MOOD ANALYSIS OF SELECTED CASES OF STUDENT DISCIPLINARY INTERROGATIONS IN NIGERIAN UNIVERSITIES

By

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CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this thesis has been read and approved as meeting the requirements of the Department of English, Faculty of Arts, University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria for the award of Doctor of Philosophy degree in English Language.

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DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to my paternal grandmother, Late (Mrs.) Ash'awu Ogundoyin Dahunsi who took care of me, and from whose ceaseless prayers I have continued to flourish. May her gentle soul rest in peace.

DECLARATION

I, Dahunsi, Toyese Najeem, hereby declare that this thesis entitled ***Mood Analysis of Selected Cases of Student Disciplinary Interrogations in Nigerian Universities*** is a record of my research work. It has neither been presented nor accepted in any previous application for a higher degree. All sources of information have been specifically acknowledged.

In addition, the research work has been ethically approved by the University Ethical Review Committee.

_____ _____

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ABSTRACT

Student Investigative and Disciplinary Interrogations (SIDIs) are a global and constant social practice in higher educational institutions. In spite of their strategic roles in the maintenance of peace and order in the society, SIDIs have not been scholarly explored to understand the inherent language dynamics, structure and peculiarities in Nigeria. This study was aimed at conducting a structural analysis of the discourse of SIDIs with a view to identifying the syntactic patterns and determining how grammatical systems and structures were used to achieve different communicative purposes. The objectives of the study were to: (i) conduct a structural analysis of SIDIs to identify the various types of questions asked by interrogators; (ii) investigate the specific purposes that the identified question types served in the interrogations; (iii) examine interrogators' preferences for the identified question types; (iv) verify whether the identified question types have inhibitive effect on interrogatees' choices and lengths of answers; and (v) determine whether interrogatees were at any disadvantage occasioned by interrogators' questions.

The methodology was mainly descriptive and analytical. The data were transcripts of SIDIs from three public universities in Nigeria: The University of Ilorin, the Federal University of Technology, Akure, and, Adekunle Ajasin University, Akungba-Akoko. Five SIDIs, each containing about 30 question-answer adjacency pairs (QAPs), were selected per university (a total of 15 cases, 450 question-answer adjacency pairs). Mood analysis, an aspect of the Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) was carried out for the questions and answers. The variation of the modal elements in each QAP led to the emergence of different clausal configurations and functions. Answers to the questions were further analysed into short and long types.

The findings of the study were that:

i. four question types were asked by interrogators in the discourses. These were *yes/no* interrogatives, declarative questions, *Wh*-interrogatives and moodless constructions. Interrogatees' answers were predominantly declarative, an indication that interrogators' role was information elicitation through questioning while interrogatees' role was information provision through narratives;
ii. different questions served different purposes in the discourses: *yes/no* interrogatives and declarative functions served propositional confirmation-refutation functions; some *yes/no* interrogatives served the purpose of subtle commands; *Wh*-interrogatives served information gap-filling purposes; while moodless constructions served discourse continuity purposes;
iii. interrogators' highest preference was for *yes/no* interrogatives across cases, followed by declarative questions. These were propositional confirmation-refutation questions, and were structurally restrictive;
iv. structurally restrictive questions took more long answers than short answers, an indication that though the questions were restrictive in form, they were non-restrictive in function; and

v. interrogatees were not found to be disadvantaged by interrogators' questions because the restrictive force of most questions had no observable effect on interrogatees' answers in most cases.

The study concluded that the QAP is evidently the main language resource for eliciting evidence in SIDIs and that although interrogators' questions in SIDIs were predominantly and structurally restrictive, they were functionally non-restrictive. The study thus recommended the QAP as a reliable device for information elicitation in SIDIs.

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Every society has some laws and restrictions that regulate the conduct of its members and corporate entities. These laws are codified in written language. Thus, through language, as Schane (2006) notes, national constitutions come into existence; laws and statutes are enacted; and contractual agreements are articulated. Within the society too, there are organisations which have regulations for their activities, and all members of the organisations must conform to such regulations. The national laws vary from country to country, and corporate regulations vary from organisation to organisation. The common feature, however, is that all laws and regulations are made in one language or the other. Though humans are guided by certain laws and regulations, they still have the tendencies to, and sometimes do, violate these laws and regulations because humans are irrepressible (*The Concise Encyclopedia of Sociology*, 2010).

The global practice is that where violations of laws and regulations are established, the police authorities investigate the allegations and prosecute such violations in a court of law in processes involving the use of language. The courts administer justice through the application and interpretation of laws, also through language. Language is, therefore, very crucial to all these legal processes (Gibbons, 2003), from legislation (by Parliament) to investigation and prosecution (by the police), and ultimately to legal interpretation and adjudication (by courts of law). Law can therefore be agreed to be, as aptly described by Mellinkoff (1963), a profession of words.

Universities and other tertiary educational institutions in the world are a major type of organisations, each of which has been accorded some level of territorial independence and autonomy. As such, each enacts restrictions and regulations that govern the conduct of its

employees and students, all with a view to ensuring peace, orderliness and corporate success. These regulations, like national laws, are codified in written language. When a violation of any part thereof is established against any of the major stakeholders (staff and students), it becomes an allegation and a 'crime', which must be investigated to establish culpability or otherwise of the person. Criminal investigations are therefore official procedures in higher educational institutions, and this is done through the use of language. The aim of criminal investigations generally is to establish evidence-based guilt or innocence against an accused person (Leo, 2008).

A prominent feature in criminal investigations is interrogation of the suspect by the police (for violation of national constitutional laws) and by an established organ or constituted bodies such as investigation or disciplinary panel (for the violation of organisations' rules and regulations such as for universities). Interrogation is investigative interview, defined as a guilt-presumptive process, a theory-driven social interaction led by an authority figure who holds a strong *a priori* belief about the target, and who measures by his or her ability to extract a confession (Kassin, 2005).

Criminal investigations are basically about fact and evidence finding and they often involve interrogations. Interrogations take place mainly in the form of questions asked by the investigator(s) and the answers provided by the accused person(s). As Luchjenbroers (1997, p. 481), citing Adelsward, Aronson, Johnson and Linell (1987, p. 261) notes, "… guilt is determined and verdicts given largely on the basis of the outcome of question-answer adjacency pairs". While the police tender the evidence obtained in the course of investigative interviews as exhibit against the accused persons in court, investigation panels (in universities) form opinions based on the outcome and evidence obtained in the course of the interrogation. They proceed to make disciplinary recommendations for the approval of the University authorities. Criminal interrogations in any society or organisation (including the processes, manner, professionalism

and objectivity involved) are therefore very crucial to the whole legal or disciplinary process to avoid miscarriage of justice. This is why increasing attention is being attracted to criminal investigations and the inherent interrogations by scholars.

For political scientists and sociologists, criminal interrogations offer a paradigm of the constitutional exercise and control of the state power in a democratic society. For psychologists, they present a window to understand how social influence affects perception formation. For legal scholars, criminologists and linguists, criminal investigations raise philosophical issues about the role and rule of law, role of agencies, role and implications of language, issues of coercion and related matters, Leo (2008). For linguists in particular, a great scholarly potential is inherent in criminal investigations and the inherent interrogations, as varying uses of language by parties in investigative interrogations have varying implications for the processes and outcomes.

Arising from the intersection between language and law are three main strands of research focus (Schane, 2006): one, being primarily concerned with language, and using data provided by the law for analysis and hypotheses validation; two, being primarily concerned with the law, seeing language as a vehicle for the understanding of the legal process and its workings; and three, having sociological, psychological and anthropological motivations in the legal system, but using language as a means of investigating societal interactions, psychological processes and cultural features and peculiarities. In concurrence with this categorisation, Conley and O'Barr (2005) aver that there is a first group of researchers who focus explicitly and self-consciously on language as the medium of instruction through which law does most of its work (citing Danet, 1980); a second group with focus on language itself, with legal and quasi-legal settings as veritable linguistic resource (e.g. Jefferson, 1980); and a third group with focus on the language of the legal process in order to explain the workings of the legal system (Silby & Merry, 1986).

Two major activities in the legal process are the investigation of criminal allegations by the police and the consequent prosecution of the suspect in courts. The essence of police investigation is evidence elicitation and fact-finding to enable effective prosecution. Criminal investigations and prosecution, in the words of Coulthard and Johnson (2007), "centre around socially deviant behavior and the work of the prosecution is to prove that the accused behaved according to individually defined rules and norms which are outside the normal social script" (p.98). As each country has a body of laws which the police is (usually) constitutionally mandated and empowered to enforce, agencies and organisations within each country also have rules and regulations which guide the conduct and operations within them in most cases, though enforced and administered through internal machineries. Universities, on which the current research focuses, are a group of such organisations, in most cases having rules and regulations governing the conduct of staff and students. Among numerous others, one similarity between the administration of justice within an organisation and in any nation is the fact that on allegation of the violation of any law, rule or regulation, there are explicitly laid down procedures for investigation and determination of culpability or innocence on the part of the accused.

One interesting discovery established by some existing studies on criminal investigations (involving the police and the suspects) and prosecutions (involving lawyers and the accused persons) is that the accused persons can sometimes be at some disadvantage in the question-answer interrogative process. Eades (2016), drawing from earlier studies (Eades, 2000, 2002, 2003a, 2003b), notes that persons with some form of social difficulty (with language deficiency in an intercultural communication setting as an example) may be disadvantaged in the legal process. Using the Australian Aboriginal witnesses in court trials as case studies, she identifies some features of the Aboriginal English that are relevant to communication in the legal process. Such features, according to her, include structural (such as grammatical patterns, word choice and meaning), and pragmatic, that is, features of language use (including patterns of discourse

and conversation). She notes (Eades, 2016, p. 476) for example, that whereas silence is commonly used in an interview to mean that the speaker has nothing to say, or could be trying to invent an answer, in the Australian Aboriginal communication in English, silence "is used as a positive and productive part of communication". She also identifies what she called "gratuitous concurrence" by which Aboriginal speakers of English say yes to a question "regardless of whether the speaker agrees with the proposition being questioned, or even understands it" (Eades, 2016, p. 476).

Triano-Lopez (2015) also concurs that some people are often at some disadvantage in the pre-trial arrest and police questioning because of some language associated difficulty. Citing the 2011 report of the United States Census Bureau and Ryan (2013), he notes that an estimated total of 13.5 million "self-evaluate their English oral proficiency as 'not well' or 'not at all'", and referred to these people as Limited-English-Proficiency (LEP) speakers. Though constitutional provisions have been made for the use of interpreters in the legal process, this does not totally eradicate the disadvantaged position of the people involved. As Triano-Lopez (2015) posits while examining the roles of interpreters in the process, "… it follows that the overall encounter with LEP suspect would be riddled with even more mistakes, some of them substantial enough to merit the suppression of the incriminating statements" (p. 259).

An accused person in the process of police investigative interrogation and court trial can also be at some disadvantage as a result of the types of questions asked them by the investigators or the counsel. As it has been established, there are different types of questions used in the investigative and trial processes, and each type has a specific type of function it performs. Thus, there are questions that can be asked if the investigator wants a restricted answer (usually *yes* or *no*) as in the following:

i. *Have you stopped beating your wife?*

ii. *You mean you didn't see the dead man in front of your house?*

In example *i.* above, if the respondent's answer is *yes*, then it means he used to beat his wife but has stopped doing so. If the respondent's answer is *no*, then it means he has been beating his wife and is not ready to stop doing so. However, a *yes* or *no* (as answer) may not be the true position, especially if the respondent has not been beating his wife at all. In example *ii.* a *yes* answer may mean that the respondent was at home but he did not see the dead man in front of his house, while a *no* answer may mean that the respondent was at home but he did not see the dead man in front of his house. What if the respondent was not even at home at all let alone seeing or not seeing the dead man anywhere? In these two scenarios, the respondent has been put at some disadvantage by the type of coercive questions asked them.

The legal language has its peculiarities and distinctiveness, which mark it as being different from other language uses. In criminal investigations and court trials, Tiersma (1999, p. 4) observes:

> lawyers tend to elicit testimony through a very controlling and coercive questioning format. Typically, lawyers use questions that a witness can only answer with yes or no, or which allows at most a short response. In fact, during cross-examination, lawyers can use a type of question that does not really request information at all…

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Every organisation has some rules and regulations that guide the conduct of its members to consistently ensure peace, order and achievement of the set goals. One common global practice is that when there is a breach or violation of any of these regulations, such alleged breaches and violations are investigated by the organisation through an internal mechanism and machinery. This investigative and fact-finding process is conducted through language, and it involves two parties: the investigative panel (i.e. the interrogators, representing the organisation) and the accused persons (i.e. the interrogatees). Higher Educational Institutions (HEIs) are

organisations with similar investigative strategy and mechanism. Where there are allegations of breach of institutional rules and regulations by any student or group of students, most HEIs have Student Investigative and Disciplinary Interrogations (SIDIs) as an investigative, fact-finding and evidence elicitation process. In spite of the enormous importance and the ever-increasing frequencies of investigative interrogations, Leo (2008, p. 4) avers, "… we know very little about it".

