew (thought) that there was going to be no more rain [ap].	Reiterating appraisal
Female 1	150	Uh uh <i>nze kwolwo neesonyiwa kuba era nali nkimanyi</i> [j] nti mu Gwokusatu muno enkuba mwetera okutandikira.	<i>I did not plant then because I knew</i> [j]that usually, the rains start in March.	Alluding to experience
Female 4		Anti yatonna neesukkawo [ap].	But it rained beyond expectation [ap].	Re-stating appraisal
Female 6	155	<i>Yatonna neewera kati ffe ne tusiga</i> [ap] ate oluvannyuma omusana ne gubitta [ap].	<i>It rained in sufficient amounts, then we planted</i> [ap], but later, the sun killed (scorched) the crops [ap].	Affirming appraisal Expressing disappointment
Female 1	160	Kati ku luno oba bya kukalakata ebyo [ap]?	So, shall we dig away those crops this time [ap]?	Confirming disappointment
Female 2		Umm, bya kukalakata.	Yes, we shall dig them away.	Expressing agreement
Female 5		Tugenda kuddamu okusiga nga tutema biri nga tuteekamu ebirala.	We shall re-plant, by clearing the old crop and replacing it with a new one.	Reiterating agreement
Female 2	165	Aaah ah tebigenda kujja [ap]!	Forget, the new crop will not survive [ap].	Expressing disagreement
Female 5		Mwe byava?	In the field of the old crop?	
Female 2		Yee	Yes	Affirming disagreement
Several	170	Kati onaakola ki nga ye nniro gylina?	What can you do when it is the (only) garden you have?	Expressing group decision
Female 3		Oddamu nookabalawo.	You dig up the ground again.	Proposing a remedy
Female 1	175	Naye nedda mwakola bubi [j]. <i>Awo we byakalira singa watemaatema</i> [j], kati singa kiri ekibugumu ky'ebijanjaalo [ap] kimaze okufuluma.	No, what you did was bad (wrong) [j]. <i>If you had dug up the ground again at the time the first crop dried up</i> [j], by this time the 'beanness' [ap] would have eased out.	Expressing judgment Giving advice
Female 4	180	Ate otemeteme mu kyeva nga byakala era [j]?	Would you dig up the ground during the dry season when the crops have dried up already [j]?	Questioning advice
Female 5		<i>Twali tulinamu essuubi nti buli obunaamulisa bugenda kuteekako ebijanjaalo</i> [ap].	<i>We had some hope that the few plants that had flowered would bear beans</i> [ap].	Defending earlier action
Female 1	185	Kati olwo ekitegeza sizoni eno aw'okusiga watono [ap].	That means that there is little space to plant this season [ap].	Inferring a problem
Several		Umm, wo watono [ap].	Yes there is little space indeed	Affirming problem

			[ap].	
Female 5	190	<u>Kati bwogamba nti mwe bibadde bwe biddamu bifa</u> [ap]!	<u>When you replace a crop with a similar crop in the same field, the new crop will die</u> [ap]!	Identifying a problem
Female 1		<u>Yee, bitera okugenya</u> [ap].	<u>Yes, such crops are usually unhealthy</u> [ap].	Reiterating problem
Female 6	195	<u>Era bujja kubikwata lwa kubanga tujja kusigamu ate oba ze nnimiro</u> [ap]!	<u>Well, the crops will have to be unhealthy, because we have to plant them in the old fields, which are the only gardens we have anyway</u> [ap].	Expressing desperation Implying a decision
Female 1	200	<u>Umm kyaleetebwa kubuzaabuza kwa nkuba</u> [ap].	<u>Yes it was brought by the intermittent nature of the rains</u> [ap].	Identifying cause of a problem
Female 3		<i><u>Kasita kati batunyonnyodde kati buli omu ajja kubeerawo ng'akimanyi</u></i> [j].	<i><u>Now that we have received an explanation (information), each one of us will be aware</u></i> [j].	Alluding to authority Expressing hope
Female 4	205	<i><u>Omanyi twali tumanyi nti ekyeya ekigasse. Omanyi waliwo lwetonna neegattira ddala ekyeya, akeeya akatono ako ne katabaawo</u></i> [ap].	<i><u>We knew (thought) that there was going to be one joined-up dry spell. Some times it rains without dry spell intervals, such that we do not get the short dry period</u></i> [ap].	Explaining earlier decision Alluding to experience
Female 3	210	Naye ate towulidde nti <u>evinza okutonnya ng'ebuzaabuza, ng'etonnya bitundu</u> [ap]?	Didn't you hear that <u>the rain may be intermittent</u> [ap]?	Re-interpreting forecast
Several		<i><u>Ng'eyamula</u></i> [ap]!	<i><u>Juxtaposed with dry periods</u></i> [ap]!	Expressing consensus
Female 1	215	<i><u>Tokimanyi nti eyo ye nnungi; enkuba etonna eyamula, eyo ebaza</u></i> [ap].	<i><u>Don't you know that rain that is juxtaposed with dry periods is the one that brings good harvests</u></i> [ap].	Making an appraisal
Several		<i><u>Ebaza, yee</u></i> [ap].	<i><u>Yes, it brings good harvests</u></i> [ap].	Affirming appraisal
Female 4	220	<u>Ebaza naye ate oluvannyuma evinza okutonnya n'evitawo</u> [ap], <u>ate nga tugavade</u> [j].	<u>It brings good harvests but sometimes it may turn out to be too much</u> [ap], <u>especially when we work lazily</u> [j].	Reiterating affirmation Identifying a problem
Female 7		<i><u>Nedda, kati kye tuba tukola, woolimye woosiga</u></i> [ap].	<i><u>What we have to do now is to sow whichever bit of the garden we prepare</u></i> [ap].	Proposing a solution
Female 1	225	<i><u>Woolimye olima katono noosiga, olima katono noosiga</u></i> [ap].	<i><u>One should prepare one little piece at a time and sow it, a little piece at a time and sow it</u></i> [ap].	Supporting solution
Female 2		Naye bannange, <u>okusinziira ku kyeya kino</u> [ap] <u>waliwo abadde talima</u> [j]?	But colleagues, <u>looking at this dry period</u> [ap], <u>is there anyone who has not prepared their fields</u> [j]?	Constructing group identity
Female 4	230	<i><u>Twalima wonna</u></i> [j].	<i><u>We prepared every where (all the fields) already</u></i> [j].	
Female 5		Abamu twalwala.	Some of us fell sick.	Identifying a problem
Female 1	235	Tolaba nti ate we baalima luli ate we baasiga.	Don't you see that the field they used last time (season) is the same field where they planted again this	Identifying a problem

			time.	
Female 4		<u>Twaddamu ne tusiga ate ne bifa</u> [ap].	<u>We planted again but the crops died</u> [ap].	Identifying a problem
Female 1	240	<i><u>Nze nagaana</u></i> [j].	<i><u>I, personally refused</u></i> [j].	Expressing an individual decision
Female 4		<i><u>Eee ng'olina amagezi</u></i> [j]!	<i><u>That was clever of you</u></i> [j]!	Envyng decision
Several		<u>Ffe twasiga</u> [j]!	<u>We did plant</u> [j]!	Lamenting earlier decision
Female 1	245	<u>Neesigula luli nti enkuba eija kutonnya kati ne nsooka ne nnima ekirimiro nga kinene nagenda okusiga nga yo ekya. Kubanga nnali mmanyi nti mu biseera eby'omu maaso egenda kuwera nnyo</u> [j].	<u>Last time, I took it for granted that the rain would come, so, I prepared a big garden. But, by the time I planted, the rain was already easing out. I thought that the rain would intensify later</u> [j].	Alluding to experience Appraising previous decisions
Female 2	255	<u>Noosiga noolowooza nti enkuba etandise nga kati waliwo abasiga, waliwo ebiri mu ttaka, byameze kimukimu</u> [j].	<u>You planted thinking that the rain had started, like the case is this time where some people have already planted. Only a few of their crops have germinated</u> [j].	Affirming appraisal
Several		<u>Era bwe kiri</u> [ap].	<u>That is true</u> [ap].	Expressing consensus
Female 4		<u>Nange mbirina</u> [ap].	<u>I have such a garden</u> [ap].	Confirming appraisal
Female 2		<u>Wano kimeze, wali tekimeze</u> [ap].	<u>The crops germinate intermittently</u> [ap].	Confirming appraisal
Female 1	260	<i><u>Mwebiri, bijja kifuluma</u></i> [ap].	<i><u>The seeds are there in the ground, they will germinate</u></i> [ap].	Allaying fear
Female 2	265	<i><u>Yee bijja kifuluma</u></i> [ap] naye <u>bimera bubu. Ate oyo kasooli aliibwa obuwuka bwoba tosize wansi</u> [ap].	<i><u>Yes they will germinate</u></i> [ap], but <u>they germinate badly. And the maize gets eaten by pests if you do not plant it deep in the ground</u> [ap].	Allaying fear Expressing dislike
Female 3		<u>Nze era gwe nasiga mwattu yenna yafa</u> [ap].	<u>Indeed, all the maize that I planted died</u> [ap].	Lamenting experience
Female 1	270	<i><u>Naye bannange tunyiikirire kasooli</u></i> [ap] kubanga nze nga bwe ndabye <u>ekyeya kino, omuntu ataalimeeyo kasooli ku kino ekyeya embeera si nnungi. Kubanga kati bw'otunuulira n'obutooke kati bwonna bukaze. Tebulina maanyi</u> [ap]. <i><u>Kati olwo abalina kasooli waabwe</u></i> [ap]...	<i><u>Members, we should seriously consider growing maize</u></i> [ap] because <u>from my assessment of this dry season, whoever does grow maize will be in trouble. It is so because for now if you look at the bananas they have all dried up. They are all weak (look miserable)</u> [ap]. <i><u>So, the people who have maize</u></i> [ap]...	Expressing concern for community Reasoning critically Proposing a decision
Female 4		<i><u>Balya kasooli</u></i> [ap].	<i><u>Will be eating the maize</u></i> [ap].	Expressing agreement
Several	280	<i><u>Umm</u></i> [ap]	<i><u>Yes</u></i> [ap]	Expressing consensus
Female 4		<i><u>Era kasooli mmere</u></i> [ap].	<i><u>Indeed, maize is food</u></i> [ap].	Supporting decision
Female 7		<i><u>Kyo kyovogerako kituufu</u></i> [ap]	<i><u>What you are saying is right</u></i> [ap]	Emphasizing

	285	kubanga ku sizoni ewedde twanyigirizibwa nnyo omusana. Tetwafuna mmere bulungi [ap]. <i>Kati twanguwe tusimbe kasooli</i> [ap].	because last season we were seriously devastated by the sun and we did not get good harvests of food [ap]. <i>So we should now hurry and plant maize</i> [ap].	decision
Female 6		Anti omusana gwamukwata nga tannakula [ap].	The sun (dry period) caught the maize at a tender stage [ap].	
Female 1	290	Wamma bataata amawulire ago nga bwe mugawulirizza kaakati wamma mmwe mubadde mutuwa kirwoozo ki?	Hello gentlemen, from the message you heard, what suggestions would you give us?	Moderating discussion Controlling turns
Male 1	295	<i>Ekirowoozo ekisinga kya kusimba buli budde enkuba lweba etonnye. Ensigo gyosangiddwa nayo giteekeyo. Ate singa tufuna ensigo za kasooli zino ez'embala ezanguwa ekyo kijja kuba kituyambye</i> [ap] naye ekyabuze [ap].	<i>The best idea is to plant whenever it rains. Plant whichever seed you have with you. And if we can get the improved short-cycle varieties of maize seed, that would help us</i> [ap] but we are yet to find them [ap].	Reiterating decision Identifying a problem
Female 1	300			
Female 1		N'ebbeevi [ap]!	And the price [ap]!	Confirming problem
Male 1		Ffe tutunula, amaaso tugatadde ku mulimisa oyo alabike ng'atuwa eky'okukola <i>okutwanguyiza ensigo</i> [j].	We have set our eyes on the extensionist who will advise us on what to do <i>to get the seed fast</i> [j].	Alluding to authority
Female 1	305	<i>Ey'awamu eyo eyinza okugulikako</i> [ap] naye maama kati [ap]!	<i>The seed may be affordable if we buy it together as a group</i> [ap], but as things stand now [ap]!	Emphasizing group identity Identifying a problem
Male 1	310	Kubanga ono owa bulijjo atera okulwawo okulabika nti abala [ap].	The common variety usually takes longer to yield [ap].	Confirming problem
Female 1		Eya ssekinnoomu tegulika [ap].	Buying the seed individually is expensive [ap].	Reiterating problem
Female 2		Female 8, ggwe wali osize?	Female 8, had you planted?	Moderating discussion
Female 8		Aaah nze saasiga.	No, I did not plant.	
Female 6	315	<i>Abataasiga mwayambibwa</i> [ap].	<i>The people who did not plant were lucky</i> [ap].	Appraising previous decisions
Female 8		<i>Nze saasiga</i> [ap] nali ntegesse kutandika Gwokusatu.	<i>I did not plant</i> [ap]; I had planned to start in March.	Affirming appraisal
Female 3	320	Naye ffe twali tusigidde ddala [ap].	Well, some of us planted wholly (all gardens) [ap].	Reiterating appraisal
Female 1		<i>Kati tusige</i> [ap]. Nze era eggulo enkuba olwamaze bweti okutonnya...	<i>We should plant now</i> [ap]. For me, as soon as it stopped raining yesterday...	Proposing a decision
Several		Noosiga.	You planted.	
Female 2	325	Lumonde mwasize?	Have you planted potatoes already?	Controlling topic
Several		Yee, kati asinga ali mu ttaka.	Yes, most of the potatoes are in the ground (planted) already.	
Female 2		Kaakati muteese ekiri ku mulamwa.	You should now discuss the issue at hand.	Moderating discussion
Female 5		Tetumaze?	Havent we finished?	Closing discussion

Female 1	330	Naye mmwe mulwooza kiki ekireese enkuba okukyukakyuka bweti [ap]? Emabegako awo mu Gwokubiri enkuba yabanga etandise.	But what do you think has brought about these changes in the rainfall patterns [ap]? Formerly, the rains used to start in February.	Moderating discussion Alluding to experience
Female 2	335	Kutema miti. Emiti mugitemye mugimazeewo. Mulwooza ki [j]?	The cutting down of trees. You (people) have cut down all the trees. What else did you (people) expect [j]?	Identifying cause of a problem
Female 3		<i>Ate nga baatugamba wootema osimbewo</i> [ap].	<i>And yet we were told to plant a tree whenever we can one</i> [ap].	Alluding to authority
Female 2	340	N'ekirala, ebibira kati bye tulimamu, bye byandibadde bireeta enkuba. Ate twabisaawa, mwe tulimira [j].	Also, the forests where we now have our gardens would be the ones to bring the rain. But we cut them down, and replaced them with gardens [j].	Reiterating problem
Several	345	Yee [ap]	Yes [ap]	Expressing consensus
Female 2		Ebigamba bibaweddeko.	You have no more ideas to contribute.	Closing discussion

3.4.3 Analytical perspectives on appraisal, citizenship, the business-meeting genre, and negotiation

Participants, through **inscribed** and **invoked** appreciation, concur on their interpretation of the weather forecast, which is that ‘**there is going to be little rain**’. This **negative attitude** is recursively expressed by various participants in different turns (Female 1: 015, 045; Female 2: 024; Female 5: 078; Female 4: 127). The concurrence on the **negative attitude** is confirmed by a consensus opinion (045-50 and 210-212) – ‘**...nga bwe tuwulidde nti enkuba ya myezi ebiri gyokka... era bwe kiri naddala kasooli; ...eyinza okutonnya ng’ebuzaabuza, ng’etonnya bitundu; ng’evamula**’ (since we heard that the rain will only last for two months... that is true especially for maize; ...the rain may be intermittent; juxtaposed with dry periods). Similarly, excessive/destructive rain is assessed with **negative appreciation** (082-095), whereby participants use allo-repetition to get the rest of the meeting to comprehend their stance. Indeed, like Tannen (2007:59) observes, the repetition of an idea by different participants facilitates comprehension by providing semantically less dense discourse.

For example;

Female 1: **Naye abaffe bwereeta amayinja agazze eggulo...** (082)

(But if the rain comes with hail stones like the ones we got yesterday...

- Female 6: **Go mu butuufu!** (087)
(Oh! The hail stones!)
- Female 4: **Engeri gyebadde etandise!** (088)
(Oh! The way the rain started to fall!)
- Female 7: **Kibuyaga wa maanyi!** (094)
(The winds were strong!)
- Female 3: **Ebitooke byagudde!** (095)
(The banana trees fell to the ground!)

In this example, participants Female 6, 4, 7, and 3, react to Female 1's move by expressing agreement to the initial assessment of **hailstorms**. The "reactors", through repetition of the "mover's" idea, express **negative attitude** with semantically less dense discourse, hence demonstrating the evaluative power of *repetition*.

Another example where **negative attitude** is expressed through the use of *repetition* as an involvement strategy of evaluation is about **hunger** (109-112), where Female 4 and Female 5 affirm Female 1's fear that the community might be struck by **hunger**, in light of the **critical assessment** of the weather forecast. Thus;

- Female 1: **Eno enjala ejja kututta singa tetugiyiviza magezi!** (109-110)
(Hunger will kill us if we do not do something about it.)
- Female 4: **Ejja kutuyisa bubi nnyo!** (111)
(It will affect us seriously!)
- Female 5: **Umm, bwe tutagisalira magezi.** (112)
(Yes, if we do not strategize.)

The two examples cited above about the evaluation of **hailstorms** and **hunger** demonstrate that by repeating the words, phrases, sentences, or ideas of other speakers, participants are able to enhance and facilitate conversational coherence, respond to each other's utterances, show a willingness to interact, as well as to express attitude and stance on a topic of discussion.

The **negative attitude** that is outlined above is particularly expressed through the recursive use of the following lexico-grammatical units as negative keywords in various turns during the

discussion: weather nouns **musana/kyeya** (dry period/sun: 015, 019, 116, 156, 179, 204, 206, 207, 212, 214, 228, 271, 275, 284, 288), **mayinja** (hailstones: 082, 087) and **kibuyaga** (wind: 092, 094, 099), adjective **-tono** (little/small: 078, 136, 185, 186), verbs **fiiir-/te-kwat-** (lose: 033, 080, 084) and **ggw-/lek-/kya** (stop: 029, 047, 247), food noun **njala** (hunger: 109, 111), verb **tt-/f-** (die/kill: 109, 118, 142, 143, 145, 157, 237, 268).

Participants also make an explicit evaluation of the previous weather forecast and season. The evaluation is that ‘*the farmers who planted early made gains*’ (008, 140) while ‘**those who planted late suffered losses**’ (140, 145, 237, 242-250, 256-8, 268, 283-5, 288, 319). While the **negative attitude** in this assessment is expressed in the negative keywords that I highlight in the preceding paragraph, the *positive attitude* is especially expressed through the following positive keywords: farm verb *simb-/sig-* (plant: 008, 012, 016, 025, 031, 034, 075, 108, 113, 121, 124, 126, 140, 146, 155, 162, 222, 225, 237, 286, 293, 319, 321, 342), and weather noun/verb *nkuba/tonny-* (rain: 013, 023, 025, 046, 071, 127, 131, 148, 152, 199, 210).

On the other hand, through both **negative** and *positive* inscribed appreciation, judgement, and affect, participants acknowledge the role of ‘strategic planning’ (*planting early*: 012, 019, 022-5, 032, 055-6, 222-5, 245, 286, 293-5, 322-4; *pooling resources*: 305; *using good farming practices*: 97-100; *ensuring food security*: 124-130, 276-282; *using good quality seed*: 034, 042, 296-9; *taking wise decisions*: 075-080, 110, 239, 241, 315; *ensuring environmental protection*: 334-345) and ‘expert/scientific knowledge’ (*alluding to authority*: 006-7, 201-3, 302-4, 315, 338-9) in helping farmers to avoid **potential loss** (**devastating weather conditions**: 030, 033, 035, 047, 059-067, 080-095, 116-122, 198, 284, 334-345; **crop failure, disease and pests**: 191-5, 237, 251-268, 308-9, 320; **hunger**: 109-111, 270-275, 285; **financial difficulties**: 299-301, 306, 311).

The ‘common’ interpretation and assessment of the weather forecast builds a platform for constructing a group identity, which is expressed by the consistent use of “*tu-*” (we) in several turns, especially problem-identification contributions (033, 059, 084, 109-112, 116, 284-5, 340-3) and problem-solving or decision-making contributions (016, 025, 031, 055, 075, 108, 113, 124-6, 221-2, 269, 305, 321). The assessment in this context can be regarded as a ‘common position’ or

‘group decision’ because it is made and reiterated by various participants in different turns, as illustrated above. The implicit group decision is particularly characterized by the iterative use of the modal verb of necessity *taag-/saan-* (need/require: 019, 073) or the modal verb phrase *tusimbe/tusige* (we should plant: 025, 034, 056, 113, 124, 286, 321) in the decision-making turns cited above. The implicit group decision and construction of group identity are expressed more specifically in the problem-solving and decision-making turns – ‘*Ey’awamu eyo eyinza okugulikako, naye maama kati...eya ssekinnoomu tegulika*’ (The seed may be affordable if we buy it together as a group, but as things stand now...buying the seed individually is expensive: 305-6, 311).

The collective decision and group identity are also strengthened by the fact that some decisions are reached through consensus (050, 186, 211), which position is expressed through ‘chorus’ responses to a suggestion. However, although all the decision-making turns that I have cited so far are subtle, a more explicit group decision is expressed in ‘*Kati tusige*’ (We should plant now: 321). This explicit cognitive move, along with the invoked ones that I have already cited, do not only confirm a group decision but they also reaffirm group identity as well as *citizenship*, in as far as they reflect the role of the “concerned individual” in working with other members of the community to attain a common good. *Citizenship* is also expressed through **inscribed judgment** of the reckless cutting down of trees and forests by members of the community (330-345). The condemnation of acts of tree-destruction, using the voice of the “organized protestor”, illustrates a sense of feeling for the natural environment and the welfare of the larger community.

The consensus on the **inscribed negative judgment** (345) of acts that endanger the natural environment as explained in the paragraph above illustrates the argument espoused by Bora & Hausendorf (2006: 23-4, 27); Norris (2008: 134); O’Mahony & O’Sullivan (2006: 62) and Strauss (2005: 211) that citizenship is a communicative achievement or participation perceived by the participants themselves and manifested in their communicated images of self and others emerging from their cultural and traditional backgrounds, in the context of including the public in decision-making interactions between government and citizens.

The cognitive move structure of the discussion presents in four coherent parts – i) evaluation of previous season, and interpretation of the current weather forecast (001-320); ii) decision-making (321-9); iii) critical reasoning and strategic planning for the common good (330-345); iv) closure (346). The meeting does not have a chairperson, but Female 1 takes the first turn and assumes the responsibility to open (001) and subsequently moderate the discussion at regular intervals (020, 047, 067, 104-6, 290-2, 330). However, Female 2 also participates in the role of moderating the discussion when she takes regular intervals to control turns and topics as the meeting wears on (101, 313, 325). The task of closing the discussion is performed by Female 2 (346), although Female 5 had tried to do it earlier (329).

The sharing of the role of ‘moderator’, which does not bring about ‘conflict over power’ among individual participants, is further testimony to the expression of *citizenship* as a shared participatory process of making decisions. The sense of *oneness* and *citizenship* is further evidenced by the spontaneous nature of turn-taking, where all participants, including the moderators, make contributions without having to seek the permission of the chair. The spontaneity of cognitive moves between members allows participants to demonstrate both their individual and collective ‘belonging’ to the group, through an orderly exchange of the opportunity to hold the floor.

3.5 Summary

Whereas meetings 3a and 3b have a chairperson while meeting 3c does not have a chairperson, all the three meetings have a ‘moderator’ who controls the flow of the discussion. However, the moderator does not control turns of participants. Rather, turns are spontaneously taken, as explained in subsections 3.2.3, 3.3.3 and 3.4.3. The spontaneous nature of handling business in this cluster of meetings bears testimony to the perspectives on the notion of business meetings, as discussed in subsection 2.5.1 of chapter two, and which can be summarized in Handford’s (2010: 76) argument that although the structure of meetings may sometimes seem to be messy, it does not imply that participants are not purposeful in what they are doing. The apparent messiness can be explained with reference to recurrent practices being applied to novel situations, as well as to creative strategies that experienced speakers purposefully employ.

The multi-perspective analysis of this cluster of meetings also reveals that through spontaneous turn-taking, subtle decision-making, citizenship position of “concerned individual”, participants work towards consensus-building through which they construct and cement a strong group identity. The analysis brings to surface the relationship between participatory discourse and participatory community development as discussed in subsection 2.4.1 of chapter two, and which, according to Roncoli et al. (2011: 129-130), prove that participation at a business meeting may be expressed through interaction with other participants by way of a discussion style in which a specific point is shaped by several participants “rather than a single turn and enunciated by one individual.” And when participants contribute to the dialogue, “they demonstrate their allegiance to the group and their commitment to the ultimate goal of participation, which is to reach consensus.”

The issue of business meetings being a form of conflict, which I discussed in subsections 2.5.2(c) and 2.5.3 of chapter two, is illustrated by the conflict over the growing of millet in meeting 3b. The conflict confirms Jones’ (2009: 85) assertion that business discourse is “inherently conflictual”, and that “discursive conflict is characteristic of all business communication.” However, the manner in which participants in meeting 3b manage the conflict further confirms the argument raised by Wagener (2010: 179, 191), Malamed (2010: 214), and Heritage (2006: 11), that conflictive negotiation can be a healthy way to build consensus, and consequently a bond of unity and citizenship, as explained in subsection 3.3.3 of this chapter.

Cultural expressions that I discussed in subsection 2.3.1(b) of chapter two, as well as creative problem-solving strategies that I discussed in subsection 2.5.3 of chapter two, and whose communicative effect is explained under the use of repetition, metaphors, narratives, details and a proverb in subsections 3.2.3, 3.3.3 and 3.4.3 of this chapter (also in subsections 4.2.3 and 4.3.3 of chapter four), do not only strengthen group identity and participatory citizenship, they also underline important moments of decision-making in a discussion. The use of these linguistic choices of evaluative creativity validates Handford’s (2010: 185-6) contention that if we are to accept that business meetings are often concerned with discussing, preventing, and sometimes offering solutions to and solving real and hypothetical problems, we need to appreciate that creativity is central to success in business. Indeed, like Duranti (1997: 21) and Liddicoat (2009:

118) argue, expressions of evaluative creativity link the meeting to the participants' broader knowledge of the world around them.

The multi-perspective model of assessing business meetings which I espouse in section 2.8 of chapter two, and which I invoke in the subsequent discussions creates a good link between the theoretical perspectives in chapter two and the analysis of data. For example, the analytical templates 3.2.2, 3.3.2 and 3.4.2, as well as the analyses that follow in subsections 3.2.3, 3.3.3 and 3.4.3, demonstrate Martin & White's (2005: 1) view that by modelling appraisal resources at business meetings, participants approve and disapprove, enthuse and abhor, applaud and criticize, and that through linguistic mechanisms, participants share their emotions, tastes, normative assessments, as well as create attitudinal positions, which they wish their listeners to adopt.

In summary, the above multi-perspective analysis reveals that this cluster of meetings is indeed a form of problem-solving business meeting because, as explained by Handford (2010: 60), the meetings satisfy the following features; i) a set of participants, ranging from dyadic to multiparty, ii) evidence of an agenda or topic, iii) a purpose, reason or goal for the meeting, iv) specific, constrained turn-taking modes, v) the influence of institutional, professional or national culture, and vi) recognizable beginnings and endings. The analysis also reveals that the subtle decision-making meetings in this chapter satisfy the three core stages (opening of meeting, discussion of the agenda/topic, and closing of meeting) of a business meeting structure as identified by Handford (2010: 70), and as explained in the characterization of the cognitive move structure of each of the three meetings in subsections 3.2.3, 3.3.3, and 3.4.3 of this chapter.

CHAPTER 4

A MULTI-PERSPECTIVE ANALYSIS OF EXPLICIT DECISION- MAKING MEETINGS

4.1 Introduction

In chapter three, I presented a multi-perspective analysis of the patterns of participation in subtle decision-making meetings. I also introduced the analytical framework as well as the principles that I adopt in the course of the analysis of patterns of participation, decision-making, and evaluation within the context of meetings on rural community development work. In chapter four, I employ the principles that I introduced in chapter three to analyze and discuss another cluster of meetings which I refer to as ‘explicit decision-making’ meetings. Whereas the meetings in chapter three have implicit decisions that emerge out of iterative moves of problem-solving turns, the meetings in chapter four have decisions being overtly announced by a group member. There are four meetings in this cluster, and for each one of them I give an introductory overview, a genre-appraisal representation, as well as a multi-perspective analytical discussion. The chapter concludes with a summary of the multi-perspective trends that emerge from the ‘explicit decision-making’ cluster of meetings, especially as far as they relate to various themes and perspectives of the literature reviewed in chapter two.

I employ the typeface conventions that I introduced in chapter three to analyze the appraisal resources and other generic properties of the meetings.

4.2 A multi-perspective analysis of meeting 4a (September 13th, 2005)

4.2.1 Introductory overview

Female 1 is the chairperson of the group. She takes the first turn to talk and invites other members to participate in the discussion. The discussion is about interpreting the forecast, making plans about what to plant and when to plant it. Although each member makes a personal effort to negotiate for his/her position, a collective decision is finally reached. The decision is

pronounced by a member as a group decision, in which case chorus-approval of the announcement by the group signifies consensus. The chairperson reiterates the collective decision as part of closing the discussion. The group decision is re-enforced with an analogy, a saying and a proverb, which are forms of imagery that emphasize a need to trust the wisdom or advice of an authority and to act quickly on such wisdom/advice. Once the images have been invoked, the chairperson declares the end of the discussion.