Though a deluge of research abounds in the broad area of language in the legal processes, the foci of research in this area have, mainly, been on the language of police-suspect interrogation and language of courtroom proceedings. Some of these studies have confirmed the indexicality of power in both police-suspect interrogations and courtroom examinations (cross-examinations and examinations-in-chief). Studies have also confirmed that suspects can be at one disadvantage or the other in terms of language issues and use in the duo of the discourses of police-suspect interrogations and counsel-accused questioning (Eades, 2000, 2002, 2003a, 2003b). In a similar development, there are studies that have investigated and confirmed that the types of questions asked suspects by counsel or police in the course of cross-examination and interrogation respectively have implications on the overall decisions in the cases.

It is, however, interesting to note that a great quantity of these studies were undertaken in developed countries, and are yet to be replicated in most developing countries particularly in Nigeria, where access to data might be somehow difficult. Again, the concentration of these studies has been largely on police-suspect interrogations and courtroom proceedings, with very little scholarly effort on students' investigative and disciplinary interrogations in higher educational institutions. There were one hundred and fifty three universities in Nigeria as of August 2017 (www.nuc.edu.ng) and over 300 allied HEIs including polytechnics, monotechnics and specialised colleges (education, agriculture, health etc.). Each of these institutions has

student investigative and/or disciplinary panels, saddled with the responsibility of investigating criminal allegations involving students through SIDIs.

SIDIs have, thus, become frequently routinised institutional activities with language as the main tool. Huge potentials for linguistic scholarship are inherent in the language of SIDIs. SIDIs are gaining increased importance and prominence across the globe. Linguists must, therefore, be interested in the language of SIDIs, and should be able to study the language with a view to describing the inherent structures and peculiarities, as well as the implication of such structures and peculiarities on the outcome of such processes. The thematic focus of this study was, consequently, on language use and language structure; how grammatical systems, grammatical structures and lexico-grammatical resources were used to achieve different communicative purposes in the selected SIDIs. The focus also extended to how the various question-answer sequences in SIDIs influence the final outcomes of panels, that is, on what premises and parameters panelists' decisions on cases were based.

1.3 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The aim of this study is to conduct a structural analysis of the discourse of SIDIs with a view to identifying the inherent syntactic patterns and determining how grammatical systems and structures were used to achieve different communicative purposes. The specific objectives of the study were to:

i. identify the various types of questions asked by interrogators in the interrogations;
ii. determine interrogators' preferences for the identified question types in the interrogations;
iii. determine whether the identified question types have inhibitive effect on interrogatees' choices and lengths of answers;

iv. determine the specific purposes that the identified question types served in the interrogations;

v. determine the relationship between the interrogation proceedings and the final decisions of the panels in each case; and

vi. determine whether (or not) interrogatees were at any disadvantage occasioned by interrogators' questions.

1.4 Research Questions

The study sought to answer the following questions:

i. What are the various types of questions asked the accused students by panelists in the students' investigative and disciplinary interrogations of the universities used as case studies?

ii. Do panelists have preference of use for any of the identified question types (in terms of frequencies of use) in the discourse?

iii. Do the identified types of questions have any inhibitive effect on respondents in terms of the choices and lengths of answers provided?

iv. What specific purposes do panelists want to achieve by using the identified types of questions in the investigative and disciplinary process?

v. What is the relationship between the interrogation proceedings and the final decisions of panels in each case?

vi. Are the accused students at any language disadvantage in the interrogative process occasioned by the kind of questions asked by panelists?

1.5 Scope of the Study

According to Baxter (2010), "the study of real samples of speech and writing as evidence of the way in which people in the world use language in a range of social contexts is manifestly the business of linguistics" (p. 117). The averment of Baxter here brings to the fore some vital

elements for any meaningful research in linguistics. These are: the real samples of humans' language use (as data); the medium and context of use; and a linguistic framework for the analysis of the data. The current study is an applied linguistics research with focus on some real samples of human speech, in this case, interrogations involving institutional participants (panelists as interrogators, the accused students as interrogatees) in the context of criminal investigations in selected Nigerian universities.

Although there were over a hundred universities in Nigeria at the time of the investigation, three of the public universities (two established by the Federal Government; one established by a State Government) were selected for the study. The objects of analysis were essentially the cluster of questions and answers that constitute the interrogation in each case. These were extracted from the audio-recordings (and subsequently transcribed) of the selected SIDIs for the study. The analytical approach adopted was the Mood system analysis, an aspect of the Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG). The next sub-sections of the report provide comprehensive information on the methodology adopted for the research, including the research data, the data collection system, the theoretical framework adopted for data analysis, ethical considerations and other related issues.

1.6 Significance of the Study

Student Investigative and Disciplinary Interrogations on which this study was based are naturally occurring institutional interactions. The findings of this study will enable HEI stakeholders (Management, staff, students, students' parents and guardians) to have some understanding of the interrogative process from the perspective of language use. SIDIs are usually conducted as "a closed-door" activity, where the accused students (one after the other)

would be facing the investigative and disciplinary panels to answer various questions. The interrogators are usually viewed as being "powerful" because they represent the institutions and have some powers (e.g. to invite, direct, and interrogate the accused students).

They are also assumed to have higher proficiency in English because they are more educated. The accused students are therefore seen as powerless and helpless in the process, since they must always obey the dictates of the interrogators. This usually leads to some curiosity, doubt and suspicion of bias and subjectivity in the processes that often lead to disciplinary actions against students. This also leads to varying opinions on the principle of fair-hearing in SIDIs, which requires the provision of the opportunity and freedom for the accused persons to freely present evidence to support their cases. With a study like this, stakeholders will be having a better understanding of the interrogation process, and how language is being used in subjective or objective ways to achieve communicative purposes. The findings of the study will also provide useful insight into how panelists' decisions arrive at their disciplinary decisions on each student, just as such findings will most likely be of help to all staff of universities who may at one time or the other be appointed to serve on student investigative and disciplinary panels.

The data for the study can also be used by other scholars for the replication of the study using another analytical method, or for different studies and different analytical methods but using same data. The findings of the study can also be used as a guide for members of HEIs' investigative and disciplinary panels and students at large.

1.7 Universities Selected as Case Studies

The three universities selected for the study were the University of Ilorin (Unilorin), the Federal University of Technology, Akure (FUTA) and Adekunle Ajasin University, Akungba-Akoko (AAUA). Each of the universities is a public university: Unilorin and FUTA were

established and funded by the Federal Government, while AAUA was established and funded by the Ondo State Government. Each of the universities had over 25,000 students, and each had student investigative and disciplinary panels to look into allegations of students' involvement in criminal activities and allied breaches of institutional regulations. Each of the universities is further described below.

1.7.1 The Federal University of Technology, Akure (www.futa.edu.ng)

The Federal University of Technology, Akure (FUTA) was established by the Federal Government of Nigeria in 1981 to promote science and technology education. It was located in Ondo State, and commenced academic activities in November 1982 with 149 students spread over three (3) Schools: School of Agriculture and Agricultural Technology, School of Earth and Minerals Sciences and School of Pure and Applied Sciences. The University currently had seven (7) Schools, and had grown tremendously in student population to over 20,000 (spread across sub-degree, undergraduate and postgraduate levels). In addition to the various Schools (which housed all the over 30 academic programmes of the University), FUTA had specialised research and allied centres for ease of academic and research administration. These were the Centre for Enterprenuership (CENT) with the mandate of sub-degree technical trainings in various arts, crafts and trades; the Centre for Gender Issues in Science and Technology (CEGIST) with focus on gender balancing initiatives and efforts in relation to science and technology; the Centre for Space Research and Applications (CESRA) with focus on research and trainings in space physics, space technology, and research applications in such regards; the Centre for Research and Development (CERAD) with focus on the coordination of all research and community service efforts in the University, the Computer Resource Centre (CRC) being the University's bee-hive of Information and Communications Technology and services, and the Centre for Renewable Energy Technology (CRET), saddled with the responsibility of spearheading research breakthroughs and innovations in renewable energy.

1.7.2 The University of Ilorin (www.unilorin.edu.ng)

The University of Ilorin (Unilorin) was established through a decree by the Nigerian Military Government in 1975. It was located in the ancient city of Ilorin, the administrative capital of Kwara State. The establishment of the University, along with six (6) others same time, was aimed at providing more opportunities for Nigerians aspiring to acquire university education and to generate high-level man-power for Nigeria. The University started as an affiliate of the University of Ibadan, and it had grown tremendously from full autonomous status in 1977 with three (3) foundation Colleges (Arts, Education and Science) to a full-fledged university of international repute. The University had over thirty thousand (30,000) students, spread over ten (10) Faculties (Arts, Education, Law, Engineering and Technology, Communication and Information Sciences, Agriculture, Business and Social Sciences, Clinical Sciences, Basic Medical Sciences, and Sciences).

1.7.3 Adekunle Ajasin University, Akungba-Akoko (www.aaua.edu.ng)

Adekunle Ajasin University, Akungba-Akoko (AAUA), owned by the Government of Ondo State started in 1982 as Obafemi Awolowo University, Ado-Ekiti. Its name was changed to Ondo State University, Ado-Ekiti in 1985 by the military regime headed by Navy Commodore Bamidele Otiko. Following the creation of Ekiti State out of the old Ondo State in 1996, the Ondo State Government, headed by Late Chief Adebayo Adefarati, relocated the University from Ado-Ekiti to its current site, Akungba-Akoko, Ondo State in 1999. The University had over twenty (20) undergraduate and postgraduate academic programmes spread over the Faculties of Arts, Education, Law, Science, Social and Management Sciences, and Agricultural Science. It also had some academic centres and institutes, and had a student population of over twenty thousand (20,000).

1.8 Summary

In this Chapter, some general introduction about the current study has been provided. This covers the background to the study, the statement of the research problems, the aim and objectives of the study, the research questions, the significance of the study, the scope of the study and brief description of the three universities selected for the study. This general introduction will be followed in the next chapter by a review of relevant literatures with a view to properly situating and contextualising the study. The literatures reviewed, which will be presented in the next chapter, covered some reviews on discourse, institutional inetractions, various studies already documented on them, as well as the various analytical approaches that have been increasing adopted for the analysis of discourse and institutional interactions including criminal interrogations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter contains a review of existing studies and related literature with a view to properly contextualising the study. The review focuses chronologically and essentially on discourse and the need for the study of discourse; institutional interactions and discourse;

interrogations as discourse; and, the identifiable linguistic approaches to the analysis of discourse and institutional interactions. Related literatures were also reviewed on the Systemic Functional Grammar as a theory for linguistic analysis, as well as some other cross-disciplinary literatures on questions, questioning strategies and the functional relationship between questions and the various answers elicited by them in naturally occurring discourse. This is because the focus of the study is on interrogations in students' disciplinary process of the selected universities (which is a discourse), and the framework adopted for analysis is the Mood System, which is an aspect of the Systemic Functional Grammar.

2.2 Discourse and the Need for the Study of Discourse

The term "discourse" has a broad range of definitions in the social sciences and the study of language. While Foucault (1980) describes discourse as referring to socially and historically situated domains of knowledge or ways of constructing the world, Fairclough (1992) defines it as different ways of structuring areas of knowledge and social practice. The definition of Fairclough above is corroborated by some scholars in education research (Ball, 1990; Usher & Edwards, 1998) and analysts of political influence and social power (Pennycook, 1998; Rasool, 2000). In the field of linguistics, the term has also been variously defined, depending on scholars' linguistic perspectives or theories of affiliation. For example, the formalists and structuralists describe discourse as "language above the sentence or above the clause" (Stubbs, 1983, p.1); and, thus, make the focus of structural analyses the way in which different units of language function in relation to one another (Schiffrin, 2007). The functionalists, on the other hand, contrastively opine that the study of discourse is the study of any aspect of language use, (Fasold, 1990; Brown & Yule, 1983). Brown and Yule (1983) argue specifically that:

> … the analysis of discourse, is necessarily, the analysis of language in use. As such, it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of

> the purposes or functions which these forms are designed to serve in human affairs (Brown & Yule, 1983, p.1).

In a related view, Schiffrin (2007) describes discourse as "utterances", with the expatiation that discourse is larger than other units of language (such as sentences, clauses, groups, words and morphemes). In her view, Schiffrin sees discourse not as decontextualised units of language structure, but as a collection of inherently contextualised units of language use. Schiffrin, Tannen and Hamilton, (2001) summarise the linguist's description of discourse above as essentially anything beyond the sentence, language use and a broader range of social practice that includes non-linguistic and non-specific instances of language. The Systemic Functional Linguists, however, refer to written and spoken language as "text" rather than "discourse" (Halliday & Hasan, 1976). By "text", Halliday and Hasan (1976, p. 1) mean "any passage, spoken or written, of whatever length, that does form a unified whole", or any unified piece of language that has the properties of texture (Eggins, 2004).