4.2.2 Analytical template of appraisal resources and the generic move structure of the meeting

Participant		Notions of appraisal	English translation	Cognitive moves
Female 1	001 005	Kati oba batugambye nti mu Gwomwenda muno enkuba ejja kubeera ntono [ap] kati ndowooza <i>okusiga tulindemu</i> [ap] Ogwekkumi kuba bwe tunaasiga kati ate nga bagambye enkuba ntono tuyinza okufiirwa [ap]. N'omulala aleeteyo ekirowooza.	Since we have been told that there will be little rain [ap] in September, I think <i>we should stay the planting</i> [ap] until October, because we might lose [ap] if we plant now when the rain is expected to be little. Another person may now contribute an idea.	Alluding to authority Interpreting forecast Making a suggestion Expressing a fear Opening discussion
Female 2	010	Kati bamaze okutubuulira nti era ya kutonnya Gwakkumi, n'Ogwekkuminoogumu, n'Ogwekkumineeberi. <i>Kati tulinde Ogwekkumi tusige</i> [ap].	We have been told that the rain will come in October, November and December. <i>We should stay the planting until October</i> [ap].	Interpreting forecast Reiterating suggestion
Female 3	015	Nze mbadde njamba nti <i>emmere empangaazi, tusige mu mwezi guno Ogwomwenda, nga muwogo, kasooli ne lumonde akulira emyezi ena. Ebijanjaalo tulinde tusige mu Gwekkumi</i> [ap].	My view is that <i>we should plant the more durable crops [ap] in September; such crops as cassava, maize and the four-month cycle potatoes. We should wait to plant the beans in October</i> [ap].	Making a suggestion Affirming earlier suggestion
Male 1	020 025	Naye okusenziira ku kye mpulidde amawulire agaliwo nti enteebereza y'obudde; <i>enkuba etandise mu Gwomwenda okutonnya</i> [ap] nave ntono. Ejja kutonnya nga bwesirika. Kiba kitegeeza nti enkuba ejja kubeera ntono [ap]. <i>Tulina okusiga amangu</i> [ap]. Ate mu maaso eyinza okubulira ddala [ap], okusenziira ku mawulire ge tuwulidde.	From what I heard (on the tape), the information is that much as <i>the rain has already started in September</i> [ap], it is going to be little. It will be intermittent. This means that there will be little rain [ap]. <i>We have to plant early</i> [ap]. It may even disappear completely later [ap], according to the information we just heard.	Reasoning critically Interpreting forecast Making a suggestion Expressing caution Alluding to authority
Female 1	030	Anti ate bwe tunaasiga mu Gwomwenda muno, ate enkuba bweneeba eweze mu Gwekkumi ne mu Gwekkuminoogumu ebijanjaalo tebigenze kujjula mazzi [ap]?	But if we plant now in September, won't the bean pods get filled with fluid [ap] instead of seeds, when the rains intensify in October and November?	Reasoning critically Expressing fear, reservation

Female 3	035	<i>Anti awo nze we nkugambidde nti emmere empangaazi gye tuba tusooka tusige mu Gwomwenda muno. Kati Ogwekkumi, tutandike tusige ebijanjaalo [ap].</i>	<i>That is why I suggested that we should plant the more durable crops first in September and then plant the beans later in October [ap].</i>	Reiterating earlier suggestion
Female 1	040	Kati ebijanjaalo tusooke tubireke?	Should we, then, first wait to plant the beans?	Seeking decision
Several		<i>Yee [ap]</i>	<i>Yes [ap]</i>	Expressing group decision
Female 4		<i>Emmere tusige empangaazi [ap].</i>	<i>We should plant the more durable crops [ap].</i>	Emphasizing decision
Male 2	045	Naye nze kye ndowooza, <i>bwe tuba nga twagala okutambula n'embeera ey'omulembe [j] tetulina ate kusukka nnyo [j] mateeka oba bakugu kye batugambye [ap].</i>	My view is that <i>if we want to move with the modern times [j], we should not disobey [j] the rules or what the experts tell us to do [ap].</i>	Reasoning critically Alluding to authority Constructing group identity Sounding a warning
	050	Kaakati omukugu bwakugamba nti enkuba agenda kubeera ntono, agambye nti sizoni enkuba eteeberezewa okuba nti ntono [ap], kiba kitegeeza nti <i>olina okukeera okusiga [ap]. Bwolinda nti aah tujja kusiga, eija kuwera [j], tuvinza okwekanga ng'ebintu byaffe bifudde omusana [ap].</i> <i>Kiba kitegeeza nti tulina okutambula n'abakugu kye batugambye [j].</i>	If the experts say that there will be little rain, that the season will have little rain [ap] , it means that <i>you have to plant early [ap]. If we delay to plant hoping that more rain will come [j], our crops might end up being killed (scorched) by the sun [ap].</i> <i>It means that we have to follow the advice of the experts [j].</i> That is my opinion about the message (which we have received).	
	055	aah tujja kusiga, eija kuwera [j], tuvinza okwekanga ng'ebintu byaffe bifudde omusana [ap]. <i>Kiba kitegeeza nti tulina okutambula n'abakugu kye batugambye [j].</i>		
	060	<i>Amawulire nze bwe ndowooza.</i>		
Male 3		<i>Tutandike tusige [ap].</i>	<i>We should start to plant now [ap].</i>	Proposing a decision
Female 5		<i>Tutandike tusige [ap].</i>	<i>We should start to plant now [ap].</i>	Supporting decision
Male 2		Lwaki?	Why?	
Female 5	065	Lwa kubanga bamaze okutugamba nti enkuba agenda kuba ntono [ap]. Singa enkuba tunaalinda neewera ebiseera ebijja eyinza okukendeera ate nga tetusize bukyali [ap].	Because we have been told that there will be little rain [ap]. If we wait for the rain to intensify later it might instead stop before we plant [ap].	Defending decision
Female 4	070	<i>Kati tusazeewo tusige [ap].</i>	<i>So, we have agreed to start planting now [ap].</i>	Affirming decision
Several		<i>Tusige. [ap]</i>	<i>We should start planting now [ap]</i>	Expressing consensus
Male 2	075	Kati kye ndowooza nti <i>ng'ekibiina, bwe tuba nga tujja kutambula bulungi, tulina ebintu bino okuba nga tubisalawo [j] tuleme kugamba nti tugende kugeza [ap].</i>	My view is that <i>if we want to move together as a group we have to take a decision [j]</i> instead of going away to make (individual) experiments [ap].	Stressing group identity
Several		<i>Umhu [ap]</i>	<i>Exactly [ap]</i>	Expressing consensus
Male 2	080	<i>Naye singa omusawo akugambye nti [ap] oli mulwadde enjoka [ap], olina kunywa mululuuza na muti gundi. Nga ye musawo ddala ye</i>	<i>If a doctor tells you that [ap] you have worms [ap] and he advises you to take acacia or a specific herb, and indeed you trust him, you</i>	Reasoning critically; Alluding to authority Making a

	085	<i>agenda okukuwonya</i> [ap], kizibu okugamba [j] nti ate musese gwe gunamponya [ap]	cannot choose [j] to take an unprescribed herb [ap].	comparison
Female 5		<i>Umm uh oteekwa kunywa mululuuza</i> [ap].	<i>You have to take the acacia</i> [ap].	Expressing agreement
Male 2	090	Bakugambye nti omwana mulwadde [ap] <i>ayagala kutwala mu ddwaliro</i> [ap], oti leka mmale kumuwa mululuuza [j]. Onojja okumutuusa eri talina mazzi [ap].	If you are told that your child is sick [ap] <i>and it needs to be taken to hospital</i> [ap], but you choose to first give it herbs [j], you might get to hospital when the child is dehydrated [ap].	Alluding to authority Making a comparison
Several		<i>Yee</i> [ap]	<i>Yes</i> [ap]	Expressing consensus
Male 2	095	Enkuba ntono [ap].	There is going to be little rain [ap].	Re-interpreting forecast
Male 4		<i>Tutandike tusige</i> [ap].	<i>We should start to plant now</i> [ap].	Proposing a decision
Several		<i>Tutandike tusige</i> [ap].	<i>We should start to plant now</i> [ap].	Expressing unanimous decision
Male 3	100	<i>Okusinziira ku magezi ge tuwulidde ku mukugu. Tutandike tusige okusinziira ku magezi agatuweereddwa</i> [ap].	<i>According to the advice we have received from the experts; We should start to plant now, according to the advice we have received</i> [ap].	Alluding to authority Supporting decision
Female 6	105	<i>Amagezi ogaweebwa munno</i> [ap].	<i>Advice (wisdom) comes from a friend</i> [ap].	Confirming decision with a saying
Male 3		<i>Ennyonyi enkeeze...</i> [ap]	<i>The early bird...</i> [ap]	Emphasizing decision with a proverb
Female 1	110	<i>Ye erya ensirinanyi</i> [ap]. Ebirowoozo byaffe biweddeyo? <i>Tutandike tusige mu Gwomwenda</i> [ap]. Tumaze okusalawo. Ebirowoozo byaffe bikomye awo. Tumaze okwesalirawo	<i>Catches the worm</i> [ap]. Do we have no more ideas to give? <i>We should start to plant in September</i> [ap]. We have made a decision. Our views are over. We have made our own decision.	Emphasizing group identity Reaffirming group decision Closing discussion

4.2.3 Analytical perspectives on appraisal, citizenship, the business-meeting genre, and negotiation

Participants, through **inscribed** and **invoked** appreciation, concur on their interpretation of the weather forecast, which is that ‘**there is going to be little rain**’. This **negative attitude** is expressed by various participants in different turns (Female 1: 003; Male 1: 024, 026; Male 2: 051, 095; Female 5: 066). At a lexico-grammatical level, the **negative attitude** is particularly expressed through the recursive use of specific linguistic units as negative keywords, most notably the adjectival phrase **enkuba ntono** (little rain: 003, 006, 024, 026, 051, 053, 066, 095).

However, through *inscribed appreciation* and *judgment*, participants acknowledge the role of ‘strategic planning’ (*planting early*: 027, 055, 062, 063, 070, 072, 097, 098, 101; *planting more durable crops*: 015, 036, 043) and ‘expert/scientific knowledge’ (*alluding to authority*: 049-050, 059-060, 079-092, 100-5) in helping farmers to avoid **potential loss** (**crop failure**: 007, 034, 058). The *positive attitude* is particularly expressed through the iterative use of the following linguistic units as positive keywords: the modal verb phrase *tusige* (we should plant: 013, 015, 018, 027, 043, 062, 063, 072, 097, 098, 101, 110), adjectival phrase *emmere empangaazi* (durable crops: 014-5, 036, 043), farm verb *sig-* (plant: 004, 005, 013, 015, 018, 027, 030, 037, 039, 043, 055, 056, 062, 063, 069, 070, 072, 097, 098, 101, 110), and noun *-kugu* (expert: 049, 060, 101).

The *positive attitude* that is expressed through *allusion to expert authority* as indicated above is particularly projected by Male 2 who makes two *analogies* (079-093) about the need to respect and promptly implement the advice of a medical doctor regarding a decision on the treatment of one’s condition or the condition of a child. In the *analogy*, Male 2 argues that if a doctor advises a patient to take acacia to treat worms, the patient should not take an unprescribed herb instead. Similarly, Male 2 argues that if a child is sick and it needs to be taken to hospital, the child should be taken to hospital immediately to avoid further complications. The two images in this segment of the meeting are invoked to ‘persuade’ participants to make decisions following the weather forecast, which the ‘experts’ had prepared and presented for discussion. Indeed, Male 2 wins the support of the rest of the group with a consensus approval – *Yee* (Yes: 094) – of his idea.

Whereas participants in meetings 3a and 3b (discussed in chapter three) employ **metaphors** and a *proverb* as evaluation resources, the current meeting employs *analogy* or *comparison* as a resource of linguistic creativity to facilitate decision-making and to enhance participant involvement in the discussion. The use of the *analogy* crystalizes participation in business meetings as, according to Tannen (2007: 27), the emotional connection that binds individuals to other people as well as places, things, activities, ideas, memories, and words. The analogy also confirms Duranti’s (1997: 21) contention that the notion of participation embodies the inherently

social, collective, and distributed quality of any act of speaking in which we interact with other people by evoking a world that is usually larger than whatever we can see and touch.

The ‘common’ interpretation of the weather forecast builds a platform for constructing a group identity, which is expressed by the consistent use of “*tu-*” (we) in several turns, especially problem-solving contributions (004, 012, 015, 027) and decision-making contributions (043, 055, 062, 063, 070, 072, 097, 098, 101, 110). Group identity is further strengthened by the fact that decisions are reached through consensus (041, 072, 078, 094, 098), which position is officially announced by the chairperson (Female 1) at the end of the meeting; thus *tutandike tusige mu Gwomwenda* (we should start to plant in September: 110). The collective decision/consensus and the construction of a group identity are particularly reaffirmed by the use of a *saying* – *amagezi ogaweebwa munno* (advice/wisdom comes from a friend: 105) and a *proverb* – *ennyonyi enkeeze; ye erya ensiriŋŋanyi* (the early bird; catches the worm: 107-9).

The *saying* and the *proverb* are an involvement strategy that is employed by Female 6, Male 3 and Female 1 to build on the *analogy/comparison* discussed above in order to reaffirm the group decision of respecting and acting swiftly on the advice/information of the weather ‘experts’. The *saying* and *proverb* do not only serve the purpose of reaffirming consensus and group identity; they also mark the end of the discussion, because after they are invoked, Female 1 declares that – *tumaze okusalawo; ebirowoozo byaffe bikomye awo; tumaze okwesalirawo* (we have made a decision; our views are over; we have made our own decision: 111-3). As with **metaphors** and *proverb* in meetings 3a and 3b (discussed in chapter three), as well as the *analogy* (discussed above), the use of the *saying* and *proverb* in this segment of the meeting further confirm Bhatia et al.’s (2008: 228) argument that discourse is one of the “many cultural tools with which individuals take action and which link them, through these actions, to their socio-cultural environments.”

It is also interesting to note that the recitation of the *proverb* is participatory to the (whole) group, in that one member recites a part (107) of the proverb and the other members (109) complete the rest, hence affirming Tannen’s (2007: 100) contention that through *repetition* and *linguistic pre patterning* speakers create worlds that listeners can recreate in their own

imaginings by allowing the individual to speak through the group, and the group to speak through the individual. The participatory manner in which the *proverb* is invoked does not only enhance the construction of group identity, it also illustrates the expression of *citizenship* as a collective and participatory decision-making process through the assumption of the position of “concerned individual” by various participants.

This manner of constructing group identity and expressing *citizenship* bears out Duranti’s (1997: 21, 313) argument that participation involves the cognition to manage the retrieval of information and the prediction of others’ action necessary for problem-solving, and that it is through the different ways in which different individuals are allowed to be “part of certain kinds of activities that social identities are created and reproduced. Whether or not someone’s voice will be expressed, someone’s point of view recognized depends in part on the interactional arrangements that are possible in the situation.”

The cognitive move structure of the discussion presents in three coherent parts – i) interpretation and implications of the weather forecast (001-034); ii) critical reasoning and decision-making (035-098); iii) confirming decision and closure (100-113). The *analogy* that I discussed above comes in the second segment of the meeting where it is employed as an evaluation resource to facilitate the process of making a decision. On the other hand, the *saying* and *proverb* come in the third segment of the meeting to reaffirm the group decision, and after they are invoked the discussion closes. In this sense, linguistic choices of ‘interpersonal creativity’ are not only used to express group identity, they also serve to summarize a decision or a position.

A further look at the cognitive move structure of this meeting also reveals that the chairperson (Female 1) does not moderate the discursive turns of other participants. Instead, the chairperson only assumes the role of ‘moderator’ to open (007) and close (111-3) the meeting. Turn-taking is spontaneous, where all participants, including the chairperson, make contributions without having to seek the permission of the chair. The spontaneous nature of taking turns illustrates further the sense of *oneness* and *citizenship* among the participants, because through it members demonstrate both their individual and collective ‘belonging’ to the group by allowing an orderly exchange of the opportunity to hold the floor.

4.3 A multi-perspective analysis of meeting 4b (March 8th, 2006)

4.3.1 Introductory overview

Male 1 takes the first turn to open the discussion by inviting other members to participate in the debate. He continues to take subsequent turns to moderate the discussion and to solicit for specific decisions on issues. The discussion mainly rotates around taking a decision to start planting immediately or to plant later. The suggestion to plant immediately comes from Male 1 very early in the discussion. The decision is approved in several individual and group turns and it is ultimately taken as a collective decision when at the end of the discussion, the ‘moderator’ asks, crosschecks and ascertains from members whether it is the general consensus.

However, participants also unanimously take another decision to keep the proceedings of the meeting to only the group members. Participants emphasize that they should update the absent group members on the proceedings of the meeting; but that the rest of the community should not be alerted. Participants defend their syndicate decision by arguing that they fear to be used as the excuse in case of crop failure for non-group members. There is an emphasis on group identity during the process of taking decisions. The discussion gets to a point of sharing jokes and humour about daily experiences and stories, which signify the end and closure of the meeting.

4.3.2 Analytical template of appraisal resources and the generic move structure of the meeting

Participant		Luganda	English translation	Cognitive moves
Male 1	001	Mubiwulidde enkuba nga bwenetambula?	Did you hear how the rains are going to behave?	Opening discussion
Female 1		Enkuba tugiwulidde.	We heard about the rains.	
Male 1	005	Batugambye egenda kuba nsaamusaamu, etonnye ng’eyanika. Tunaaba tukoze tutya awo?	We have been told that the rain will be moderate, juxtaposed with some dry periods. What should we do then?	Interpreting forecast Moderating discussion
Female 1		<u>Omulimi awo obuzibu bulabikawo olwo kati</u> [ap].	<u>There seems to be a problem for the farmers</u> [ap].	Expressing concern
Male 1	010	Tutandike kukola ki?	What should we do in this case?	Moderating discussion
Male 2		<i>Era tuyingiridde kulya mmere nnyangu</i> [ap].	<i>We have to resort to eating (growing) fast-maturing crops</i> [ap].	Making a suggestion
Male 1		Kati tusige?	Should we plant now?	Seeking decision

Female 3	015	<i>Kusiga</i> [ap] era Ogwokusatu gwe guno.	<i>We should plant</i> [ap] because it is already March.	Proposing a decision
Male 2		<i>Ate ensaamusaamu era yeeno etandise</i> [ap].	<i>And the moderate rain is the one that has started to fall</i> [ap].	Supporting decision
Female 1	020	<i>Kale nga bweri nsaamusaamu ne bwe tusiga kati</i> [ap].	<i>Since the current rains are moderate, we may plant now</i> [ap].	Confirming decision
Male 2	025	Naye ate ennyingi togisuubiddeeyo [ap] okusenziira ku byowulidde. <i>Eyo gyofunye gyojja okutwala ng'eyomugaso gyoli</i> [ap].	Since, from what we heard, we do not expect to get any heavier rains later [ap], <i>whatever (amount of) rain we have received so far is what we shall consider to be important to us</i> [ap].	Reaffirming decision Alluding to authority
Female 1		<i>Eyo gyofunye ye y'omugaso</i> [ap].	<i>The little rain that you have received so far is the one that is important to you</i> [ap].	Emphasizing decision
Male 2	030	<i>Eno ye y'omugaso gyoli</i> [ap], tojja kufuna kugamba, ggwe ate olina endala gy'oterese [ap]? <i>Era tulina kukozeza eno gye tufunye, mu budde bwayo</i> [ap].	<i>This is what is important to you</i> [ap] because you do not have any other that you have stored away [ap]. <i>We have to make use of the rain we have received so far</i> [ap].	Emphasizing decision
Female 3	035	<i>Tusige</i> [ap]. Ekinaakala kikale [ap]. <i>Ekinaawona kiwone</i> [ap].	<i>Let us plant</i> [ap], ready to have some of the crops dry up [ap], <i>and some survive</i> [ap].	Expressing determination Reiterating decision
Male 1		<i>Kati abalina obummonde musige</i> [ap].	<i>Whoever has irish potatoes should start to plant them</i> [ap].	Confirming decision
Male 2	040	<i>Nabwo bwagala nga bumeze</i> [ap].	<i>It is better to plant the irish potatoes after they have sprouted already</i> [ap].	Affirming decision
Female 1		<i>Obwo bwo tubusige.</i>	<i>Let us plant the irish potatoes</i> [ap].	Confirming decision
Male 1	045	<i>Obwo bwo mubusige</i> [ap].	<i>You should plant the irish potatoes</i> [ap].	Confirming decision
Female 1		Ate kasooli n'ebijanjaalo?	What about the maize and beans?	Controlling topic
Male 2	050	Naye anti buli muntu ajja kusimba era kye yategeka. <i>Kasita kizze tukitegedde. Tujja kugenderayo nga tusiga</i> [ap].	But every one will plant whatever he/she prepared to plant. <i>The good thing is that this situation has come to us while we are aware. We shall proceed to plant</i> [ap].	Emphasizing decision
Male 1	055	<i>Naye tusooke tusige emmere eno eya lumonde omuzungu. Lumonde omuzungu ye abeeramu nno mu ttaka</i> [ap].	<i>But we should first plant the irish potatoes. Irish potatoes can stay long in the ground</i> [ap].	Situating decision
Female 1		<i>Umm, ye abeeramu</i> [ap].	<i>Yes, irish potatoes stay long in the ground</i> [ap].	Affirming previous move
Male 2	060	<i>Ate n'okukangaza akangaza nnyo</i> [ap].	<i>Irish potatoes also have many sprouting points</i> [ap].	Reiterating affirmation
Male 1		Batugambye enkuba ntonotono	We have been told that there is going to be a little rain.	Re-interpreting forecast
Male 2		Kati nze ndowooza, ffe	I suggest that we, who have received	Constructing group identity

	065	ng'abakitegeddeko wano, <i>ffe tukole akantu ak'enkukutu, tugende tukakozese nga situkasasaanyizza</i> [ap].	this information, <i>should organize to do our things secretly, without making them known to other people</i> [ap].	Proposing syndicate Proposing a decision
Several		<i>Umh, akaffe</i> [ap]	<i>Yes, our secret thing</i> [ap]	Expressing conspiracy
Female 2	070	<i>Temwogera</i> [ap].	<i>You should not leak the secret</i> [ap].	Supporting conspiracy
Female 1	075	Kubanga bwe tunaakasasaanya, oli ebibye ebinaafa nga wakimugamba, ajja kugamba nti gundi ye yanamba nti siga, twabisoma [j].	Because if we leak the secret and some one's crops die after you give him the secret, his excuse will be that you advised him to plant because of this workshop (meeting) [j].	Reiterating conspiracy Defending conspiracy
Male 2	080	Olugezezi lwe wandeetera [j]. <i>Ffe tugende tukole ekvaffe tukituukeko nga tukimanyi</i> [ap].	The wisacre that you indeed are [j]. <i>Let us go and do our thing, ready to take its consequences</i> [ap].	Emphasizing group identity Supporting conspiracy
Male 1	085	Kati olwo <i>lwaki tetulinze ne tusiga mu abiri, ne tumala okulaba mu zino ennaku nga bweteekateeka</i> [ap]? Kubanga mu abiri eyo <i>twalirabye ng'eggulu bwe lizimbazimamu oba eyinza okutuwaayo ekire eky'amaanyi</i> [ap].	<i>Why then don't we wait to plant around the 20th, meanwhile we check to see the signs that the rain gives</i> [ap]? Because around the 20 th , <i>we should be able to see the sky (clouds) swelling or showing us signs of a possibility of a heavy rain shower</i> [ap].	Considering possibilities Alluding to experience
Female 1	090	Yee, <i>naye mu mazikiza wano tulowoozaayo okufuna ku kire</i> [ap].	Yes, <i>but we expect to get a rain shower when the moon is waning</i> [ap].	Alluding to experience
Male 1		Mu masumi?	When the moon is waxing?	
Female 1		<i>Nga guzikiza wano, enkuba tugirowoozaayo okutonnya</i> [ap].	<i>When it is waning, we expect some rain to fall</i> [ap].	Affirming experience
Female 2	095	<i>Musige enkuba enaabisangayo mu ttaka</i> [ap].	<i>Plant the crops. The rain will find them in the ground</i> [ap].	Proposing a decision
Male 2	100	Okusiga kiva mu busobozi. Awulira ng'alina emikono ayinza okusigira ennaku ebbiri naamala ennimiro ze. Naye waliyo mukonomukono ono [ap].	Planting depends on one's ability. A strong person may plant all his gardens in two days. But there are people who use the hand hoe [ap].	Appraising proposed decision Expressing concern
Female 1		Mukono gumu oyo [ap]!	Oh, the hand hoe [ap]!	Reiterating concern
Male 1	105	<i>Tujja kumuyamba, ffe nga aba group</i> [ap].	<i>We, as members of the group, shall lend a hand to such a person</i> [ap].	Constructing group identity Expressing communalism
Female 1		<i>Ffe nga aba group ng'alina obulime ewuwe obutereevu, tujja kumuyamba</i> [ap].	<i>As group members, we shall help such a person, if he has prepared his fields already</i> [ap].	Emphasizing group identity and communalism
Male 2	110	Naye kati nga mmwe mugamba nti ye alinde [ap]?	But are you saying that such a person should wait [ap]?	Questioning communalism
Male 1		<i>Yee</i> [ap]	<i>Yes</i> [ap]	Affirming communalism
Male 2		Alinde ajje abayite nti mujje	He should wait and then come	Questioning

		<u>munnyambe</u> [ap]?	<u>to call us to help him</u> [ap]?	proposed communalism
Male 1		<i>Yee</i> [ap]	<i>Yes</i> [ap]	Reaffirming proposal
Male 2	115	<u>N'omuudo nagwo nga gumuli bubu</u> [ap]?	<u>While the weeds are also bothering him</u> [ap]?	Questioning proposal
Male 1		<i>Tugerezeewo</i> [ap].	<i>Let us try it</i> [ap].	Maintaining proposal
Female 6	120	<u>Ate kati omuudo ggwo bwe gugendamu temugukoola</u> [j]?	<u>And if the weeds grow in the field, will you not dig them away</u> [j]?	Challenging proposal
Male 1		<i>Oba tukole bwe tuti. Tumale okufunayo ennimiro, kati gye tuba tusiga mu bunu obudde</i> [ap].	<i>Alternatively, we may identify one field to plant this time</i> [ap].	Making a suggestion
Female 1	125	<i>Uhm, ate tulindemu</i> [ap].	<i>Yes, and then wait for a while</i> [ap].	Expressing agreement
Male 1	130	<i>Tudde tulindemu ate tusige endala. Kati mu makungula tulabe ki kye tusinze okufunamu</i> [ap].	<i>We wait for a while and then plant another field. At the time of harvesting, we can then compare the gains (harvests) from each of the two fields</i> [ap].	Supporting suggestion
Male 2		<i>Nze ngirina. Nze bwe mugamba nti bya nnimiro, eyange ngiteekayo</i> [ap]. <u>Bwe binsala nga binsala</u> [ap].	<i>I have the field. If the issue is to find such a field, I will make my field available</i> [ap], <u>whatever the consequences may be</u> [ap].	Supporting suggestion Expressing determination
Male 1	135	<i>Bwe mumala okumanya nti eno evuddemu bungu bwe buti, neeno neevaamu bungu bwe buti, biriwa ebisinze okubala okusinziira mu zino ennimiro zombi</i> [ap]. Mwe mulabye mutya awo?	<i>We shall then compare the yields from the two fields, to see the one with the better results</i> [ap]. What do you have to say about that?	Reiterating suggestion Controlling topic
Female 1	140	<i>Nakyo nno kijja</i> [ap].	<i>That is a good idea</i> [ap].	Supporting suggestion
Female 7		<i>Ng'enkuba si kugamba nti yeebuze, emmere esooka yeestinga okubala</i> [ap].	<i>If there is no absence of rain, the first crops give more yields</i> [ap].	Appraising suggestion
Male 1	145	<i>Emmere esooka. Ne luli bwe twagamba</i> [ap].	<i>The first crops. This is what we also said last time</i> [ap].	Supporting appraisal
Several		<i>Naye era abaafuna ku mmere be baasimba nga bukyali</i> [ap].	<i>Indeed the people who were able to harvest some little food were those who planted early</i> [ap].	Supporting appraisal Expressing consensus
Female 1	150	<i>Naye mumanyi kati amagezi ge tuba tussaawo amalala, ge tuba tuyiia, bwolaba awali ebitooke</i> [ap]	<i>But you know something else that we should do, a new strategy that we should devise is that if you have a banana garden</i> [ap] <u>which is not doing well</u> [ap], <i>turn that garden into a bean garden. This is what I did with my banana garden on the other side of my farm, and the beans I grew there did not turn pale</i> [ap].	Identifying a problem Proposing a solution Sharing experience
	155	<u>ng'embeera yaabyo olaba si ya mulembe</u> [ap], <i>awo fuula ofuulewo ennimiro wooba osiga ebijanjaalo. Kubanga nze wano mu lusuku wano wammanga, ebyawo byo tebyasiimuuka na langi</i> [ap].		
Male 1	160	<i>Olw'okuba biri mu kikome</i> [ap]?	<i>Was it because the beans were</i>	Appraising experience

			<i>under a shade</i> [ap]?	
Female 1	165	<i>Byabeera bulungi kubanga birina ebisiikirize waggulu ebiziyiza ebijanjaalo okuba obubi</i> [ap]. Naye bino ebyali ku ttaka, byasiimuuka nga tebiriiko langi ate tebyateekako [ap]. <i>Naye eby'omu lusuku byavavaamu</i> [ap]. Nze mbadde nteesa nti tulabe omuntu	<i>They were okay because they had a shade above which protected them</i> [ap]. But the ones that were on bare ground, lost color and did not yield (properly) [ap]. <i>But the ones I planted in the banana garden yielded something</i> [ap]. I suggest that if you have a poorly performing banana garden [ap], <i>do plant beans in such a garden. The banana leaves shield the beans from the sun, and eventually you are able to harvest something from the beans</i> [ap]. That is my advice.	Supporting appraisal Providing advice
	170	olusuku ng'olaba wabi [ap], <i>kati fuula wooba osiga ebijanjaalo. Obulagala obwo busiikirizaako omusana. Ebijanjaalo bino n'ofunaafunamu.</i> [ap] Nze ge		
	175	magezi ge mbadde ndeeta.		
Male 1	180	Era eryo lyonna lyonna bbula lya nkuba, naye ffena situlina nsuku [ap].	That is all a problem of the rain being scarce, but not all of us have banana gardens [ap].	Identifying cause of a problem
Male 2		Nze nnina ebitooke ebito bye njagala okusimbamu ebijanjaalo.	I have a young banana garden in which I plan to plant beans.	Seeking advice
Female 1	185	<i>Ebyo ebitooke ebito simbamu. Mulimu obusiikirize</i> [ap].	<i>Go ahead and plant beans in the young banana garden, because there are small shades in such a garden</i> [ap].	Providing advice
Female 7		<i>Era awali obusiikirize wabaamu enjawulo</i> [ap].	<i>A garden with small shades indeed has a difference</i> [ap].	Supporting advice
Male 1	190	Mulabye mutya? Mutandike oba tulinde mu abiri tulabe eggulu lino kye litugamba?	What is your opinion? Should you start (to plant) now or we should wait for the 20 th to see what happens up in the sky?	Moderating discussion Soliciting a decision
Male 2		<i>Tutandike</i> [ap]	<i>We should start (to plant)</i> [ap].	Making a decision
Several		<i>Tutandike</i> [ap]	<i>We should start (to plant)</i> [ap].	Expressing consensus
Male 2	195	<i>Ate ekijja omanyi kinyaga bitono. Tumaze okubaako kye tutegeera</i> [ap].	<i>"What strikes while you are aware steals little from you." (Fore warned is fore armed) We have some knowledge now</i> [ap].	Confirming decision with a proverb
Female 5		<i>Tusige ebinaavaamu bye binaavaamu</i> [ap].	<i>We should plant and get whatever little (harvest) we may</i> [ap].	Reaffirming decision
Male 1	200	Mujjukire ebya luli. Omuntu okuba nga nnina ennimiro nagizzaamu emirundi esatu, era ne bisigala nga bigaanye [ap].	Remember what happened last time. I planted the same garden three times but the crops still failed [ap].	Alluding to experience
Female 1	205	Kati awo tukoze tutya bannange? Abalimi nga tulabye n'omusana [ap]!	What should we do, members? What a problem drought is to us the farmers [ap]!	Controlling topic Expressing concern
Male 2		<i>Ate gubeere nga gujja</i> [ap] tuleme kufuna nkuba eri gye twawulira mu bitundu ebirala eyakola	<i>But we would rather have the drought</i> [ap] than the catastrophic rain we heard	Expressing preferred choice

	210	ebizibu ebisukkiridde [ap].	about, which fell in some other areas [ap].	
Female 1		<i>Ate tubeera ku kasana</i> [ap].	<i>We would rather have the drought instead</i> [ap].	Reiterating preferred choice
Male 1	215	<u>Ate ku kasana enjala teekutte? Togulaba omugga? Tegukaze? Gukaze ki? Si nkuba? Singa enkuba ebadde etonnva, omugga gwaffe tegwandikaze. N'amazzi gaago tutuuse kugawamma buwammi lwa nkuba kubula</u> [ap; 1 st af].	<u>Will you not die of hunger during drought? Have you looked at the river? Is is not dry? Why is it dry? Is it not because of the (absence of) rain? If the rain was falling, our river would not have dried up. Water has also become scarce because the rain is not coming down</u> [ap; 1 st af].	Expressing conflict of interest Expressing concern for community Expressing lament
Female 1	225	Kubanga bagamba n'okuviira ddala eri ku luzzi nayo waakala [ap].	Indeed it is said that even the spring has dried up [ap].	Confirming concern for community
Male 1	230	<u>Kati ggwe ekibala kyo kyogenda okusimba kinaavaayo kitva</u> [ap]? Nze mbadde ηηamba <i>tulindeko mu abiri tulabe. Okusiga ebijanjaalo</i> [ap].	<u>How then will the crops you plan to plant survive</u> [ap]? I am of the view that <i>we should wait (to plant) around the 20th. I mean planting the beans</i> [ap].	Confirming concern for community Making a suggestion
Male 2		<i>Tugende nga tusiga mpolampola</i> [ap].	<i>Let us plant little by little (in phases)</i> [ap].	Supporting suggestion
Female 4		Nze sigenda kulinda mu abiri.	I am not going to wait for the 20 th .	Expressing individual decision
Female 1	235	Nze ηηamba nti <i>okuva nga kkumi tutandike okusiga</i> [ap].	I suggest that <i>we should start to plant from the 10th</i> [ap].	Seeking compromise
Female 3		<i>Zandibadde kkumi na ttaano</i> [ap].	<i>It should be the 15th</i> [ap].	Supporting compromise
Female 5		<i>Alina obulime asige</i> [ap].	<i>Whoever has ready fields should plant</i> [ap].	Asserting individual decision
Female 1	240	<i>Tusige kubanga kati, emiruluuza gino nga bwe gimulisizza</i> [ap].	<i>Let us plant since the acacia trees have started to flower</i> [ap].	Alluding to authority
Male 2		<i>Kati tusige</i> [ap].	<i>Let us plant now</i> [ap].	Expressing group decision
Female 4	245	<i>Okusiga, alina obulime asige</i> [ap].	<i>To plant, whoever has a ready field should plant</i> [ap].	Sticking to individual decision
Female 2		<i>Guno gwe mwezi ogusigirwamu emmere</i> [ap].	<i>This is the month/time for planting food crops</i> [ap].	Alluding to experience
Male 2	250	<u>Kati tusige nga tugenda mpola, enkuba wejjira kyesanzeemu ekimeze</u> [ap] <u>okusinga kati ate lwogamba nti ezze osige ate ekye enkya</u> [ap]. <i>Okusiga kyo kyandibadde kituufu tutandikirewo</i> [ap].	<u>Let us plant but slowly, such that when the rains come, they will simply help the seeds in the ground to germinate</u> [ap]. <u>Instead of you waiting to plant after the rains come, only for them to cease the following day</u> [ap]. <i>It is better for us to start planting immediately</i> [ap].	Asserting group decision
Female 6		<u>Naye ate akasana akagenda</u>	<u>But the dry period that is</u>	Expressing a fear

		okwaka kati [ap]!	oncoming [ap]!	
Male 1	260	Kati wuuyo batugambye waliyo omusana ogwakayo ppereketya [ap]	Now we have been told that there is going to be a scorching dry period [ap].	Reiterating fear
Female 1		Ggwo ogwo twagumanyidde ne sizoni eri gwaliwo.	We are now used that type of scorching dry period, because we experienced it last season as well.	Alluding to experience
Female 6	265	Gwaliwo naye si gwe gwali omunginga guno. Ogwa luno gususse [ap].	We experienced it but it was not as bad as what is on now. It is much more intense this time [ap].	Challenging experience Appraising experience
Male 2	270	Guno gubambula n'ebigere ku ttaka [ap].	The intensity of the sun this time gets the feet to melt on the (hot) ground [ap].	Using a metaphor Expressing humour
Female 1		N'oguwedde nagwo gwayaka [ap].	Even the last episode was really scorching [ap].	Reiterating experience
Female 4	275	Gwayaka naye <i>gwayakanga mpolampola</i> [ap].	The sun shined but it was <i>less intense</i> [ap].	Appraising experience
Male 2	280	Eby'okusiga tubiveeko [ap]. Tojja kugamba nti nze naafuna akaseera kange ke nqamba nti byo mbyesize nti bye binaaba ebituufu, kubanga eky'omu ggulu gwe tokitegera [j].	We should give up the idea of planting [ap]. You cannot identify a time to plant crops whose success you can guarantee; because you cannot tell what the heavens (skies) hold [j].	Revisiting decision Expressing desperation
Male 1		Kati tutandike kusiga?	Should we start to plant now?	Seeking decision
Several	285	<i>Yee</i> [ap]	<i>Yes</i> [ap]	Expressing unanimous decision
Male 1		<i>Kaakati tutandike kusiga nga luli bwe twagamba</i> [ap]. Luli omanyi twatandikirawo.	<i>Now we should start to plant, just like we said last time</i> [ap]. You remember that last time we started to plant immediately (after the meeting).	Confirming group decision Using intertextuality
Female 1	290	Naye jjukira ate ab'oluvannyuma baafiirwa [ap] okusinga <i>ffe abasooka</i> [ap].	And remember that the people who planted later suffered more losses [ap] than <i>we who planted early</i> [ap].	Appraising experience
Male 2	295 300	<i>Okusiga kye kituufu. Luno oluwandaggirize lwe tuba tusooka okukozesa. Mukama bwanayamba ne tufunayo ekire eky'amaanyi ebisangemu nga mwebiri</i> [ap]. Okusinga lwokirinda nti kyo we kinajjira we tunaafulumiza. Ggwo omuddo ate tegulinda [ap].	<i>Planting is the right thing to do. Let us make use of the current drizzles. If God blesses us with a heavy rain shower later, the shower will find the seeds in the ground already</i> [ap]. Instead of waiting for the heavy shower to come before we can plant. And remember the weeds do not wait for you [ap].	Emphasizing group decision Alluding to authority - God
Female 1	305	Naye <i>bannange musige nga mumanyi</i> [ap] yellow ono ve alina entondo nnyingi [ap]	But colleagues, <i>you should plant well aware</i> [ap] that the yellow variety of maize is choosy [ap].	Emphasizing group identity Sounding caution