The term "texture" has also been technically defined in SFG (Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 2) to mean "the property that distinguishes text from non-text", and for Eggins (2004, p. 24), it refers to "what holds the clauses of a text together to give them unity". Thus, while texts broadly refer to spoken and written language in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), discourse is used to mean the level of meaning above the lexico-grammar (Martin, 1992; Martin & Rose, 2003; Eggins, 2004). Discourse studies with linguistic motifs and from linguistic perspectives date back to the last four decades, with focus both on the spoken and written texts (Cumming, Ono & Laury, 2011). Cumming, Ono and Laury (2011) state that discourse linguists have tended to focus on three general kinds of explanations which include cognitive explanations, social or interactional explanations and diachronic explanations. They explain (Cumming, Ono & Laury, 2011, p. 9) that cognitive explanations "appeal to the cognitive resources and processes used by interactants in producing and understanding language", social

or interactional explanations "appeal to the dynamics of the interactional situations in which language (especially spoken language) is used, and to the social and/or cultural norms, resources, and goals of interactants". They further aver that diachronic explanations focus "on the relationship between discourse-functional pressures on grammars and grammatical change" (Cumming, Ono & Laury, 2011, p. 9).

Some clear generalisations and interpretations can, thus, be made from these different descriptions of discourse. First, discourse is about language and language use, and it is about human communication. Second, discourse is a body of text(s), which comprises contextually related units of language. Seen this way, a discourse can be divided into component units of textual structures (chapters, paragraphs, sentences, etc. in written texts), and other units of grammatical rank-scale (sentences, clauses, phrases, words, morphemes). Third, because discourse is contextualised use of language, each discourse is expected to be about a subject or related subjects. In this case, the component units of language in a discourse are bound to have internal links and relations which distinguish such from other discourses. Fourth, there are generic linguistic and extra-linguistic features that link different discourses together. This external relationship among discourses is what scholars refer to as interdiscursivity, (Bahktin 1986; Bruce, 1995) or orders of discourse (Fairclough, 2003).

In terms of the modes of discourse, both written and spoken forms of discourse have been generally identified. The written discourse involves the conveyance of thoughts through visuals and orthographs, usually organised on papers or screens in modern times, and on stones or other hard surfaces as of old times. The spoken forms of discourse, however, involve the use of sounds either directly from the speaker or through some gadgets like telephones, radios, television or other electronic medium. For each of these two modes of discourse, there are peculiar linguistic and discoursal features, and each mode has been identified to have some advantage or the other (Jefferies, 2008). Discourse can also be formal (such as institutional: including parliamentary debates, interviews, press conferences, etc.; professional: including

doctor-patient interaction, teacher-pupil classroom interaction, etc.) or informal (such as family talks, informal market negotiations and exchanges and so on).

The study of discourse is not only multidisciplinary (spanning across linguistics, psychology, sociology, law and anthropology) but is also intradisciplinarily multidimensional (as, for example, in linguistics, there are various approaches to the analysis of discourse depending on the motivation and objectives of the analysis). As noted by van Dijk (2009), the variety of topics studied in discourse is therefore as great as the variety of functions of text and talk in everyday informal, organisational and institutional life and interaction. This complexity of the functions of discourse accounts for its broad peculiarities and unique features. These peculiarities and features have continued to elicit scholarly enquiries with varying but matching analytical and investigative frameworks. Van Dijk (2009) explains that discourse (text and talk) has some properties, and these distinguish it from other genres or language use.

Van Dijk (2009, 2011) proceeds to describe discourse as "social interaction", by which he means humans engage in talk and texts to accomplish various kinds of social acts which cumulatively form the basis of social order. He describes discourse as "power and domination", by which he means discourse is a social platform through which power and abuse of power, particularly in respect of domination (in terms of social class, gender, ethnicity, etc.), are often represented or enacted. He also describes discourse as communication, with the expatiation that humans come to know about one another's intentions, opinions, goals and emotions through discourse; and as "contextually situated", meaning that discourse does not occur in a vacuum but is created, conditioned and dictated by social contexts. In conclusion, van Dijk summarises his description of discourse by referring to it as "social semiosis", "natural language use" and "complex, layered construct" (van Dijk, 2011, pp. 3-5).

2.3 Institutional Interactions and Discourse

The written and spoken modes of language use have been known to be the main modes of communication and discourse. With the emergence and rise of organisations over the last ten centuries, however, formal communications (using written and spoken modes) have been identified as different from casual communications. Organisations are the domains of formal communications, while casual communications have been known to occur predominantly in homes and other informal settings. According to Drew and Sorjonen (2011), the institutionality of discourse is not determined by its occurrence in a particular setting, since colleagues at the same workplace can interact on personal and domestic issues which are outside their official duties. Institutional interactions are a form of organisation discourse. Arminen (2015) describes institutional interactions as interactions which are "somehow distinct from everyday life", happening in such institutions as "medicine, law, bureaucracies, educational, therapeutic, and military institutions" (Arminen, 2015, pp. 19-20). Arminen posits further:

> In terms of their differences from mundane interaction, institutional interaction can be characterised as formal or informal. Formal institutional interactions are constitutively different from everyday talk so that the institutional event is created via the parties' orientations to pattern their interaction in a manner specific to the event, and to that event only (Arminen, 2015, p. 20).

Institutional interactions have been studied from different disciplines and with different motives. Coulthard and Johnson (2007) opine that institutional interaction is typically asymmetrical, since power and control are located in the institutional participant, rather than being equally distributed. Coulthard and Johnson (2007), citing Drew and Heritage (1992), note that institutional interaction is characterised by an orientation to core goals, constraints on allowable contributions and specific inferential frameworks in the context. For Arminen (2015), institutional interaction is a particular type of social interaction in which "the participants (A and B) orient to an institutional context (C) such as medical, juridicial or educational in and for

accomplishing their institutional actions" (p. 32). Though institutional interactions share some generic similarities and characteristics (such as power asymmetry and organised turn-taking) which make them a genre, there are variations and peculiarities that make one type of institutional interaction different from the other. An example is counsel-accused courtroom interaction, where the counsel professionally and strategically uses what Tiersma (1999, p. 4) refers to as "controlling and coercive questions" to restrict respondents' answers to questions as different from doctor-patient interaction, where the doctor professionally elicits free information from patients.

Various types of institutional interaction have been researched by scholars. These include courtroom discourse (with Atkinson & Drew, 1979; Phillips, 1987; Lakoff, 1989; Bogoch, 1999; Zhenhua, 2004; Wagner & Cheng, 2011 as examples); police-suspect interrogations (with Moston, Stephenson & Williamson, 1992; Mann, 2001; Griffiths & Milne, 2006; Kassin et al, 2007; Haworth, 2006; Stokoe & Edwards, 2008; Carter, 2011 as examples). Doctor-patient interactions as an institutional discourse type have also been researched with immense observations reported (Coulthard & Ashby, 1975, 1976; Stewart, 1984; Rowland-Morin & Carroll, 1990; Ogunbode, 1991; Alabi, 1996; Oloruntoba-Oju, 1996; Adegbite & Odebunmi, 2006). Studies have also reported structural and interactional peculiarities of classroom (teacher-pupil) discourse (Sinclair, Coulthard, Forsyth & Ashby, 1972; Candela, 1998; Kumaravadivelu, 1999; Christie, 2005; Coulthard, 2013; Ononye, 2015).

One of the issues that characterise institutional discourse (according to Drew & Sorjonen, 2011) is the local management of participants' orientations to institutionally assigned roles in the interaction. For example, in police-suspect interrogation, while police officers are conscious of their roles as that of information gathering and evidence elicitation through questioning, the accused persons are conscious of their roles as that of information provision. The second peculiar feature of institutional interactions is the management of turn-taking, and

how turn-taking in the interactions can index asymmetries of opportunities and participant roles. The institutional representatives assign turns to the non-institutional participants, and they have control over the utilisation of such turns. The peculiarities of the grammatical resources available for the realisation of participant roles are also of immense importance in institutional interactions. While the professionals have lexico-syntactic forms such as interrogative and modal structures for the generation of different types of questions for different communicative purposes, the non-professionals (the accused persons in courts and police-suspect interrogations, the patient in doctor-patient interactions) rely on declarative structures and the use of lexical items that indicate respect, hesitation, obligations and, in some cases, fear.

2.4 Interrogations as Discourse

Investigative interrogations are formalised forms of discourse. They are naturally occurring and usually involve a minimum of two parties, usually the interrogator (standing for the institution) and the interrogatee (the accused). An interrogation is a form of institutional interaction (Drew & Sorjonen, 2011), and it is organisational discourse (Mumby & Mease, 2009) with established participant orientation in terms of communicative roles.

For example, while interogators determine when and where to convene, what to know, initiate and ask questions, the role of the interrogatees is not to initiate but to comply with all directives of interrogators, and most importantly, to answer all questions asked them by the interrogators. These are institutionally assigned roles to which all participants must orient in the discourse. Coulthard and Johnson (2007) observe that in institutional interactions, "power and control are located in the institutional participant, rather than being equally distributed. This results in the institutional speaker directing and controlling the discourse" (p. 15). More importantly, interrogations have specific thematic contents (which are investigation and fact-finding), thematic structures (that is, opening, information elicitation, information provision, and opinion formation), and discoursal features identified as features of genres (Frow, 2006).

Interrogations can therefore be argued to be a genre with unique features and peculiarities, and with great potentials for linguistic scholarship.

2.4.1 Conceptual Clarifications: Interactions, Interrogations and Interviews

The words "interaction", "interrogation" and "interviews" all represent humans' activities that are language-based. Although the trio have some identifiable similarities (such as being language-based; being human activities; involving more than one person etc.), there are distinct features and peculiarities that distinguish one from the others. The word "interaction" is defined by Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary (2010) as communication between two (or more) persons or things. Human communication essentially involves the use of language. When two human beings interact, therefore, this is suggestive of the use of language to pass messages across to each other. In more technical sense, Halliday and Matthiessen (2014, p. 135) aver that an act of speaking is something that might "be more appropriately called an interact: it is an exchange, in which giving implies receiving and demanding implies giving in response". All communications through language and involving two or more human beings can, thus, be regarded first as interactions. Through such interactions, messages are passed to one another; information is requested (and provided) from one another; directives are made from one to another, etc. Then, the various purposes, participants and contexts of each interaction give rise to different types of interactions (e.g. interviews, interrogations, bargaining etc.).

Interrogations are a type of human interaction. It is defined by Janniro (1991, p. 28) as "asking formal questions to obtain the truth through planned or unplanned approaches and techniques". Hoffman (2005) defines interrogation as the process by which suspects are questioned in with respect to their involvement in the activity that gave rise to an investigation. The definitions of Janniro (1991) and Hoffman (2005) above suggest that interrogations are formalised institutional discourse that involves questioning (one party, usually the interrogator, asks questions; the other party, usually the interrogatee, answers the interrogator's questions).

The aim of interrogations is to establish the truth about an allegation of criminal activity with a view to prosecution in police-suspect cases or disciplinary actions in other institutional contexts. Interrogations have also been described as investigative interviewing (Williamson, 1994; Clarke & Milne, 2001).

Interviews are social interactions defined as formal meetings between two people for the purpose of information exchange (Janniro, 1991). It is also defined as a non-accusatory conversation intended to elicit information (Hoffman, 2005). Interviews are institutional and organisational activities that involve two parties: the interviewer and the interviewee, and the purpose is information elicitation, rather than fact or evidence finding. Interviews are, thus, conducted for job applicants to have information on their competence, employability and suitability for jobs. Interviews are conducted by journalists and reporters for public office holders and public figures to have some information about specific issues and activities. In the context of criminal investigations, a clear distinction has been made between interrogations and interviews. Gudjonsson (2003) posits that an interview, a non-accusatory conversation can be held with a suspect to establish rapport and trust, "trick the suspect into a false sense of security through malingered sincerity" and the information obtained in this process can be used during the subsequent interrogation, which is accusatory. Charldorp (2011) refers to the former, the non-accusatory phase, as "social interrogation" (p. 101), and the accusatory phase as "case-related interrogation" (p. 105).

The concept of interrogation on which this study is based is an accusatory institutional conversation involving the interrogators (who are institutional agents) and interrogatees (who were the accused students) in the student disciplinary and investigative process of Nigerian universities. This institutional activity presupposes that there is an allegation of some crime in the first instance, and the institution involved has constituted a standing or *ad hoc* panel to investigate such criminal allegations with a view to taking appropriate disciplinary actions. One

vital strategy for such investigations is fact-finding and evidence elicitation through interrogations.

2.4.2 Previous Studies on Interrogations

There are a number of studies that have addressed the issue of interrogations as a critical criminal investigations procedure in organisations. While some of these studies have described the language, strategies and workings of interrogations, other have prescribed ways in which interrogations should be conducted to ensure fair hearing and objectivity. Gudjonsson (2003) is a comprehensive forensic psychology literature that explores interrogations in some details, with focus on police-suspect interrogations in Britain. This has been one of the foremost and frequently cited literature on interrogations and criminal confessions. Gudjonsson (2003) has made a number of significant contributions to knowledge on interrogations and confessions. One of these is the development of what is called Gudjonsson's Suggestibility Scales (GSSs), which is a proven test for the detection of false confessions in interrogative processes. Another major contribution is Gudjonsson's identification of the linguistic, psychological and structural peculiarities of interrogations, all of which can be said to distinguish interrogations not only as a specialised institutional activity but also as a genre of its own. He also examines such other critical aspects of interrogations as the vulnerable people, issues of the miscarriage of justice that often result from improper interrogations and false confessions, police impropriety and disputed confessions, among others.

Berk-Seligson (2009) specifically looks into the cases of coerced confessions in police interrogations involving bilinguals. Berk-Seligson posits that people confess to the crimes they have not committed because of police coercion in the course of police-suspect interrogations. Such precipitated false coercions often lead to the miscarriage of justice, a situation where an innocent person is punished for an offence he has not committed. To buttress this point, he analysed "linguistic coercion in interrogations among U.S. Latinos, with a special focus on the

role that incipient bilingualism plays in this particular sociolinguistic context" (Berk-Seligson, 2009, p. 1). Berk-Seligson identifies the characteristics of interrogation to include coerciveness and question type, interruptions in the narratives, monotonic intonation of questioning, ambiguously worded and "semantically overloaded" questions, use of formal language, the use of metacommentary, rephrasing the suspects' answers, and narrative co-construction. He reports that police coercion is essentially through language and in terms of the questioning strategies and police-suspect variation in language proficiency.

Hoffman (2005) is an explanatory account of the structures, techniques and strategies involved in interrogations (referred to as investigative interviewing in the paper). Hoffman approached the concept and practice of interrogations from the perspective of security and profession officers, as against the forensic psychological approach of Gudjonsson (2003) and the linguistic approach of Berk-Seligson (2009). Hoffman distinguishes between interviews, which are non-accusatory conversations with open-ended questions aimed at information elicitation, and interrogations, which are accusatory conversations with more direct and less open-ended questions aimed at confession making. Hoffman further enumerates what professional interviewers should do before and during interviews and what interrogators should also do before and during interrogations. This literature appears to be more of a professional guide and manual of operation for officers working in the area of criminal investigations than a documented product of research on interrogation-based criminal investigations.

Khudair (2014) examined the language of interrogation in English and Arabic with a view to determining the similarities and differences in the areas of syntax, vocabulary, pragmatics and discourse analysis in the two languages. Khudair selected five police-suspect interrogations in English and another five in Arabic. With the adoption of an eclectic analytical approach involving grammatical analysis, discourse analysis and H. P. Grice's Cooperative Principle, he reported to have found that interrogations in English and Arabic have some

similarities which include the use of short sentences; but that the interrogation vocabularies differ between English and Arabic. The study further reports some variation in the ways police officers flout conversational maxims in English as different from Arabic, and that the questions of police officers are always directed at the truth in the interrogative process. This study has focused on the structural and discourse feature similarities and differences in interrogation in English and Arabic. As a result, the various questions in each of the interrogation could not be more closely examined in order to understand the role of questions, the syntactic patterning of questions and the effect of such patterns on the answers elicited from the interrogatees. The report has shown the failure of the study to take into account contextual differences in terms of variations in case and crime types, which may have some influence on the processes and outcomes of each interrogation case.

Haworth (2009) investigated police-suspect interrogations in the United Kingdom. She adopted a multidisciplinary multi-method analytical approach that included conversation analysis, sociolinguistics, pragmatics and critical discourse analysis to analyse some corpus of police-suspect interrogations in Britain. Haworth goes beyond the actual interview *per se*, and examined how the interview records and transcripts are used in all other stages of the legal process up to sentencing by the courts. She reports a cluster of linguistic factors that influence police-suspect interrogations and submits, among other salient findings, that "the interview is currently not a neutral opportunity for an interviewee to give their version of events and provide a full, legally valid evidence". In her conclusion, she notes, (Haworth, 2009, p. 338):

> Perhaps the most important area of practical consequence is the practice of comparing the account given by a suspect at interview with the version they give in court. The analysis of both the form and function of interview data has shown that apparent omissions and inconsistencies between these two versions as

presented in the courtroom may not be evidence of guilt, but merely a consequence of the various linguistic factors discussed in this study.

Charldorp (2011) is a doctoral research into police-suspect interrogations in the Neitherlands. Charldorp critically investigated how police criminal records were generated through interactions between the police and the accused persons, with a view to determining representational variations that could arise from the evidentiary narratives of suspects in the process of documentation by the police. The study was a component of a bigger study that was aimed at acquiring "insight into the interrelations between spoken interactions and written documents in the criminal law process" (Komter, 2006). The study was based on a collection of fifteen (15) criminal cases for each of which there were investigative interrogations by the police. The product of Charldorp's painstaking and systematic analysis of the transcripts led to his enumeration of significant findings which have both theoretical, practical and pedagogical implications. In all, Charldorp (2011) submits that a lot of changes occur in the narratives of suspects between when their stories are told through interrogations and the representation of such stories in the record of the police. These are major findings that corroborate part of Haworth (2009)'s findings that the documentation of suspects' evidentiary narratives by the police is not always a true representation of suspects' versions, and this could lead to some miscarriage of justice in the overall criminal investigation and prosecution processes.

In the context of developing countries, interrogations have also been studied with different motives and from different disciplinary perspectives. In Nigeria for instance, interrogations have been studied from the context of legislation (Oyeleye & Ayodele, 2012), police-suspect interrogations (Farinde, Olajuyigbe & Matthew, 2015; Sadiq, 2011), courtroom exchanges (Opeibi, 2012), and religious worships (Taiwo, 2005). Sadiq (2011) investigated interrogations involving the police and the suspects in Kano metropolis with a view to understanding the structure and organisation of police-suspect interrogation, and to be able to

identify the various discourse strategies employed by the police and the suspects in the communicative exchanges. Using an eclectic and multi-theory approach to analysis, it was found that the proto-typical patterns of discourse acts in police criminal investigations are question-answer sequences; that questioning forms are used to control the flow of discourse; and that the success of each communicative exchange in the process is partly a result of the asymmetry of participant roles and power in the discourse. Since the focus of Sadiq's study was on the structure and organisation of police-suspect interrogations, very little attention was paid to the component questions and answers in the discourse, particularly how one question differs from another and how a question influences the type of answers elicited as responses. The study reported also did not link the interrogation strategies and proceedings to the eventual outcome of each case, so as to know whether there were instances of miscarriage of justice occasioned by the questioning strategies and allied activities in the process.

Opeibi (2012) investigated the communicative exchanges between an accused person and his counsel in the process of examinations-in-chief, using selected civil cases in the Lagos High Court (Nigeria). The research context was an environment where English is used as second language. The researcher employed the use of discourse analysis and related theoretical constructs for the analysis of the research data. It was reported from the study that "legal proceedings contextualised within a given L_2 sociolinguistic and lingual-legal jurisdiction help to project some of the peculiar features of a non-native English in legal domains" (Opeibi, 2012, p. 49). In the study, the question and answer communicative pattern that characterises courtroom discourse was found to be playing a major communicative role.

The pattern enabled the display of information and presentation of facts to the judge and through the analysis of the discourse, the discourse features that mark courtroom discourse out as a genre were discovered. Though this study has recorded some unique findings on courtroom discourse, the researcher fails to take into account the differences between examination-in-chief,

where the counsel and his client (the suspect) co-narrate the suspect's version of the story, and cross-examination, where the opposing counsel tries to de-construct and puncture the suspect's story version. These are two different interactive scenarios in courtroom discourse and, according to Dunstan (1980), the relationship of the counsel to the suspect determines the counsel's questioning strategy, and that the same question can have different communicative functions in the interrogative process.

Another study that has investigated police-suspect interrogation in Nigeria is Farinde, Olajuyigbe and Matthew (2015). The researchers collected interrogation data that involved the police and the accused persons in selected police stations in Ondo State and critically examined the various discourse control strategies employed by the police in the interrogative processes. They adopted the Speech Act theory for the analysis of the data collected and proceeded to identify four meta-pragmatic acts categorised as discoursal indicators, upshots and reformulations, and what Thomas (1986) calls metadiscoursal comments and illocutionary force indicating devices (IFIDs). It was found from the study that the themes of the police-suspect interrogations analysed included assault, obtaining money by pretense among others; that assault cases dominated interrogations from the sub-urban areas, whereas cases of obtaining money under false pretense dominated the interrogations in the urban areas. The study also found, as reported, that police officers employed "illocutionary force indicating devices for intimidation and coercion of suspects, while they used discoursal indicators, meta-discoursal comments and upshots and reformulations as discourse control strategies" (Farinde, Olajuyigbe & Matthew, 2015, p. 156).

From the review of these and other existing interrogation-related studies, certain points can be deduced. The focus of most linguists and discourse analysts in the area of criminal investigations and prosecution is essentially on courtroom discourse and interrogations that take place between the police and the accused persons, eventhough interrogations outside these two

contexts (for example, administrative panels of enquiry, student investigation and disciplinary processes of schools) are increasing. There is very little (if any at all) knowledge about interrogations in other contexts outside courtroom and police interrogations. Yet there is the need to know the structure, peculiarities, features and language patterns of such yet-to-be explored interrogations, hence a study like the current one. It is also observable from the documented reports that only Haworth (2009) examined the effect of the actual question-answer proceedings on the outcome of each of the cases investigated. The ultimate end of criminal investigations is the verdict given by the courts on each case. Linguists and discourse analysts working on interrogations should therefore be able to establish some relationship between the process and the outcome of criminal cases.

2.5. Crime and Criminal Investigations in Nigerian Universities

The challenges of higher educational institutions across the globe, of which universities are a major type, have continued to be on the increase. In the Nigerian context, the more the number of universities is the more the number and magnitude of their challenges. Olanipekun (2015, p. 12) submits:

> Today, Nigerian tertiary institutions are bedeviled with a myriad of socio-cultural challenges which militate against their progress. These challenges range from cultism to students' protest and vandalisation of properties; indecent dressing to sexual harassment; examination malpractices to bare-faced plagiarism; corruption in the university system to lack of effective administrative structure – the list is inexhaustible.

Whawo (2015) identified a number of challenges facing tertiary educational institutions in Nigeria. These were enumerated to include examination malpractice, cultism, extortion of money from students, sexual abuse, indecent dressing, bribery for favours and other corrupt

practices. Each of these is a cross-campus activity, though there are varying frequencies in terms of occurrences. Some of these challenges have been researched, and a great quantum of literature exists on them. For example, studies on examination malpractice in Nigerian tertiary educational institutions have been documented in Oche (2012), Anzene (2014), Oseni (2014), Akanni and Bankole (2015), Tanimu (2015). Documented studies on cultism in Nigerian tertiary educational institutions include Ajayi, Ekundayo and Osalusi (2010), Udoh and Ikesu (2014), Olayiwola, Dada, Eyo and Abiona (2014), Adesina and Oribabor (2012). Studies that have also been documented on cases of sexual violence and sexual harassment in the nation's tertiary educational institutions include Taiwo, Omole and Omole (2014), Okoroafor, Umoh and Ojinma (2014), Mezie-Okoye and Alamina (2014), among others.

In each of the cases, scholars have respectively and exhaustively examined the causes, magnitude and likely solutions to the prevalent occurrences of such vices in the nation's higher educational institutions (HEIs). Though each HEI has striven to ensure that such anti-social activities are curbed, if not completely eradicated, the ever-increasing population of students and the natural tendencies for human beings to deviate from societal norms cannot make the vices completely avoidable.

The menacing challenges of Nigeria's higher educational institutions identified above are perpetrated by human beings, specifically the staff and students of the institutions. The laws establishing each public university in Nigeria, as emulated by private universities, provide that the Governing Council and the Vice-Chancellor shall have responsibility for the discipline of staff, while the responsibility for the discipline of students lies with the Vice-Chancellor. For example, the *Reviewed Regulations Governing the Conditions of Service of Employees on CONTISS 06 / CONUASS 01 and Above of The Federal University of Technology, Akure, Nigeria* (2007, p. 79) states in part:

> The Governing Council and the Vice-Chancellor shall have responsibility for the discipline of staff on HATISS 06 or UASS 01 and above in the University by adhering strictly to the guidelines stipulated in Section 15 of the Federal Universities of Technology Act, Chapter F23 Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 2004.

The Federal University of Technology, Akure (Nigeria) also compiled all regulations governing studentship in the University, published and circulated copies of the same document to every student for their information and compliance. It therefore behoves every student to farmiliarise themselves with these regulations so that they can ensure all-time compliance. A publication of the same University (FUTA) titled *Students' Handbook of Information 2012-2015* (p. 55) also specifically provides that:

> Any student who is invited to appear before any Disciplinary Committee / Panel and who fails to appear before the Committee or Panel is guilty of misconduct and such a student shall be disciplined under the statutes of the University.

Some parts of the Laws of the Federation of Nigeria also clearly vest the power to investigate allegations of misconduct against staff and students of Nigerian public universities in the Vice-Chancellors of the universities. For example, the Students' Union Activities (Control and Regulation) Act CAP S 14 *Laws of the Federation of Nigeria 2004* (Section 2, subsection 2) states**:**

> Power of Governing Council, etc. to proscribe unlawful societies –
>
> (1) Where any society, by whatever name called or known, operating within the campus of a university or any institution of higher learning in Nigeria is pursuing activities which are …..