Male 2		<u>Yellow situjja kumufaako</u> [ap]	We shall not bother ourselves with the yellow variety of maize [ap].	Affirming caution
Female 3	310	<u>Oyo nze sikyamulima. Ebyo nabimala</u> [ap].	I shall never grow that variety again. I am done with it [ap].	Affirming caution
Female 1	315	<u>Oyo mumumanye bannange. Enkuba ennyingi afa, enkuba etonnye ntono nnyo afa, akataka akatali kalungi nnyo nnyo afa. Era nga twesiba ku ebyo</u> [ap]?	Colleagues you should note that maize variety. When there is too much rain this variety dies, when it receives little rain it dies, when it is planted on not so good soils it dies. Do we need to bother ourselves with such a variety [ap]?	Reiterating caution Stressing group identity
Male 1	320	<u>Kati tutandike tusige</u> [ap]. Muwulidde bammemba?	<i>We should start to plant now</i> [ap]. Did you hear that members?	Announcing group decision
Female 2		<u>Tusige</u> [ap]	<i>We should plant</i> [ap].	Stressing group decision
Male 2	325	<u>Atya atye</u> [ap], <i>naye ggwe atatidde siga</i> [ap].	Let whoever is scared not plant [ap]. <i>But if you are not scared, go on and plant</i> [ap].	Reaffirming decision
Male 1	330	<i>Naye temumalaawo. Bwoba olina endebe bbiri sigako emu, olekewo emu</i> [ap].	<i>But you should not finish all the seed. If you have two tins of seed, plant only one and save the other</i> [ap].	Expressing caution Expressing concern for others
Male 2	335 340	Okulima kufuuse kwa bululu [ap]. <i>Bwoba n'olukumi lwo nga bazannya akalulu toyinza kugamba nti leka mpeeyo bitaano. Era bwe kaba ng'akalulu ka lukumi lumu lwokwata oba osalwa n'osalwa. Kati obululu oba akataasa ko akalina kayiweeyo</i> [ap].	Farming has become a gambling game [ap]. <i>If you have one thousand shillings for a gambling game, you cannot choose to stake only five hundred shillings. If the cost is one thousand shillings, you simply stake it and take the risk to lose it if you have to. This is now a gamble. If you have a basin of seed, go ahead and plant it all</i> [ap].	Alluding to experience Using a metaphor Expressing humour
Female 1	345 350	<i>Wabula bammemba baffe abataliwo abali mu musomo eri, bwe badda, buli amuliraanye amusomese ekintu kino kye tusomye wano</i> [ap]. So si bali bannaffe abataliimu ab'okutugamba gundi ve varhamba bwe baava mu musomo ne batugamba nti musige kati laba byafudde. Abo nedda temubagamba [ap].	<i>For our members who are away for a workshop, when they come back whoever is neighbouring them, should teach them what we have learnt here</i> [ap]. But not the non-members who, when their crops die, will want to put the blame on whoever attended this workshop (meeting) and advised them to plant. We should leave the non-members (of the group) out [ap].	Stressing group identity Emphasizing group decision Reiterating conspiracy
Female 6	355	<u>Ng'ofa ki nabo</u> [ap]?	Why should one bother himself with such people (non-	Reaffirming conspiracy

			members) [ap]?	
Male 2	360	<u>Okubannyonnyola enteebereza y'obudde gye tufunye</u> [ap]?	<u>(Bothering oneself) to explain to them the weather forecast the we have received</u> [ap].	Emphasizing conspiracy
Female 6		<u>Bwe bifa nti gundi ye yanamba okusiga</u> [j]!	<u>If their crop dies, they will put the blame on whoever advised them to plant</u> [j]!	Emphasizing conspiracy
Female 1	365 370	<i>Wabula bano abaffe wano mubasomese, byonna babimanye. Bo bannaffe bano mubamatize mmwe ababaliraanye</i> [ap]. Naye ate ab'emmanga, ani anaabategeeza ab'emmanga? Tunaabayita ne bajja eno?	<i>But you should teach our colleagues (group members) about everything (that transpired at this meeting). You should explain (the issues) to our colleagues (group members) in case you stay near them</i> [ap]. But what about our colleagues who stay on the other side of the village? Who will give them the information? Shall we invite them to come over to this side?	Rephrasing conspiracy Stressing group identity
Female 2	375	Tujja kubayita.	We shall invite them here.	Supporting conspiracy
Female 1	380	Yee, <i>tujja kubayita kye kija okusinga. Bajje bo bamatizibwe. Tujja kubasomese. Kyangu nnyo okubamatiza</i> [ap]. <u>Nave bano</u> [j]!	<i>Yes, it will be better to invite them over here. They should come and learn. We shall teach (explain to) them. It will be easy to explain to them</i> [ap]. <u>But the other ones</u> [j]!	Reaffirming conspiracy
Male 1		<u>Kaakati awo bwe biba bifudde biba bifudde. Ggwe ate munnange tunaakola ki</u> [ap]? <i>Tulina okubigumira</i> [ap].	<u>In case the crops die, that will be the fate. What can we do</u> [ap]? <i>We have to bear the consequences</i> [ap].	Stressing collective decision Expressing determination
Male 2	385	<i>Bwe birirama birirama, naye nga situgaanye kukola</i> [ap].	<i>If the crops survive, well and good. But we should not refuse to work</i> [ap].	Expressing determination on decision
Female 1		<i>Umm, kubanga ekigenda mu maaso kati tukifunye</i> [ap].	<i>Yes, because we now know what is going on</i> [ap].	Reiterating determination
Male 1	390	Twasomako omusomo gw'ebigimusa. <i>Ebijanjaalo nabyo byagala ebigimusa</i> [ap].	We attended a seminar on fertilizers. <i>Beans also require fertilizers (to grow well)</i> [ap].	Switching topic Alluding to authority
Female 1		Uhm, ne kasooli	Yes, and maize too.	Supporting new topic
Male 2	395	<i>Ekyo nakyō kikola. Ebigimusa bikola</i> [ap].	<i>That, too, is a good idea. Fertilizers are important</i> [ap].	Supporting new topic
Male 1	400	<i>Ekigimusa kija kutuyambako. Ekijanjaalo kiyinza obuteveera nnyo</i> [ap]. Naye baaba omusiri wosigira ebipande abiri obisigemu ekigimusa! <u>Kulinga kugenda ku mugga ng'oyavula</u> [ap]!	<i>Fertilizers will help us. The weight of the beans may not be very light</i> [ap]. However, applying fertilizers to a twenty-plot field is no simple task! <u>It is like crawling on your knees to the river</u> [ap].	Supporting new topic Expressing humour Using an idiom
Female 1	405	<u>Omusana gutwokezza nnyo bannange</u> [ap], olaba gukazizza ne Kijjanebarora.	<u>We have really been scorched by the sun</u> [ap], members, to the extent that even (River) Kijjanebarora has dried up.	Expressing concern

Male 2	410	Omusuubuzi yabuuza munne nti ‘okola ki?’ Oli nti naddamu ‘kulima’. Ko oli nti ‘ ensi yakukwata ’ [ap]. Ekitegeeza okulima kwe kusembayo okubeera okubi ennyo [ap].	A trader asked a friend, ‘what work do you do these days?’ the friend replied, ‘I am a farmer.’ The trader then said, ‘ the world must have cornered you ’ [ap]. This means that farming is the least prestigious occupation [ap]	Expressing humour Using dialogue and narrative
Male 1		<i>Ate nga kwe kuyamba</i> [ap]!	<i>And yet it is the most important occupation</i> [ap]!	Responding to narrative
Male 2	415	Tusabe Mukama Katonda obudde [ap] Abukyuseemu, nave situmanyi [ap].	We should pray to God, so that He changes the weather conditions; otherwise we are helpless [ap].	Alluding to authority – God Expressing concern
Female 1	420	Abange tumalirizza okukubaganya ebirwoozo?	Colleagues, are we through with the discussion?	Moderating discussion
Male 2		Tusazeewo kimu nti <i>tugende tusige</i> [ap].	We have unanimously decided <i>to start planting</i> [ap].	Announcing group decision
Female 1		Tusazeewo tumaze?	Have we made a final decision?	Ascertaining decision
Several	425	Tumaze. <i>Okusiga</i> [ap].	We have made the decision <i>to plant</i> [ap].	Confirming group decision
Female 1		Ekyo kye tusazeewo?	Is that the decision we have made?	Ascertaining decision
Several		Yee	Yes	Reaffirming group decision
Female 1	430	Kati okukubaganya ebirwoozo tumaze. Tutegeeze abakulu nti tumaze okukubaganya ebirwoozo ebya sizani eno.	Now we have concluded the discussion. We should inform the officials (research team) that we have finished discussing the coming season.	Closing discussion

4.3.3 Analytical perspectives on appraisal, citizenship, the business-meeting genre, and negotiation

Participants, through **inscribed** and **invoked** appreciation, concur on their interpretation of the weather forecast, which is that ‘**there is going to be moderate rain**’. This **negative attitude** is expressed by various participants in different turns (Male 1: 005, 061; Male 2: 017, 021, 032, 049; Female 1: 019). The **negative attitude** is particularly expressed through the recursive use of specific lexico-grammatical units as negative keywords, most notably the following: adjectival phrase **enkuba nsaaamusaamu/ntonotono** (moderate rain: 005, 017, 019, 061), noun **zibu** (problem: 008, 210), adjective **siimuuka** (pale: 158, 165), verb **f/-tt-** (die/kill: 072, 214, 314, 315, 351, 361, 381), farm noun **muddo** (weed: 115, 118, 301), adjective **kal-** (dry: 035, 215, 216, 218, 225, 403), adjectival phrase **musana/kasana/yanika** (dry period: 005, 257, 260), weather

noun **musana** (sun/drought: 173, 205, 207, 212, 214, 260, 274, 402), weather verb **sukk-/bambul-/yak-/yok-** (scorch: 260, 262, 266, 269, 272, 402).

The **negative attitude** is enhanced by the use of **metaphors** “**guno gubambula n’ebigere ku ttaka**” (the intensity of the sun this time gets the feet to melt on the hot ground: 269), and “**okulima kufuuse kwa bululu**” (farming has become a gambling game: 331), as well as an **idiom** “**kulinga kugenda ku mugga ng’oyavula**” (it is like crawling on your knees to the river: 400). As earlier noted about meeting 3a in chapter three, the use of metaphors and idioms as stylistic devices in interactive discourse adds precision, humour and participant-involvement to the evaluative power of a cognitive move. The use of metaphors and idioms in this respect validates Tannen’s (2007: 28) contention that coherence and involvement are the goal (as well as the result) when discourse succeeds in creating meaning through familiar strategies. The familiarity of the strategies makes the discourse and its meaning seem coherent, and “allows for the elaboration of meaning through the play of familiar patterns, and it sends a metamessage of rapport between the communicators, who thereby experience that they share communicative conventions and inhabit the same world of discourse.”

The expression of **negative attitude** through **humour** is also projected by the use of a **narrative** (406-411). In the **narrative**, dialogue/direct speech is used to recount a conversation between a trader and a friend, where the former scoffed at the latter because the latter revealed that he was a farmer, which, according to the trader, was a non-prestigious occupation – “**ensi vakukwata; okulima kwe kusembayo okubeera okubi ennyo**” (the world must have cornered you; farming is the least prestigious occupation: 408-411). The use of **narrative** as a resource of evaluation in this segment of the meeting, does not only demonstrate the expression of humour, it also illustrates **dialogue/direct speech** as yet another linguistic choice that speakers use to enhance participant-involvement and to construct identity. Indeed Tannen (2007: 39) observes that dialogue/direct speech is vivid and effective because the creation of voices occasions the imagination of a scene in which characters speak in those voices, and these scenes occasion the imagination of alternative, distant, or familiar worlds, much as does artistic creation. Consequently, as Besnier (as cited in Tannen 2007: 39) argues, the rhetorical style of a quote is a tool exploited by the reporter to communicate **negative affect**.

However, through *inscribed appreciation*, participants make an explicit group decision to *start planting immediately* (192-3, 320, 421, 424). The *positive attitude* and group decision are particularly expressed through the iterative use of the following lexico-grammatical units as positive keywords: farm verb *sig-/simb-* (plant: 014, 015, 020, 035, 038, 043, 045, 048, 050, 053, 081, 095, 123, 126, 155, 171, 183, 192, 193, 198, 229, 231, 236, 238, 240, 242, 244, 248, 252, 286, 294, 304, 320, 322, 325, 421, 424), farm noun *kikome/siikirize* (shade: 160, 163, 172, 184, 187), modal verb phrase of necessity *tusige/tusimbe* (we should/let us plant: 015, 035, 038, 043, 045, 053, 064, 069, 078, 095, 103, 107, 151, 192, 193, 198, 236, 238, 240, 242, 245, 248, 286, 295, 320, 322, 365).

The ‘common’ interpretation of the weather forecast builds a platform for constructing a group identity, which is expressed by the consistent use of “*tu-*” (we) in the problem-solving contributions (014-5, 020, 026, 030-5, 043, 050, 198, 240-2, 248-254, 283-8, 294-6, 322, 421-4) that lead up to the group decision. Indeed two of these problem-solving cognitive moves – (240-2) and (283-8) – exploit the notions of ‘indigenous knowledge’ and ‘intertextuality’, respectively, as communication strategies of evaluation. When, in the allusion to indigenous knowledge, Female 1 moves that *tusige kubanga kati emiruluuza gino nga bwe gimulisizza* (let us plant since the acacia trees have started to flower: 240-1) in order to get the meeting to take a decision about the time to start planting, she illustrates Bell’s (1995: 50) contention that participation is a linguistic activity of problem-solving or negotiation that involves the use of language to cajole, persuade, induce, drive, blackmail, intimidate, or flatter with the objective to arrive at a resolution or a collective agreement.

Similarly, when Male 1 alludes to a previous meeting by suggesting that *kaakati tutandike kusiga nga luli bwe twagamba; luli omanyi twatandikirawo* (now we should start to plant just like we said last time; you remember that last time we started to plant immediately after the meeting: 286-8), he bears testimony to Tannen’s (2007: 8-9) argument that all modern cultural life, through which professional discursive interaction is expressed, is embedded in intertextuality, which is the expression of notions of relationality, interconnectedness and interdependence in discourse, where meaning in language results from a complex of relationships linking current to

prior instances of language. The allusion to previous meetings (145, 286-8) as illustrated above also attests to Handford's (2010: 60) submission that a business meeting is characterized by, among other features, a demonstration of degrees of intertextuality, hence linking the meeting to other events, places, people and ideas that are remote in time and space.

Group identity is also strengthened by the fact that decisions are reached through consensus (193, 284, 427), which position is officially announced by Male 2 as "tusazeewo kimu nti tugende tusige" (we have unanimously decided to start planting: 421), and reiterated by the whole group at the end of the meeting; thus "tumaze; okusiga" (we have made the decision to plant: 424). The consensus decision and group identity are further reaffirmed by the use of a proverb "ate ekijja omanyi kinyaga bitono" (what strikes while you are aware steals little from you - *fore-warned is fore-armed* -: 194), allusion to indigenous knowledge "tusige kubanga kati emiruluuza gino nga bwe gimulisizza" (let us plant since the acacia trees have started to flower: 240-1) and allusion to experience "guno gwe mwezi ogusigirwamu emmere" (this is the month/time for planting food crops: 246). Like the case is with meeting 3b in chapter three and meeting 4a in section 4.2 of chapter four, the use of a cultural expression (proverb) as well as the allusion to indigenous knowledge and experience are forms of expressing *citizenship* because they link the meeting to the bigger world in which the participants live.

Additionally, group identity, consensus, and *citizenship* are further manifested through the expression of 'humorous dialogue' in a narrative "ensi yakukwata; okulima kwe kusembayo okubeera okubi ennyo" (the world must have cornered you; farming is the least prestigious occupation: 408-411), which confirms Cortazzi & Jin's (2000: 103) observation that perceptions of how a particular narrative is effective depend on how the speaker uses evaluation. "Through evaluation, speakers show how they intend the narrative to be understood and what the point is. Speakers use evaluation to underline the point of a story and this evaluative point is either about the teller's attitude, emotions, or character or is a general point about the way the world is."

However, in the process of constructing group identity, participants bring to the fore, the inherent conflict of interest in the expression of *citizenship* when they take a consensus decision to organize a *syndicate* against the rest of the village community (64-79, 347-362). In the *syndicate*,

the meeting takes a decision not to disclose the proceedings of the meeting to the rest of the community except to fellow members of the group. The *syndicate* bears testimony to Hausendorf & Bora's (2006a: 17) caution that communicating citizenship does not necessarily mean that the category of citizen itself is present. Also, Bousfield (2008: 33) and Placintar (2010: 487) add that in the exercise of citizenship, "each member will strive to have both a *positive face* – the need for approbation that guarantees the satisfaction of having one's values approved and being appreciated and accepted by others, and a *negative face* – the need for autonomy that conditions one's unimpeded freedom of action."

The cognitive move structure of the discussion presents in three coherent parts – i) interpretation and implications of the weather forecast (001-033); ii) critical reasoning and decision-making (035-389); iii) confirming decision and closure (419-431). The meeting does not have a chairperson, but Male 1 takes the first turn and assumes the responsibility to open (001) and subsequently moderate the discussion at regular intervals (006, 014, 189, 283, 320, 390). However, Female 1 also participates in the role of moderating the discussion when she takes regular intervals to control turns and topics as the meeting wears on (204, 368, 419, 423, 426), as well as to perform the task of closing the discussion (429-431).

The sharing of the role of 'moderator', which does not bring about 'conflict over power' among individual participants, is further testimony to the expression of *citizenship* as a shared participatory process of making decisions. The sense of *oneness* and *citizenship* is further evidenced by the spontaneous nature of turn-taking, where all participants, including the moderators, contribute without having to seek the permission of the chair. The spontaneity of cognitive moves between members allows participants to demonstrate both their individual and collective 'belonging' to the group, through an orderly exchange of the opportunity to hold the floor.

4.4 A multi-perspective analysis of meeting 4c (September 12th, 2005)

4.4.1 Introductory overview

Male 1 takes the first turn, which he uses to try to open the discussion. However, Male 2 takes the second turn in which he quickly and sarcastically starts an open conflict with Male 1. Indeed,

in his contribution (during the second turn), Male 2 positions himself to be talking on behalf of the whole group, and after his contribution, he attempts to close the discussion. Cunning interventions and contributions from other participants keep the discussion afloat. Interestingly, the power struggles and conflict between Male 1 and Male 2 continue throughout the discussion. The power struggles and conflict manifest especially whenever Male 1 attempts to moderate the discussion, in which case Male 2 interjects with some cynical comments. Otherwise, the discussion concentrates on taking a decision to start or to stay the planting. An explicitly collective decision to plant is taken and announced by both Male 1 and Male 2 at the end of the discussion. During their contributions to the discussion, participants take turns to construct and emphasize group identity and to cultivate a sense of feeling for other members of the community. Suggestions and opinions are also backed with regular references to authorities, especially God and the Bible.

4.4.2 Analytical template of appraisal resources and the generic move structure of the meeting

Participant		Luganda	English translation	Cognitive moves
Male 1	001	Kwe kugamba muwulirizza bulungi?	Did you listen to the message properly?	Moderating discussion
Male 2	005 010	<u>Koogedde mu Luganda, tekoogedde mu lulimi lulala</u> [j; 1 st af]. Naye ffe ebirowoza bye tulina mu mwezi Ogwomwenda kati tusimba. Olw'okubanga enkuba twagifunye tukyali mu kusimba. Mu mwezi Gwekkumi tujja kukoola, mu mwezi Gwekkuminoogumu, Gwakkumineebiri ndowooza mu January we tunaakungulira ebintu. Waliwo engeri endala ey'okukubaganyamu ebirowoza? Tusimba ebintuntu era bye tusimba.	<u>The message was in Luganda, not any other language</u> [j; 1 st af]. Anyway, our views are that we usually plant during the month of September. And because we have started receiving rain, we shall go ahead and plant. From October through December we shall weed and perhaps harvest in January. I don't think there are any other views. We grow the usual crops.	Expressing sarcasm Opening a conflict Constructing group identity Closing discussion
Female 1	015	Ebintuntu ka njambe ng'ebirime bye tusimbye byo <u>tebijja kuba bubu</u> [ap] <u>olw'omusana guli ogujja okubisanga</u> [ap] mu Gwomwenda guno.	<i>We expect our crops to grow well</i> [ap] in spite of the <u>dry spell which will come later</u> [ap] in September.	Keeping discussion afloat Making appraisal of forecast
Female 2	020	<u>Bijja kukula bubu</u> [ap]	<u>The crops will not grow well</u> [ap].	Expressing disagreement
Female 3		<i><u>Bijja kukula bulungi kubanga ettaka lyanywedde bulungi ate kaakati akasana kaakemu ate n'otuddo tuno</u></i>	<i><u>The crops will grow well because the ground got a good amount of moisture and when the dry period</u></i>	Reiterating first appraisal Expressing hope

	025	<i>twonna otubadde tumera twonna tugenda kukala. Kati awo enkuba eneegenda okutonnya kwe kugamba ng'emmere tennaba kubeera bubi. Enkuba eryoke etonnye ekule bulungi [ap].</i>	<i>comes the sprouting weeds will dry up. The next wet period will not find the plants very stressed. It will only help the plants to mature properly [ap].</i>	
Male 1	030 035 040 045 050	<i>Nze nsuubidde nti ekyandibadde ekirungi [ap] nti okusenziira ku nteebereza y'obudde ku ebyo ebizuuliddwa nti twanditaddemu ffe abalimi amaanyi obutalindiriza ne tuba nga tusiga. Kwe kugamba twongeremu amaanyi tusige kubanga tumaze okufuna okumanyisibwa [ap] nti egenda kutonnyamu ate omusana gwake mu mwezi guno Ogwomwenda. N'olwensonga eyo kiba kyetaagisa nti twongeremu amaanyi tuleke kulinda [ap]. Ate ekirala tugenze okulaba nti mu mwezi Ogwekkumi ejja kutonnyamu era etuukire ddala mu mwezi Ogwekkumineebiri. N'olwenteebereza y'obudde etali emu oba olyawo ebizuuliddwa tetuyinza kukyesiga [ap] wazira ekikulu kukola bukozi [ap]. Wazira naffe nga bwe tuwulidde ate naffe nga bammemba naffe tulina okukiraga bannaffe ne baba nga bakitegeera [ap].</i>	<i>I think the best thing [ap] for us farmers, according to the forecast, <u>should be to plant immediately. In other words, we should not delay to plant</u> [ap] because we expect some dry periods this month, September. <u>This therefore requires us to work harder and without delay</u> [ap]. Secondly, we have established that there will be rain from October through December. We may not trust the forecast [ap] <u>but we just have to work hard</u> [ap]. We, as members, <u>also need to inform other members about this</u> [ap].</i>	Making a suggestion Proposing a decision Alluding to authority Constructing group identity
Male 2	055 060 065 070	<i>Naye ennaku zino zonna abantu basimba, tewali muntu atudde, ffe omulimu gwe tukola kusimba. Toyinza kufuna nkuba n'otuula [j; 1st af]. Eky'obudde bw'omu maaso tetubumanyi naye ffe tusimba busimbi. Tubitegeeredde wano nti mu kiseera gundi eritonnya naye ffe bwe tufuna enkuba omulimu gwaffe kusimba. Mu mwezi Gwekkumi tukola ogw'okukoola bukoozi, tetusimba mu nnimiro, tukoola bukoozi naye nga si kusimba. Abalina kye mwongerako. Mwongeremu amaanyi era we tutannaba kulima tulimise maanyi tusobole okulaba nti tusimba mu bwangu [ap]. Akasana kano kagende okwaka [ap] ng'ebirime bimaze okumera. Kati awo enkuba ejje egende okutonnya nga bidduka buddusi [ap].</i>	<i>But everyone is busy planting now, no one is waiting. Currently, we are all busy planting. You simply cannot receive rain and sit back [ap]. We cannot tell what will happen after but we simply plant. We are just learning about what will happen later, but whenever we receive rain, we plant. In October we only weed, we do not plant. The others may add something to that. <u>You should work harder, and especially make sure that you very quickly clear and plant the uncleared fields, so that the crops can germinate before</u> [ap] the dry period comes [ap]. <u>And when the rain comes, it will simply foster the growth of the crops</u> [ap].</i>	Continuing conflict – power struggle Moderating discussion Alluding to experience Reasoning critically Interpreting forecast

Female 4	075 080	Nze endowooza yange egamba nti <u>engeri ettaka gye libisiwaddemu olw'enkuba gye twakafunayo twongeremu amaanyi tulabe nti tusiga obulime bwonna ng'obudde bukyaali, ebirime biveeyo mu ttaka</u> [ap] <u>ng'omusana</u> [ap] tegunnatandika. Kino kitegeeza nti enkuba eddako ejja kuba <u>ebiyamba buyambi kukula</u> [ap].	My opinion is that <u>since the ground is fairly wet from the rain we have received so far we should put in more effort to ensure that we plant all the fields in good time, so that the crops sprout before</u> [ap] <u>the dry spell comes</u> [ap]. This will mean that the next round of rain will only <u>enhance growth and maturity</u> [ap].	Reiterating show of hope Reiterating earlier suggestion Proposing decision Reasoning critically
Female 5	085	<u>Kaakati tebikookoose? Tebikookoose omusana mu maaso nga gugenda kwaka</u> [ap]?	<u>Won't the crops wither, since there is going to be a dry spell later</u> [ap]?	Expressing fear
Female 3	090	Nze mbadde ndowooza bwenti. Kye mbadde ndowooza kaakati guno Ogwomwenda <u>tusige</u> [ap]. Kaakati enkuba mu Gwekkumi egenda okutonnya nga tumaliriza okusiga <u>ng'ebirime byaffe byevongera kukula mu maaso</u> [ap].	This is my opinion. I think <u>we should plant</u> [ap] in September, so that the October rains only <u>help the crops to grow further</u> [ap].	Constructing group identity Interpreting forecast Proposing a decision Reiterating show of hope
Female 4	095	Anti kaakati waliwo <u>abatannaba kumala kulima</u> [ap].	<u>But some people have not yet cleared their fields</u> [ap].	Constructing group identity Expressing concern for others
Female 5	100	Kaakati bo <u>abatannaba kumala kulima be bangi. Baafuna obuzibu, baalwala, baalwaza kaakati n'olwekyo, baafiirwa, kati n'olwekyo toyinza kugamba nti ffenna kati essaawa eno tusiga kubanga kati mulimu bambi abaafuna ebizibu</u> [ap].	Well, <u>those are the majority. They got various problems like falling sick, having to attend to sick relatives, losing relatives. You therefore cannot claim that all of us are already planting now, because some people got problems</u> [ap].	Stressing group identity Emphasizing concern for others Identifying a problem
Female 4	105 110	Naye nze kye njamba <u>banyiikire bateekemu amaanyi</u> [ap] kubanga kano ke tuwuliddeko <u>kayinza okutuleetera obuzibu bwe tuba tetukozesezza maanyi</u> [ap].	I suggest that such people <u>should put in more effort and work hard</u> [ap], because according to the forecast, <u>we are likely to face trouble later if we don't act fast</u> [ap].	Suggesting a solution Sounding caution
Female 3	115	Naye no kati ffe tetubadde, situlina kye tumanyi. Kaakati wano nga bwe tuwulidde ekigenda mu maaso <u>tukozese maanyi</u> [ap] kyekyo. Aah ffe tubadde tumanyi nti enkuba nga bwetandise egenda kutonnyera ddala mu sipiidi gyebadde ereese naye kati nga bwe tumaze okuwulira ebigenda mu maaso eeh <u>twongeremu amaanyi</u> [ap].	Well, we didn't know this before but now that we know, <u>we should really work hard</u> [ap]. Some of us thought that the rain was going to continue with the intensity it has started with. But since we now know what the situation is going to be, <u>we shall work harder</u> [ap].	Alluding to authority Reiterating earlier suggestion
Male 1	120	Kaakati nze mpozzi mbuuzza, nti tumaze okulaba nti, ku nteebereza y'obudde kimaze okulabika nti omwezi guno Ogwomwenda ejja kutonnya ate	I would like to ask a question. According to the forecast, the month of September will have some rain and some dry periods. What do we plan to	Moderating discussion Re-interpreting forecast

	125	waakemu n'omusana. Naye singa omusana gugendera ddala ne mu Gwekkumi neetatonnya, n'Ogwekkuminoogumu neetatonnya, n'Ogwekkumineebiri neebula, ate nga tumaze okusiga kaakati ekintu ekyo tunaakola tutya?	do in case the dry spell continues through December, and yet we shall have planted already?	
	130			
Male 2		Ebigambo ebyo tubirekera Katonda	We should leave that to God.	Continuing with the conflict
Female 3		Ebyo tubirekera Katonda.	We should leave that to God.	Reiterating previous suggestion
Male 2	135	<i>Ffe tusige</i> [ap].	<i>We should just proceed to plant</i> [ap].	Proposing decision
Female 3	140	N'ekirala na bano <i>ab'enteebereza y'obudde bo balengera ekiri mu maaso</i> [ap]. Nze bwe mbadde nsuubira. N'olwekyo ffe <i>tweyongere kukola bukozi</i> [ap]. Tetuddamu eby'okulwooza nti ki [ap]. Era nga kwe kugamba nga bwozaala omwana nga tomanyi oba anaakula oba taakule. Ogenda okulaba nga Katonda amukuwa. Kati n'okulima nakwo <i>twongeremu maanyi</i> [ap].	Secondly, I think <i>the meteorologists have the capacity to foretell things</i> [ap]. Therefore, we should just <i>continue to work hard</i> [ap] and forget about such speculations [ap]. It is like giving birth to a child, without knowing whether the child will grow or not. It is only by God's plan that the child grows. <i>So we should only work hard</i> [ap] in our farms.	Alluding to authority Alluding to God Alluding to experience Reiterating earlier suggestion Making a comparison Supporting decision
Male 2	150	Bwofuna ekiseera enkuba bwetonna, Baibuli agamba nti bwe enatonna musiganga, temumanyi budde bwa musana temumanyi budde bwa nkuba. Kati enkuba bwetonna <i>ffe tusige</i> [ap]. <i>Ebisigadde tubirekera Katonda</i> [ap]. N'owenteebereza y'obudde ayinza okutebereza ne kyatebereza ne kigaana [ap].	The Bible says that whenever it rains you should sow because you can never know when it will be dry or wet. So, when it rains <i>we should plant and leave the rest to God</i> [ap] because even the predictions of the meteorologists may turn out to be false [ap].	Alluding to Bible Alluding to God Supporting decision
	155			
Female 3		Naye era guno Ogwomwenda abantu mwe basigira.	But even then, people usually plant in September.	Alluding to experience
Male 2	160	N'owenteebereza y'obudde naye ateebereza naye <i>ffe tugenda mu maaso n'okusiga ensigo. Ebisigadde tubirekere Katonda. Ye abimanyi</i> [ap]. Nze kye mbadde ngamba. Naye eby'okugamba nti tuyimirire, tukole tutya, aah ah [ap]. <i>Tugende mu maaso n'okusiga</i> [ap]. Byebyo bye mbadde ndwooza. <i>Tusige</i> [ap].	Even the meteorologists are only making predictions. <i>We should go ahead to plant and leave the rest to God, Who knows what will happen next</i> [ap]. I don't support the idea of halting the planting. No [ap]. <i>We should proceed to plant</i> [ap]. That is my opinion. <i>We should plant</i> [ap].	Affirming decision Affirming allusion to God Reiterating decision Reasoning critically
	165			
Male 3	170	Nze mbadde ngamba nti enteebereza y'obudde nga bwebaddewo, <i>ffe tulina okusimba ebintu obukyali</i> [ap] kubanga tomanyi mu maaso oba enkuba eyinza okuba ntono [ap].	I suggest that <i>we should plant early enough</i> [ap] because we are not sure whether there will be less rain later [ap].	Reiterating decision Planning strategically
Female 3		Tuleke okusimba nti olw'okubanga	Should we halt the planting	Reaffirming