> (2) The Governing Council, Vice-Chancellor or any authority or person in charge of, or in control of the university or institution of higher learning may, after conducting investigations with respect thereto, …
>
> (underlining for emphasis)

This legislative provision clearly mandates the Vice-Chancellor or the university authorities to conduct investigations on any breach of any part of the component provisions of the law before taking any disciplinary action against the accused student(s). Though Vice-Chancellors and other heads of tertiary educational institutions in Nigeria are legally empowered to conduct criminal investigations, which they do through various means including staff and student investigative and disciplinary panels, there are limitations on the scope and types of criminalities on which they can take a final and definitive action against the persons involved. There are, thus, what Uwais (Justice of the Supreme Court of Nigeria) called "serious" and "minor" offences. He maintained, in his judgement on Garba & Others vs. University of Maiduguri (1986) case, that:

> … However, this does not mean that every trivial or minor offence committed by students becomes the subject of prosecution in a court of law. It is the responsibility of the Vice-Chancellor, in the exercise of his powers under Section 17, to distinguish between serious and minor acts of misconduct which have given rise to serious or minor criminal offences.
>
> (Source: *Nigerian Weekly Law Reports*, Pt. 18, p. 245)

Olanipekun (2015, p. 39) aptly clarifies, that "for offences bordering on robbery, arson, possession of arms, etc., an institution must hand over the suspected students to the police who can now investigate and do the needful". For issues having direct effect or bearing on the award of degrees (which is generally based on the university's cumulative assessment of students in

learning and character), it has often be held, as averred by Obaseki, another Justice of the Supreme Court of Nigeria, on the Akintemi & Others vs. Onwumechilli & Others (1985) case that the courts cannot, and will not, usurp the functions of the Senate, the Governing Council and the Visitor of the University in the selection of their fit and proper candidates for passing and for the award of certificates, degrees and diplomas.

The foregoing legal positions clearly show that universities and other higher tertiary educational institutions in Nigeria have the legal and statutory empowerment to institute investigations into criminal allegations, and interrogations are vital to such institutional and formalised activities. Students' criminal investigations have become institutionalised globally, and, virtually, all higher educational institutions use interrogations as crime detective and crime control strategies. In fact, the British Government, beyond recognising higher educational institutions' power of independent criminal investigations involving students, further established the Office of the Independent Adjudicator for Higher Education. The Office is saddled with the sole responsibilities of handling students' complaints and academic appeals, particularly from students who feel dissatisfied with the outcome or decisions of the internal investigations (*Office of the Independent Adjudicator for Students in Higher Education, 2014*).

Award of degrees, diplomas and certificates by Nigerian universities has been tied to students' adjudged success in learning and character. While overall academic performance determines success in learning, students' conformity to, and compliance with the various ethical standards laid down and regulations made by the institutions are a major responsibility of every student in most of the higher educational institutions globally. *The University of Ibadan Students' Information Handbook (1999/2000)* provides that:

> High standards of personal integrity is expected of every student of the University. Each student is expected to conduct himself peaceably in espousing any charges he may consider necessary. The University regards as serious

> offences all acts of unethical, immoral, dishonest, or destructive behaviours, as well as violations of University regulations. It is the responsibility of each student to know these regulations (p. 26).

In order for every student to be properly educated, each university compiles the various regulations governing studentship, publishes them and distributes them to every student. There is a very high similitude among the various regulations across universities in Nigeria. In *The Students' Handbook of Information (2012-2015)* of the Federal University of Technology, Akure, the University identified acts of misconduct to include: display of inappropriate or anti-social behaviour, insulting, rude and impolite behavior to staff or fellow students, physical assault or battery on staff or fellow students, willful damage to any university properties, riotous behaviours on-campus or off-campus, sexual harassment of a staff or fellow students, examination malpractices, etc. The Adekunle Ajasin University, Akungba-Akoko spells out its various regulations in *Student Handbook of Information (n.d.)* to include regulations governing the conduct and administration of examinations; rules and regulations governing residency in the University halls of residence, general regulations and the dress code for students.

The main purpose of instituting criminal investigations in universities is to determine the culpability or innocence of a person who has been accused of one allegation or the other. Thus, the major task of the investigation panel is to obtain evidence-based facts through question-answer adjacency pairs between it and the accused students. The question-answer strategy will enable the panel to construct its story about the allegation, and the story will assist it in determining the veracity of the accused student's involvement and culpability in the alleged criminal act. Investigative interviews in students' disciplinary process in Nigerian universities are therefore like trials in court, though not procedurally cumbersome as court trials.

2.6 Approaches to the analysis of Discourse and Institutional Interactions

The various descriptions of discourse across fields and literatures have, largely, led to multi-disciplinary approaches to the analysis of discourse. From the perspective of linguistics, discourse has been approached and analysed using Conversation Analysis (CA), Ethnography of Communication (EC), Speech Act Theory, Critical Discourse Analysis and so on. As averred by Baxter (2010, p. 119), "different discourse-analytic approaches, situated as they are within different epistemological paradigms, are likely to produce varying sets of accounts of the same data". Some of these analytical frameworks will be discussed in the sections that follow.

2.6.1 Conversational Analysis

There are scholars whose foci of linguistic enquiries centre around discourse structures, with emphasis on "recurrent patterns, distributions, and forms of organisations in large corpora of talk" (Schiffrin, 2007, p. 236). Such studies attempt to describe the organisation of turn-taking in terms of exchange structures; sequential organisation (with focus on Adjacency Pairs, pre-sequences and preference organisation), repair, action formation, epistemic order and interaction episodes (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974; Sacks & Schegloff, 1979; Schiffrin, 1988; Lerner, 2004; Schiffrin, 2007; Pomerantz & Fehr, 2011). Studies in this area adopt Conversation Analysis (CA) framework, with the argument (Schiffrin, 2007; corroborating Heritage, 1984) that what is said (by speakers) provides not only the data underlying analysis but also the evidence for hypotheses and conclusions. In other words, Conversation Analysts see humans' routine conversational activities as collectively constituting the social order, and it is these actions and interactions, and how they are assembled that provide Conversation Analysis with its analytic focus (Pomerantz & Fehr, 2011).

The use of CA for the analysis of discourse is not restricted to one genre or a particular discourse type. It has been adopted for the analysis of casual interactions and institutional interactions. For casual interactions for example, Ibrahim (2012) was a study on the analysis of the structure of market interactions in selected environments in Nigeria. It was reported that the cooperation amongst interactants in the transactions analysed helped in structuring discourse and ensuring participants' adherence to turn-taking rules in commercial settings. As further reported, the identified adherence to turn-taking rules helped in the avoidance of frequent interruptions and overlaps, and that the communicative exchanges in the interactions were structured and organised into beginnings, middles and endings, with distinct lexico-grammatical resources for the realisation of each stage. In the area of non-casual and institutional discourse, scholars have also adopted CA to examine language use in different areas that constitute specific genre types such as media discourse, legal discourse, clinical discourse, etc.

In the area of media discourse (a type of institutional interaction) for example, Oyeleye and Olutayo (2012) reported an investigation of the turn-taking strategies and turn-taking management in the language of television talk shows. With the adoption of CA and using both qualitative and quantitative approaches to analysis, they reported three emergent turn distribution patterns in the television talk shows investigated, which were current-speaker-selects-next-speaker strategy, next-speaker-self-selects-as-next strategy, and current-speaker-continues strategy. In a related study, Ijaleye (2016) employed CA in her analysis of the turn-taking patterns on a media programme where participants spoke their different dialects of Yoruba in Nigeria. She reported that turn-taking rules are exempted on the media interaction "because certain media ethics override such turn-taking rules in Yoruba conversations" (Ijaleye, 2016, p. iv). The study, thus, confirms the flexibility of turn-taking patterns across languages, and that turn-taking patterns would always vary according to the purposes, contexts and participants involved in the interaction.

Other studies that have adopted CA for the analysis of institutional discourse include Oyeleye and Ayodele (2012), which investigated the use of interrogative utterances as a discourse strategy in legislative interactional discourse. The authors compiled a corpus of texts collected from legislative sessions in some parts of the South-Western Nigeria and employed the use of Speech Acts, Conversation Analysis and Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) for the analysis of the research data. They viewed interrogatives as discourse acts and, consequently, identified different types of interrogatives based on the type of functions they performed in the discourse contexts. The question types identified included what they called: elicit-inform interrogative utterances, elicit-clarify interrogative utterances, elicit-confirm interrogative utterances, elicit-agree interrogative utterances, and elicit-permit interrogative utterances. They conclude that the various functional categories of interrogative utterances in the legislative discourse "constitute a vital linguistic member resource required to enhance the effectiveness of legislators in the performance of their legislative roles" (Oyeleye & Ayodele, 2012, p. 128).

Taiwo (2005) employed the use of some CA and discourse analysis to explore the language peculiarities in religious worship with focus on the forms and functions of interrogation. It was reported that three main types of interrogative forms were commonly used by the Charismatic Christian preachers. The identified interrogative structures included *Wh*-interrogatives, yes/no questions, and rhetorical questions with each interrogative type performing different semantic and discourse functions in the context. Overall, scholars that have adopted conversation analysis for the study of institutional interactions have reported immense findings on the asymmetry of power and roles (Coulthrd & Johnson, 2009; Haworth, 2009; Farinde, Olajuyigbe & Mathew, 2015), turn-taking patterns (Oyeleye & Olutayo, 2012; Peters, Bruijnes & Adker, 2014; Ijaleye 2016), discourse control strategies (Thomas, 1986; van Dijk, 2001; Wang, 2006; Farinde, Olajuyigbe & Mathew, 2015).

2.6.2 Ethnography of Communication

There are attempts to study discourse with a view to identifying the underlining sociocultural peculiarities and uniqueness which often give clues to speakers' ethnic and cultural backgrounds or identities. The theory of Ethnography of Communication, Ethnomethodology or Ethnolinguistics which is employed for enquiries in this direction is often traced to Hymes, D. through his publication of *Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach* (1974). The theory focuses on the use of language from cultural perspectives, particularly seeking the understanding of linguistic peculiarities that arise as a result of cultural distinctiveness. In his definition of a speech community, Hymes (1972) says it is a community that shares rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech, and rules for the interpretation of at least one linguistic variety. This definition suggests that there are diverse speech communities, and there are equally diverse linguistic varieties within each speech community. Given this background, there are bound to be differences in the ways each speech community uses language, as Schiffrin (2007), citing Geertz (1973) and Ochs (1988) notes:

> ... we might say that language use in speech situations, events, and acts helps realise the cultural norms that underlie the way we act toward one another: culture is continually created, negotiated, and redefined in concrete acts between persons who are participating in some kind of interactive situation (Schiffrin, 2007, p. 139).

Ethnomethodologists therefore adopt the anthropological approach of participant observations to investigate communicative patterns that arise from speakers' cultural background or affiliation (Garfinkel, 1967; Garfinkel, 1974; Hymes, 1974a; Hymes, 1974b; Hymes, 1974c; Heritage, 1984; Ochs, 1985; Ochs, 1988).

2.6.3 Pragmatics

Another reason for studying discourse and on which extensive work has been done is to explore meanings in contexts, and above the words used in a given communicative context. In other words, speakers often mean more than they say, and, sometimes, what they mean may not necessarily be tied to the conventional meanings of the words used in the utterances. This leads to studies in pragma-linguistics, based essentially on the proposition of H. P. Grice. As Schiffrin (2007, p. 192) notes, the critical insight of Gricean meaning is that "what the speaker intends to communicate need not be related to conventional meanings at all, and not conventionally 'attached' to the words being used".

2.6.4 Variation Analysis

There is also the motive of exploring the social and linguistic factors that are responsible for variations in ways of speaking. The framework for investigation here is Interactional Sociolinguistics, with origin in the works of John Gumperz, an American linguistic anthropologist whose extensive research efforts were on the languages of India, code-switching and conversational interaction (Gumperz, 1957; Gumperz, 1958; Gumperz, 1964; Gumperz, 1982, etc.), and the Canadian-born sociologist and writer Erving Goffman. The underlying assumption of interactional sociolinguists is basically that "people may share grammatical knowledge of a language, but differently contextualise them, such that very different messages are produced and understood" (Schiffrin, 2007, p. 97). Variation Analysis is also an approach to the analysis of language with the fundamental assumption that linguistic heterogeneity is patterned both socially and linguistically; and that such patterns can be discovered only through systematic investigation of a speech community (Schiffrin, 2007). This theory has been greatly shaped by the works of the American linguist, William Labov (Labov, 1966; Labov, 1972; Labov, 1978; Labov, 1984, etc.). A great volume of research has been done in this area, with Bright (1997), Chambers (2003), and Green (2003) as examples.