	175	<u>mu guno omwezi enkuba ejja kuba ntono</u> [ap]?	<u>because there will be little rain during the month of September</u> [ap]?	decision
Male 3	180	Aaa, <i>tusimbe kubanga ekintu kyoba osimbye bukyali kye kibala</i> [ap].	No, no. <i>We should go ahead and plant because if something is planted early, it gives very good yields</i> [ap].	Reaffirming decision
Male 4	185 190	<i>Bwoba osimbye bukyali ebintu bibala. Kwe kugamba bifunamu amaanyi</i> [ap]. <u>Toyinza kugamba, oyinza okugamba nti onaabisimba mu Gwekkumineebiri</u> [ap] enkuba eri neekusanga naye bwoba obisimbye ssaawa eno <i>ng'osimbye bukyali mu Gwomwenda, owulidde, n'amakungula gaba malungi</i> [ap] nga mu January omwo. Nze kwe kuteesa kwange.	<i>If you plant early, you get good yields, because the crops grow healthy</i> [ap]. <u>You cannot choose to plant in December, anticipating more rain</u> [ap]. If you plant now, in September, <i>which is early, you will get a good harvest</i> [ap] around January. That is my contribution.	Supporting decision Inviting other participants Reasoning critically
Female 4		Naffe bwe twabadde tugamba.	We had a similar view.	Expressing group opinion
Male 5	195 200	Okusenziira ku nteebereza y'obudde ng'ono bwagambye nti <i>kyandibadde kirungi tusimbe bukyali</i> [ap] olw'ensonga nti <u>enkuba ntono</u> [ap] kubanga mpulidde wano batugamba nti omwezi Gwomwenda enkuba eteeberezewa okuba ntono. <i>Kyandibadde kirungi kusimba bukyali tufune ekyokulya</i> [ap]. Nze eyo yeebadde endowooza yange.	According to the weather forecast, like he said, <i>it will be good to plant early</i> [ap] because I have heard that we shall get <u>little rain</u> [ap] during September. <i>It will be wise to plant early in order to have food</i> [ap]. That is my view.	Alluding to authority Supporting decision Re-interpreting forecast Emphasizing decision
Male 1		Ndowooza nsuubidde nti buli omu byakubaganyizzaako byonna bifaanana.	All contributions so far seem to have similar views	Moderating discussion
Several		Yee	Yes	Expressing consensus
Female 3	205 210 215 220	Kati emmere yonna kwe kugamba <i>tuteekemu amaanyi</i> [ap] kubanga okusenziira ku mbeera y'obudde gye tutegedde olwaleero kubanga kati <u>tubadde tuli mu kizikiza ffe nga situmanyi kigenda mu maaso nga twekolera mpolampola</u> [ap] tumanyi enkuba nga bwetandise ejja kutonnyera ddala. Naye okusenziira engeri gye tuwulidde wano, <i>tweyongedde okulabuka. Twongeremu amaanyi</i> [ap], kubanga <u>tuyinza okutawaanira obwereere ne tulima, ne tusimba ate ne tutabaako kye tuggyamu. Amaanyi gaffe ne gafa obwereere</u> [ap]. Kati tugambe nti buli kimu kibeera n'obudde bwakyo mwe kisimbirwa oba byonna tusimba mulundi gumu?	In other words, <i>we should put in effort to plant all crops</i> [ap], given the forecast <i>since are now informed</i> [ap]. Before, <u>we were in darkness, working at a slow pace</u> [ap], hoping that the rain would be continuous. But the forecast <i>should now warn us to work harder</i> [ap]. <u>We may waste our energy preparing the fields and planting late, only to suffer losses at the end</u> [ap]. Does this mean that there is a specific time to plant each crop or we should plant all of them at the same time?	Announcing decision Alluding to authority Moderating discussion Repeating decision

Female 4	225	Emmere yonna, <i>emmere okugisimba obukyali yeeba emmere</i> [ap] naye emmere eno ey'oluvannyuma [ap], kubanga <i>ne bwe biba bijanjaalo nabyo byagala bukyali</i> [ap]	<i>All food crops should be planted early if one is to get good yields</i> [ap]. Crops, which are planted late, don't usually come off well.	Reiterating decision Reasoning critically Alluding to experience
	230	byosimbye oluvannyuma kuteekako otujanjaalo tutini era ebisinga obungi bivunda ku lw'omusana, tebyeyagala bulungi. Kwe kugamba, n'embala yaabyo si kye kimu [ap] <i>na bino byoba wasooka</i> [ap].	Even beans, once they are planted late, they either rot or they are scotched by the sun, and eventually give very miserable yields [ap].	
Male 2	235	Ne bwaba lumonde, <i>byonna byetaaga kusimba bukyali</i> [ap].	Even potatoes, <i>all crops need to be planted early</i> [ap].	Supporting decision
Female 3		<i>Byonna byetaaga kusimba bukyali</i> [ap].	<i>All crops need to be planted early</i> [ap].	Emphasizing decision
Male 1	240	Kati ndowooza ebibadde ku katambi ndowooza tukkiriziganyizza.	I think we have reached a consensus about the message.	Seeking consensus decision
Male 5		Tubikubaganyizza	We have discussed the message (exhaustively)	Expressing consensus
Male 2		Tubikubaganyizza	We have discussed the message (exhaustively)	Reiterating consensus
Male 1	245	Waliwo alina ekibuuzo? Waliwo alina ekibuuzo ku nsonga eno gye tubadde tukubaganyako ebirowoozo? Waliwo alina ekirala ekisigaddeyo?	Does any one have a question? Does someone have a question about what we have been discussing? Does someone have anything more to say?	Moderating discussion Closing discussion
Male 2	250	Ensonga sigiraba ku lwange kubanga tugikubaganyizzaako <i>ekirowoozo ky'okusimba kuba ffenna tukkiriziganyizza tutandikirewo, tugende mu maaso n'okusimba emmere. Tewali agiwakanyizza</i>	I see no other issues because <i>we have all agreed to immediately proceed with planting the crops. No one has objected. There is consensus on the decision</i> [ap].	Announcing collective decision
	255	<i>n'okugamba nti aaa tetusimba. Ffena tukikkirizza</i> [ap].		

4.4.3 Analytical perspectives on appraisal, citizenship, the business-meeting genre, and negotiation

Participants, through **inscribed** and **invoked** appreciation, concur implicitly on their interpretation and assessment of the weather forecast, which is that '**there is going to be little rain, mixed with some dry periods**'. This **negative attitude** is iteratively expressed by various participants in different turns (Female 1: 017; Female 3: 025, 090, 111-9; Male 1: 038, 120-130; Male 2: 070; Female 4: 080-3; Female 5: 084-6; Male 5: 195-9). The **negative attitude** is particularly expressed through the recursive use of specific lexico-grammatical units as negative

keywords, most notably the following: adjectival phrases **musana/kasana** (dry period: 017, 070, 080, 085, 124, 125) and **enkuba ntono** (little rain: 172, 175, 196, 199), negative marker **te-/si-** (not: 027, 064, 065, 094, 097, 101, 111, 141), noun **-zibu** (problem: 099, 104, 108).

In spite of the **negative** assessment of the weather forecast, participants are hopeful about the season because through *positive appreciation*, they concur that “...*tebija kuba bubi; bijja kukula bulungi...*” (the crops will grow well: 016, 021). In this case, although the explicit assessment of the weather forecast is **negative**, the implicit totality of the whole discursive event of appraisal is *positive*. The *positive stance* is affirmed by the participants’ acknowledgment of the role of ‘strategic planning’ (*planting early*: 030-042, 057-069, 075-9, 170, 178-183, 187-9, 195, 223-4, 227, 236; *working together*: 050-2; *working hard*: 105-6, 119, 141, 146, 206, 215; *ensuring food security*: 200), and ‘expert/scientific knowledge’ (*alluding to authority*: 113, 131-140, 145, 149-162, 193, 214) in helping farmers to avoid **potential loss** (**extreme weather conditions**: 017, 070, 080, 172; **crop failure**: 020, 084-6, 142, 216-9, 225, 228-233; **family difficulties**: 094-104; **ignorance**: 111-4, 208-211).

The *positive stance* is particularly expressed through the iterative use of the following lexicogrammatical units as positive keywords: farm verb *simb-/sig-* (plant: 005, 007, 013, 014, 034, 036, 055, 056, 059, 062, 069, 089, 135, 152, 161, 166, 167, 170, 177, 181, 251), weather noun *nkuba* (rain: 006, 025, 072, 076, 082, 090), adverbial phrases *kusimba bukyali* (plant early: 170, 178, 181, 187, 195, 200, 224, 227, 236) and *teekamu/yongeramu amaanyi/kukola bukozi* (work hard: 033, 035, 041, 049, 067, 068, 077, 078, 106, 109, 114, 119, 141, 147, 206, 215), modal verb phrases of necessity or obligation *tusige* (we should plant: 077, 089, 135, 140, 147, 152, 160, 165, 167, 169, 177, 206) and *tubirekere Katonda* (we should leave it to God: 131, 133).

The ‘common’ interpretation and assessment of the weather forecast, which is achieved through critical reasoning, builds a platform for constructing a group identity that is expressed by the consistent use of “*tu-*” (we) in almost all the above-cited turns of appraisal. The assessment in this context can be regarded as a group decision because it is made and reiterated by various participants in different turns, as illustrated above. The group decision and construction of group identity are expressed more explicitly in the problem-solving and decision-making turns – *...ndowooza*

tusige... (I think we should plant...: 089); *...ndowooza nsuubidde nti buli omu byakubaganyizzaako byonna bifaanana...* (all contributions so far seem to have similar views...: 202-3); *...kati emmere yonna kwe kugamba tuteekemu amaanyi...* (in other words, we should put in effort to plant all crops...: 205-6), to which there is a ‘chorus’ response – *Yee* (Yes: 204).

The group decision and group identity are also strengthened by decision-making turns – *kati ndowooza ebibadde ku katambi ndowooza tukkiriziganyizza; tubikubaganyizza* (I think we have reached a consensus about the message; we have discussed the message exhaustively: 239-243). The group decision is finally announced officially as, ‘*...ekirowoozo ky’okusimba kuba ffenna tukkiriziganyizza tutandikirewo; tewali agiwakanyizza; ffenna tukikirizza*’ (we have all agreed to immediately proceed with planting the crops; no one has objected; there is consensus on the decision: 249-256).

The group decision, group identity, and *positive stance* discussed above are particularly expressed and reaffirmed through the use of *repetition* – “*ebyo tubirekere Katonda*” (we should leave that to God: 131 vs 133) & “*tubikubaganyizza*” (we have discussed the message exhaustively: 241 vs 243), *comparison* – “*nga bwozaala omwana nga tomanyi oba anaakula oba taakule; ogenda okulaba nga Katonda amukuwa*” (it is like giving birth to a child without knowing whether the child will grow or not; it is only by God’s plan that the child grows: 143-6), and *biblical allusion* – “*Baibuli agamba nti bwe enatonnyanga musigenga, temumanyi budde bwa musana, temumanyi budde bwa nkuba*” (the Bible says that whenever it rains you should sow because you can never know when it will be dry or wet: 149-151).

The *repetition*, *comparison*, and *biblical allusion*, that are used as resources of evaluation in this segment of the meeting confirm Tannen’s (2007: 25) argument that “repetition, dialogue, and imagery work along with other linguistic and nonlinguistic strategies to create involvement,” and that such strategies are “spontaneous and pervasive in conversation because they reflect and create interpersonal involvement,” since “conversational involvement is the basis of all linguistic understanding.”

Group identity and *citizenship* are further strengthened through both *positive* and **negative** inscribed appreciation in the problem-solving turns – *...naffe nga bammemba naffe tulina okukiraga bannaffe ne baba nga bakitegeera* (we, as members, also need to inform other members about this decision: 050-3), and **...waliwo abatannaba kumala kulima; ...abatannaba kumala kulima be bangi; baafuna obuzibu, baalwala, baalwaza, baafirwa...** (but some people have not yet cleared their fields; ...those are the majority; they got various problems like falling sick, having to attend to sick relatives, losing relatives: 094-104).

The positions of both the “local” and “concerned individual” that are assumed by participants in the above-cited cases of constructing group identity are an expression of *citizenship* as a collective and participatory decision making process, through which participants relate with the larger community to which they belong. This case proves, as Schiffrin (2001: 54) argues, that the production of coherent discourse is an interactive process in which speakers draw upon various types of communicative knowledge, where the speakers display personal and social identities to convey attitudes and perform actions, as well as to negotiate relationships between self and other participants. The position of the “concerned individual” in this case also confirms Culler’s (as cited in Patterson 2008: 32) assertion that a clause that appears to be a simple narrative clause referring to an event is not necessarily present in the text just because it is what happened; but it may have been selected for inclusion because its primary function is evaluative rather than referential.

The cognitive move structure of the discussion presents in three coherent parts – i) interpretation and implications of the weather forecast (001-119); ii) strategic planning for consensus building and decision making (120-238); iii) announcing decision and closure of the discussion (239-256). The meeting does not have a chairperson, but Male 1 takes the first turn and assumes the responsibility to open (001) and subsequently moderate the discussion at regular intervals (120, 130, 202, 239), as well as to close the discussion (245-7). However, it is worth noting that in the course of moderating the discussion, Male 1 is involved in a personal conflict (power struggle) with Male 2. The conflict manifests in the cynical and sarcastic retorts (002, 054-5, 131) that Male 2 uses against the moderator turns (001, 030-4, 129-130) of Male 1, as indicated below:

Male 1 (moderator turn)	Male 2 (retort)
<i>Kwe kugamba muwulirizza bulungi?</i> (001) (Did you listen to the message properly?)	Koogedde mu Luganda, tekoogedde mu lulimi lulala. (002) (The message was in Luganda, not any other language.)
<i>Nze nsuubidde nti ekyandibadde ekirungi, twanditaddemu ffe abalimi amaanyi obutalindiriza ne tuba nga tusiga.</i> (030-4) (I think the best thing for us farmers, should be to plant immediately. In other words, we should not delay to plant.)	Naye ennaku zino zonna abantu basimba, tewali muntu atudde, ffe omulimu gwe tukola kusimba. Toyinza kufuna nkuba n’otuula. (054-5) (But everyone is busy planting now, no one is waiting. Currently, we are all busy planting. You simply cannot receive rain and sit back.)
<i>Naye sing omusana gugendera ddala n’Ogwekkumineebiri nebula, ate nga tumaze okusiga kaakati ekintu ekyo tunaakola tutya?</i> (124-130) (What do we plan to do in case the dry spell continues through December, and yet we shall have planted already?)	Ebigambo ebyo tubirekere Katonda. (131) (We should leave that to God.)

The power struggle between Male 1 and Male 2 in this meeting, illustrates the argument about participation, negotiation and power, which I discussed in subsection 2.3.2 of chapter two. As Boden (1995:94) notes, the power struggle between Male 1 and Male 2 illustrates that participation is not simply an interactional matter. Rather, it is constituted in the actors creating talk-based environments of both consensus and conflict, in which, as Grillo (2005a: viii) notes, speakers, in their discursive activities, aim to enforce their own positions or conceptions, because, as Grillo (2005b: 10) adds, discourse is a battlefield within which individuals and groups have to fight for social and political existence and recognition. However, the power struggle between the two participants does not interfere with the progress of the meeting, especially with regard to the efforts to build consensus and reach a group decision.

Although Male 1 plays the role of ‘moderator’, all the participants take their discursive turns in a spontaneous manner, without having to seek the permission of the chair. The spontaneous nature of taking turns illustrates further the sense of *oneness* and *citizenship* among the participants, because through it members demonstrate both their individual and collective ‘belonging’ to the

group by allowing an orderly exchange of the opportunity to hold the floor and to express an opinion.

4.5 A multiperspective analysis of meeting 4d (March 15th, 2006)

4.5.1 Introductory overview

Male 1 takes the first turn to open the discussion and to invite other members to participate in the debate. The meeting has no chairperson but different participants take turns to spontaneously moderate the discussion and to control turns and topics. There is a general consensus on the interpretation of the weather forecast and the gist of the meeting is about taking a decision to start or to stay the planting. Various participants, in expressing their opinions, emphasize the need for a collective decision as well as the need to share the decision with other members of the larger community who are not at the meeting. Ultimately, through critical reasoning and consistent allusion to authorities (the meteorological services and training workshops), there is a unanimous decision to start planting immediately. However, a specific decision has to be taken on whether millet should also be planted. Although some members express **negative attitude** toward millet, the consensus decision is to plant the crop as well as other crops. Female 1 summarises the decisions and declares the end of the discussion, which summary is endorsed by the rest of the participants with a chorus approval, to indicate closure of the discussion.

4.5.2 Analytical template of appraisal resources and the generic move structure of the meeting

Participant		Luganda	English translation	Cognitive moves
Male 1	001 005 010	Kati bassebo ne bannyabo olutambi muluwulidde bulungi. Lutulaze bulungi nnyo sizoni eno nga bwegenda okubeera. Mukirabye nga sizoni eno okusenziira ku nteebereza y'obudde nga bwezze n'okulaga, kirabika nti waliwo enjawulo wakati wa ziri ze tubadde nazo sizoni ziri ez'emabega. Kati mukirabye ndowooza. Kati tusabiddwa tukubaganye ebirawooza ku nsonga eno tugittaanyeeeka.	Ladies and gentlemen, you listened to the tape well. It clearly showed us what this season is going to be like. You saw that this season, according to what the weather forecast indicates, it seems that it is going to be different from the other seasons that we have had; the previous seasons. I think you saw that. Now, we have been asked to discuss and conclude this matter.	Opening discussion Alluding to authority
Female 1		Kaakati nze kye ndaba, sizoni eno, enkuba egenda kuba ya kigero nga sizoni eno ewedde, kati era <i>amagezi nze ndaba ge tugenda okukola, tulimire</i>	My view about the coming season is that there is going to be moderate rain, just like the case was with the last season. <i>Our strategy should be to</i>	Interpreting forecast Alluding to experience Proposing a strategy

	015	<i>mu sipiidi</i> [ap]. Omuntu koolimyeko, ng'osiga. Kwe kugamba enkuba eno tugende okutuuka mu mwezi Ogowokuna ng'abantu tumaze okusiga kubanga	<i>work fast</i> [ap]. One should plant whatever little bit of the field he clears. In other words, with this rain, we should have finished planting by the month of April, because we have heard what lies ahead. There is going to be very little rain [ap].	
	020	tumaze okuwulira ekiri mu maaso. Enkuba ntono nnyo [ap].		
Male 1		Uh uh, omulala,	Okay, another person	Moderating discussion
Male 2	025	Kaakati nze, endowooza yange, nga bwe ndowooza era nga bwe ndaba; <i>kyandibadde kirungi omuntu abe ng'ensigo nga weeri</i> [ap]. Naye ensigo tugifunye tutya? Kubanga kati ensigo mu ffe mu bantu	My opinion and view is that <i>it would be nice for one to have the seed ready</i> [ap]. But how shall we get the seed? Because there is very little seed within the community. We sold and cleared all the beans	Identifying a problem Proposing a strategy Constructing group identity Seeking advice
	030	ntono. Ebijanjaalo twabitunda ne tubimalawo [ap]. Tunagiggya wa nga ffe aba group? Ensigo twagirya. Kasooli mutono. Ebijanjaalo tewali [ap]. Tunaakola tutya?	[ap]. Where shall we, as a group, get the seed? We ate all the seed. There is very little maize. There are no beans [ap]. What shall we do?	
Female 1		<i>Amagezi ge tujja okusala, kuginoonya mu katale. Mu butale ebeeramu</i> [ap].	<i>The strategy we shall use is to look for the seed in the market. It is always available in the markets</i> [ap].	Suggesting a solution
Male 1	040	Nze mbadde nnina endowooza egamba nti mu katale, ensigo eno ey'okugula mu katale ate nga ffe tulinawo, <i>waliwo amaduuka agatunda ensigo ennongooseemu.</i>	I am of the view that instead of buying the seed from the market, we should buy it from the shops that sell <i>improved seeds. The improved seeds are covered with chemicals that protect the seeds against pests and diseases. I think that if we go to the shops that sell improved seeds, we shall buy right seed, which is pest-resistant and perhaps drought-resistant too</i> [ap].	Proposing a strategy Defending strategy Moderating discussion Inviting other participants
	045	<i>Ekisooka ebaako eddagala erigikuuma obutalumbibwa buwuka oba ndwadde zonna. Naye nsuubidde bwe tuba tugenze mu maduuka gye batunda eno, nsuubidde tuba tuguze ensigo entuufu ate egumira</i> [ap]	Instead of buying the other types of seed, degenerated seed, which are found in the markets [ap]. What is your view?	
	050	obulwadde, oba oli awo n'omusana [ap] obutafaananako n'ensigo eno endala kubanga amaanyi gaba gagenze gagiggwaamu eno ey'omu butale [ap]. Mulabye mutya?		
	055			
Male 2	060	Anti ssebo ekizibu kiri mu maduuka [ap]. <i>Kyo kituufu</i> [ap], naye sente tetulina [ap]! Mu maduuka kkiro y'ebijanjaalo eri ku 1300/= [ap] ate ffe wano mu butale 700/=, 800/= [ap] ofuna. Kaakati tukoze tutya?	Well sir, there is a problem about those shops [ap]. <i>The idea of going to the shops is right</i> [ap], but we do not have the money [ap]. In the shops a kg of beans costs 1300/= [ap] and yet you can get it from the market at 700/= or 800/= [ap]. What	Identifying a problem Using details Moderating discussion Seeking solution

	065		should we do?	
Female 1		<u>Ate ensigo kasita eba nga tewuukuuse, emera</u> [ap].	<u>And if a seed is not hollowed out, it germinates</u> [ap].	Expressing hope
Female 2	070	Nze mbadde nkyali ku ky'obudde kino kye tuliko. Kaakati abamu babadde bamaze okusiga ebijanjaalo. Kaakati omusana [ap], abamu bibadde bitandise okumera, bikaze [ap].	I am still on the issue of weather which we are discussing. Some people had already planted beans. For some of these people, the beans that had germinated have now been withered by the sun [ap].	Controlling topic
Male 2	075	Kati kyotegeeza abasinga abalimi singa tuba twamaze okusiga?	What does that mean if most farmers have already planted?	Seeking clarity
Female 2	080	Naye ate kati bagambye omusana [ap] mu Gwokusatu gujja kwaka. Ate Ogwokusatu guuguno tugutuuse wakati. Kaakati ate mu maaso bwe gweyongerako katono ebyo bye twasize binaaba bitya [ap]? Ekyo kye tuba tulowoozaako. Kye ndabawa ekikulu.	But we have been told that March will be dry. And we are already halfway through March. What if the dry spell continues a little longer; what will happen to the crops which we have already planted [ap]? This is what we should think about. It is what I see as the major issue.	Alluding to authority Re-interpreting forecast Moderating discussion Seeking decision
Male 2	085	Kaakati ssebo ggwe ndowooza ki gyatuwa ggwe ssebo mukama wange okusenziira ku byowulidde? Ndowooza ki gyatuwa?	What ideas can you give us sir according to what you have heard? What ideas would you give us?	Moderating discussion
Male 3	090	Ng'omukyala oli bwagambye, abamu bamaze okusiga ate abalala tebannaba kulima [ap], ate tuwulidde nti mu maaso enkuba nsaamusaamu. Kati bano bo beebuza kati tukole ki ssaawa zino ffe abatannaba kulima [ap]?	Like the other lady said, some people have already planted and others have not yet prepared their fields [ap], and we have heard that later on the rain will be moderate. Now, these ones are wondering what some of us who have not yet prepared our fields [ap] can do at this time, because we have listened to the weather forecast carefully and yet the month is almost over?	Reiterating earlier view Constructing group identity Re-interpreting forecast Seeking advice Expressing a fear
	095	Kubanga embeera y'obudde tugiwulirizza bulungi ate omwezi guuguno guweddeko.		
Male 1	100	Nze mbadde nsuubidde nti ku nsonga eyo bano ababadde batannalima, bino bo tebabiwulidde, era tebali wamu naffe [ap]. Bo bayinza okuba nga bamanyi nti enkuba ekyali ng'eri ey'emabega. Tebamanyi nkyukakyuka ya budde abatannaba kulima [ap].	I thought that on that matter those ones who have not yet prepared their fields have not heard this and are not with us here [ap]. They might think that the rain will behave the way it always behaved in the past. Those ones who have not yet prepared their fields do not know the changes in weather [ap]. For that reason therefore, <i>it is our responsibility as group members to take to them the information we have heard here so that they may work fast</i> [ap] because the rain will be little [ap].	Stressing group identity Expressing concern for community Reasoning critically
	105	N'olwensonga eyo <i>buvunaanyizibwa bwaffe nga bammemba ba group abawulidde kino, amawulire gano tugabwe babe nga benyigiramu okulabika nga bakolerawo</i> [ap] kubanga enkubantono [ap].		
	110			

Female 2	115	<u>Naffe abamu bammemba tubadde tukyatudde, nga tulaba omusana guyitiridde, ate ensigo nga tulina ntono. Tubadde abamu tetunnaba kusiga</u> [ap].	<u>Even some of the group members were still seated (waiting) because there is too much sun (dry conditions), and yet we have little seed. Some of us have not planted yet</u> [ap]. And we have been told that March will have some <u>dry periods</u> [ap], which we can see it already. April will be dry. <u>Will our crops grow properly</u> [ap]?	Expressing concern Identifying a problem Re-interpreting forecast
	120	Ate kale bagambye Ogwokusatu <u>omusana</u> [ap] gujja kwakamu ate gwe guno ogwase. Ogwokuna gujja kwaka. <u>Kati awo ebirime byaffe bikuze</u> [ap]?		
Male 1	125	Ekibuuzo, tukole tutya? Tuleke?	A question; what should we do? Should we not plant?	Soliciting a group decision
Several		<u>Tulime</u> [ap].	<u>We should plant</u> [ap].	Expressing group decision
Male 2	130	Nze njamba <u>tulime</u> [ap], olw'ensonga bweti; enteebereza y'obudde etugambye nti omwezi Ogwokusatu <u>enkuba mweri</u> [ap] ensaamusaamu, omwezi Ogwokuna <u>eija kutonnya</u> [ap], kati ekomekkereze mu mwezi Ogwokutaano.	I say (suggest) that <u>we should plant</u> [ap] for the following reason; the weather forecast has "told" us that during the month of March there will be <u>some moderate rain</u> [ap], which will continue through April and May.	Alluding to authority Reasoning critically Supporting group decision
	135			
Female 3		<u>Kati tulime ebirime byaffe, bijja kwengera</u> [ap].	<u>Let us go ahead and plant. Our crops will ripen (grow to maturity)</u> [ap].	Confirming group decision
Several	140	<u>Tulime</u> [ap].	<u>We should plant</u> [ap].	Reaffirming group decision
Female 2		<u>Ekikulu tulimire mu sipiidi</u> [ap].	<u>The important thing is that we should work fast</u> [ap].	Emphasizing group decision
Female 3	145	Kaakati nga ffe abamu abatera okusimba obulo bwe tubadde tulowooza okusiga.	Some of us who usually grow millet had hoped to plant the same.	Introducing subtopic
Male 2		Ee eh, <u>obulo tosimba</u> [ap; 1 st af].	No, no, <u>do not plant millet</u> [ap; 1 st af].	Giving a suggestion
Female 3		Ate nga <u>ye mmere, erabika okukuuma enjala</u> [ap].	And yet <u>it is the food that is likely to guard against hunger</u> [ap].	Opposing suggestion
Female 1	150	Ate kasooli?	What about maize?	Introducing subtopic
Male 2		<u>Kasooli osimba</u> [ap]	<u>The maize you may plant</u> [ap].	Giving a suggestion
Female 1		Kati ebijanjaalo byo bijja kukula?	Will the beans survive?	Introducing subtopic
Male 2	155	<u>Byo ebijanjaalo myezi ebiri. Awo tulime, tusige</u> [ap].	<u>The beans need only two months to mature. We should grow, plant them</u> [ap]	Giving opinion Supporting decision
Male 1	160	Mpozzi, okwongerezaako ku nsonga eyo, nti <u>ebijanjaalo bino byangu, bisobola okukwata obudde</u> [ap]. Kiba kiraga ki? Kiba kitegeeza nti kasooli, mu budde buno <u>tulina okufuna ensigo ey'oyo ayanguwa</u> [ap].	Perhaps to add to that point, <u>beans are 'easy'</u> . <u>They have a short cycle</u> [ap]. What does this imply? It implies that <u>for the maize we have to get the fast-maturing seed variety</u> [ap].	Supplementing decision Reasoning critically

Male 3	165	Kati obuzibu tuyinza okuba ng'ensigo situgimanyi ffe abamu [ap].	The problem is that some of us may not know the right seed variety [ap].	Identifying a problem
Male 1	170	Okusinziira ku misomo, tufunyeeko emitonotono, baatugamba nti waliwo kasooli gwe bayita Nalongo oba Longe 5. <i>Kasooli oyo aba wa nnaku ntonotono</i> [ap].	From the few training workshops we have had, we were told that there is a variety of maize called Nalongo or Longe 5, <i>which is a short-cycle variety</i> [ap].	Alluding to authority Using intertextuality
Female 2	175	Anti kati emisomo gye twasoma, baatugamba, <i>tulime emmere ekuuma enjala</i> [ap]. Kaakati ate bwe tunaaba tetugirimye enjala tunaaba tugigobye [ap]?	Well, during the seminars, we were told <i>to grow crops that guard against hunger</i> [ap]. Now, if we do not grow such crops, shall we be able to fight hunger [ap]?	Alluding to authority Supporting intertextuality Reasoning critically
Female 4		Ejja kutuluma [ap].	Hunger will hit us [ap].	Expressing fear
Male 1		<i>Ne muwogo tumuteekamu, kubanga oyo aba agumira embeera</i> [ap].	<i>We should plant some cassava as well, because it is weather-resistant</i> [ap].	Proposing strategy Defending strategy
Several	180	<i>Yee</i> [ap].	<i>Yes</i> [ap].	Expressing consensus
Male 2		Ate leka mbagambe bammemba bannange, leka mbabuulire. Kwe kugamba <i>ye kasooli mulungi okulima okusinga ebirala</i> [ap].	And let me tell you something fellow members. For your information, <i>growing maize is better than growing other crops</i> [ap].	Constructing group identity Defending a suggestion
Female 1	185	Anti kati ku mbeera y'obudde batugambye enkuba egenda kubeera nsaamusaamu.	We have been told from the weather forecast that the rain will be moderate.	Alluding to authority Interpreting forecast
Male 2		<i>Tujja kugendera ku mbeera y'obudde gye batugambye</i> [ap].	<i>We shall follow the weather forecast that has been given to us</i> [ap].	Alluding to authority
Female 3	190	Nanti mu misomo baatugamba <i>tulime emmere ekuuma enjala. Emmere ekuuma enjala era kasooli, bulo, muwogo, bummonde</i> [ap].	During the training workshops, we were told <i>to grow crops which guard against hunger. Crops which guard against hunger are maize, millet, irish potatoes</i> [ap].	Alluding to authority Using intertextuality
Female 5	195	Lumonde takuuma njala [ap]. <i>Naye emmere ekuuma enjala ye muwogo kasooli n'obulo</i> [ap].	Potatoes don't guard against hunger [ap]. <i>But cassava, maize and millet are the crops that guard against hunger</i> [ap].	Considering options Expressing preference
Female 2		<i>Leero ate bwo obulo</i> [ap]!	<i>Oh, millet (millet is the best)</i> [ap]!	Supporting preference
Male 2	200	Naye obulo bakyabulima ennaku zino, ewaffe wano [ap; 3 rd af]?	Do people still grow millet these days, here in our area [ap; 3 rd af]?	Questioning preference
Female 3		<i>Babulima nno</i> [ap; 3 rd af].	<i>Yes, people grow millet</i> [ap; 3 rd af].	Defending preference
Female 2	205 210	Kaakati awo enkuba tetonnye [ap] nga tubadde tulwoozu kuyiwa bulo. Kati awo tukoze tutya? Tufe gayiwa obulo bufe [ap]! <i>Ke tunaabazaako keeko</i> [ap], obulo tubuleke olw'embeera y'obudde eno erabiseewo [ap]?	Now the rain hasn't come [ap] and yet we expected to plant millet. What shall we do in that case? Shall we simply take the risk [ap] to plant the millet and wait for <i>whatever little harvest</i> [ap] we shall get, or we should leave it because of the weather forecast we have	Seeking a decision

			received [ap]?	
Female 3		Kaakati muleete ebirowoozo kwekyo tulabe.	Now, you (p//)bring ideas on that.	Moderating discussion
Female 2		<i>Kati amagezi tuyiwe</i> [ap]	<i>The wise thing will be for us to plant the millet</i> [ap]	Proposing group decision
Male 2	215	<i>Tuyiwe obulo</i> [ap].	<i>We should plant the millet</i> [ap].	Supporting group decision
Several		<i>Yee</i> [ap].	<i>Yes</i> [ap].	Confirming group decision
Female 1	220 225	<i>Tusimbe, obulo tuyiwe, kasooli tusimbe, muwogo tusimbe. Buli kimu tusimbe, naye tusimbe mu sipiidi. Twanguyirize</i> [ap] kubanga embeera tugiwulidde [ap]. Ne bannaffe abali mu kyalo nabo <i>tweyongere okubamatiza</i> [ap].	<i>Let us plant. Let us plant the millet, plant the maize, plant cassava. We should plant all crops, but we must be fast. We should move fast</i> [ap] because we heard what the situation will be [ap]. <i>We should also convince (inform) our colleagues in the village</i> [ap].	Announcing group decision Stressing group identity Emphasizing concern for community
Male 2		<i>Yee, tubamatize</i> [ap]. Ebirowoozo bye tubadde nabyo byebyo.	<i>Yes, we should convince (inform) our colleagues</i> [ap]. That is all we had to discuss.	Stressing concern for community Closing discussion
Several	230	Byebyo	That is all we had to discuss.	Approving closure

4.5.3 Analytical perspectives on appraisal, citizenship, the business-meeting genre, and negotiation

Participants, through **inscribed** and **invoked** appreciation, concur implicitly on their interpretation and assessment of the weather forecast, which is that ‘**there is going to be little-to-moderate rain, mixed with some dry periods**’. This **negative attitude** is iteratively expressed by various participants in different turns (Female 1: 012, 021, 186; Female 2: 076-7, 121; Male 3: 091; Male 1: 114; Male 2: 132-6). The **negative attitude** is particularly expressed through the recursive use of specific lexico-grammatical units as negative keywords, most notably the following: adjectival phrases **nkuba ya kigero/nsaamusaamu** (moderate rain: 012, 091, 133, 187) and **nkuba ntono** (little rain: 021, 114), farm noun **bulwadde** (disease: 047, 052), weather noun **musana** (sun/drought: 053, 071, 076, 117, 121), food noun **njala** (hunger: 149, 173, 174, 176, 191, 192, 195, 196), noun **kizibu/buzibu** (problem: 058, 163), adjective **-tono** (little: 030, 033, 118).

The **negative attitude** is strengthened by the use of ‘details’ (060-3) to cite specific figures of the different market prices of seeds. ‘Details’ are, in this case, used as a creative strategy of

evaluation to express **negative appreciation** of the prices of seeds in shops. As noted during the analysis of meeting 3b in chapter three, the use of ‘details’ as an evaluation resource does not only enhance participant-involvement in decision-making processes, it also reflects a speaker’s emotional stance towards an entity or a proposition. Thus, like Duranti (1997: 214) argues, the use of certain expressions in interactive discourse reveals the **stance** a speaker is taking vis-à-vis a given character in a discourse.

However, through *explicit* and *implied* appreciation, participants acknowledge the role of ‘strategic planning’ (*planting early*: 015-6, 142, 222; *using good quality seed*: 044, 050-1, 066-7, 161-2, 168-170, 177; *working together*: 109-113, 225-7; *ensuring food security*: 148-9, 172, 191-3, 196-9;), and ‘expert/scientific knowledge’ (*alluding to authority*: 036-8, 043, 166, 171, 190) in helping farmers to avoid **potential loss** (**lack of seed**: 030, 115-9; **poor quality seed**: 054-6; **extreme weather conditions**: 053, 071-2, 076, 114, 121; **crop failure, disease and pests**: 047, 072, 080-1, 123; **financial difficulties**: 060-4; **ignorance**: 163-4; **hunger**: 174-6). The *positive stance* is particularly expressed through the iterative use of the following lexico-grammatical units as positive keywords: farm verb *sig-/lim-/simb-/yiw-* (plant: 016, 019, 070, 075, 088, 127, 129, 137, 140, 145, 151, 154, 177, 213, 215, 219, 220, 221), farm noun *nsigo* (seed: 027, 037, 041, 044, 050, 066, 164), adverbial phrase *limire mu sipiidi/kolerawo/* (work fast: 015, 113, 142, 222), modal verb phrase of necessity or obligation *tulime/tuyime/tusimbe* (we should plant: 127, 129, 140, 142, 154, 215, 220, 222, 225).

The ‘common’ interpretation and assessment of the weather forecast, which is achieved through critical reasoning, builds a platform for constructing a group identity that is expressed by the consistent use of “*tu-*” (we) in almost all the above-cited turns of appraisal. The assessment in this context can be regarded as a group decision because it is made and reiterated by various participants in different turns, as illustrated above. The group decision and construction of group identity are expressed more explicitly in the decision-making turns – *Ekibuuzo; tukole tutya? Tuleke?* (A question; what should we do? Should we not plant? 125); *...nze n̄namba tulime...* (I suggest that we should plant: 129); *...kati tulime ebirime byaffe, bijja kwengera...* (let us go ahead and plant; our crops will grow to maturity: 137), to which there is a ‘chorus’ response – *Tulime* (we should plant: 127, 140). The group decision is finally announced officially as, ‘*Tusimbe, obulo tuyiwe,*

kasooli tusimbe, muwogo tusimbe. Buli kimu tusimbe, naye tusimbe mu sipiidi; twanguyirize.' (Let us plant. Let us plant the millet, plant the maize, plant cassava; we should plant all crops, but we must be fast; we should move fast: 219-222).

The group decision is also particularly enhanced and defended through the iterative allusion to *seminars* - *...emisomo gye twasoma baatugamba tulime emmere ekuuma enjala*. (During the seminars/training workshops we were told to grow crops that guard against hunger: 171, 190). The reiteration of this problem-solving move does not only facilitate the build-up to a collective decision, it also illustrates the role of *repetition* in the creation of emphasis in discourse. And as Tannen (2007: 60) argues, the repetition of the phrase in this segment of the meeting evidences a speaker's attitude, showing how the repetition contributes to the meaning of the discourse in question. On the other hand, the iterative allusion to *seminars/workshops* in this example (as well as the iterative allusion to verses of the Bible in meeting 4c, discussed in section 4.4 above) to negotiate for a decision illustrates Handford's (2010: 60) argument that a business meeting is characterized by, among other features, a demonstration of degrees of intertextuality, which link the meeting to other events, places, people and ideas that are remote in time and space.

In other words, as already noted with meeting 4b (discussed in section 4.3 of this chapter), the meaning and/or substance of an idea at a business meeting, may be sought and invoked from or alluded to in another text, in which case as Bhatia & Bhatia (2011: 35) observe, the investigation of intertextuality is crucial to a comprehensive understanding of genre. In this respect, the rhetorical move of Female 2 (171) and Female 3 (190) anchoring their argument in the business that transpired at seminars/workshops that are remote in time and space to the current debate, is comparable to the citation of verses from the Bible by Male 2 (149-151) in meeting 4c (discussed in the previous section). The two examples of allusion, demonstrate the use of *intertextuality* as an evaluative strategy by which, as Tannen (2007: 12) notes, the relationship of text to text and language to language is mediated by people's actions and through material objects of the world.

On the other hand, group identity and *citizenship* are reaffirmed through both *positive* and **negative** inscribed appreciation in the problem-solving turns – *...buvunaanyizibwa bwaffe nga bammemba ba group abawulidde kino, amawulire gano tugabawe babe nga benyigiramu okulabika nga*

bakolerawo... (it is our responsibility as group members to take to them the information we have heard here so that they may work fast: 109-113), and *...bannaffe abali mu kyalo nabo tweyongere okubamatiza...* (we should also inform our colleagues in the village: 224-5). The position of the “concerned individual” that is assumed by participants in the above-cited cases of constructing group identity are an expression of *citizenship* as a collective and participatory decision making process, through which participants relate with the larger community to which they belong.

This manner of expressing *citizenship* illustrates Williams’ (2006: 197-9, 212) argument that community participation is the direct involvement/engagement of ordinary people in the affairs of planning, governance and overall development programs at local or grassroots level; and that communities need to realize that it is only when they have achieved the position of an informed citizenry with the capacity to enjoy constitutional rights through effective community participation in local programs that they can ensure equitable access to resources.

The cognitive move structure of the discussion presents in three coherent parts – i) critical reasoning and strategic planning (001-067); ii) interpretation and assessment of the weather forecast (068-124); iii) decision making and closure of the discussion (125-230). The meeting does not have a chairperson, but Male 1 takes the first turn and assumes the responsibility to open (001) and subsequently moderate the discussion at regular intervals (023, 057, 125). However, like in meeting 4b, other members (Male 2: 034, 084-6; Female 2: 068, 082; Female 3: 212) also participate in the role of moderating the discussion when they take regular intervals to control turns and topics as the meeting wears on. Indeed, Male 2 makes the cognitive move of closing the discussion – *...ebirowoozo bye tubadde nabyo byebyo...* (That is all we had to discuss: 227-8) – to which the rest of the group responds in chorus – *Byebyo*. (That is all we had to discuss: 230).

The sharing of the role of ‘moderator’, which does not bring about ‘conflict over power’ among individual participants, is further testimony to the expression of *citizenship* as a shared participatory process of making decisions. The sense of *oneness* and *citizenship* is further evidenced by the spontaneous nature of turn-taking, where all participants, including the

moderators, contribute without having to seek the permission of the chair. The spontaneity of cognitive moves between members allows participants to demonstrate both their individual and collective ‘belonging’ to the group, through an orderly exchange of the opportunity to hold the floor.

The shared responsibility of moderating the discussion, as well as spontaneity of taking turns to debate, are testimony to Roncoli et al.’s (2011: 129-130) argument that participation entails “not only expressing and advancing one’s views in a culturally appropriate way, but also supporting others as they do so. The interaction is in form of a discussion style whereby a specific point is shaped by several participants rather than a single turn and enunciated by one individual. By contributing to the dialogue, people demonstrate their allegiance to the group and their commitment to the ultimate goal of participation, which is to reach consensus.”

4.6 Summary

Whereas meeting 4a has a chairperson while meetings 4b, 4c and 4d do not have a chairperson, all the four meetings have a ‘moderator’ who controls the flow of the discussion. However, the moderator does not control turns of participants. Rather, turns are spontaneously taken, as explained in subsections 4.2.3, 4.3.3, 4.4.3 and 4.5.3. The scenario of ‘moderator’ and ‘spontaneous turns’ which is characteristic of this cluster of meetings, is similar to that of ‘subtle decision-making’ meetings which I identified in section 3.5 of chapter three. In both sets of meetings, participants take the position of the “concerned individual” to construct group identity and to demonstrate citizenship in an effort to forge consensus. Whereas decision-making is implicit in ‘subtle decisions’, while it is overt in ‘explicit decisions’, in both cases the decision emerges as a group decision.

The foregoing argument is illustrated by Firth (1995: 3) and Hausendorf & Bora (2006a: 1) who argue that participatory discourse emerges whenever a decision-making process requires the public to be included in an activity of social decision-making. For this matter, consensus and group decisions as illustrated above are an indicator of participation as a cognitive event of constructing group identity and demonstrating citizenship. The sharing of turns to moderate the discussion in meetings 4b and 4d, as explained in subsections 4.3.3 and 4.5.3 respectively, is

further evidence to the importance of consensus and group identity in this situated interactive genre. As Roncoli et al. (2011: 129-130) observe, when several participants contribute to the shaping and enunciation of a point or position, they “demonstrate their allegiance to the group and their commitment to the ultimate goal of participation, which is to reach consensus.”

While meeting 3b, which I discussed in section 3.3 of chapter three under the ‘subtle decision-making’ cluster of meetings, provides an example of business meetings being a form of conflict, meeting 4c presents yet another version of conflict in form of a power struggle. Although the power struggle, as explained in subsection 4.4.3 of this chapter, maintains the principle of group identity that is discussed in the preceding paragraph above, the type of conflict that is exposed in the meeting augments Grillo (2005b: 1, 10) and Cameron’s (2001: 161) view that language use is a power-related social practice through which people assert their identities and distinguish themselves from others. But this argument is placed in context by Morand’s (2000: 236) observation that “understanding how power differentials are encoded in language can shed light on processes of status leveling in organizations.”

In summary, the above multi-perspective analysis reveals that ‘explicit decision-making’ meetings, like the ‘subtle decision-making’ meetings that I discussed in chapter three, are a consensus-building style of problem-solving business meeting because, as outlined in section 3.5 of chapter three and as explained by Handford (2010: 60), the meetings satisfy the following features; i) a set of participants, ranging from dyadic to multiparty, ii) evidence of an agenda or topic, iii) a purpose, reason or goal for the meeting, iv) specific, constrained turn-taking modes, v) the influence of institutional, professional or national culture, vi) recognizable beginnings and endings, and, vii) degrees of intertextuality. The two clusters of meetings, as mentioned earlier, also satisfy the three core stages (opening of meeting, discussion of the agenda/topic, and closing of meeting) of a business meeting structure as identified by Handford (2010: 70).

CHAPTER 5

A MULTI-PERSPECTIVE ANALYSIS OF VIRTUAL DECISION-MAKING MEETINGS

5.1 Introduction

In chapters three and four, I presented a multi-perspective analysis of the patterns of participation in subtle decision-making meetings and explicit decision-making meetings, respectively. I also introduced the analytical framework as well as the principles that I adopt in the course of the analysis of patterns of participation, decision-making, and evaluation within the context of meetings on rural community development work. In chapter five, I employ the principles that I introduced in the two previous chapters to analyze and discuss another cluster of meetings which I refer to as ‘virtual decision-making’ meetings. The meetings in chapter three have implicit decisions that emerge out of iterative moves of problem-solving turns, where decision-making moves are particularly marked by the modal verb phrase of necessity or obligation ‘*we should plant*’. On the other hand, decisions of meetings in chapter four are overtly announced by one of the participants, with the express use of the word ‘*decide/decision*’.

In chapter five, I analyze another set of meetings where problem-solving moves are made at various stages of a meeting but these moves are not followed up by subsequent turns to express or imply a decision. However, within the broad framework of ensuring consensus, participants spontaneously exchange opinions in a problem-solution pattern without necessarily proclaiming (explicitly or implicitly) a group decision. The meetings in this cluster have a considerable similarity to the ‘subtle decision-making’ meetings which I discussed in chapter three, because in both clusters there is no official announcement of the group decision.

However, in the ‘virtual decision-making’ cluster of meetings the decision-making or problem-solving moves are not reiterated by various participants, or given *chorus* approval, or if the moves are reiterated their reiteration is sparse and inconsistent in frequency of occurrence across

the discourse of the meeting. In the process, the meetings make intermittently isolated moves towards a decision, but they do not make a confluence into a clearly discernible group position. In other words, the discourse of meetings in this cluster expresses problem-solving patterns of moves and turns, which moves and turns only yield a ‘nearly’ or ‘virtual’ decision. There are five meetings in this cluster, and for each of the meetings, as in the previous two chapters, I give an introductory overview, a genre-appraisal representation, as well as a multi-perspective analytical discussion. The chapter concludes with a summary of the multi-perspective trends that emerge from the ‘virtual decision-making’ cluster of meetings, especially as far as they relate to various themes and perspectives of the literature reviewed in chapter two.

I employ the typeface conventions that I introduced in chapter three to analyze the appraisal resources and other generic properties of the meetings.

5.2 A multi-perspective analysis of meeting 5a (September 14th, 2005)

5.2.1 Introductory overview

The meeting does not have a formal opening. There is no chairperson of the proceedings. After the weather forecast is played, Male 1 takes the lead, makes an interpretation of the forecast and invites other members to contribute to the discussion. Various participants spontaneously take their turns, but two (Male 1 and Male 2) seem to dominate the discussion. Through critical reasoning, participants interpret the weather forecast and its implications for their farm activities. Participants express the importance of weather forecast dissemination in the planning and management of agricultural activities generally. Apart from expressing opinions and making suggestions, the meeting does not make or reach any clear-cut explicit or implicit group decisions. However, group identity is constructed and emphasized in various turns. The discussion ends when members have no more views to contribute to the debate. But there is no official declaration of the end or conclusion of the discussion.

5.2.2 Analytical template of appraisal resources and the generic move structure of the meeting

Particip- ant		Luganda	English translation	Cognitive moves
Male 1	001	Okutwaliza awamu, nze nnina endowooza yange. Bulijja bulijja, bye tukola byonna	Generally speaking, I have a personal view. Everything we do is	Expressing an opinion Alluding to

	005 010	bisinsiira ku nteebereza y'obudde, okuva mu bannaffe eyo. Kati bwe bategeeza_nti mu Gwomwenda enkuba ejja kuba nsaamusaamu, <i>nkikikiriza</i> [ap]. Naye nga <i>kituweereza okweteeekateeka ennyo nga tuluubirira enkuba</i> [ap] egenda okutandika mu Gwekkumi, n'Ogwekkuminoogumu. So oba nga bwe kiri ffe ng'abalimi <i>tulina okukola nga twanguya</i> [ap]. Nze ye ndowooza yange.	always governed by weather forecasts from the experts. When they inform us that there will be moderate rain in September, <i>I believe it</i> [ap]. But it should <i>challenge us to prepare ourselves well</i> [ap] for the October and November rains. Therefore, as farmers, <i>we should do our work very fast</i> [ap]. That is my opinion.	authority Alluding to experience Constructing group identity Interpreting forecast Expressing an opinion Closing a turn
Male 2	015 020 025	<i>Kituufu nnyo</i> [ap]. Naye bwe bagamba nti enkuba ejja kuba nsaamusaamu ate nga kutandika mu Gwomwenda nga mulimu n'omusana, kitegeeza emyezi gino ebiri Ogwekkumi n'Ogwekkuminoogumu <i>gijja kuba mimp</i> [ap]. N'olwekyo ebirime eby'okusimba sizoni eno <i>bisaanidde bibe nga sibitwala biseera biwanvu kukula. Nze ekyo kye nandirabye abalimi tukikole</i> [ap] enkuba esobole okuggwaayo [ap] <i>ng'ebirime byaffe bikuze</i> [ap]. Mmwe mugamba mutya?	<i>That is quite right</i> [ap]. But when the information is that there will be moderate rain starting September and with some dry spells, it means that the two-month period of October to November will be short [ap]. <i>We should therefore plant short-cycle crops</i> [ap] during the coming season. <i>That is my advice</i> [ap] to us farmers, so that by the time the rains stop [ap] <i>our crops will be mature</i> [ap]. What is your (pl) view?	Expressing agreement Reasoning critically Making a suggestion Expressing an opinion Constructing group identity Involving others Moderating discussion
Female 1	030	Nze ku lwange mbadde ηηamba nti mu Gwomwenda bulijjo, <i>era bwe tuba tukola</i> [ap], enkuba ebeerayo ntono [ap] <i>ne tusobola okutegeka obulime</i> [ap]. Kati Ogwekkumi n'Ogwekkuminoogumu n'Ogwekkumineebiri, <i>enkuba ebeera nnyingi</i> [ap].	My (personal) view is that <i>we should follow</i> [ap] the usual trend where, during the little rains [ap] in the month of September <i>we clear the fields</i> [ap]. As usual, we should expect <i>more rain</i> [ap] in October, November and December.	Expressing an opinion Alluding to experience
Male 3	035 040	Ku nsonga yeemu balimi bannange, okutwalira awamu kaakati <i>enkuba kati nga wano ewaffe etonnya</i> [ap], naye ate mu bitundu ebirala musana mwereere [ap]. Kaakati awo singa tunaaba situkoze mangu [j], mu biseera ebimpi bino, omusana guyinza okutukwata [ap] mu maaso. Nze bwe mbadde nteesa balimi bannange.	On the same issue fellow farmers, generally, in some areas like ours, <i>the rain has started</i> [ap], but other areas are still dry [ap]. If we do not work fast [j] during this brief period, we may be caught the dry period [ap] ahead. That is my view, fellow farmers.	Constructing group identity Expressing an opinion Expressing a concern Closing a turn

Male 1	045	Okutwalira awamu <i>mpulira okwebaza olw'ekitongole kino</i> [ap], kubanga ffe ng'abalimi <i>tuganyulwa nnyo</i> [ap] ku lw'embeera y'obudde <i>okugimanya</i> [ap]. Naye nze ekyambuzabuza [ap] ng'omuntu, baali bagamba nti	Generally, <i>I feel indebted to the Met. Dept.</i> [ap] because, as farmers, <i>we stand to benefit a lot from information about the weather</i> [ap]. But what	Alluding to authority Constructing group identity Expressing an opinion Making a suggestion Involving others Moderating discussion
	050	nteebereza ya budde ⁷ [ap] ate <i>tutandise okukitegeera nga buli lwe bateebereza ekintu kituukirira. N'olwekyo tulina okugoba ebiseera kubanga enkuba buli etonnye nga</i>	confused [ap] me is that while the information was presented as a weather forecast * [ap], <i>its predictions always come true. Therefore, we should be time</i>	
	055	<i>tusiga, buli etonnye nga tusiga, n'okusambula bwe tusambula</i> [ap]. Female 2, ogamba ki?	<i>conscious, by planting immediately the rain comes, as well as clear our fields</i> [ap]. Female 2, what do you have to say?	
Female 2		Uh uh	Nothing.	
Female 3	060	Kati embeera yakyuse [ap], nze bwe mba ndaba, bulijjo Ogwomwenda watonnyayo ekire ky'enkuba nga kimu oba bibiri. Naye kati <i>ekitusobedde ebire tetubibala na kubibala</i> [ap]. Ndwooza era <i>bwe binaabeera bwe</i>	The times have changed [ap], because we usually get about one or two rain showers in September. But this time <i>we are amazed because we have</i>	Alluding to experience Expressing hope Expressing an opinion
	065	<i>bityo</i> [ap], nga watonnyayo enkuba, omusana bwe gwaka.	<i>received a countless number of showers</i> [ap]. We hope <i>the trend will continue like this</i> [ap] with a mixture of wet and dry periods.	
Female 4	070	<i>N'abasiga abamu basiga, n'ebijanjaalo ebimu bimaze okumera, ne kasooli n'obumonde tusimba</i> [ap].	<i>And some people are already planting, and some beans have already sprouted, plus we are also planting maize and irish potatoes</i> [ap].	Supporting opinion
Male 1	075	Kuba era mu nteeberera eno, <i>nsooka okwebaza abakulu bano okujja wano okulabika nga batuleetedde musomo mulamba tulabike ng'ebintu bye tukola tubitegeere, tube nga tubimanyi tusobole okusimba ebintu bye tusimba nga tubisimbira ku pulaani</i> [ap],	Indeed, about the forecast, <i>I should first thank these people for bringing us a seminar to help us do our work in a more informed and enlightened way, so that we can grow crops following a particular plan of</i>	Reasoning critically Expressing gratitude
	080	okumanya nti ekiseera bwe kiti, eby'obutonde bw'ensi, mu kiseera bwe kiti tufunamu musana. Kaakati awo bwe tumanya nti sizoni eno ejja kuba bweti naffe tusobole	<i>time and nature</i> [ap], and to know when to expect the dry periods. If we have a plan for the season <i>we can avoid</i> [ap]	
	085	<i>okukola</i> [ap] okulaba nti tetukwatibwa musana [ap].	being caught by the dry period [ap].	
Male 2		<i>Weebale nnyo</i> [ap] mmemba munnaffe. Naye nze olumu kino nnyinza okukyogerako nga nkyesigamya ku	<i>Thank you very much</i> [ap] fellow member. But, you will excuse me; I prefer to look at	Constructing group identity Reasoning critically

⁷ The expression 'nteebereza ya budde' (weather forecast), as used in this context implies 'haphazard prediction or guess', hence unreliable. The participant, through *inscribed positive judgement*, of the meteorologists, contends that whereas he previously regarded weather forecasts to be 'mere guesses', which are unreliable, he now trusts them because their propositions are correct.

	090	ggwanga, munansonyiwa, kubanga bwe batugamba nti nteebereza ya budde nga ate eggwanga lyaffe ddimi, naye ne bataviirayo ddala kutulaga bulamba ekitundu kyaffe bwe	this matter from a national perspective. When they tell us that this is a forecast, well aware that we are an agricultural country, and they don't come out clearly to show us the true picture of our area or of different areas [j], it means that some areas that do not get the weather forecast cannot profit from their farming activities. This pushes our country into more poverty [ap]. <i>If an agency can be identified and charged with the responsibility to disseminate the forecast to the various parts of the country, it would greatly help the farmers and Uganda as a country to develop</i> [ap]. <i>However, we should thank this team because they have given us some light, especially about the coming season</i> [j].	Expressing an opinion Making a suggestion Emphasizing group identity
	095	kinaatambula oba ebitundu eby'enjawulo [j], ekitegeeza ebitundu ebimu ebiba tebifunye mawulire ga nteebereza ya budde tebisobola kulima bintu ne bivaamu, eggwanga lyaffe ne lye Yongera kubeera nga lyavu [ap]. <i>Singa kisoboka amawulire gano ne gafuna ekitongole ekigasasaanya mu biseera byago buli budde, kyandiyambye nnyo abalimi b'eggwanga lyaffe ne Uganda yaffe okukula</i> [ap]. <i>Naye leka twebase abakulu bano be tuli nabo kubanga batuwadde omusana naddala sizoni eno</i> [j].		
	100			
	105			
	110			
Male 1	115	<i>Beebale nnyo beebalire ddala</i> [j]. Okusinga ennyo, tulina ebirime ebisookayo, tulina ebirime ebirindirira enkuba emale kuwera, naye okusinziira ku lutambi bwe nduwulirizza obulungi kirabikira ddala, era ebyasooseeyo	<i>Many thanks to the team</i> [j]. Specifically, we have the early crops and the heavy-rain crops, but according to the taped message (weather forecast), it appears the early crops, which we have already planted, will do well and those of us who were afraid of birds and other pests that destroy our crops in the ground [ap] <i>should settle and prepare our fields so that we can plant immediately</i> [ap] October starts, because we expect <i>heavy rains</i> [ap] in November. We should be winding up in December as usual. <i>I am not disappointed by the news, instead we are encouraged the more</i> [ap].	Alluding to authority Expressing gratitude Building confidence Constructing group identity Interpreting forecast Making a suggestion Emphasizing group identity Expressing hope
	120	twabisoosizzaayo ng'ebirime ebisooka naye ababadde bakyatidde ennyonyi n'obuwukawuka obwonoona ebirime byaffe mu ttaka [ap], <i>twongere ddala okuteekateeka ennimiro zaffe</i> [ap] Ogwekkumi guti ppa kubanga enkuba awo bagyogedde <i>ejja kuba nnamutikwa wa nkuba</i> [ap], Ogwekkuminoogumu, December era nga tumaliriza nga bulijjo. <i>Ekigambo ekyo mpulira nze tekintiisizza wazira kitwongedde bwongezi maanyi</i> [ap].		
	125			
	130			
Male 3	135	Ate era kwekyo, <i>kitwongedde amaanyi nga bwoyogedde ate kitwongedde n'okumanya sizoni bweneetambula</i> [ap] kuba tintera nnyo okukola ebintu ne tufiirwa [ap] naye kati wano, okufiirwa [ap] <i>si kyangu</i> [ap] kufiirwa [ap] <i>ng'omaze okumanya</i>	In addition to <i>being encouraged to work harder, we now know how the season will go</i> [ap]. We usually make losses [ap], <i>but this time the situation will be different because we know what to do</i> [ap].	Reiterating previous views Expressing hope and confidence

	140	<i>kiki eky'okukola</i> [ap].		
Male 1		<u>Nga tuwoza Katonda bwAyagadde</u> [j].	<u>We then claim that it was the will of God</u> [j].	Appraising behaviour
Male 3	145	<i>Oli osanze asize abibazizza</i> [ap] <u>mbu nze ewange tebyabaze, byafudde</u> [j]. <u>Kiki ekyabisse</u> [ap]? Lwa kubanga <u>situmanyi</u> [ap] <i>nteebereza ya budde nti eneeba bweti</i> [ap].	<u>One may wonder why</u> [j] <u>his harvest is not</u> [ap] <u>as good as that of another person</u> [ap]. <u>Why is his harvest poor?</u> [ap] The reason is that <u>we lack</u> [ap] information about <i>weather forecasts</i> [ap].	Reiterating appraisal Alluding to authority Constructing group identity
Male 2	150 155 160 165 170	Omanyi agambye nti sizoni eno enkuba ejja kuba nsaamusaamu oba ntono. Mu mwezi Ogwomwenda, wajja kubaayo akasana n'enkuba. Mu Gwekkumi, ejja kutandika, ebeere nnyingi okutuukira ddala mu Gwekkuminoogumu, ekomekkereze mu Gwekkumineebiri. <i>Ebirime ebyetaaga enkuba ennyingi kitegeeza nti ku sizoni yaffe eno ku ludda lweno bijja kukula</i> [ap]. Bwe kiba nga forecast eno enaatwaliramu eggwanga lyonna neeno gye tuli eno e Rakai <u>naye ate ebirime ebitaagala nkuba nnyingi bweba ng'egenda kutonnyera emvezi esatu non stop kitegeeza bijja kufuna obuzibu</u> [ap]. <i>Naye mpozzi enteebereza ekuwa okusalawo, okusimba kirime ki, ekinawangaalira ku nkuba ki eteeberzeddwa</i> [ap].	It has been mentioned that the rain this season will be moderate or little, with some dry spells. In October heavy rains will start, which will continue through November up to December. <i>It means that crops which need a lot of rain will do well in our area this season</i> [ap]. If this forecast covers the whole country, including Rakai, and the rain is going to be continuous for three months, then <u>the crops that do not need a lot of rain will be in trouble</u> [ap]. <i>However the forecast helps you to make a decision on which crops to plant, crops that can stand the predicted amounts of rain</i> [ap].	Alluding to authority Re-interpreting forecast Making inference Reasoning critically Expressing a fear Allaying fear
Male 1	175 180	Okutwalira awamu, nga nze omulimi w'ebijanjaalo nze <i>kimpadde eddembe</i> [ap] kubanga ebijanjaalo bye mmaze okusiga mu Gwekkuminoogumu oba December awo bwe biba bituuka <i>enkuba n'ebitwalaganya ebyo biba bya kulya</i> [ap]. Naye nga nze alimira sizoni kiba kitegeeza <i>kimpadde eddembe okwanguwa okusambula</i> [ap] era Ogwekkumi mbe nga ntandika okusiga mbe nga <i>mbala</i> [ap] wali December waanatuukira amakungula gasange ng'eggwaayo.	Generally, as a bean grower, <i>I feel relieved</i> [ap] by the information because the beans that I have already planted should be ready by November or December due to the rains around that time. But if one plans to grow one big crop for sale, it means that <i>they should prepare their fields in good time</i> [ap] to plant by October, so that they harvest in December when the rains are subsiding.	Constructing group identity Making inference Reasoning critically Proposing strategy Expressing hope
Male 3	185	Kubanga singa osigira wano, <u>enkuba eri bwe ebikwata evuluga. Eba ebisse olwo</u> [ap].	This is because if you plant now, <u>the heavy rains will spoil everything. The rain will, in that case, destroy the crops</u> [ap].	Expressing agreement

5.2.3 Analytical perspectives on appraisal, citizenship, the business-meeting genre, and negotiation

Participants, through both **negative** and *positive* inscribed appreciation, concur implicitly on their interpretation and assessment of the weather forecast, which is that ‘**there is going to be moderate rain mixed with some dry periods, but the rain will intensify later**’. This *positive evaluation* is iteratively expressed by various participants in different turns (Male 1: 006, 010, 125-130, 175-6; Male 2: 014, 018-9, 150-6; Female 1: 029; Female 3: 063).

The *positive attitude* is particularly expressed through the recursive use of the following lexico-grammatical units as positive keywords in various turns throughout the discussion: modal verb phrase of necessity and obligation *tulina/tusaanira/bwe tuba* (we should/we have to: 011, 020, 027, 053, 106, 124, 179), weather noun *nkuba* (rain: 008, 033, 036, 054, 055, 061, 065, 117, 126, 127, 158, 176), farm verb *simb-/sig-* (plant: 020, 055, 068, 070, 078, 079, 143, 168, 174, 180, 184). On the other hand, **negative attitude** is particularly expressed through the recursive use of the following lexico-grammatical units as negative keywords: noun phrases **nkuba nsaamusaamu** (moderate rain: 005, 014, 151), **musana/kasana** (dry period: 016, 038, 041, 066, 082, 086, 153) and **nkuba ntono** (little rain: 029, 151), as well as business noun **kufiirwa** (loss: 099, 137, 138, 139, 144, 145).

Also, through both **negative** and *positive* inscribed appreciation, judgment and affect, as well as through critical reasoning, participants acknowledge the role of ‘strategic planning’ (*planting at the right time*: 007, 012-3, 020, 040, 054-6, 080-2, 179, 181; *accessing information*: 075-7, 101-6, 135, 140, 167-170), and ‘expert/scientific knowledge’ (*alluding to authority*: 003, 044-5, 073-9, 106-9, 114, 130-4) in helping farmers to avoid **potential loss** (**extreme weather conditions**: 038, 086; **ignorance**: 048-050, 093-8, 146; **poverty**: 100; **crop failure, disease and pests**: 121-3, 136-8, 144, 166, 185-6; **despair and envy**: 141).

Although the ‘common’ interpretation and assessment of the weather forecast as well as the critical reasoning that is highlighted above point to an implicit construction of a group identity, the discussion does not, overtly or implicitly, come to any group decisions. There are some isolated

clauses within turns, which express ‘an opinion’ but which are not reiterated or given collective approval to constitute a group decision. For example;

‘...nga kituweereza okweteekateeka ennyo nga tuluubirira enkuba egenda okutandika mu Gwekkumi n’Ogwekkuminoogumu...’ (007-9)

(...it should challenge us to prepare ourselves well for the October and November rains...)

‘...ffe ng’abalimi tulina okukola nga twanguya...’ (011)

(...therefore, as farmers, we should do our work very fast...)

‘...eby’okusimba... bisaanidde bibe nga sibitwala biseera biwanvu kukula...’ (020)

(...we should therefore plant short-cycle crops...)