2.6.5 Speech Act Theory

Discourse has been studied from the point of view of what speakers do with language using the Speech Act framework theorised by John Austin and John Searle. As Searle (1969, p. 21) opines, "there are a series of analytic connections between the notion of speech acts, what the speaker means, what the sentence (or other linguistic element) uttered means, what the speaker intends, what the hearer understands, and what the rules governing the linguistic elements are". The theory, therefore, identifies the functions performed through utterances, which, according to Searle (1969) are akin to communicative intentions of speakers (the illocutionary force of an utterance) usually featured by the performative verb in a sentence. Searle (1969) further identifies five classes of speech acts: representatives (e.g. asserting); directives (e.g. requesting); commissives (e.g. promising); expressives (e.g. thanking) and directives (e.g. appointing) (Searle, 1969; Schiffrin, 2007). It is through the identification of these acts by speakers that communication proceeds, and the fulfillment of these acts depends on a set of conditions referred to by Searle as *felicity conditions.*

2.6.6 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Scholars whose research interest is on the inherence and indexicality of power and ideologies in language use across contexts have often employed the use of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) for their studies. Critical Discourse analysts see language as a medium for the reflection of speakers' beliefs, ideological alliance and affiliations. The preoccupation of CD analysts has been to critically explore language use with a view to unraveling how interactants use language in ways that portray them as being powerful against others who are perceived to be powerless; the strong against those perceived to be weak; the highly placed against the lowly placed; the majority against the minority; the rulers against the ruled, etc.

CDA is particularly focused on such themes as power abuse, dominance and inequaity, and how these are reproduced and sometime resisted in text and talk (van Dijk, 2008). A great volume of research has been documented on the inherence of power and ideologies in human's

use of casual and institutional interactions. These include O'Barr (1984), van Dijk (1989, 1993), Fairclough, Mulderrig and Wodak (2011). A great concentration of studies in the area of language as indexical of power, ideologies and beliefs has used the media discourse (an institutional discourse type) as a window through which power relations, discriminations and ideological inherence can be examined.

2.6.7 Corpus-Linguistic Approach

The advent of computer has introduced a lot of changes to humans' ways of life including scholarship. With the use of computers, linguists have, in the last two decades, started to use the computer to ease and enhance research. The use of computer has particularly enabled the collection of, and access to large quantities of language data, and the analysis of such large volumes of data has now been more efficiently, empirically and rapidly done. The use of computers in linguistic inquiries has reduced the issues of subjectivity in analysis, but enhanced empiricism and inference making.

Corpus analysis with its distinct analytical features and potentialities is not an independent analytical approach in linguistics. Rather, it is usually combined with independent theories and analytical frameworks (such as CA, pragmatics, CDA etc.) as a form of multi-method analytical approach. As such, scholars have combined corpus analytical approach with CDA for example, to explore racism and discrimination between the White and the Black minorities as manifested in the media in different parts of the world (van Dijk, 2015; Rose, 2014; Brindle, 2016; Briscoe & Khalifa, 2013); the media representation of the less privileged across the globe (Khosravik, 2010; Baker, Gabrielatos, Khosravinik, Krzyżanowski & McEnery, 2013); and how different newspapers reported the same news and events associated with the ruling political party in Nigeria (Dahunsi, 2016).

2.7 Systemic Functional Grammar and the Metafunctions of Language

The Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) is a theoretical postulation and linguistic framework of Michael Alexander Kirkwood Halliday, a British-born Australian linguist. Though the linguistic model has its foundation in Halliday's publication of 1961 titled "Categories of the Theory of Grammar", it became prominent and more novel after his publication of *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* in 1985. Halliday (1985, p. xiv) describes the theory as one, "by which a language, or any other semiotic system, is interpreted as networks of interlocking options … whatever is chosen in one system becomes the way into a set of choices in another". SFG deals largely with the structural organisation of the English clauses, yet Halliday's interest is substantially on the meanings of language in use in the "textual processes of social life", or "the socio-semantics of texts" (Eggins, 2004, p. 2). Halliday (1994, p. xv) further explains that:

> … the aim has been to construct a grammar for purposes of text analysis: one that would make it possible to say sensible and useful things about any text, spoken or written, in modern English.

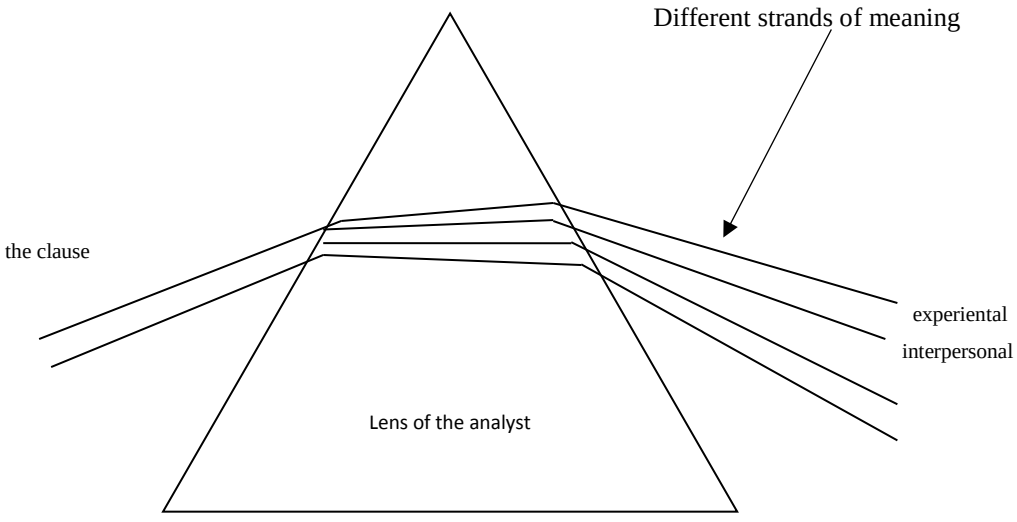
As a further description of this account of language and contrasting it with other theories of language, Halliday and Matthiessen (2014, p. 23) maintain, that:

> Systemic theory gets its name from the fact that the grammar of a language is represented in the form of system networks, not as an inventory of structures. Of course, structure is an essential part of the description, but it is interpreted as the outward form taken by systemic choices, not as the defining characteristic of language.

The general assumptions on which SFG operates, as Eggins (2004, p. 3) notes, are that language is "functional, semantic, contextual and semiotic". Following from this, SFG and systemicists focus on how participants in interaction use language (that is, how they negotiate

texts to make meanings) in different contexts, and how language is structured to be able to convey interactants' desired meanings. Thus, for Halliday and SFG, as Fontaine (2013, p. 5) explains, "the ways in which we can create meanings through language are organised through patterns of use", with language seen as a "system of options". SFG is therefore an approach to the analysis of texts, and by "text", Halliday and Hasan (1976, p. 1) mean "any passage, spoken or written, of whatever length, that does form a unified whole".

Central to SFG is the focus on the clause as the basic unit of analysis, with the postulation that the clause is multi-functional, having three types of meanings expressed in it. These three types of meaning are ideational, elsewhere referred to as experiential, (Thompson, 2004), interpersonal and textual, the trio being technically described by Halliday (1985), Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) and (2014) as the metafunctions of language. As Hasan (2009) explains, the metafunctions are not hierarchical. They are of equal status and are all woven into language use, thus behoving the systemist grammarian to unravel these strands of meaning embedded in the clause. A Systemic Functional Linguist therefore sees a clause from three different semantic angles illustrated by Fontaine (2004) as shown in Fig. 1.



textual

logical

Fig. 2.1: Analyst's View of the Clause (Fontaine, 2013, p. 10)

As illustrated above, every clause in the English language can be interpreted from three semantic angles, and it is these that form the focus of analysis in SFG. The following clauses are "metafunctionally" analysed in the figures that follow:

i. Unilorin gave all fresh students tablets for their studies.

ii. She plays volleyball regularly to keep fit.

iii. Did my friend sing the anthem every time of the day?

(i)

Clause → Analysis	*Unilorin*	*gave*		*all fresh students*	*tablets*	*for their studies*
Ideational meaning	Actor	Process: material (active)		Beneficiary	Goal	Circumstance: cause
Interpersonal meaning	Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement	Complement	Adjunct
	Mood		Residue			
Textual meaning	Theme	Rheme				

Fig. 2.2(a): Metafunctional Analysis of a Clause

(ii)

Clause	*She*	*plays*	*football*	*regularly*	*to keep fit*

Analysis						
Ideational meaning	Actor	Process: material (active)		Goal	Circumstance: frequency	Circumstance: cause
Interpersonal meaning	Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement	Adjunct	Adjunct
	Mood		Residue			
Textual meaning	Theme	Rheme				

Fig. 2.2(b): Metafunctional Analysis of a Clause

(iii)

Clause / Analysis	*Did*	*my friend*	*Sing*	*the anthem*	*every time of the year?*
Ideational meaning		Actor	Process: material	Goal	Circumstance: time / frequency
Interpersonal meaning	Finite	Subject	Predicator	Complement	Adjunct
	Mood	Residue			
Textual meaning	Theme		Rheme		

Fig. 2.2(c): Metafunctional Analysis of a Clause

2.7.1 Ideational Meaning of the Clause

According to Halliday (1985), language evolves to construe both reality and experience. This is corroborated by Halliday and Matthiessen (2014), where it was averred that there is no facet of human experience that cannot be transformed into meaning, and that language provides a theory of human experience, with the lexicogrammar of every language dedicated to that function of construing or relaying human experience. They (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014)

argue that through language, humans are able to name things: dog, rat, water, ball, fire, etc; classify them: animals (as different from plants) and differentiate between one or some and others. Humans are also able to relate their experience and feelings about the world. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014, p. 30) claim, "we call it the **ideational** metafunction, and distinguish it into two components, the **experiential** and the **logical**". The ideational meaning of the clause is realised by the combination of such basic clausal elements as the Process (what experience is being construed); the Actor (the participants involved); and the Circumstance in which the 'goings on' happen, (Halliday, 1985, 1994, 2004; Thompson, 2004).

A discovery of the ideational meaning is done in SFG through what is called 'transitivity' analysis, which shows in details the various kinds of process, actor and circumstance in each clause, and how these clausal elements have been conflated to construe experience. The clause *I bought oranges for my pleasure* will be analysed as shown below.

I	*Bought*	*oranges*	*for my pleasure*
Actor	***Process***	***Goal***	***Circumstance***

Fig. 2.3: Transitivity Analysis of a Clause

2.7.1.1 Process

Halliday and Matthiessen (1999, 2014) posit that a clause has semantic configurations with three components which are: a process unfolding through time; the participants involved in the process; and circumstances associated with the process. The *process* is a technical term in SFG used to describe that part of the clause that is realised by the verbal group, but it can also be regarded as "what goings-on" are represented in the whole clause, Bloor and Bloor (1995, 2004, 2013). In other words, the process is the activity, perception, idea or feeling expressed in the clause as shown in the following example clauses.

i. *The students violated [process] the University's regulations.*

ii. *The University <u>expelled</u> [process] the cultists for their atrocities.*

iii. *I <u>sense</u> [process] some danger in what she preaches.*

iv. *Nigeria's national flag <u>has</u> [process] two colours.*

v. *They <u>were</u> [process] men and women of their words.*

Halliday and Matthiessen (1999, 2004) aver that the flow of events that constitute the human experience is diverse. They further argue that such flow of events is chunked into quanta of change by the grammar of the clause, and each quantum of change is modelled as a figure – a figure of happening, doing, sensing, saying, being or having. Each of these technically translates into a type of process in SFG, and is used in the transitivity analysis of the clause. Thus, there are six process types, identified as material, mental, relational, verbal, behavioural and existential, with in-clause examples shown below.

i. *The cultists <u>disrupted</u> [process: material] the lecture by firing guns into the air.*

ii. *The University Management <u>could not believe</u> [process: mental] the sad news.*

iii. *The students <u>were</u> [process: relational] the perpetrators of the heinous crime.*