‘...twongere ddala okuteekateeka ennimiro zaffe Ogwekkumi guti ppa...’ (124-5)

(...should settle and prepare our fields so that we can plant immediately October starts...)

The examples above are expressions of opinion by Male 1 (007-9, 011, 124-5) and Male 2 (020), which are not reiterated or supported by other participants, as the case is with the subtle decision-making moves in chapter three.

Although the discussion does not yield any concrete decisions, the discursive turns of various participants express a deliberate and consistent effort to construct a group identity through the use of the expression “*ffe abalimi/balimi bannange*” (we farmers/fellow farmers: 011, 022, 035, 043, 046, 087), which is also a reflection of *citizenship* as a way of mobilizing collective effort. This form of constructing group identity illustrates Llamas’ (2009: 95) argument that social identity is a person’s definition of self in terms of some social group membership with the associated value connotations and emotional significance. The construction of group identity and *citizenship* are reaffirmed by the position of “concerned individual”, which Male 2 assumes to engage the authorities, thus;

*“...bwe batugamba nti nteebereza ya budde nga ate eggwanga lyaffe ddimi, **naye ne bataviirayo ddala kutulaga bulamba ekitundu kyaffe bwe kinaatambula oba ebitundu eby’enjawulo** [j], ekitegeeza **ebitundu ebimu ebiba tebifunye mawulire ga nteebereza ya budde tebisobola kulima bintu ne bivaamu, eggwanga lyaffe ne lyeyongera kubeera nga lyavu** [ap]. *Singa kisoboka amawulire gano ne gafuna ekitongole ekigasasaanya mu biseera byago buli budde, kyandiyambye nnyo abalimi b’eggwanga lyaffe ne Uganda yaffe okukula...*” (090-106)*

*(...when they tell us that this is a forecast, well aware that we are an agricultural country, **and they don’t come out clearly to show us the true picture of our area or of***

different areas [j], it means that **some areas that do not get the weather forecast cannot profit from their farming activities. This pushes our country into more poverty** [ap]. *If an agency can be identified and charged with the responsibility to disseminate the forecast to the various parts of the country, it would greatly help the farmers and Uganda as a country to develop...*

This example illustrates the notion of participation in community development and issues of citizenship, which I discussed in section 2.4 of chapter two. The example illustrates Williams' (2006: 197-9) definition of community participation as the direct involvement or engagement of ordinary people in the affairs of planning, governance and overall development programs at local or grassroots level, in which case, according to Hausendorf & Bora (2006a: 1) and Firth (1995: 3), participatory discourse emerges when a decision-making process requires the public to be included in an activity of social decision-making.

The cognitive move structure of the discussion presents in two overlapping parts – i) interpretation of the weather forecast and assessment of its implications for the farmers (001-067, 150-186); ii) critical reasoning and strategic planning for the common good (068-147). As already explained above, this meeting does not have a definite segment of decision-making cognitive moves in its structure. Another peculiar observation about the cognitive move structure of this meeting is that the discussion does not have a closing turn/move. The announcement (whether implicit or overt) of the group decision forms a substantial part of the closure of 'subtle decision-making' and 'explicit decision-making' meetings in chapters three and four. Perhaps, the absence of a group decision, and for that matter the absence of an announcement, expression or collective approval of the decision, is the explanation for the lack of a closing turn to the discussion.

The meeting does not have a chairperson. Although Male 1 takes the first turn to speak and to roll out (012, 057) the debate to the rest of the group, other participants (Male 2: 025 and Male 3: 044) take occasional turns to moderate the discussion by controlling turns and topics. However, although the 'moderator turns' are sparse and irregular, the fact that they are performed by various participants illustrates the notion of identity being fluid, which, according to Omoniyi (2009:18), implies that the self has a possibility of assuming several presentations in the course of an interaction, and that "the breaking up of identity into contexts, acts and moments facilitates

the conceptualization and articulation of multiple roles and identities that may not have equal salience.”

The sharing of the role of ‘moderator’ presents the participants who play the role with an opportunity to move in and out of identity categories by varying their acts in response to demands and needs within particular moments of identification, as the ‘moderators’ switch from ‘participant’ to ‘facilitator’ and back. Participants take their turns to speak in a spontaneous manner, without having to seek the permission of anyone. The shared role of ‘moderator’ as well as the spontaneous nature of taking turns is further testimony to the principle of group identity and *citizenship*. In this case, the construction of group identity and *citizenship* allows participants to demonstrate both their individual and collective ‘belonging’ to the group, through an orderly exchange of the opportunity to hold the floor.

5.3 A multi-perspective analysis of meeting 5b (March 14th, 2006)

5.3.1 Introductory overview

The meeting does not have a formal opening, and there is no chairperson of the proceedings. Male 1 takes the first turn to speak and invites other members to participate in the discussion. Male 1 and Male 2 take more and longer turns than other participants. Male 1, on various occasions, assumes the role of ‘moderator’ to control turns and moderate the proceedings. Through critical reasoning, participants share information, and express opinions without let or hindrance. More specifically, there is an explicit concern for the interests of the bigger community (participatory citizenship). No decision is made on any issue, although Male 1 advocates for a group decision to be made before he eventually announces that the discussion should end.

5.3.2 Analytical template of appraisal resources and the generic move structure of the meeting

Particip-ant		Luganda	English translation	Cognitive moves
Male 1	001	Nze Male l. Okusenziira ku kye mpulidde, <i>ate era nga kimaze okweraga, ab’ekitongole kino eky’entebereza y’obudde bye baatutegeeza sizoni ewedde mazima ddala byatuukirira</i> [ap]. <i>Ne ku mulundi</i>	My name is Male l. According to what I heard, <i>and it is already evident, what the Met. Department told us last season indeed came to pass</i> [ap]. <i>Even this time I was</i>	Introducing self Alluding to authority Using analogy Alluding to
	005			

	<p>010 <i>guno, nze nabadde era nkola nga mbalindirira nga mmanyi nti mmwe mujja okutuweereza ekisembayo</i> [j] ekinaaba kiriwo kubanga buli lwotambula, <i>omwana buli lwabeera mu mugongo aba n'essubi nti tajja kugwa kubanga waliwo amuwaniridde. So, mukoze bulungi okujja, ne mututangaaza</i> [ap]. Okusenziira ku mawulire</p> <p>015 ge mpulidde <i>nze ngakakasizza nti si ga bulimba kubanga embeera era ddala yeeyo</i> [ap]. Nga bulijjo mu myaka egiyise mu mwezi Ogwokusatu enkuba yatandikanga era singa emmere emu nkulu. Naye n'okutuusa kaakati tetunnaba kusiga [ap]. <i>Tulindiriddeyo ekire eky'amaanyi tusige</i> [ap] naye tetukiraba [ap]. Nze yeebadde enteesa yange ku bigambo bye mpulidde. Bwe wabaawo munnange omulala yenna aleete ekiteeso ayongere ku kyange.</p> <p>020</p> <p>025</p>	<p><i>working but waiting for you to come and give us the final word</i> [j] because <i>when a baby is being carried on the back it is always sure that it will not fall down since someone is holding it. So, it is good that you came to give us some clarifications</i> [ap]. <i>I trust that the information we heard is not lies because the situation is as it has been described</i> [ap]. Like it was in the past years, rain always began in March and by this time some crops would already be fairly advanced. But up to now we haven't planted yet. We were waiting for a heavy shower but which does not seem to be coming [ap]. That is my contribution about what we just heard. If anyone has another point, they can bring it up to add to my contribution.</p>	<p>experience Closing turn; Inviting other participants; Moderating discussion</p>
Male 2	<p>030 Nze nange Male 2, <i>nsiimye nnyo abakulu bano abatukyaliddeko olwaleero</i> [ap]. Nange okusenziira ku bye mpulidde, <i>ndabidde ddala nga mu butuufu bituufu</i> [ap], olw'ekintu kye tulabako mu kaseera kano nti enkuba oba embeera y'obudde etandise okukanga [ap] okusingira ddala ffe abalimi. Kino kijjidde ddala olw'embeera y'okuba nga mu biseera bino, nga tugeraageranyizzaako ku biseera eby'emabega kati mu nnaku z'omwezi bwe ziti mu mwezi guno twandibadde tuli mu nkuba ey'amaanyi. Naye kati tukyakyewuunya nnyo okulaba [ap] ng'omuteesa avudde waggulu bw'ateeseza nti abantu abalimi tetunnaba kusiga. Tukitidde na nnyo [ap]. Wabula nze mbadde njagala kuwunzika nga nteesa naye nga nninga abuuza nti okusenziira ku kucankalana nga bwe tucankalanye ffe abalimi [ap], mugenze <i>kutuwa magezi</i> ki okusenziira nga nammwe bwe mulabye obutonde bw'ensi eno ku sayidi yeeno? Oba kwokya nnyo, oba emiti tegisimbiddwa kye kitucankalanya [ap]! Tetumanyi</p> <p>035</p> <p>040</p> <p>045</p> <p>050</p> <p>055</p>	<p>I, Male 2, am <i>also very happy to see the guests who have visited us today</i> [ap]. I too have a feeling that what we just heard <i>is true</i> [ap], going by what we see these days. The rains or the weather conditions is rather worrying [ap] especially to us farmers. This is particularly so because in the past, at this time of the year, we would be having very serious rains. But like the previous speaker said, we are shocked to see that farmers have not planted yet. This is very worrying [ap]. I would like to conclude by giving a suggestion which is in form of a question; according to the disruptions that we are suffering as farmers [ap], what <i>advice can you give us</i>, given the natural environment as you see it in this area? Could it be the over-burning, or the non-planting of trees that is causing the disruptions [ap]? We don't know why <i>the</i></p>	<p>Introducing self Alluding to authority Expressing confidence Constructing group identity Alluding to experience Reasoning critically Expressing fear Seeking advice Considering possibilities Closing a turn</p>

	060	Iwaki <i>obutonde bw'ensi</i> [ap] bukyusekyuse [ap] okusenziira ku bwe kyali emabega. Mpozzi leka nkubire nga <i>mbebaza nnyo okujja, nti mwebale nnyo mwebalire ddala</i> [ap].	<i>environment</i> [ap] has changed [ap] from what it was before. Perhaps I should end by <i>thanking you so much for coming here. Thank you very much</i> [ap].	
Female 1	065 070 075	Nange amannya agange nze Female 1. Okusenziira enkuba weetandikira bulijjo, etandika mu Gwokusatu oba oluusi mu Gwokubiri abasiga kasooli ne basiga, n'obummonde <i>abantu baba baasize ddala kati nga butandise okufuluma</i> [ap]. Naye kaakati omusana mu butuufu gututiisiza. Abamu baasiga mu January kati bukaze. Tetumanyi na kya kukola mu butuufu [ap]. Naye mbadde nsaba <i>mutuwe ku magezi oba mutuwabulemu eky'okukola</i> [ap]. Simanyi na kumanya [ap].	My name is Female 1. Rain usually begins in March or sometimes in February. That is when people start to plant maize. By this time, irish potatoes <i>should have been planted already and they should be sprouting</i> [ap]. But we are very worried indeed by the prolonged dry period. Some people planted irish potatoes in January but the potatoes are all scorched now. We don't know what to do [ap]. I request you to <i>give us advice or to guide us on what we should do</i> [ap]. *I don't know (what to do) [ap].	Introducing self Alluding to experience Reiterating fear Reiterating seek for advice Alluding to authority Expressing hopelessness
Male 1	080	Kitutiisa, naye nga tuli beralikirivu nnyo [ap].	It scares us and we are very worried [ap].	Reiterating fear
Female 1		Wamma ggwe Female 2 olabye otya?	Female 2, what is your opinion?	Moderating discussion
Female 2		Nange bwe nkirabye [ap].	I have a similar opinion [ap].	Reiterating fear
Male 1		Ggwe ebigambo obiwulidde otya?	What do you have to say about what you just heard?	Moderating discussion
Female 2	085 090 095 100	Nze nange Female 2, nze ndaba okutwaliza awamu <i>bandibadde tubasaba okutuwa amagezi ge twandibadde tukolerako ne tufuna naffe kye tutambulirako mu maaso</i> [ap]. Tutaddeyo obummonde bukaze, tutaddeyo ebijanjaalo bikaze [ap]. <i>Kati amaaso tugawanze waggulu</i> [ap]. Enkuba egaanye okutonnya [ap]. Kati ng'olwaleero <i>tulabye ekikome ne tulinda enkuba</i> [ap], enkuba ebuze [ap]. Tunoonyezza ensonga ekireeta, etubuze [ap]. Nze nange nsaba <i>okutunnyonyola</i> ekireeta ensonga y'enkuba okubula [ap].	I, Female 2, generally <i>we should ask them to give us advice on what we ought to follow so that we can plan for the future</i> [ap]. We planted irish potatoes that have now dried up; we planted beans but they too have dried up [ap]. <i>We are now looking to the heavens</i> [ap]. The rain is not coming [ap]. For example, today, <i>the weather became cloudy and we hoped to get rain</i> [ap], but all in vain [ap]. We tried to establish the cause of it all, but we have failed [ap]. I am now requesting for some	Introducing self Reiterating seek for advice Alluding to authority Expressing concern

* The Luganda expression 'simanyi na kumanya' literally translates as 'I don't know (what to do)'. The more pragmatic translation would be 'I am confused'. The expression is used to demonstrate desperation in a situation where one is helplessly overwhelmed by a state of affairs.

			<i>explanation</i> about why the rain is not coming [ap].	
Male 1		Male 3, olina ky'ogamba?	Male 3, do you have something to say?	Moderating discussion
Male 3		Uh hu hu	No	
Male 1	105	Mpozzi nze waliwo endowooza gye mbadde nnina, kubanga tugenda kulinda bali tubabuuze oba oluusi nga nabo eno waffe, ate nabo waggulu evo tebayinza kukubayo mavinja evo tebayinza kukubayo mavinja kulaba; tebalina magezi gaayo [j].	Well, I have an idea. We are waiting to ask them (research team) and yet they cannot throw stones up in the sky to know what is there. They do not know what is taking place there [j]. I think this concerns us as farmers. <i>We should adjust and instead grow faster maturing crops</i> [ap] like beans, and varieties of sweet potatoes, like the 'Kenya' variety, that do not require a lot of rain. Those of us who grow vegetables like cabbage and tomatoes <i>should not be scared</i> [j]. We should grow more of these vegetables <i>because they do not require a lot of rain</i> [ap]. But we should avoid growing millet, sorghum and maize [ap], apart from the <i>new variety</i> [ap] from Kawanda which can fruit even with a few showers. It may have small cobs [ap] but they will all be <i>filled</i> [ap] with grains. I therefore <i>advise you to follow the advice from NAADS about planting improved seed varieties because they are fast-maturing and can survive even with a few showers of rain</i> [ap]. Perhaps the other point is that now is not the time for us to think about planting new banana gardens [ap]. <i>Instead we should weed and prune the old banana gardens so that they can grow well with the little rain that may come</i> [ap]. <i>Whatever God gives us is what we shall eat (harvest)</i> [ap]. That is my contribution.	Making a suggestion Constructing group identity Proposing a decision Alluding to authority Alluding to God; Expressing desperation Giving advice Sounding caution Closing a turn
	110	Nze naye mbadde ndowooza, ffe ng'abalimi kitukwatako. <i>Twandikyusizza ne tulima ku mmere eyanguwa</i> [ap] ng'ebijanjaalo, lumonde – okutwalira awamu waliwo lumonde ayagala enkuba ennyingi, waliwo ne lumonde nga ne bweba ntono abala, gamba nga Kenya – ne tulima ebintu mmwe abalimira ddala ebivaavava gamba ng'emboga n'ennyaanya <i>ne mutatya</i> [j], ne mulima kubanga <i>byo byagala enkuba si nnyingi</i> [ap]. Naye obulo n'omuwemba, ne kasooli [ap], mpozzi nga tusimbye <i>ono enkola empya</i> [ap] eya kawanda kubanga kasooli oyo ne bwafuna ebire bitonotono, ne bwaweekera okumpimpi era agaana n'aweekako omunwe ggwe n'ogulya. Akanwe ne bwe kaba katono [ap] konna <i>kawunda</i> [ap]. Awo we mbadde mbaweera <i>amagezi mukozese enkola ebasomesebwa mu nkola za NAADS tusige ensigo ennongooseemu, kubanga zikula mangu enkuba yonna eba ezze eba esobola okuzijayo</i> [ap].		
	115	Mpozzi n'ekirala, kino si kye kiseera ffe okutandika okulowooza okusimba ebitooke ebipya [ap].		
	120	<i>Naye tuddaabirize ensuku zaffe nga temuli muddo, tekuli bisanja, enkuba enaaba etonnye entonotono esobole okukuza ebyo</i> [ap]. <i>Katonda kyAnaaba Atuwadde kye tunaalya</i> [ap]. Bye byange.		
	125			
	130			
	135			
	140			
	145			
Male 2		<i>Ekyo kituufu</i> [ap] munnange, naye mpozzi nze ku sayidi eyo <i>engeri gy'oteesezzaamu good</i> [ap]. Naye kati waliwo sayidi emu emanyibwe twagera ku balimi.	<i>That is right</i> [ap] my colleague. <i>Your contribution from that view point is very good</i> [ap]. But there is another side (to this discussion). We	Expressing agreement Stressing group identity
	150			

		Simanyi nnyo oba abalunzi oba nabo babaamu?	are talking about cultivators. I don't know whether the animal keepers are included or not?	
Male 1	155	Abalimi n'abalunzi be bamu.	Cultivators and animal keepers are the same.	Stressing group identity
Male 2		Kati bwe kiba nti be bamu, kyo nga sayidi ya balunzi, baba bajja kukosebwa [ap].	If they are the same, the side of the animal keepers will be affected negatively [ap].	Reasoning critically Expressing concern
Male 1		Baagala amazzi [ap].	<i>They need water</i> [ap].	Reiterating concern
Male 2	160	Kubanga ekisooka bo <i>baagala amazzi, baagala essubi ery'ebisolo, so ng'ate eryo lyo lyetaaga nkuba. Okuggyako ng'ogambye nti nabo ng'abalunzi bayinza okufunayo oba oli awo</i>	Because, first, <i>they need water, they need grass to feed their animals, and yet the grass needs rain to grow. Perhaps we can suggest that the animal keepers should also get seminars through which they can devise means to plant grass for their animals' feed. That way they will be helped</i> [1 st af]. But I am particularly concerned about one issue; since all of us do not have the means to bring down water from heaven [ap], and yet I think <i>we should devise means to study why</i> [ap] the rain is not coming [ap].	Reiterating concern for community Making a suggestion Alluding to authority Reasoning critically
	165	<i>emisomo gye bayinza okusoma nga basobola okufunamu engeri gye bayinza okusimba essubi eriyinza okuliibwa ebisolo nakyo kyandibayambyeko</i> [1 st af]. Naye nga nze omutima gunnuma lwa nsonga emu nti engeri ffenna gye tutalina magezi gasobola kuwanula mazzi mu ggulu [ap]. Naye ng'ate nze mbadde ndowooza nti <i>twandibadde tusala amagezi okunoonyereza</i> [ap] ki,	the rain is not coming [ap]. Perhaps it is us the human beings who do certain things that prevent the rain from falling [j]. For example, the continued burning; when I look around, there are signs of burning all over the place [ap].	
	170	lwaki enkuba egaanye okutonnya [ap]. Oba oli awo ffe ng'abantu nga tuyinza okuba ffe tukola ebintu wansi ebitasobozesa nkuba eyo kutonnya [j]. Gamba ng'okwokyayokya, bwe mba ndaba nze, omuliro guyiseevise [ap].		
	175			
	180			
Male 1		Yee [ap]	Yes [ap]	Expressing agreement
Male 2	185	Ng'emiti ng'egyo nagyo gimaze okwonooneka naddala ensozi zaffe ziizo ziri plain teziriiko miti [j] <i>oba oli awo singa emiti gibadde gyongedde ne gisimbibwa project evo nejja nga bwe kyaliko emabega oba oli awo kyandiwagidde enkuba n'etonnya</i> [ap] naye mu butuufu kyo kiri bubi. Simanyi na kye tugenda kukola [ap].	Even the trees have been destroyed, especially our hilltops which are now bare; they hardly have any trees on them [j]; <i>perhaps if a project to plant some more trees is introduced, like it was the case before, maybe it will assist the rain to come</i> [ap]. But the situation is really bad. I don't know what we are going to do [ap].	Reasoning critically Making a suggestion Expressing desperation
	190			
	195			
Female 2		Ekyo mbadde nkisaba nga bano abateeberezi b'obudde, <i>batutegeeze</i> nsonga ki ereetedde enkuba okubula [ap].	I would like these weather forecasters to <i>tell us</i> why the rain is not coming [ap].	Reiterating seek for advice

Male 1	200	Mpozzi era nze leka ndowooze, kubanga <i>kitukakatako ffe abali wano amawulire gano okugasasaanya mu bannaffe</i> [ap]. Naye era leka ndowooze bwe tunaaviira wano <i>tunaaba tufunyeemu omulamwa gwe tunaayogerayo</i> [ap] okusinziira ku <i>magezi ge tunaaba tusaze</i> [ap] kubanga kiyinzika; discussion yaffe teyandibadde ng'ekomye awa.	Let me make a suggestion, since <i>all of us who are present here have an obligation to circulate this information to our colleagues</i> [ap]. Let me hope that by the time we leave this place <i>we shall have got something substantial to report about</i> [ap] according to the <i>resolutions</i> [ap] we shall have made. This is so because it is possible that; our discussion should end here.	Emphasizing concern for community Pushing for a collective decision Closing the discussion
	205			
	210			

5.3.3 Analytical perspectives on appraisal, citizenship, the business-meeting genre, and negotiation

Participants, through **implied negative** appreciation and judgment, concur implicitly on their interpretation and assessment of the weather forecast, which is that ‘**there is going to be little rain**’. This **negative evaluation** is iteratively expressed by various participants in different turns (Male 1: 020-3, 079; Male 2: 033-045; Female 1: 068-9; Female 2: 082, 089-095). The **negative attitude** is particularly expressed through the recursive use of the following lexico-grammatical units as negative keywords: negative marker **te-/si-/gaana/bula** (not/fail: 021, 023, 045, 055, 056, 071, 074, 092, 095, 099, 109, 137, 171, 176, 187, 193, 199), noun **musana** and verb **kal-** (dryness/dry: 068, 070, 090, 091), emotion verbs **kang-/tiis-/wuuny-/laliikirir-** (worry/shock/scare: 035, 042, 045, 069, 079), and **cankalan-/kyuk-** (disrupt: 050, 056, 058).

However, through both **negative** and **positive** inscribed appreciation, judgment and affect, as well as through critical reasoning, participants acknowledge the role of ‘strategic planning’ (*accessing information*: 014-6, 031-2, 088, 164-6, 175, 201-3; *planting fast maturing crops*: 112-120; *planting at the right time*: 137-140; *using good quality seed*: 124-130, 134-6; *conserving the environment*: 188-191), and ‘expert/scientific knowledge’ (*alluding to authority*: 002-8, 029, 050, 060-1, 073, 086-7, 098, 107, 131-3, 143-4, 198; *alluding to experience*: 017, 038-040, 058-9, 063-7, 190) in helping farmers as well as the community at large to avoid **potential loss** (**extreme weather conditions**: 020-3, 033-5, 068-9, 092-3, 157-8, 176; **crop and animal failure**: 070, 089-091; **failure to plant**: 021, 045; **environmental degradation**: 053-8, 178-187, 199; **despair**: 071, 074-5, 079, 082, 092, 095-9, 108-110, 170-3, 192-3,).

The *positive attitude* is particularly expressed through the recursive use of the following lexicogrammatical units as positive keywords in different turns during the discussion: weather noun *nkuba* (rain: 018, 041, 063, 092, 116, 122, 135, 141, 162, 191), farm verb *sig-/simb-* (plant: 022, 065, 066, 134, 167), as well as the noun phrase *tangaaza/wa amagezi/nnyonnyola* (shed light/give advice/explain: 014, 051, 073, 087, 098, 132).

Like the case is in meeting 4a (discussed in chapter four), the *positive attitude* which is expressed through *allusion to expert authority* as indicated above is particularly projected by Male 1 who makes an *analogy* (010-2) about the comfort and confidence with which a baby lies on its carrier's back - *omwana buli lwabeera mu mugongo aba n'essuubi nti tajja kugwa kubanga waliwo amuwani ridde*. (When a baby is being carried on the back it is always sure that it will not fall down since someone is holding it.) In the *analogy*, Male 1 argues that if a baby is strapped on the back of another person, the baby has no fear of danger or falling to the ground because it is confident of the protective ability of its carrier.

The *analogy* in this segment of the meeting is invoked to urge participants to trust (and appraise with hope/confidence) the weather forecast, which the 'experts' had prepared and presented for discussion. Indeed, Male 1's *appraisal* wins the support of Male 2 who reiterates that '*Nze nange nsiimye nnyo abakulu bano abatukyaliddeko olwaleero. Nange, okusinziira ku bye mpulidde, ndabidde ddala nga mu butuufu bituufu.*' (I am also very happy to see the guests who have visited us today. I too have a feeling that what we just heard is true: 028-032). The use of the *analogy* or *comparison* as a resource of linguistic creativity in this example does not only enhance participant involvement in the discussion, it also reaffirms Tannen's (2007:27) contention that participation in business meetings embodies an emotional connection that binds individuals to other people as well as places, things, activities, ideas, memories, and words.

Like the case is with meeting 5a (discussed in section 5.2 of this chapter), the 'common' interpretation and assessment of the weather forecast as well as the critical reasoning that is highlighted above point to an implicit construction of a group identity. However, the discussion does not, overtly or implicitly, come to any decisions. There is only one isolated move - *...twandikyusizza ne tulima ku mmere eyanguwa...* (We should adjust and instead grow faster

maturing crops: 112-3) – made by Male 1, which expresses a decision-making opinion but it is not subsequently reiterated or supported by other participants to constitute a decision. Indeed, Male 1 unsuccessfully pushes for a group decision to be made, thus; “*...leka ndowooze bwe tunaaviira wano tunaaba tufunyeemu omulamwa gwe tunaayogerayo okusinziira ku magezi ge tunaaba tusaze...*” (Let me hope that by the time we leave this place we shall have got something substantial to report about according to the resolutions: 203-7).

The failure of the meeting to make any decisions can be attributed to the iterative expression of citizenship by various participants, where participants take turns to demand the government (Meteorological Department or weather experts) to explain a specific weather-related phenomenon, before the meeting may, perhaps, make any decisions. This apparent negotiation between the participants and the authorities attest to Bora & Hausendorf’s (2006: 240) argument that citizenship should be empirically constituted within the interactions between government and citizens, thus;

...okusinziira ku kucankalana nga bwe tucankalanye ffe abalimi [ap], mugenze *kutuwa magezi* ki okusinziira nga nammwe bwe mulabye obutonde bw’ensi eno ku sayidi yeeno? (Male 2: 049-054)

(...according to the **disruptions that we are suffering** as farmers, what *advice can you give us*, given the natural environment as you see it in this area?)

...mbadde nsaba *mutuwe ku magezi oba mutuwabulemu eky’okukola* (Female 1: 073-5)
(...I request you to *give us advice or to guide us on what we should do*)

...nange nsaba *okutunnyonnyola* ekireeta **ensonga y’enkuba okubula** (Female 2: 097-9)
(...I am now requesting for some *explanation* about why the **rain is not coming**)

...ekyo mbadde nkisaba nga bano abateeberezi b’obudde, *batutegeeze* nsonga ki ereetedde **enkuba okubula** (Female 2: 197-9)
(...I would like these weather forecasters to *tell us* why **the rain is not coming**).

The above-cited cognitive moves are ‘problem-solving’ moves in which, as explained by Flowerdew L. (2008b: 129), the markers of the causal relations are in form of explicit and implicit causative lexico-grammatical units, like “what” and “why” as indicated above. The problem-solution moves are also characterized by implicitly ‘problem-identifying’ verb clauses - *mbadde nsaba.../nange nsaba.../mbadde nkisaba...* (I request.../I am requesting for.../I would

like...), and noun clauses – *mugenze kutuwa magezi ki.../mutuwe ku magezi.../batutegeeze nsonga ki...* (what advice can you.../give us advice.../some explanation about...), as illustrated in the examples above. Using the problem-solution moves, participants prove that citizenship, as Bora & Hausendorf (2006: 40) argue, means rights of the public to information, participation, voice, and being treated in a certain way, which, as Hausendorf & Bora (2006a: 1) add, generates participatory discourse comprising a broad variety of communicative events, including oral arena of debating between experts, politicians, and the public in formal as well as informal gatherings, singularly occurring local meetings or regularly occurring gatherings of focus groups.

However, much as the discussion does not translate into clear-cut group decisions, the discursive turns of various participants express a deliberate and consistent effort to construct a group identity through the use of the expression “*ffe abalimi*” (we farmers: 036, 044, 051, 112), which is also a reflection of *citizenship* as a way of mobilizing collective effort. The notions of group identity and *citizenship* are reaffirmed by the position of “concerned individual”, which Male 2 assumes to express concern for the bigger community, thus; *...twogera ku balimi. Simanyi nnyo oba abalunzi oba nabo babaamu?* (...we are talking about cultivators. I don’t know whether the animal keepers are included or not? 149-151). These notions are reiterated by Male 1, who moves that; *...kitukakatako ffe abali wano amawulire gano okugasasaanya mu bannaffe...* (...all of us who are present here have an obligation to circulate this information to our colleagues: 201-3).

In this example, both Male 2 and Male 1, respectively, demonstrate their concern for the bigger community, and consequently the larger social world that may be affected by the positions that the discussion takes on specific matters. The position of the “concerned individual” which Male 2 and Male 1 assume in this example, demonstrates the fluidity and mobility with which the two participants move into and out of their various identities or selves. Although the ultimate goal of the two participants is to fend off feelings of what Omoniyi (2009: 14) calls ‘**difference** or **otherness**’ and for that matter galvanize a sense of *oneness* and *solidity* among other participants, both Male 2 and Male 1, in the course of making their respective cognitive moves, assume an individual identity of the “concerned individual” in order to mobilize their colleagues towards a common cause.

The swing between identities illustrates Grad & Martin Rojo's (2008: 6-7) contention that "identity is more a situational performance than a stable trait, and consequently, multiple identities may be invoked depending on the situation. Sometimes, the distinction between personal identity and collective identity helps to capture the dynamic between a subjective sense of a solid, complete and continuing self and many other subjectively partial identities that derive from situational roles and more continuing membership in social groups. In this respect, both personal identity and collective identity mean relatively context specific and changing aspects of sense of self".

The cognitive move structure of the discussion presents in three coherent parts – i) evaluation of previous and current weather forecasts, in light of their implication for the farmers (001-099); ii) critical reasoning and strategic planning for the common good (105-207); iii) closure of discussion (208-9). As already explained above, this meeting (like the one in the preceding section of this chapter) does not have segments that can distinctively be typified as constituting decision-making cognitive moves in its structure. Instead, the meeting has problem-solving moves, through which participants share information, as well as identify problems and possible causes of the problems, in a *Reason-Result* relation, as Male 2's contribution below illustrates;

...twandibadde tusala amagezi okunoonyereza [ap] ki, lwaki **enkuba egaanye okutonnya** [ap]. Oba oli awo ffe ng'abantu nga **tuyinza okuba ffe tukola ebintu wansi ebitasobozesa nkuba eyo kutonnya** [j]. **Gamba ng'okwokvavokya, bwe mba ndaba nze, omuliro guviseevise** [ap]... (174-182)

(...*we should devise means to study why* [ap] **the rain is not coming** [ap]. Perhaps it is us the human beings **who do certain things that prevent the rain from falling** [j]. For example, the **continued burning; when I look around, there are signs of burning all over the place** [ap]...)

...ng'emiti ng'egyo nagyo gimaze okwonooneka naddala ensozi zaffe ziizo ziri plain teziriiko miti [j] *oba oli awo singa emiti gibadde gyongedde ne gisimbibwa project eyo nejja nga bwe kyaliko emabega oba oli awo kyandiwagidde enkuba n'etonnya* [ap]... (185-191) (**...even the trees have been destroyed, especially our hilltops which are now bare; they hardly have any trees on them** [j]; *perhaps if a project to plant some more trees is introduced, like it was the case before, maybe it will assist the rain to come* [ap]...)

Through **negative judgment**, and with the help of 'implicit negation', – **egaanye okutonnya...** (not coming...), **ebitasobozesa...** (prevent...), **okwonooneka...** (destroyed...), **plain...**

(bare...), **teziriiko...** (hardly have...) - the participant identifies a problem. However, through *positive appreciation*, and by use of ‘implicit affirmation’, - *tusala amagezi...* (devise means...), *kyandiwagidde...* (will assist...) - the participant proposes a solution to the problem. The value of the appraisal resources lies in the expression of mutual exclusivity of the *Reason-Result* relationship between the main clause [*twandibadde tusala amagezi...* (we should devise means...: 174-182) or **ng’emiti ng’egyo nagyo gimaze okwonooneka...** (the trees have been destroyed...: 185-191)] and the subordinate clause [**oba oli awo ffe...** (perhaps it is us...: 174-182) or *oba oli awo singa project eyo...* (perhaps if a project...: 185-191)].

This example illustrates Jeffries’ (2010: 23) argument about the construction of contextual opposition in which he contends that the idea of oppositeness being not only ubiquitous but also deep-seated, supports the case for postulating the existence of some kind of relatively stable code or langue which, while not inviolable, is nevertheless stable enough to form the background to the many deviations from that norm that occur on a daily basis. Indeed, without such a construct, it is hard to explain how readers/hearers are able to decode language on an everyday basis.

Unlike the other meetings, not only in the ‘virtual decision-making’ cluster but in the other clusters as well, this meeting presents a unique cognitive move where each participant introduces himself/herself before making his/her first contribution to the discussion (001, 028, 062, 085). According to Roncoli et al. (2011: 128), the cognitive move of self introduction derives its legitimacy from the ‘Western’ style of business meeting, which is linked to the diffusion of development discourses and practices, propelled by the financial support of foreign donors and propagated by the state, the media, and international NGOs. In this case, self introductions are a reflection of the patterns of interactive discourse that are informed by the ‘Western’ style of participation, which, according to Roncoli et al. (2011: 128), is based on values of equity, fairness, and legitimacy, and understood largely in terms of individual expression and affirmation. Self introductions, do not only reflect the ‘Western’ style of participation in a business meeting, they also demonstrate deliberate moves by participants to announce their connectedness to the larger whole, which is a form of constructing a group identity whereby one builds a bond with the group and affirms consent to the purpose and outcome of the meeting.

Also, this meeting, like several others across the three clusters, does not have a chairperson. However, Male 1 takes the first turn to speak (001) and to roll out (025) the discussion to the rest of the group. Male 1 subsequently takes regular intervals to moderate (025-6, 083, 103, 144) and eventually close (208-9) the discussion. Although Male 1's role as 'moderator' is conspicuous throughout the meeting, it is mainly in form of facilitating the flow of the debate and involving other participants in the proceedings of the meeting. Generally, participants take their turns spontaneously, without having to seek the permission of the chair. The spontaneous nature of taking turns illustrates further the sense of *oneness* and *citizenship* among the participants, because through it members demonstrate both their individual and collective 'belonging' to the group by allowing an orderly exchange of the opportunity to hold the floor.

5.4 A multi-perspective analysis of meeting 5c (March 19th, 2006)

5.4.1 Introductory overview

Female 1 takes the first turn to speak, where she interprets and analyzes the implications of the weather forecast. She does not open the discussion or invite other participants to take their turns. However, other participants spontaneously take their turns to give their opinions. None of the participants moderates the discussion. The major issues during the discussion are the implications of the weather forecast to commercial farmers. The over-arching feeling is that commercial farmers are bound to suffer losses during the coming rain season. There is a suggestion that farmers should try to grow vegetables (using irrigation) instead of the 'usual' seasonal crops. The idea gets support, but more for its value as a problem-solving move rather than a decision-making move.

The second idea is that participants and the entire community should make deliberate efforts to restore the environment by planting more trees and sensitising tree-cutters and bush-burners to stop the practice. The discussion makes iterative moves on these three 'virtual' decisions but the lexico-grammatical and evaluative stance of the moves only demonstrate 'nearly' efforts of decision-making. Before the meeting is called to a close by Female 1, there is an allusion to indigenous knowledge where Female 3 argues that the pending 'drought and hunger' are inevitable because they occur every ten years, as per the history of the area. Female 1 announces the end of the discussion, which announcement is approved by the rest of the members.

5.4.2 Analytical template of appraisal resources and the generic move structure of the meeting

Participant		Luganda	English translation	Cognitive moves
Female 1	001 005	Era ng'abalimi tulina ekizibu [ap] kubanga kati nga bwe tuwulidde nti enkuba ejja kuba nsaamusaamu mu Gwokusatu, n'ensamusaamu teriyo [ap] ate omwezi guuguno gugenze kuggwaako.	As farmers we have a problem [ap]. From what we have heard, the rains are going to be moderate in March. But even the moderate rains are not available [ap], yet the month is about to end.	Constructing group identity Expressing a concern Interpreting forecast Alluding to authority
Male 1	010	Kaakati omwezi nga bwe gulabika nga gugenze kuggwaako ate nga tetufunye nkuba, mulowooza okulima kwaffe tekujja kutuletera buzibu nga tweraliikirira nti mu maaso eyo eyinza obutabaayo [ap]?	Now, since it seems the month has come to the end and we did not get any rain, don't you think we shall get problems if we plant now but we do not get rain later [ap]?	Reiterating concern Expressing a fear
Female 2	015 020	Era kati kyo kirabise bulabisi [ap] okusenziira ku mawulire agoogeddwa nti enkuba ejja kuba nsaamusaamu ate egenda kutaba mu mwezi Gwakusatu. Kyokka ziizino kati tugenda kuweza abiri. Omwezi twagutuuse dda mu makkati kyokka tetulaba ku nkuba [ap]. Era amakungula tegagenda kuba ga muganyulo [ap] eri ffe abalimi, abali mu bulimi nga bbizineesi.	That is what is bound to happen [ap] based on the information we have heard, that the rain is going to be moderate, and it is going to intensify in March; now it is about the 20 th today, we are already in the middle of the month and we have not yet seen the rain [ap]. The harvest is not going to benefit [ap] those of us farmers who are engaging in farming as a business.	Affirming fear Re-interpreting forecast Constructing group identity
Female 3	025 030 035 040 045	Ate era bwoba wagoberedde embeera y'obudde ku bubonero Katanda bwe yateekawa, ekitundu kino eky'amaserengeta ga Rakai, kale oba oli awo neeyo entono gye bagamba enaataba tetugenda kugifuna [ap], olw'ensonga, Naddulwe yava mu Nakibaale, n'akkirira mu Kijjanebarora oba mu Nakivale naye na buli kati tavangayo [ap]. Kati ekyo kiba kikulaga nti enkuba tewali [ap]. Oba oli awo bwenebaawo, ekire kimu bibiri, ebitagenda kukuza birime byaffe [ap], naddala nga kasooli, bummonde, bitooke. Naye ng'okusuubira nti sizoni ejja kuba nga bwebadde ebeera bulijjo ekyo kizibu ddala [ap].	And even if you had followed the weather forecast, based on the signs which were placed by God, in this southern part of Rakai we may not even get the little rain [ap] they are talking about (when they say that it is) going to intensify, because Naddulwe (the rain bearing winds) which came from Nakibaale down into Kijjanebarola or Nakivale, even up to now they have never come back [ap]. That shows you that there will be no rain [ap]. And if it comes, it will be one or two showers only, which will not be sufficient [ap] for the good growth of our crops, especially maize, irish potatoes and bananas. But to imagine that the rain season will be like it has always been in the past, is really difficult [ap].	Alluding to God and indigenous knowledge Reiterating fear Expressing hopelessness

Female 1		<u>Era kyo kizibu</u> [ap].	<u>It will be difficult indeed</u> [ap].	Confirming hopelessness
Male 1	050	Kati okulabirako nti <u>ebiseera byaffe bikyusekyuse</u> [ap] kuba abaasooka okusimba ebijanjaalo, ebimu ebyamera kati <u>byafiridde ddala byamaze okukala</u> [ap].	Say, for example to understand that our <u>times have changed</u> [ap], for some people who planted beans, the few beans that germinated, <u>are now dead. They have dried up</u> [ap].	Reiterating fear Affirming hopelessness
	055	N'olwensoga eyo kirabika nti <u>omwaka bwe gusooka nga mubi era gukomekkerezebwa bubu</u> [ap].	So, I think <u>when the year begins on a bad note it also ends on a bad note</u> [ap].	
Female 1	060	Kati <u>toyinza kusiga mmere mu Gwakuna</u> [ap], ate mu Gwokuna tubeera mu makoola, <u>n'ogamba ntinno eneevaamu emmere etegeerekeka. Kiba tekisoboka</u> [ap].	<u>One cannot plant in April</u> [ap], yet April is supposed to be weeding time, <u>and expect to get good harvests. It is not possible</u> [ap].	Affirming fear and hopelessness
Male 1		Kati ekintu ekyo ggwe okigambako otya?	What do you have to say about this matter?	Moderating discussion
Male 3	065	Nze mu kulaba kwange ndaba nga twolekedde <u>enjala kakuulamiti</u> [ap].	From my assessment, we seem to be headed for a <u>devastating famine</u> [ap].	Reiterating fear
Female 2	070	Nze ate kati kye ndaba nga ffe abalimi, <i>twandibadde twekwata nnyo ebyo ebitongole by'abalimisa kati ng'ebyo ebikubiriza abantu okusimba emiti kubanga n'enkuba esinga eva ku miti</i> [ap] <u>naye ebibira tumaze okubisaawa</u> [j]. Kati oluvannyuma tuba <i>twetaaga abalimisa ne batuwa egyo emiti ne tuba nga tugisimba</i> [ap].	I suggest that, as farmers, <i>we should try to approach the farm agencies, like the ones that promote the planting of trees, because most of the rain comes from trees</i> [ap], <u>but we have cut down all the forests</u> [j]. Now after that, <i>the extensionists need to give us those trees for us to plant. After that, we can start getting much rain</i> [ap], in case this happens to us.	Constructing group identity Alluding to authority Proposing solution Identifying a problem Making a suggestion
	075	Kale, oluvannyuma lwakyo <i>tusobola okufuna enkuba eyo mu bungu</i> [ap] kino nga kibatde kitutuuseeko.		
Male 1	080	Kyotegeeza nti <i>twongere obutonde okubuzzaawo</i> [ap]?	What you mean is that <i>we should try to preserve the environment</i> [ap].	Supporting suggestion
Female 2	085	<i>Obutonde bw'ensi buddewo</i> [ap], osanga kwe kuba nti <u>enkuba tekyatonnya</u> [ap]. Neeno ensaamusaamu <u>tetugenda kugifuna</u> [ap], Iwa nsonga eyo. Ate eky'okusimba emiti kyandibaddeyo naye naffe ababa bakimanyiiko, <i>tutwale obuvunaanyizibwa okukubiriza bannaffe</i> [ap] <u>bano abookya empiira. Nabo abookya empiira</u> [j] <i>nabo bakendeeze</i> [ap]	<i>The environment should be restored</i> [ap]. Perhaps it is the reason why <u>the rain no longer falls</u> [ap]. We <u>may not even get the moderate rain</u> [ap] because of the same reason. <i>Planting trees may be a good idea, but those of us who know its importance should take the responsibility to advise</i> [ap] <u>our colleagues who burn down bushes</u> [j] to <i>refrain</i> [j] from <u>that activity</u> [ap], because I may go and <i>plant my trees on top of my hill</i> [ap], and then <u>someone who enjoys</u>	Affirming suggestion Expressing concern for community Stressing group identity Proposing a strategy Reiterating problem
	090	olw'ensonga nti nja kugenda <i>nsimbe emiti</i> [ap] gyange ku kasozi kange, <u>oli ave eri amanyi nti oluyiira</u>		
	095			

	100	lumunyumira okujja ng'agulaba olwo aije ayokye [j]. <i>Kati ekyo kitukakatako okukubiriza bannaffe oba okutambuza amawulire ago ag'okubeera nti tebayokyayokya</i> [ap]	watching bush fires [j] may come and burn the trees down [ap]. <i>It is now our responsibility to educate our colleagues or to spread that message of not burning</i> [ap],	
	105	kuba balinnyirira obutonde bw'ensi [j]. Kati kye tusigadde okulindirira nga bwe tuwulidde nti mu Gwokuna tusubira enkuba ensaamusaamu, kati guno Ogwokusatu tulinde kiri tulabe kivaayo kitya. Kati olw'okugira tukirinda, olutonnya bweti naffe <i>tunyiikirire kusimba miti tulabe nga n'obutonde bwensi</i>	because they destroy the environment [j]. Now what we are waiting for, since we heard that in April we expect some moderate rain, we should, in March, wait to see how the forecast unfolds. Meanwhile, as soon as it rains, <i>we should embark on planting trees to restore the environment</i> [ap].	
	110	<i>buddawo</i> [ap].		
Male 1		N'omuntu akyalinawo ensigo ye, <i>ekire ky'enkuba olunaatonnya asige</i> [ap].	And whoever has any seed left, <i>should plant it as soon as we receive a shower of rain</i> [ap].	Making a suggestion
Female 1	115	Nanti kati ekikumala amaanyi [ap] oyinza okuba nga bye wasiga mu wiiki eri tebivanga na mu ttaka [ap]. Kati ogenda okulowooza okuteekayo ebirala ate era nga byonna bijja kubeera kye kimu [ap].	What hurts [ap] now is to see that the crops which were planted last week have not germinated yet [ap]. One cannot imagine planting more seed when the results are likely to be similar [ap].	Countering suggestion Reiterating hopelessness
	120			
Male 1		Byonna biba byolekedde kufa [ap].	All sets of crops are headed to die [ap].	Reiterating hopelessness
Female 3	125	Mpozzi ekikulu ennyo nze kye ndabawo, <i>obulime obutegekeddwa, mubusimbe muwogo</i> [ap]. Kaakati enkuba wali bwetonnya mu Gwokuna, oba walekawo ekitundu, <i>ng'otemera lumonde omuganda</i> [ap].	The important thing is to <i>plant cassava in all the fields which are already prepared</i> [ap]. When it rains in April, <i>you plant sweet potatoes</i> [ap] in the other part of the field, which you will have otherwise left unplanted. But if you go on pursuing an already dead season, we are bound to suffer devastating hunger [ap]. Instead of planting all the prepared fields with beans, which may not even germinate [ap], <i>plant there some cassava as well</i> [ap]. We are almost into April, so in case it rains the cassava will sprout, and <i>cassava is weather-resistant</i> [ap].	Making a suggestion Proposing a strategy Mobilizing action Defending suggestion
	130	Naye bwe munadda mu ebyo eby'okugoberera sizoni emaze okufa, enjala ejja kutuluma, eve ne we yandikomye [ap]. Kati olima obulime bwonna bwe wategeka n'ebijanjaalo ebitameze na kimu [ap], kati ggwe <i>temeramu enkonyogo za muwogo</i> [ap]. Kubanga tusemberedde Ogwokuna, kati enkuba bwetonnya muwogo oli ajja kuba amera, <i>ate ye agumiikiriza</i> [ap].		
	135			
Male 1	140	<i>Eyo no nsonga</i> [ap].	<i>That is (an important) point</i> [ap].	Supporting suggestion
Female 3		Eby'ebijanjaalo mubiveeko byavise [ap]. Kubanga ebijanjaalo bya sizoni. Kasita osukka 20 February, n'osukka 12 March nga tonnasiga ebyo obisigira ku mikisa	We should forget about planting beans, because their time is long past [ap]. If beans are not planted by 20 th February, or 12 th March, one plants them on a probability,	Using details and experience Expressing fear Reiterating strategy
	145			

	150 155	ebiri [ap], <i>okubirya</i> [ap] n'obutabirya [ap]. Leka <i>ebe ng'etonye etya</i> [ap] laazima bifa [ap]. Kati awo <i>kye tuva tudda ku muwogo ne lumonde ng'ekigendererwa kulwanyisa</i> [ap] njala [ap]. Naye <i>eby'okufuna ssente</i> [ap] ebyo bvagaanye [ap].	with a 50-50 chance [ap] <i>to get</i> [ap] or not get [ap] <i>a good harvest</i> [ap]. <i>However much rain</i> [ap] they may receive, they will certainly die [ap]. That is why <i>we should stick to cassava and potatoes with an aim of fighting</i> [ap] hunger [ap]. But the aim of <i>working for money (business profit)</i> [ap] has failed [ap].	
Female 1		Naye nze kinnewuunyisa [ap] <i>enkuba ogiwulira mu bitundu ebirala etonnya</i> [ap].	But what surprises me [ap] is that we hear about <i>the rain falling in other areas</i> [ap].	Expressing concern
Male 1	160	<i>Enkuba ggwe ate no gyoyinza okweyibaaliramu</i> [ap], ebitundu ebimu gyetonnya ng'eyonoona bwonoonyi. Ereeta kibuyaga. Ejja na busungu [ap].	<i>The rain you are wishing for</i> [ap] is sometimes destructive [ap] in the parts where it is falling. It comes with strong winds. It comes down with rage [ap].	Appraising concern
Female 3	165 170	Embeera y'obudde yakyuka [ap]. Ate era bwotunula mu byafaayo bya Kooki, buli myaka kkumi wabaawo omusana [ap]. Buli myaka kkumi wabaawo omusana [ap]. Kati ekyo tetulina ngeri ki gye tuyinza kukibuuka [ap].	The weather patterns have changed [ap]. Even when you look at the history of Kooki, there is always a drought [ap] after every ten years. We experience a drought [ap] after every ten years. So, we simply cannot escape it [ap].	Reiterating problem Alluding to experience Reiterating hopelessness
Female 2		Tukigumire bugumizi [ap]	We just have to bear with it [ap].	Reiterating hopelessness
Female 3	175 180	<i>Aah ah</i> [ap]. Kati okuggyako okubeera nga <i>tulwanyisa obutonde bw'ensi ne tulaba nga tubuzzaawo. N'okugoberera embeera y'obudde</i> [ap] nti kati kino kye kinaabala mu budde bwe buti. Kati tolaba ng'emmere erimibwa <i>eno gye bafukirira</i> [ap], tugiyite oba enva endiirwa. <i>Kati ye mmere yokka egenda okuwa abalimi ssente mu budde buno</i> [ap].	<i>No</i> [ap]. <i>We should try to restore the environment, and listen to the weather forecast</i> [ap] to know what crops will suit a specific weather period. We may take the example of growing crops, especially vegetables, through <i>irrigation. These are the only crops that can generate cash for farmers at this time</i> [ap].	Challenging hopelessness Reiterating strategy Making a suggestion
Several		Yee [ap].	Yes [ap].	Expressing approval
Female 3	185	<i>Era kati buli muntu singa alimayo atleast omwezi gumu, noosimbamu ekirime kimu. Tuyinza okugamba nti ffenna nnyaanya. Ffena ne ziba nnyaanya. Tuyinza okusalawo nti ffena ntula, ffenna ne ziba ntula</i> [ap].	<i>Every one may grow the same crop for at least one month. We may all decide to grow tomatoes, or green tomatoes</i> [ap].	Proposing a group decision Constructing group identity
Male 1	190	Ye owaaye <i>olyose</i> [ap] nooyogera ku kintu ekyo. Nange ndaba abantu bano abasimba ennyaanya <i>bayinza okusinga</i> [ap] ku ffe abalowooleza mu bijanjaalo [ap].	It is <i>good</i> [ap] you talked about that. I think these people who grow tomatoes <i>might be doing better than</i> [ap] the rest of us who want to concentrate on beans [ap].	Supporting suggestion Weighing options

Female 1	195	<i>Kati omuntu eyalima ennyaanya ye</i> [ap] obwavu [ap] <i>talina kyabumanyiiko</i> [ap] mu kaseera kano.	<i>A person who grew tomatoes does not know (is free of)</i> [ap] poverty [ap] currently.	Affirming suggestion
Female 3	200 205 210	Mboga, nnakati, green pepper, carrot, kati mu budde buno <i>biri ku ttunzi</i> . <i>Eyo ye mmere yokka egenda okuyamba ku mulimi</i> [ap]. Naye eno emmere ey'omu nnimiro [ap] bijanjaalo, kasooli, biki ebyo, ebyo temubisuubirayo [ap]. Era kati omuntu <i>wefiirizeeyo akatundu okabikke ebisubi osimbemu enva ezo</i> [ap], myezi esatu. Naye emmere ey'emyezi omukaaga eyo teriiyo. Teriiyo, temugisuubira [ap].	Cabbages, spinach, green pepper, carrots, <i>are currently on big demand. These are the only crops that will be of help to the farmers</i> [ap]. But we should not have hope in the other crops [ap], such as beans, maize, etc. A person should now <i>sacrifice an area, mulch it and plant there vegetables</i> [ap] for three months. But we should not have hope in crops which mature in six months [ap].	Affirming suggestion Reiterating earlier fear
Male 1		Naye owaaye, ebyo nga bikyali awo, n'abalimisa bano ndaba ng'abatugavaaliriddemu [j].	But to put that aside, the extensionists, too, seem to have abandoned us [j].	Identifying a problem Challenging authority
Female 3	215 220 225 230	<i>Abalimisa bakoze kye basobola</i> [j] wabula ffe abalimi, ebintu tetubiteeka mu nkola [j]. Umm, kubanga kati wewuunye [ap] twali n'omulimisa omwezi oguwedde, naatugamba <i>tulime emmere ey'emyezi esatu</i> [ap]. Naye kati oyinza n'okutuuka mu bamu nga tebakigoberera. Abakigoberera nga tebakikoze nga bwe kyandibadde kigenda [j]. Kati <i>bo</i> [j] bakole ki? Bajje bakwate enkumbi balime [j; 1 st af]? <i>Emiti bagituwadde</i> [j], kyokka ggwe wennyini n'osimba omuti ne gukulema n'okufukirira [j]. Kati <i>omulimisa</i> [j] aba alina musango [ap] ki?	<i>The extensionists have done their best</i> [j], but we the farmers have not put in practice what the extensionists tell us to do [j]. Yes, can you imagine [ap] we were with the extensionist last month, and he told us to <i>grow crops which mature in three months</i> [ap]. But you may go to some peoples' homes now and find that they did not do it. Or, if they did, they did it wrongly [j]. What do you want the <i>extensionists</i> [j] to do? Do you expect them to come and hold the hoes to dig [j; 1 st af]? <i>They give us seedlings</i> [j]. But a person may plant the seedling and fail to water it [j]. What fault [ap] then does the <i>extensionist</i> [j] have?	Expressing disagreement Defending authority
Male 1		Kati ggwe ekitegeeza obejjeerezza [j]?	Which means you are exhonoring them [j]?	
Female 3	235 240	<i>Yaah</i> [ap], kubanga naffe fennyini <i>baatutendeka ng'abalimisa</i> [ap], bo we batali [ap]. Naye tolabangavo [ap] na munno <i>akugamba nti owaaye, kati wano nkoze ntya? Oba ndaba omusana gwase kati nkole ki</i> [j]? Tulinda kimu, lwenettonnya nsige ebijanjaalo [j]. <i>Kati genda olime entula genda olime emboga, genda olime ennyaanya obifukirire ate</i>	<i>Yes</i> [ap], because they even <i>trained us to act as farming assistants</i> [ap] in the absence of the extensionists [ap]. But I have never received [ap] a friend, <i>asking for farm advice, or seeking advice with regard to continued dry conditions</i> [j]. We are only waiting for the rain to come before we can plant beans [j]. Now, <i>you should go and plant</i>	Constructing group identity Stressing concern for others Reiterating earlier strategy Reiterating earlier fear

	245	<i>olyoke obeerewo. Kati oyo ye mulimi ku luno agenda okubeera ku maapu</i> [ap]. <u>Naye ggwe ow'ebijanjaalo ne kasooli, totawaana. Ku luno tetugenda kubikungula</u> [ap] eno ewaffe mu maserengete ga Rakai.	<i>green tomatoes, cabbages, tomatoes, and water them, so that you may have a better livelihood. That is the farmer who is going to benefit this time</i> [ap]. <u>But if you are planning on beans and maize, you are wastinmg your time. This time round, we shall not have a good harvest of these crops</u> [ap] in the Southern parts of Rakai.	
Female 4	255	<u>Kyokka bannange ebintu bikyuka</u> [ap]!	<u>Oh my colleagues, times have changed</u> [ap]!	Reiterating earlier problem
Female 3	260	Eeh, naye nga ekyo kyo mulina okukimanya nti mu history waffe buli myaka kkumi, tugabana <u>omusana n'enjala</u> [ap]. Era ezo zonna zoowulira, manya ' <u>ani amuwadde akatebe</u> ' [ap], bwogenda ozirondoola zonna za myaka kkumi.	Yes, but you have to know that in our history, every ten years we face <u>drought and hunger</u> [ap]. All the previous famines you have heard about, for example " <u>ani amuwadde akatebe</u> " (lit. = <u>who gave the visitor a seat</u>) [ap], if you follow their occurrence, you will realize that they come after every ten years.	Reiterating earlier allusion to experience
Female 1		Ndwooza ebyo bimala.	I think that is enough.	Closing discussion
Several		Bye biibyo	Those are enough ideas/views	Approving closure

5.4.3 Analytical perspectives on appraisal, citizenship, the business-meeting genre, and negotiation

Participants, through **implied negative** appreciation and judgment, concur implicitly on their interpretation and assessment of the weather forecast, which is that '**there is going to be moderate rain that will not be sufficient enough to sustain a full crop cycle, and will consequently cause farmers to suffer losses**'. This **negative evaluation** is iteratively expressed by various participants in different turns (Female 1: 001, 003, 047, 060, 116; Male 1: 011, 055, 121; Female 2: 013, 015, 021, 085, 105; Female 3: 029, 035, 037, 040-2, 153, 205, 210, 249). The **negative evaluation** can be summarized in Female 3's submission that **oba oli awo neeyo entono... tetugenda kugifuna; enkuba tewali**, bwenebaawo, ekire kimu bibiri, **ebitagenda kukuza birime byaffe** (we may not even get the little rain; there will be no rain, and if it comes, it will not be sufficient for the good growth of our crops: 027-9; 036-7). Indeed Female 3 reiterates this **negative assessment** by recursively alluding to indigenous knowledge and cultural

experience (025-033, 165-8, 257-263) to assert that **mu byafaayo byaffe buli myaka kkumi, tugabana omusana n'enjala** (in our history, every ten years we face drought and hunger).

The **negative attitude** is particularly expressed through the recursive use of the following lexico-grammatical units as negative keywords: negative marker **te-** (not: 004, 009, 012, 020, 021, 029, 033, 035, 037, 056, 060, 084, 085, 100, 116, 134, 145, 147, 169, 205, 209, 210, 216, 222, 223, 237, 248, 249), nouns **kizibu/buzibu** (problem: 001, 011, 042, 047), **njala** (hunger: 064, 131, 152, 260) and **musana** (drought: 167, 168, 240, 259), verbs **f-** (die: 051, 121, 131, 148), **kyuk-** (change: 049, 164, 255), **oky-** (burn: 091, 097, 100) and **linnyirir/-onoon-** (destroy: 101, 161), adjectival phrase **nkuba nsaamusaamu** (moderate rain: 003, 015, 085, 105), as well as adjective **-bi** (bad: 054, 055).

The **negative evaluation** is indeed affirmed by Female 3, who employs **details** as an evaluative strategy to persuade other participants not to grow beans - **Eby'ebijanjaalo mubiveeko byavise, kubanga ebijanjaalo bya sizoni. Kasita osukka 20 February, n'osukka 12 March nga tonnasiga ebyo obisigira ku mikisa ebiri, okubirya n'obutabirya. Leka ebe ng'etonnnye etya, laazima bifa.** (We should forget about planting beans, because their time is long past. If beans are not planted by 20th February, or 12th March, one plants them on a probability, with a 50-50 chance to get or not get a good harvest. However much rain they may receive, they will certainly die: 141-8).

The use of specific dates for a specific activity in order to persuade the meeting towards a particular decision in this problem-solving move, illustrates Virtanen & Hamari's (2005: 5) argument that negotiation in business meetings sometimes manifests as persuasion in form of linguistic choices that aim at changing or affecting the behavior of others or strengthening the existing beliefs and behaviors of those who already agree, in which case, according to Handford (2010: 214), speakers are able to propose, negotiate and agree on action plans.

On the other hand, through both **negative** and **positive** inscribed appreciation, judgment and affect, as well as through critical reasoning, participants acknowledge the role of 'strategic planning' (*community mobilization*: 090, 098-100; *diversifying farm activities*: 178-189, 193, 195, 200-2,

207, 242-6; *ensuring food security*: 125, 128, 135, 139, 150; *conserving the environment*: 069, 074, 079-082, 087, 092-3, 109-110, 173-5), and ‘expert/scientific knowledge’ (*alluding to authority*: 025, 068, 073, 212-4, 218-220) in helping farmers as well as the community at large to avoid **potential loss** (**bad weather conditions**: 004, 009-013, 020, 029, 035, 040-2, 049, 084, 161-4, 167, 255, 259; **crop failure**: 037, 051-2, 059-060, 116, 121, 134, 148, 208-210, 247-9; **poor harvests**: 021, 040-2, 047, 153, 194, 205, 247-9; **hunger**: 064, 131, 152, 260-2; **environmental degradation**: 071-2, 091, 095-7, 101, 226; **bad omen**: 030-3, 054-5, 166, 259; **despair**: 001, 114, 119, 130, 141, 145, 154, 156, 169-171, 205, 249; **disobeying authority**: 215-6, 221-6, 227-9, 235-240).

The *positive attitude* is particularly expressed through the recursive use of the following lexicogrammatical units as positive keywords in different turns during the discussion: weather noun *nkuba* (rain: 070, 076, 112, 126, 138, 157), farm verb *simb-/sig-* (plant: 074, 112, 125, 135, 184, 185, 192, 195, 207, 219, 242), farm noun *balimisa* (extensionists: 068, 073, 214, 218, 229, 236), as well as verb phrases *simba emiti* (plant trees: 069, 074, 087, 093, 109, 128, 226) and *zzaawo obutonde bw’ensi* (conserve the environment: 079, 082, 110, 173, 174).

Indeed, as part of *positive appreciation*, the discussion makes iterative efforts of moves towards three implicit decisions (*conservation of the environment; planting weather-resistant crops; switching to growing vegetables*), as indicated below.

Conservation of the environment:

...twetaaga abalimisa ne batuwa egyo emiti ne tuba nga tugisimba. Kale, oluvannyuma lwakyo tusobola okufuna enkuba eyo mu bungi. (073-7)

(...the extensionists need to give us those trees for us to plant. After that, we can start getting much rain.)

...twongere obutonde okubuzzaawo... (079-080)

(...we should try to preserve the environment...)

Obutonde bw’ensi buddewo... (082-4)

(The environment should be restored.)

Kati okuggyako okubeera nga tulwanyisa obutonde bw’ensi ne tulaba nga tubuzzaawo. (172-4)

(We should try to restore the environment.)

Planting weather-resistant crops:

...obulime obutegekeddwa, mubusimbe muwogo; ate ye agumiikiriza. (124-5; 139)
(Plant cassava in all the fields which are already prepared; cassava is weather resistant.)

Eyo no nsonga. (140)
(That is [an important] point.)

Kati awo kye tuva tudda ku muwogo ne lumonde... (149-150)
(That is why we should stick to cassava and potatoes...)

Switching to growing vegetables:

Kati tolaba ng'emmere erimibwa eno gye bafukirira, tugiyite oba enva endiirwa. Kati ye mmere yokka egenda okuwa abalimi ssente mu budde buno. (177-182)
(We may take the example of growing crops, especially vegetables, through irrigation. These are the only crops that can generate cash for farmers at this time.)

Yee. (183)
(Yes.)

Nange ndaba abantu bano abasimba ennyaanya bayinza okusinga... (191-3)
(I think these people who grow tomatoes might be doing better...)

Kati omuntu eyalima ennyaanya ye, obwavu talina kyabumanyiiko... (195-8)
(A person who grew tomatoes does not know [is free of] poverty...)

Eyo ye mmere yokka egenda okuyamba ku mulimi. (201-2)
(These are the only crops that will be of help to the farmers.)

The three sets of recursive moves cited above, get the discussion to lean towards a subtle-decision making meeting, because in each set there is an iterative move for a group position on the issue at hand. However, unlike subtle-decision making meetings where the iterative moves for a decision have a clear lexico-grammatical stance which is marked by the modal verb phrase *we should.../let us...*, the majority of the moves in the cited examples are suggestions or expressions of opinion. The elusive and discreet nature of these virtual-decision making moves confirms Bhatia & Bhatia's (2011: 35) observation that research in areas such as the relationship between discursive activities and professional practices in most disciplinary, professional and institutional contexts is still in its early stages.

It is worth noting, though, that much as the decision may not be overtly made and declared or implied in a non-explicit way, it still can be inferred and recognized from the above-cited iterative problem-solving moves, and especially backed by the ‘chorus’ approval *Yee* (Yes: 183). The cited iterative moves are problem-solving moves of the *Reason-Result* relation (plant trees to get more rain), and of the *Means-Purpose* relation (plant weather-resistant crops to avoid hunger) or (grow vegetables to avoid poverty), which, according to Flowerdew (2008b: 139), are recurring patterns that provide evidence for the discursive practices of decision-making within the genre of evaluative business meetings in Luganda.

Like the case is with meetings 5a and 5b discussed in the previous two sections of this chapter, the ‘common’ interpretation and assessment of the weather forecast as well as the critical reasoning and the discursive turns of virtual decision-making that is highlighted above, point to an implicit construction of a group identity through the use of the expression *ffe abalimi* (we farmers: 001, 022, 066,215), which is also a reflection of *citizenship* as a way of mobilizing collective effort. The notions of group identity and *citizenship* are reaffirmed by the position of “concerned individual”, which Female 2 assumes to express concern for the bigger community, thus; *...ebibira tumaze okubisaawa...* (...we have cut down all the forests...: 071-2), and which she reiterates with *Kati ekyo kitukakatako okukubiriza bannaffe oba okutambuza amawulire ago ag’okubeera nti tebayokyayokya kuba balinnyirira obutonde bw’ensi*. (It is now our responsibility to educate our colleagues or to spread that message of not burning, because they destroy the environment: 097-100)

In this example, Female 2 (like Male 2 and Male 1 in meeting 5b, discussed in section 5.4 of this chapter) demonstrates her concern for the bigger community, and consequently for the larger social world that may be affected by the positions that the discussion takes on the issue of **environmental degradation**. The position of the “concerned individual” which Female 2 assumes in order to mobilize other participants towards a common cause demonstrates Simpson’s (2011: 1-5) argument that matters of identity are intertwined with language use and decision-making in the real world, involving phenomena, connections and relationships from the micro to the macro level; from language-related issues of individual identity to those of globalized society.