iv. *My colleagues <u>explained</u> [process: verbal] the situations better.*

v. *My dog <u>barks</u> [process: behavioural] every night.*

vi. *There <u>is</u> [process: existential] on campus.*

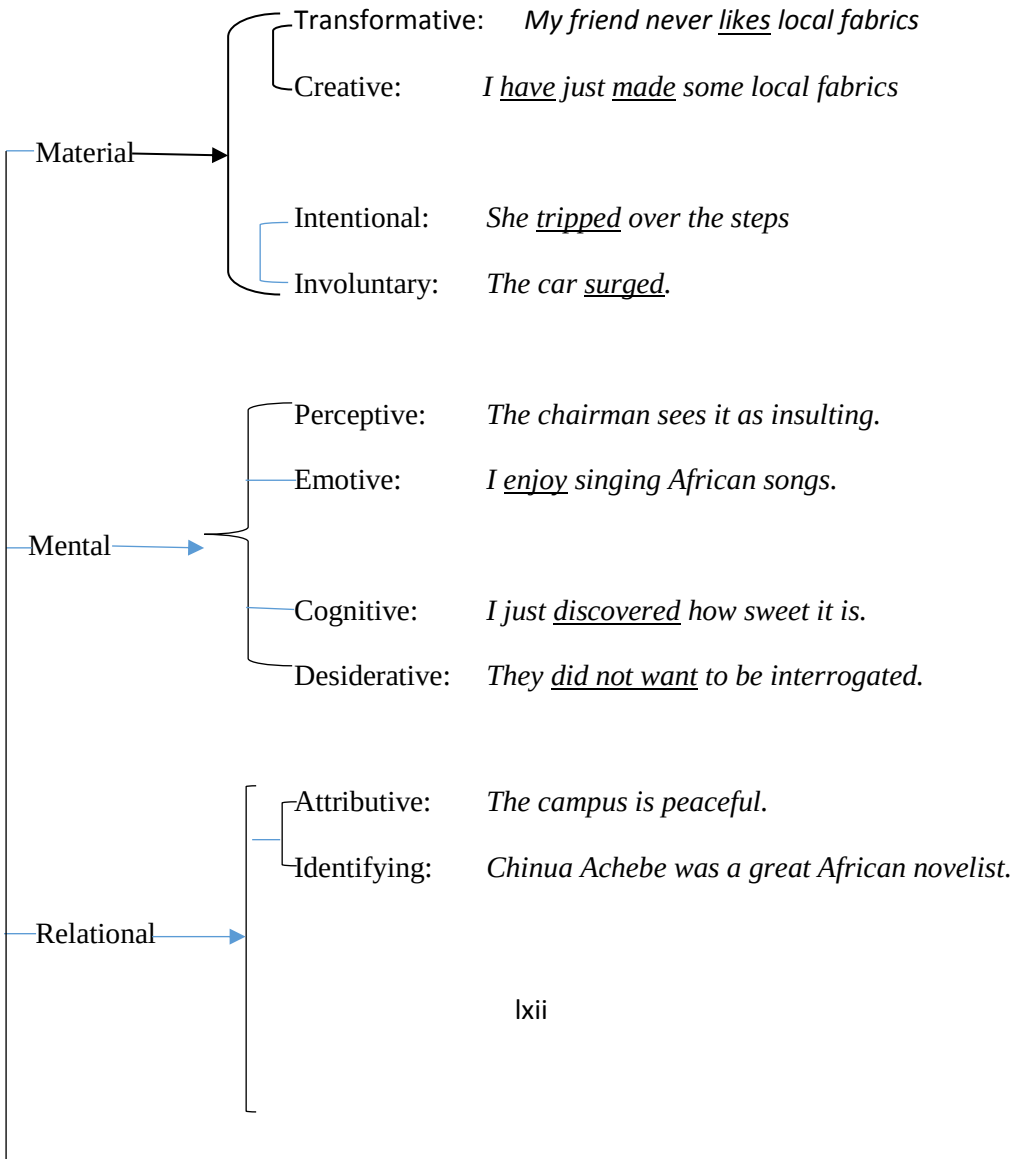
Each type of process has its functional meaning, as well as its distinctive participants. These are explained in Table 2.1 (Thompson, 2004, p. 108), and the system of transitivity choices shown with examples in Fig. 2.4.

Table 2.1: An Overview of Process Types

Process type	**Core meaning**	**Participants**
Material	'doing', 'happening'	Actor (Goal) (Scope) (Beneficiary)
Mental	'sensing'	Senser, Phenomenon
Perception	'perceiving'	
Cognition	'thinking'	
Emotion	'feeling'	

Desideration	'wanting'	
Relational	'being and having'	
Attributive	'attributing'	Carrier, Attributive
Identifying	'identifying'	Value, Token/Identified, Identifier
Verbal	'saying'	Sayer (Receiver) (Verbiage) (Target)
Behavioural	'behaving'	Behaver (Behaviour)
Existential	'existing'	Existent

(Thomson, 2004, p. 108).



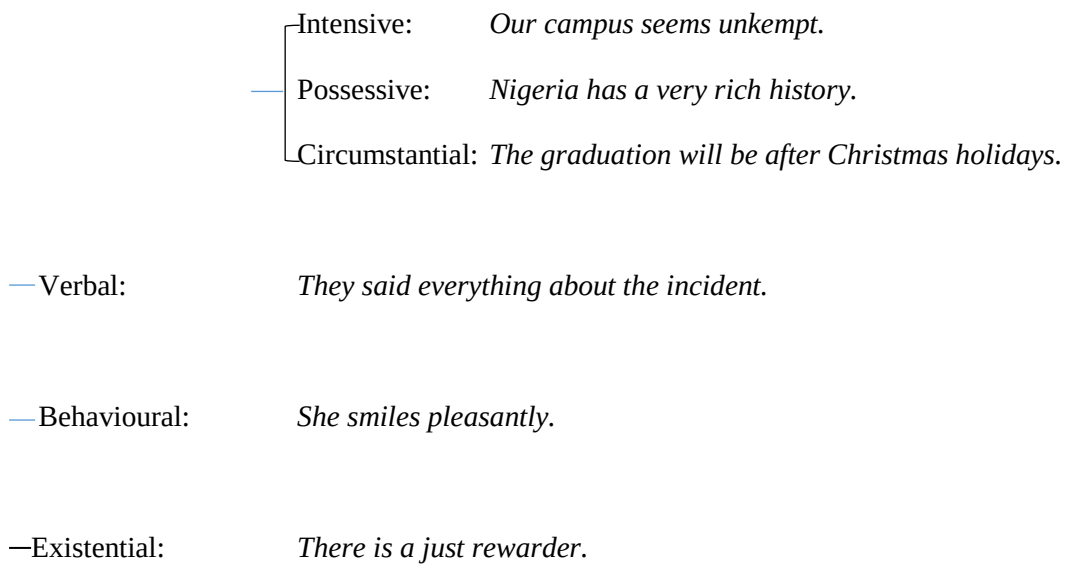


Fig. 2.4: Transitivity Systems with Examples (Thompson, 2004, p. 109)

2.7.1.2 Participants

As Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) posit, the process is the most central element in the clausal configuration, followed by the participants. Participants are the agents, people or things that are directly involved in the process, bring about its occurrence and are being, in one way or the other, affected by the process. In the following clauses for example, the participant that brings about the process and is being affected by the process is in each case underlined.

i. *They* [participant: actor, operative (active)] *bought a brand new car* [participant: goal]
ii. *The house* [participant: goal, receptive (passive)] *is being renovated.*
iii. *Zainab, Funsho and Janet* [participant: actor, operative (active)] *commended the Vice-Chancellor and the Management* [participant: goal].

The examples above show that participants can be only one in the clause (as in example *ii. The house*), or more than one (as in example *i.-They … a brand new car* and example *iii.-Zainab,*

Funsho and Janet .... the Vice-Chancellor and the Management). Participants can also be human or animate as in examples *i. and iii.*, or non-human and inanimate, as in example *ii.* The participant type varies according to the type of experience construed, or the type of process contained in the clause. In example *i.* above, there are two participants involved in the process (which is material), and these are: *They* and *a brand new car*. While *they* is the Actor, *a brand new car* is the Goal. In other words, process types take different participants. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) further maintain that if there is an actor and a goal in the material process, then the representation can be in the form of operative (active) and receptive (passive), leading to a differentiation in term of voice. Thus, in example *i.* and *iii.* above, which active-voice clauses, the Subject elements *They* and *Zainab, Funsho and Janet* are the participants (actor) respectively, while the Complement elements *a brand new car* (in example *i.*) and *the Vice-Chancellor and the Management* (in example *ii.*) are the participants (goal). On the other hand, in example *ii.* which is a passive-voice clause, the participant is one, *the house*, and it is the goal (receptive). Details of the various participants corresponding to different process types are shown in Table 2.1 above, with more examples shown below.

i. **Material process:** *The court* [Actor] *jailed the Senator* [Goal] *for corruption.*

ii. **Relational process:** *A decent man* [identifying] *often marries a decent lady* [value].

iii. **Mental process:** *The Governors* [Senser] *quickly recognized their errors* [phenomenon].

iv. **Behavioural process:** *The dog's mouth* [Behaver] *waters at the smell of a fried chicken.*

v. **Existential process:** *There is a penalty* [existent] *for every misbehavior discovered.*

vi. **Verbal process:** *She* [sayer] *said the truth* [verbiage].

What is common to all the participants in the examples above is the fact that they are all realised by nominal groups. However, there are cases where clauses serve as participants in the clause

structure. These are cases where clauses are down-ranked and made to function within another clause as in the following examples:

i. *What I hate [identifying] is smiling when I am hurt [value].*

ii. *Speaking on oath [attributive] means one is liable for falsehood [attribute].*

2.7.1.3 Circumstance

Circumstance, as the name suggests, is the clause element that provides additional information about the going-on in the clause. It is not directly involved in the process, but gives information about when, how, where, how often, to what extent, etc. the action or process reported took, takes, is taking or will take place. As Halliday and Matthiessen (1999, 2014) argue, circumstance is optional in the clause, and its status in the semantic configuration of the clause is peripheral. In the following examples, while clauses *i.* to *iii.* have no circumstance element, clauses *iv.* to *v.* do (in each case underlined). Yet, each of the five clauses makes a complete experiential sense.

i. *You are joking.*

You	*are joking*
Participant: actor	Process: material

Fig. 2.5(a): Transitivity Analysis of a Clause without Circumstance Element

ii. *I like jumping.*

I	*like*	*jumping*
Participant: Actor	Process: mental (emotion)	Participant: phenomenon

Fig. 2.5(b): Transitivity Analysis of a Clause without Circumstance Element

iii. *All fresh students have paid their prescribed fees.*

All fresh students	*have paid*	*their fees*

Participant: actor	Process: material	Participant: goal

Fig. 2.5(c): Transitivity Analysis of a Clause without Circumstance Element

iv. You are joking at a time you need to be serious and prayerful.

You	*are joking*	*at a time you need to be serious and prayerful*
Participant: actor	Process: material	Circumstance: temporal

Fig. 2.5(d): Transitivity Analysis of a Clause with Circumstance Element

v. If I win this game, I will be sponsored to Italy for the World Cup finals.

If I win this game	*I*	*will be sponsored*	*to Italy*	*for the World Cup finals*
Circumstance: conditional	**Participant: Actor**	**Process: material**	**Circumstance: Spatial**	**Circumstance: Reason**

Fig. 2.5(e): Transitivity Analysis of a Clause with Circumstance Element

2.7.2 Logical meaning of the clause

The logical meaning of the clause is derived from the perception of the clause as message. Seen this way, there is a systematic way in which the message is organised such that it is relevant and it contributes to discursive flow. The logicality of the clause as a semantic unit therefore has to do with the way the message conveyed in the clause is arranged, particularly showing the status distinctiveness and centrality of one part, compared to the other part of the message. This leads to the identification of the "theme" as central, and which combines with other parts of the clause technically referred to as the 'rheme' to form a complete body of message. Thus, SFG acknowledges (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 89) that:

As a message structure, therefore, a clause consists of a **Theme** accompanied

by a **Rheme**; and the structure is expressed by the order – whatever is chosen as the Theme is put first. The message thus unfolds from thematic prominence - the part that the speaker has chosen to highlight as the starting point for the addressee – to thematic non-prominence.

Following this description and definition, the sentences: *Joseph broke the computer last night* and *Jogging every morning makes me bright during winter* can be analysed into the Theme-Rheme structure as shown in Fig. 2.6(a) and Fig. 2.6(b) respectively.

Joseph *The computer* *Last night*	*broke the computer last night* *was broken by Joseph last night* *Joseph broke the computer*
Theme	**Rheme**

Fig. 2.6(a): Theme-Rheme Structural Analysis

Jogging every morning *During winter* *What makes me bright during winter*	*makes me bright during winter* *jogging every morning makes me bright* *is jogging*
Theme	**Rheme**

Fig. 2.6(b): Theme-Rheme Structural Analysis

In the example in Fig. 2.6(a), the same clause has been configured in three different ways. In each configuration of the clause, what the speaker chose as point of departure, that is, the theme is different. In the first configuration, the point of departure and thematic focus is *Joseph* (the main participant and performer of the action in question). In the second

configuration, the point of departure and thematic focus is on the recipient/goal element of the clause, *The computer;* while the third clausal configuration has the circumstance element of the clause, *Last night* as the thematic focus and point of departure. A similar pattern of thematic arrangement is in the clause analysed in Fig. 2.6(b), where in the respective cases, *Jogging every morning, During winter* and *What makes me bright during winter* are the thematic foci and points of departure.

The Theme-Rheme analysis above is one type of the organisation of the clause as message. This type is called the thematic structure, comprising the Theme and the Rheme. The second type of clausal organisation as message is called information structure, which comprises the *Given* information and the *New* information, both forming an information unit (Bloor & Bloor, 2004). Thus, in the organisation of the clause as message, there is the thematic structure and there is the information structure, both of which, though are related, are not the same. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2014, p. 120), "the theme is what I, the speaker, choose to take as my point of departure. The Given is what you, the listener, already know or have accessible to you". For example, in the clause *the University has been shut* down, the speaker has chosen the Subject element *the University* as his point of departure (and theme), the remaining part of the clause *has been shut down* is the rheme. In the clause *What I need from you is USD500, What I need from you is* is the Given, while *USD500* is the New. A clause can be simultaneously analysed in terms its thematic structure and information structure. For example, the clause *I have not taken my medicine for two weeks* can be analysed as:

I	haven't	**taken**	my drugs	for two weeks
Theme	Rheme			
Given				New

For thematic structure, the Theme is generally realised by just one structural element, usually the nominal group, adverbial group or prepositional group as in the following examples.

i. *The boys are criminals.*
ii. *Quite frequently, I eat fresh fruits.*
iii. *For singing, the group was celebrated.*

The boys [Nominal Group]	*are criminals*
Theme	**Rheme**

Quite frequently [Adverbial Group]	*I eat fresh fruits*
Theme	**Rheme**

For singing, [Prepositional Group]	*the group was celebrated*
Theme	**Rheme**

Figs. 2.7: Theme-Rheme Analyses of Clauses

In addition to the realisation of the Theme by groups (nominal, adverbial and prepositional) as shown above, there are instances when the Theme is realised by two or more groups together, as in the following examples:

i. *The Governing Council, Management, staff and entire students are in support of the competition.*
ii. *Knowing the cause of one's problem is better than a truck load of medicine.*

The Governing Council, Management, staff and entire students [multiple NG]	*are in support of the competition.*

Theme	Rheme

Fig. 2.8(a): Realisation of Theme by Multiple Groups (Group Complex)

Knowing the cause of one's problem [clause within the clause]	*is better than a truck load of medicine.*
Theme	**Rheme**

Fig. 2.8(b): Realisation of Theme by Clause within the Clause (Clause Complex)

In Fig. 2.8(a) above, there are four nominal groups that realise the Theme of the clause. This, in SFG, is technically referred to as a group or a phrase complex, that is, a communicative situation where the Theme of the clause is realised by a combination of groups or phrases. Similarly, in Fig. 8(b), the Theme is realised by a clause that functions within a main clause. This is also referred to as clause complexes and nominalisation, a situation where a clause is reduced in rank to function at the level below it.