The cognitive move structure of the discussion presents in four coherent parts – i) interpretation and evaluation of the weather forecast, in light of its implication for the farmers (001-060); ii) problem identification, critical reasoning and strategic planning for the common good (063-171; 211-263); iii) virtual decision-making suggestions (172-210) iv) closure of discussion (267-8). The allusion to indigenous knowledge and cultural experience, which I referred to earlier, is the *evaluative device* that holds the four parts of the discussion together, and which the **emoter** uses as a *trigger* to keep the discussion going and consequently prove, as Tannen (2007: 58) argues, that repetition is a resource for producing ample talk, both by providing material for talk and by enabling talk through automaticity. This *evaluative device* also bears testimony to Roncoli et al.'s (2011: 135) argument that the interplay of different styles of participation in group discussions and decisions on climate forecast dissemination reveals how the key attributes of salience, credibility, and legitimacy are embedded in cultural meanings and constituted through discursive practice.

Also, this meeting, like several others across the three clusters, does not have a chairperson. However, Female 1 takes the first turn (001) to speak and to make an interpretation of the weather forecast. But she does not take a move to roll out the discussion to the rest of the group. Instead, other participants take spontaneous turns to express their opinions without having to seek permission from the ‘moderator’. Indeed the meeting does not have a moderator, save for a single isolated turn that Male 1 (062) takes to moderate a topic. As noted in the previous sections, the spontaneous nature of taking turns illustrates further the sense of *oneness* and *citizenship* among the participants, because through it members demonstrate both their individual and collective ‘belonging’ to the group by allowing an orderly exchange of the opportunity to hold the floor.

5.5 A multi-perspective analysis of meeting 5d (March 18th, 2006)

5.5.1 Introductory overview

Male 1 takes the first turn to speak, makes an interpretation of the weather forecast, shows concern about the possibility of receiving little rain during the coming season and opens the floor to other participants. Different participants take turns to express their opinions, but the majority of submissions are in form of lamentations about the small amounts of rain expected in the

coming season, as well as the lack of seed due to poor harvests from the previous season. Male 3 attempts to steer the discussion towards making a decision, but his efforts are unsuccessful. Male 1 grabs the opportunity to declare that what they have discussed so far is enough for the day, and he therefore closes the meeting.

5.5.2 Analytical template of appraisal resources and the generic move structure of the meeting

Participant		Luganda	English translation	Cognitive moves
Male 1	001 005 010 015	Kaakati abataka nga bwe tuwulidde amawulire, kiba kitegeeza nti ffe kennyininnyini abalimi tuli mu mwezi Gwakusatu, tetunnaba kusiga , ate batugambye omwezi Ogwokusatu enkuba egenda kuba ng'evanika , etonnye Ogwokuna, eyunge Ogwokutaano, ate evanike . Kati ekyo kiba kitegeeza nti enkuba gye tulina ntono nnyo [ap] naddala sizoni eno. Kati nze kye ndaba balimi bannange <i>kye tulina okukola kwe kubeera nti twanguyiriza okusiga</i> [ap] enkuba eba etonnye, <i>etuyambe. Twanguyirize okusiga</i> [ap] kubanga kyo kimaze okulabika nti enkuba ntono [ap]. Mulina kye mugamba ekirala?	Now elders, from the message we just heard, we are already in the month of March and yet we have not planted . We have also been told that the <i>rains</i> will stop for some time and then come back in April, continue through May and then stop. That means that we should expect to have very little rain [ap] this season. What I think we should do, fellow farmers, is to <i>plant very fast</i> [ap] such that whatever rain we get can <i>help us</i> . <i>We should plant very fast</i> [ap] because the indications are that there is going to be little rain [ap]. Do you have anything else to say?	Constructing group identity Alluding to authority Interpreting forecast Making a suggestion Moderating discussion
Male 2		<i>Ate tusige emmere eyanguwa</i> [ap].	<i>And, we should plant short-cycle crops</i> [ap].	Supplementing suggestion
Female 1	020	<i>Emmere eyanguwa</i> [ap] tunaagiggya wa? Obummonde tetulina, ebijanjaalo tetulina. Tuli bubi [ap].	Where shall we get <i>the short-cycle crops</i> [ap]? We do not have irish potatoes, we do not have beans. We are doing badly [ap].	Challenging supplement
Female 2	025	Twabiridde omusana nga gutwokezza [ap]!	We ate them when we were hit by the dry spell [ap].	Reiterating challenge
Male 3	030 035	Kati era nange nga ndeeta ekirowoozo kyange nti okusenziira kati ku budde bunu mu Gwokusatu ffe batugambye enkuba ejja kutonnya ntonotono ate <i>yeyongeremu</i> , ate ffe tuli mu kyeya kya musana, tetunnafuna nkuba ematiza kusiga [ap]. <i>Awalala etonnya</i> [ap], kati awo tunaakola tutya?	I am also of the view that we have been told that there is going to be little rain in March, which will intensify later, yet we are experiencing a dry period with no rain at all. We have not received sufficient rains to plant [ap], <i>and yet it is raining in other places</i> [ap]. What shall we do in such a case?	Alluding to authority Interpreting forecast Expressing concern Moderating discussion
Female 3		Tetunnaba kufuna nkuba ya Gwakusatu etusikiriza kusiga. Tukwali mu kyeya [ap]. Ennaku	We haven't received the type of March rains which would encourage us to plant. We are	Reiterating concern

	040	ziizino 18.	still in the dry season [ap]. Today is the 18 th day of the month.	
Male 2		Kati tubiteeke mu nfuufu binaamera [ap]?	Will the crops germinate if we sow them in the dust [ap]?	Affirming concern
Male 3	045 050	Kati nze balimi bannange, <i>twewe amagezi nti tusobole okulabika nga tulima. Tutegeke ebisambu byaffe eby'okusigamu ebijanjaalo ebinyinza okwanguwa okukula mu nkuba</i> [ap] nga bwe batugambye nga bweri entono [ap]. Bye tunaasobola okulyako mu kyeya [ap] ekijja mu maaso kubanga bwe tunaagamba nti tunaasirika busirisi nga tetusize [j].	Fellow farmers, <i>let us make strategies for our fields. Let us prepare our fields where we are going to plant beans which will cope with the little rain, so that we may have some food</i> [ap] during the next next dry season [ap]. We cannot just sit back and refrain from planting [j].	Constructing group identity Proposing a solution
Female 1	055 060	<i>Ekikulu tujja kusiga</i> [ap], naye ensigo tugimaze nga tugirya [ap]. Ate kati tujja kusiga efiire mu ttaka. Tutidde embeera eja mu maaso tugitidde. Okusinziira ku bintu bye tuwulidde bituleeseemu okutya mu mitima gyaffe [ap].	<i>The fact is that we are going to plant</i> [ap], but, we ate most of the seed already [ap]. We may plant the (little) seed we have and it instead dies in the ground. We are worried about the weather conditions ahead, given the message we just heard [ap].	Reiterating concern Expressing fear
Male 2		Ejja kuba mbi [ap].	The weather conditions will be bad [ap].	Reiterating fear
Male 1		Ebyo bimala.	Those views are enough.	Closing discussion

5.5.3 Analytical perspectives on appraisal, citizenship, the business-meeting genre, and negotiation

Participants, through **implied negative** appreciation, concur implicitly on their interpretation and assessment of the weather forecast, which is that ‘**there is going to be very little rain, mixed with dry periods**’. This **negative evaluation** is iteratively expressed by Male 1 (006-010, 017) and Male 3 (030, 049). Other participants also add their voice to the **negative evaluation** of the weather forecast by iteratively expressing **fear, concern** and **lament** about the impending plight of the fields and the current predicament of the participants (Female 1: 021-2, 054-060; Female 2: 024-5; Female 3: 036-8; Male 2: 042-3, 062). The **negative evaluation** can be summarized in Female 1’s submission that **Okusinziira ku bintu bye tuwulidde bituleeseemu okutya mu mitima gyaffe** (We are worried about the weather conditions ahead, given the message we just heard: 058-060), and reiterated by Male 2 as **Ejja kuba mbi** (The weather conditions will be bad: 062). The **negative attitude** is particularly expressed through the recursive use of the

following lexico-grammatical units as negative keywords: negative marker **te-** (not: 004, 021, 022, 032, 036, 053), adjectives **-tono** (little: 010, 017, 030, 049) and **-bi** (bad: 022, 062), noun **musana/kyeya** (dry spell: 024, 031, 038, 051), as well as verb **t-** (fear: 057, 058, 059).

However, there is also some *positive appreciation*, which is expressed through the iterative use of the following lexico-grammatical units as positive keywords: verb *sig-/teek-* (plant: 004, 013, 015, 018, 032, 037, 042, 047, 054, 056), and noun/verb *nkuba/tonny-* (rain: 006, 007, 009, 014, 029, 032, 033, 036, 048). Indeed, as part of *positive appreciation*, Male 1 (015) and Male 2 (018) as well as Male 3 (046), make isolated moves towards a group decision as follows;

Twanguyirize okusiga (We should plant very fast: 015)

Ate tusige emmere eyanguwa (And we should plant short-cycle crops: 018)

Tutegeke ebisambu byaffe (Let us prepare our fields: 046)

Unfortunately, these decision-making moves are neither reiterated in subsequent turns nor given approval by other participants to bring about a confluence towards a group decision, and thus consequently rendering the decision(s) ‘virtual’. The failure of the discussion to translate the above-cited moves into concrete decisions illustrates a situation of ambivalence, which according to Block (2009: 35), emerges from the uncertainty of feeling a part of activities or collectives of individuals and feeling apart from them, or the state of being intimate with one’s surroundings while remaining, metaphorically, outside them.

Like the case is with meetings 5a, 5b and 5c that I discussed in the preceding three sections of this chapter, the ‘common’ interpretation and assessment of the weather forecast as well as the discursive turns of virtual decision-making that I highlighted above, point to an implicit construction of a group identity through the use of the expression *ffe abalimi/balimi bannange* (we farmers/fellow farmers: 003, 011, 044), which is also a reflection of *citizenship* as a way of mobilizing collective effort. The notions of group identity and *citizenship* are reaffirmed by the use of the modal verb phrases of obligation/necessity *tusige.../tutegeke...* (we should plant.../let us prepare...), which are used in the above-cited decision-making moves.

The cognitive move structure of the discussion presents in three interwoven parts – i) interpretation and evaluation of the weather forecast, in light of its implication for the farmers (001-010, 026-043, 049-051, 062); ii) problem identification and problem solving (011-025, 044-048, 052-060); iii) closure of discussion (064). The rhetorical moves that characterize the first three segments of the discussion are intricately woven into and along each other, making their *evaluative* value pervasive to the entire discourse of the meeting. The pervasiveness with which *evaluation* is done in this meeting highlights the challenge in Bhatia & Bhatia's (2011: 27) observation that understanding business communication involves the knowledge of how members of a professional community negotiate meanings in professional discourse; why they communicate the way they do; and how they conceptualize issues and talk about them in order to achieve their disciplinary and professional goals.

This meeting, like several others across the three clusters, does not have a chairperson. However, Male 1 takes the first turn (001) to speak and to make an interpretation of the weather forecast, and to subsequently roll out (017) as well as to close (064) the discussion to the rest of the group. The other participants subsequently take spontaneous turns to express their opinions without let or hindrance. Indeed, like meeting 5c discussed in the preceding section of this chapter, the current discussion does not have a moderator, save for a single isolated turn that Male 3 (034) takes to control a topic. As noted in the previous sections, the spontaneous nature of taking turns illustrates further the sense of *oneness* and *citizenship* among the participants, because through it members demonstrate both their individual and collective 'belonging' to the group by allowing an orderly exchange of the opportunity to hold the floor, and therefore proving Hausendorf & Bora's (2006a: 2) assertion that citizenship is participation perceived by the participants themselves and manifested in their communicated images of self and others emerging under the concrete condition of a given procedure.

5.6 A multi-perspective analysis of meeting 5e (March 17th, 2006)

5.6.1 Introductory overview

Female 1 takes the first turn to speak, during which turn she makes an interpretation of the weather forecast, reasons critically, makes a suggestion and opens the floor to other participants to make their contributions to the discussion. There is an implicit consensus on the interpretation

of the weather forecast, which is that there will be little to moderate rain during the coming season. Participants then move from this interpretation to make suggestions in form of strategies to cope with the pending harsh weather conditions. The strategies are to plant short-cycle crops and to plant them early. However, when these suggestions are made, they are not followed up or reacted upon by other participants. Consequently, there is no decision made on any matter. Female 1 quickly takes the floor to announce that the views expressed so far are enough and so she closes the meeting.

5.6.2 Analytical template of appraisal resources and the generic move structure of the meeting

Participant		Luganda	English translation	Cognitive moves
Female 1	001 005 010	Ejja kubeera nsaamusaamu . Kye tulina okukola, <i>tulina okusiga nga bukyali</i> [ap] olw'obutono bw'enkuba [ap]. <i>Tusige obudde bunu nga bwe butuuse</i> [ap] bagambye ejja kutonnya Ogwokusatu, etabe mu Gwokusatu wakati. Ate mu Gwokutaano kirabika enkuba eyinza okukya neetusala [ap]. <i>Ekitegeeza twandisimbye oba emmere ekula amangu</i> [ap]. Mmwe bannange mubadde mugamba mutya?	There is going to be moderate rain. <i>What we have to do is to plant early</i> [ap] since there is going to be little rain [ap]. <i>We should plant at this time</i> [ap]. We have been told that there is going to be rain which will intensify in mid-March. It seems the rain may stop in May, which will get us to suffer losses [ap]. <i>This means that we should perhaps plant the short-cycle-crops</i> [ap]. Members what do you have to say?	Interpreting forecast Constructing group identity Making a suggestion Alluding to authority Moderating discussion
Female 2		<i>Tulime bijanjaalo, n'okutemera lumonde</i> [ap].	<i>Let us plant beans and potatoes</i> [ap].	Proposing a strategy
Female 3	015	<i>Kyetaagisa tusimbe emmere ekula amangu</i> [ap].	<i>We need to plant the short-cycle crops</i> [ap].	Proposing a strategy
Female 1	020	Bannange <i>twandibadde tulima bijanjaalo okusinga, tulabe nti enkuba eno tebirekerera. N'okulongoosa ebibanja byaffe</i> [ap].	Members I think <i>we should grow beans mostly, and ensure that they are at pace with the rain season. We should also tend our fields</i> [ap].	Proposing strategy Emphasizing group identity
Female 2		<i>Tusige lumonde, ebijanjaalo n'ebinyeebwa. Ekikulu kusiga mangu</i> [ap].	<i>Let us plant potatoes, beans and groundnuts. But the important thing is to plant early</i> [ap].	Proposing a strategy
Female 1	025	Egwe 'Male l' obadde ogamba otya, message nga bwogiwulidde?	'Male l', what do you have to say about the message we have heard?	Moderating discussion
Male 1	030	Mbadde ηqamba <i>tulime ebirime ebinaayanguwa</i> [ap] mu biseera bye batugambye. <i>Nga lumonde omuzungu, bijanjaalo</i> [ap]. Kasooli ono ndaba obudde budduse [ap].	I think <i>we should grow crops that will mature within the said period of time</i> [ap]. <i>Crops like irish potatoes and beans</i> [ap]. I think the time is late to plant maize [ap].	Proposing a strategy Alluding to authority
Female 4		Naye era enkuba mu budde bunu	But the rains that fall during this	Alluding to experience

		<u>yakendeera nnyo bannange</u> [ap].	<u>time of the year have greatly decreased</u> [ap].	Making an assessment
Several	035	<u>Yee</u> [ap]	<u>Yes</u> [ap]	Affirming assessment
Female 3		Naye omwezi guno gubadde <i>gusaana kusiga nnyo. Ebingi mwoba osigira</i> [ap].	<i>We need to plant most of the crops during this month</i> [ap].	Making a suggestion
Female 1		<u>Naye era ntono nnyo</u> [ap].	<u>But the rain is very little</u> [ap].	Reiterating assessment
Female 4	040	<u>Enkuba ntono nnyo</u> [ap]	<u>The rain is very little</u> [ap].	Confirming assessment
Female 3		<u>Era ogiraba teyingira mu ttaka ate teddamu kutonnya mangu</u> [ap].	<u>You can see, it doesn't penetrate the ground and when it falls it takes long to rain again</u> [ap].	Reaffirming assessment
Female 4	045	<i>Twandibadde tufuba nga bwe tusobola okusiga amangu</i> [ap] okusinzira ku mawulire ge tuwulidde. <u>Singa tunaaba tetufuddeeyo</u> [j] <i>kusiga mangu era tujja kuvisibwa nga sizoni ewedde, ebirime byaffe okusigala nga tebikuze</i> [ap].	<i>We should try as much as we can to plant early</i> [ap], basing on the information we have received. <u>In case we do not put in effort</u> [j] <i>to plant early, our crops may fail to mature, just like they did last season</i> [ap].	Making a suggestion Alluding to authority Alluding to experience Sounding caution
Female 1	055	<u>Eky'enkuba entono kitusobedde</u> [ap]. Kuba kati luli sizoni ewedde abalimi emmere <u>baagikungulira ku ttale. Yakala</u> [ap]. Ate kirabika neeno sizoni eno, nayo era <u>evinza okuba bwetyo</u> [ap] kubanga emyezi gino ebiri emmere emu <u>tejja kukula. Tuli mu bweraliikirivu olw'enkuba entono</u> [ap].	<u>We are bothered by the little rains</u> [ap]. Last season <u>the farmers had their fields scorched up and a similar thing</u> [ap] is likely to happen this season because <u>not all the crops will mature</u> [ap] in these two months. <u>We are worried about the little rains</u> [ap].	Expressing concern Alluding to experience Expressing a fear Reiterating earlier assessment
Female 3	060	<u>Obweraliikirivu bwa maanyi kirabise nti tuyinza okufuna enjala mu maaso</u> [ap], okusenziira ku mawulire ago agafulumye.	<u>We are really worried because we are likely to suffer hunger later</u> [ap], according to the information we just received.	Reiterating fear Alluding to authority
Female 4	065	<u>Yo enjala si ya kuggwaawo, kweno enkuba etonnya bwetyo</u> [ap].	<u>Hunger is not likely to end, given the way the rains are behaving</u> [ap].	Affirming concern and fear
Female 1		Ebyo bimala.	Those views are enough.	Closing discussion

5.6.3 Analytical perspectives on appraisal, citizenship, the business-meeting genre, and negotiation

Participants, through **implied negative** appreciation, concur implicitly on their interpretation and assessment of the weather forecast, which is that ‘**there is going to be little and intermittent rain, which may later lead to hunger among the community**’. This **negative evaluation** is iteratively expressed by several participants in various turns and moves (Female 1: 003, 039,

051, 060-1; Female 4: 033, 040, 066-7; Female 3: 041-2, 064), and affirmed by the whole group (035). The **negative attitude** is particularly expressed through the recursive use of the following lexico-grammatical units as negative keywords: adjectival phrase **nkuba ntono** (little rain: 003-4, 032-3, 039, 051, 060-1), negative marker **te-/si** (not: 041, 042, 047, 050, 059, 066), as well as nouns **bweraliikirivu** (worry: 060, 062) and **njala** (hunger: 064, 066).

However, through inscribed appreciation and affect, as well as through critical reasoning participants acknowledge the role of strategic planning (*planting early*: 002-5, 023-4, 045, 048; *growing short-cycle crops*: 010-1, 015, 027-8) in helping farmers to avoid **potential loss (crop failure**: 009, 031, 050, 055; **hunger**: 064, 066). This strategic planning is reflected in *positive appreciation*, which is particularly expressed through the iterative use of the following lexico-grammatical units as positive keywords: verb *sig-/simb-/lim-/temer-* (plant: 002, 004, 010, 013, 015, 017, 022, 023, 027, 037, 038, 045, 048), noun/verb *nkuba/tonny-* (rain: 006, 008, 019, 042, 067), noun *mmere/birime* (crops: 011, 015, 049, 054, 058), as well as adverb *mangu* (fast: 011, 015, 024, 028, 045, 048). Indeed, as part of *positive appreciation*, various participants make independent moves towards a group decision as follows;

Tusige obudde buno nga bwe butuuse (We should plant at this time: 004-5)

Tulime bijanjaalo, n'okutemera lumonde (Let us plant beans and potatoes: 013-4)

Kyetaagisa tusimbe emmere ekula amangu (We need to plant the short-cycle crops: 015)

Unfortunately, as in meeting 5d (discussed under section 5.5 of this chapter), these decision-making moves are neither reiterated in subsequent turns nor given approval by other participants to bring about a confluence towards a group decision, and thus consequently rendering the decision(s) 'virtual'. Even within the larger text of the meeting discourse, these moves do not draw from one another to form a coherent argument that builds towards a decision. Rather, the moves and the turns from which these moves are drawn are independent suggestions, which however, according to Firth (1995: 3), should be recognized as activities of social decision-making that often goes unnoticed, even to the participants, within the context of the discourse of negotiation.

Like the case is with the other four meetings that I discuss in this chapter, the ‘common’ interpretation and assessment of the weather forecast as well as the discursive turns of virtual decision-making that I highlighted above, point to an implicit construction of a group identity through the use of the expression *bannange* (colleagues/fellow members: 012, 017), which is also a reflection of *citizenship* as a way of mobilizing collective effort. The notions of group identity and *citizenship* are reaffirmed by the use of the modal verb phrases of obligation/necessity *tusige.../tulime.../tusimbe...* (we should plant.../let us plant.../we need to plant...), which are used in the above-cited decision-making moves.

The cognitive move structure of the discussion presents in three angulated parts – i) interpretation and evaluation of the weather forecast, in light of its implication for the farmers and the larger community (001-9, 032-5, 039-042, 051-067); ii) strategic planning and virtual decision-making (010-031, 036-8, 044-050); iii) closure of discussion (069). The rhetorical moves that characterize the first two segments of the discussion are juxtaposed with one another, making their *evaluative* value conspicuously binding to the whole text of the meeting discourse. The expression of *evaluation* through juxtaposition of assessment and decision-making brings to the fore Handford’s (2010:60) argument that participants at business meetings constantly test the boundaries of the activity they are involved in, leading to inevitable variations and transformations in the genre.

As noted earlier, this meeting, like several others across the three clusters, does not have a chairperson. However, Female 1 takes the first turn (001) to speak, during which turn she makes an interpretation of the weather forecast, makes a suggestion, and rolls out (012) the discussion to the rest of the group. Female 1 also takes one other occasional turn (025) to moderate the discussion. Otherwise, the other participants take spontaneous turns to express their opinions and to make suggestions without having to seek permission from the chair. Indeed, like meetings 5c and 5d that I discussed in the preceding two sections of this chapter, the current discussion does not have a moderator.

As noted in the previous sections, the spontaneous nature of taking turns illustrates further the sense of *oneness* and *citizenship* among the participants, because through it members

demonstrate both their individual and collective ‘belonging’ to the group by allowing an orderly exchange of the opportunity to hold the floor, and therefore proving Hausendorf & Bora’s (2006a: 2) assertion that citizenship is participation perceived by the participants themselves and manifested in their communicated images of self and others emerging under the concrete condition of a given procedure.

5.7 Summary

Unlike subtle decision-making meetings and explicit decision-making meetings, and unlike meeting 5b, the rest of the meetings in the virtual decision-making cluster do not have a chairperson or a moderator to control the flow of the discussion. There are only a few occasional and isolated turns/moves of moderation. Instead, turns to speak are spontaneously taken by participants, as explained in subsections 5.2.3, 5.3.3, 5.4.3, 5.5.3 and 5.6.3. Indeed, the discursive practice of ‘spontaneous turns’ is also a distinctive characteristic of subtle decision-making meetings as well as explicit decision-making meetings, as already identified in sections 3.5 and 4.6 of chapters three and four, respectively.

As earlier noted, participants in the three clusters of meetings, take the position of the “concerned individual” to construct group identity and to demonstrate citizenship in an effort to forge consensus. Whether the decision-making process is subtle, explicit or virtual, there are identifiable turns and moves whose evaluative rhetorical move intent is to express a collective decision, hence proving, as Merrit (as cited in Tannen 2007: 27) contends, that participation is a mutual engagement by way of an observable state of being in coordinated interaction, as distinguished from mere co-presence.

Although virtual decision-making meetings are similar to the subtle and explicit decision-making meetings in as far as all clusters work towards consensus, the unique way of working towards consensus in virtual decision-making discussions has been revealed through a multi-perspective analysis, which according to Bhatia & Bhatia’s (2011: 32), is a recognition of the complex and dynamic nature of the discursive realities of the discourse of business meetings and negotiation. The multi-perspective analysis reveals that virtual decision-making meetings generally are a problem-solving type of meeting, which, like other types of business meeting and as explained

by Handford (2010: 60), involve i) a set of participants, ranging from dyadic to multiparty, ii) evidence of an agenda or topic, iii) a purpose, reason or goal for the meeting, iv) specific, constrained turn-taking modes, v) the influence of institutional, professional or national culture, and vi) recognizable beginnings and endings. This cluster of meetings, like the subtle and explicit decision-making clusters, satisfies the three core stages (opening of meeting, discussion of the agenda/topic, and closing of meeting) of a business meeting structure as identified by Handford (2010: 70).

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The explanations, analyses and discussions of notions and data in the last five chapters can be summarized by revisiting the six major research questions that I posed at the start of the study.

The research questions are:

- a) How does spoken Luganda discourse exemplify properties of citizenship in participation?
- b) How are particular ideological positions of participants expressed through the language of appraisal and evaluation?
- c) What individual and group identities are constructed through the language of appraisal and evaluation in spoken Luganda discourse?
- d) How are participants' orientations to the context of decision-making reflected in spoken discourse through evaluation and appraisal?
- e) How do participants evaluate and negotiate meanings in a decision-making process within the context of the genre of business meetings?
- f) Can the principles of the theories that are invoked in this study be extended to new dimensions through the analysis of evaluative discourse in spoken Luganda?

Specific answers to each of these questions are laid across discussions in chapters two, three, four and five. However, I wish to harness the answers by noting, as Gale (2010: 263) observes, that the construct of a speaker's feelings, attitudes, value judgments or assessments provides a link between personal identity, social action and culturally-situated meaning. The notions of appraisal and evaluation can be expressed through a wide range of linguistic devices and for a variety of purposes — to negotiate relationships with the audience, to demonstrate commitment to a stated position, to show emotion, to offer judgements about behaviour, and to express personal feelings about other social actors and propositions.

In chapter two, I have reviewed literature which places the study in the context of evaluative discourse in linguistic analysis. In the literature review, I have explored perspectives on the

notions of discourse, participation, decision-making, citizenship, business meetings, negotiation, and genre within discursive practices of cultural-linguistic contexts and community development processes. I have also discussed issues of appraisal and evaluation in relation to the discourse of participatory processes.

As I explain in section 2.8 of chapter two, one of the major issues that emerge from the literature is that the majority of studies that have been done on participation and negotiation, discourse and genre analysis, citizenship, appraisal and evaluation, are about the English language and/or other languages in the more developed parts of the world. As Bargiela-Chiappini et al. (2007: 16) observe, societies and languages of the less developed parts of the world, like Africa, have hardly been covered in the theory and application of these academic advances. The other major issue that emerges from the literature is that the analysis of participation, genre, and appraisal in discourse, as Bhatia (2008: 166) notes, requires a multi-perspective approach, because the issues under investigation need an understanding of the participant practices as well as the context of the text. Finally, as Bhatia et al. (2008: 229) attest, the literature espouses the need for investigating language in applied contexts, as well as the relevance of this particular study to Africa's problems of peace, power, democracy, participation, and decision-making.

Drawing from the conclusions of chapter two, I have undertaken a multi-perspective analysis of *subtle decision-making* meetings in chapter three. In this cluster of meetings, participants reach consensus or take an implicit group position on various issues, but there is no formal declaration that the group position is a decision. Following the same model of analysis, I have explored *explicit decision-making* meetings in chapter four, and *virtual decision-making* meetings in chapter five. Decisions of meetings in chapter four are overtly announced by one of the participants. On the other hand, meetings in chapter five make intermittently isolated moves towards a decision but the moves do not explicitly or implicitly converge into a clearly discernible group position. However, as explained in sections 3.5, 4.6, and 5.7, all meetings in the three clusters work towards building consensus among the participants.

Therefore, I can conclude that participation and decision-making, through appraisal and evaluation in spoken Luganda discourse at community development project meetings, are aimed

at building consensus and collective identity. Whether the process of decision-making is *explicit*, *subtle* or *virtual*, the overarching aim is to reach consensus and construct a collective identity. Consensus and collective identity are especially expressed through the use of participatory involvement strategies like repetition, proverbs, metaphors, idioms, narratives, analogy, comparison, details, and sometimes intertextuality. Consensus-building is specially galvanized by the spontaneity with which participants take turns to speak, without having to seek the permission of a moderator.

The above summary highlights the ways in which participants at community development meetings make decisions through appraisal and evaluation. The summary draws its strength from a triangulation of methods and approaches to the analysis of discourse, which I refer to as a multi-perspective approach. The essence of the multi-perspective approach to data analysis in this study is specially couched in Tannen's (2007: 5-6) argument that discourse analysis is a uniquely heterogeneous field that does not refer to a particular method of analysis, entail a single theory or coherent set of theories; it does not describe a theoretical perspective or a methodological framework. Instead, discourse analysis admits a broad range of research to the analysis of language, and so, to construe it as a homogeneous discipline with a unified theory, an agreed upon method, and comparable types of data, is not only hopeless but pointless.

Indeed, the multi-perspective approach to the analysis and discussion of various issues in the study has proved that the theories in question can be extended to new dimensions. For example, genre theory and appraisal theory have been developed for the analysis of written discourse. This study has successfully applied them on spoken discourse. Secondly, all the theoretical models in question have, through this study, been pioneer-tested on Luganda. In this sense, the study makes a contribution in addressing the concern raised by Biber (2008: 102), Bhatia et al. (2008: 193), and Chouliaraki (2008: 211). These works indicate that whereas strides have been made in the analysis of English discourse, there is still a challenge to extend similar analyses and approaches to other languages, especially the less developed parts of the world that have been neglected by studies in discourse analysis.

Finally, borrowing the words of Christopher Brumfit (as cited in Simpson 2011: 2), I wish to contend that this study is a theoretical and empirical investigation of real-world problems in which language is a central issue, and as Simpson (2011: 2) adds, the study is demarcated by its interest in how language is implicated in real-world decision-making. However, as Martin Bygate (as cited in Simpson 2011: 2) observes, one is tempted to wonder what is so special about studying language within real-world problems if the only purpose is to use it as a stimulus for academic reflection. In light of these practical observations, I would like to conclude this study by explaining some ways in which the study may involve not only a description of real-world matters, but also provide suggestions about how these matters can be addressed.

As with all research, there are various avenues for further research in respect of the findings of this study. First, as Bhatia & Bhatia (2011: 35) observe, the study of the role of language in communities of practice is relatively new. The case of research on evaluation and decision-making in Ugandan languages is in its early infancy. One possible area for future research will certainly be the examination of discursive activities and linguistic practices within professional and institutional contexts, especially where business is conducted in Ugandan and/or other African languages.

Secondly, as noted by Roncoli et al. (2011: 128), the purpose of participation in Luganda-discourse-based meetings is to demonstrate unity and to reach decisions by consensus, which is a “cultural style of participation.” This observation implies, as Di Luzio et al. (2001: vii), Knoblauch (2001: 3), and Simpson (2011: 4) note, that language-use is intertwined with matters of culture and identity. So, another research area that may emerge out of this study is the investigation of the functions of culture, identity, and ethnicity in facilitating or impeding intercultural communication in both professional/institutional and informal contexts, as well as in the globalized society.

Thirdly, while participants in this study are coded as ‘male’ or ‘female’, the relevance of their gender to the discussions and decision-making processes is not discussed. The reason for this omission is that gender issues are outside the scope of interest for the study. However, there is need to investigate the discursive roles of men and women in evaluation and decision-making,

especially within the context of using Ugandan and other African languages in community development work. The study of expression of power relations between men and women in the discourse of business meetings, using the corpus data of this study would also be an interesting addition to the budding scholarship of new trends in applied linguistics of Ugandan languages.

In conclusion, let me use the words of Martin & White (2005: 1) to submit that the analysis of discourse under the multi-perspective approach in this study is concerned with how speakers in interactive discourse approve and disapprove, applaud and criticize, and how they position their listeners to do likewise. In other words, as Thompson & Hunston (2000: 10) add, speakers use evaluation to build a relationship between the speaker and the listener. This relationship does not exist only in terms of the information in the text, but in terms of the text itself. I hope that, through the discussion of the notions of evaluation, participation, citizenship, negotiation, and decision-making in this study, I did not only tell the reader (listener) that ‘this happened, and this is my opinion about it’, but that I also told the reader (listener) that ‘this is the beginning of our discussion, this is how the argument fits together, and this is the end of our interaction.’

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APPENDIX

LETTER OF ETHICAL CLEARANCE

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK

CENTER FOR RESEARCH ON ENVIRONMENTAL DECISIONS
(CRED)

16 March 2011

Merit Kabugo
Department of African Languages
Stellenbosch University
Matieland, 7602
Stellenbosch, South Africa

Dear Mr. Kabugo,

ETHICAL CLEARANCE FOR USE OF DATA IN PHD COURSE

I am writing as Director of the Center for Research on Environmental Decisions and as a Principal Investigator on a March 2005 – September 2006 research project on language, culture and climate information in Uganda. I am pleased to provide **full ethical clearance** for you to use data and information from this project in Uganda, to pursue your Doctoral studies at Stellenbosch University. I am pleased to learn that in your studies and research you will be able to use the data to which you contributed in many ways.

With best wishes,


Ben Orlove

Professor, School of International and Public Affairs
Director, Center for Research on Environmental Decisions