2.7.2.1 Theme and Mood in English

There is some relationship between the Theme and the Mood in English. This is because the Mood of the clause largely determines the type of Theme the clause will have. Though the Mood will be more exhaustively discussed later, it will be briefly mentioned here to show what type of Theme goes with what type of Mood in the clause. In the example *knowing the cause of one's problem is better than a truck load of medicine*, it is seen that the clause *knowing the cause of one's problem* is made to function within the main clause (referred to as clause complex). This suggests two different types of clause in terms of structural and functional dependence or independence. Thus, SFG recognises free clauses, which are clauses that can stand alone as full semantic and structural units; and bound clauses, which are clauses that are functionally dependent on free or independent clauses to make meaningful senses. In the

following examples, the first clause is a free clause because it can stand alone, whereas the same clause becomes part of a bound clause in the second clause:

1. *I was born in Lagos.*
2. *I am proud of Africa <u>because I was born in Lagos</u>.*

Every free clause has the Mood inherent in its structure. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) describe the Mood as the system that provides the resources for giving or demanding a commodity, be it information or goods-and-services. Two types of Mood are identified in SFG: indicative (giving or demanding information) or imperative (demanding goods-and-services). For the indicative mood type, there are three sub-categories of clause (declarative, *Wh*-interrogative and interrogative yes/no clauses), whereas the imperative mood type has only command as the sub-category. Examples of these are below.

i.	*Technology makes life easy*	**[indicative: declarative]**
ii.	*Technology does not make life easy*	**[indicative: declarative]**
iii.	*Does technology make life easy?*	**[indicative: interrogative, yes/no]**
iv.	*Doesn't technology make life easy?*	**[indicative: interrogative, yes/no]**
v.	*What makes life easy?*	**[indicative: interrogative *WH*-]**
vi.	*Let's jump!*	**[imperative]**

Quite often in declarative clauses, the element that usually comes first in terms of thematic progression is the Subject, as in *<u>John and James</u> were friends.* Sometimes too, other elements can come first in the clause, as in *Quite unfortunately, John and James were friends.* In clauses having the Theme conflated with the Subject, the Theme is described as being an unmarked Theme, with more examples below.

1. *<u>The insurgents and their collaborators</u>* **[unmarked Theme]** *are being investigated.*
2. *<u>Tom, Jerry and Hannah</u>* **[unmarked Theme]** *could not make the trip.*

In clauses where the first element in the thematic structure is realised by other elements than the Subject, as in the example: *Quite unfortunately, John and James were friends* above, the Theme is described as a **marked Theme**, with more examples and analyses below.

1. *That* **[marked Theme]** *I will never admit.*
2. *Somehow,* **[marked Theme]** *I was frightened.*
3. *This show of loyalty* **[marked Theme]** *we appreciate very well.*
4. *How nauseating* **[marked Theme]** *the heap looks.*

That *Somehow* *This show of loyalty* *How nauseating*	*I will never admit* *I was frightened* *We appreciate very well* *the heap looks*
Theme (Marked)	**Rheme**

Fig. 2.9: Marked Theme-Rheme clausal analysis

Two types of interrogative clauses have been identified above: yes/no questions and *WH*-questions. In both questions, the speaker is demanding for some kind of information: polarity (yes or no) in yes/no questions (as in *can you make it?*) and information on the identity of some element in the clause (as in *who did this? Where did it happen? How did it happen?*). Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) submit that in a yes/no question, the element that functions as Theme is "is the element that embodies the expression of polarity, namely the **Finite verbal operator.** It is the Finite operator in English that expresses positive or negative: *is, isn't, do, don't, can, can't etc*.". In this clause type, the Finite operator and the element that is next to it constitute the Theme of the clause. Thus, the analyses of the thematic structure of the following questions show the Theme.

Can / Can't *Will / Won't* *Did / Didn't*	*I* *you* *you*	*have a bottle of wine?* *charge the phone for use?* *you collect your shares?*
Theme 1	**Theme 2**	**Rheme**

Fig. 2.10: Theme in Interrogative (yes/no) Clauses

For *Wh*- questions, the Theme is conflated in the *Wh*- element, which is the group or phrase in which the *WH*- occurs. Thus for example, the elements that realise the Theme in the following clauses are so identified below.

Where	*is the bag that was stolen?*
What	*was the actual name of the accused?*
How	*did the cat did the magic?*
When	*are you going to make it?*
How many people	*came with the King?*
Theme	Rheme

Fig. 2.11: The Theme in *Wh*- Interrogative Clauses

Imperative clauses, in most cases, start with verbs to indicate the kind of action expected of the listener. These verbs form the Predicator element of the clause (as in: <u>*come*</u> *down;* <u>*cry*</u> *loud;* <u>*keep*</u> *silent* etc). In clauses of this type, where the Predicator takes the thematic position, the Predicator element is the unmarked Theme of the clause as in the examples in Fig. 2.11. In cases where the first element in the imperative clause is not realised by the Predicator, but by other clausal elements like the Subject or Adjunct, then such elements are the marked Theme of the clause as shown in Fig. 2.12 below.

Stop	*the children from crying*
Hang	*your shirt on the wall*

Let's *Vote*	*start understanding each other* *for our colleague*
(unmarked) Theme	**Rheme**

Fig. 2.12: Unmarked Theme in Imperative Clauses

You *Fellow colleagues* *At the top of your voice*	*stop crying* *have your way* *shout halleluiah*
(Marked) Theme	**Rheme**

Fig. 2.13: Marked Theme in Imperative Clauses

2.7.3 Interpersonal Meaning of the Clause

The idea of interpersonal meaning of the clause is derived from the fact, as Halliday (1985), Halliday and Matthiessen (1999, 2014) argue, that we use language to enact relationship, and to establish and maintain social links with people (Thompson, 2004). The main idea here is that when we communicate through language, we use it to exchange meanings, thus making the communication two-way. Thompson (2004) further explains:

> We tell other people things for a purpose: we may want to influence their attitudes or behavior, or to provide information that we know they do not have, or explain our own attitudes or behavior, or to get them to provide us with information, and so on. ….. Therefore, the fact that interaction – having a purpose for saying things to other people – is an inherent part of language use means that there must be aspects of the grammar that can be identified as enabling us to interact through language (Thompson, 2004, p. 45).

Seen this way, there are roles played by participants in interactions, depending on the kind of exchange involved in the clause. For example, while a speaker takes on the role of

information seeker in questions, the listener takes on the role of information supplier. Halliday and Matthiessen identify the two most fundamental types of speech roles as *giving* and *demanding*, noting that a speaker is either giving information to a listener (as in some declarative clauses) or demanding for some information or things (as in the case of questions). They posit that these two broad categories of speech roles "already involve complex notions: giving means inviting to receive", and demanding means "inviting to give". They therefore submit (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 135) that:

> An 'act' of speaking is something that might more appropriately be called an **interact**: it is an exchange, in which giving implies receiving and demanding implies giving in response.

According to Halliday and Matthiessen, (2014), there is a basic distinction between giving and demanding, and this relates to the nature of the commodity being exchanged. They therefore distinguish between the types of commodities that can be exchanged in the clause as (a) **goods and services** and (b) **information.** They maintain further that in asking someone to do something or perform an action (such as *"Kiss me", "get out of my daylight", "give me a ball"*), the exchange commodity is strictly nonverbal, and what is being "demanded is an object or an action, and language is brought in to help the process along". In these cases, the commodity of exchange is goods and services. It also often happens that a speaker expects the listener to tell him or her something in response to his or her questions, which usually comes in the form of information. In the following examples, the type of commodities in exchange is shown:

i.	*What is the name of the current President of America?*	**[Information]**
ii.	*When did you become an orphan?*	**[Information]**
iii.	*Bring it to me in office.*	**[Goods and Services]**
iv.	*Take it to the next room.*	**[Goods and Services]**

The broad categorisation of speech roles into giving and demanding, as well as the identification of exchangeable commodities into information and goods and services led altogether to the classification of speech functions into **offer, statement, command, and question**. Each of these, in turn, corresponds respectively to declarative, imperative and interrogative clause types. This is illustrated in Figures 2.14 and 2.15 below.

role in exchange ↓	commodity exchanged →	(a) goods-and-services	(b) information
(i) Giving		**Offer** *I will teach you Indi*	**statement** *I know it already*
(ii) Demanding		**Command** *give it to him*	**question** *Is it mine?*

Fig. 2.14: Basic Speech Roles (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 137)

Fig. 2.14 above shows the two basic speech roles: *giving* and *demanding*, and their sub-categories according to the kind of exchange involved. Thus, for *giving*, the commodity of exchange can be goods-and-services where offers are made (as in *I will teach you Indi*); or information, made through statements (as in *I know it already*). For *demanding*, the commodity of exchange can be also be goods-and-services, but where commands are made (as in *give it to him*); or made through questions (as in *is it mine?*). For each of the speech roles, there are initiation-response pairs and structures. For example, whereas *giving* in goods-and-services commodity exchange communication has offer-acceptance / rejection structure, it has information-acknowledgement / contradiction structure in information commodity exchange communication. These structures are illustrated in Fig. 2.15.

		Initiation	**Response**	
		(A/B)	**Expected (C)**	**Discretionary (D)**

give (M)	goods-&-services (X)	offer *can I teach you Hindi?*	acceptance *yes, you can!*	rejection *no, please.*
demand (N)		Command *cut that cake!*	acceptance *okay, I will do*	refusal *no, I won't.*
give (M)	Information (Y)	Information *It is feeding its baby*	acknowledgement *is it?*	contradiction *No, it isn't*
demand (N)		Question *when is he coming?*	Answer *today*	disclaimer *I can't say*

Fig. 2.15: Speech Functions and Responses (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 137)

As shown in Fig. 2.15 above, each of the structural elements of the commodity exchange communicative process has been labeled (A, B, C, D, M, N, X and Y). A systematic combination of these elements translates into the various clause types in the "clause as exchange" classification of SFG. For example, a combination of A, M and X will translate into offer+giving+goods-and-services (as in *shall I give you some coffee?*). Details of all possible realisations of these elements in commodity exchange communication are shown in Fig. 2.16.

Initiate: full clause			**Respond: elliptical clause**	
AMX	(I'll …, shall I …?)		CMX	(yes; do)
BMX	(I'll …, shall I)		DMX	(no, don't)
AMY	(declarative: It is good)		CMY	(oh; is it)
BMY	(declarative + moodtag: it is not good, is it)		DMY	(no, it isn't)
ANX	(imperative: sit down)		CNX	(yes, I will)
BNX	(imperative + moodtag: you will not sit down here, will you?)		DNX	(no, I won't)

ANYP	(interrogative: yes/no: can you read and write?)		CNYP	(yes/no)
			DNYP	(don't know)
ANYQ	(interrogative - *Wh*-: who did this?)		CNYQ	(group/ phrase: the students)
			DNYQ	(don't know/won't say)

Fig. 2.16: Speech Functions and their Realisations in the Grammar of English

(Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 137)

One postulation of SFG in the interpersonal meaning of the clause, particularly when it is used to exchange information, is that the clause stands as a **proposition**, which "can be argued about – something that can be affirmed or denied, and also doubted, contradicted, insisted on, accepted with reservation, qualified, tempered, regretted, and so on" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). They, however, submit that the clause cannot be said to be proposition in all cases of commodity exchange communication. They maintain, rather, that while the clause takes on the role of proposition in information commodity exchange, it takes on the role of proposal in goods-and-services commodity exchange communication. Hence, according to them, "the semantic function of a clause in the exchange of information is a proposition; the semantic function of a clause in the exchange of goods-and-services is a proposal" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014, p. 135). Basically, the interpersonal meaning of the clause is expressed through the Mood, polarity and modality. Both polarity and modality will be briefly discussed below, while some comprehensive discussion of the Mood system and structure will be presented subsequently.

2.7.3.1 Polarity and Modality

Polarity in SFG has to do with positive or negative opposition expressed through language and in clauses. The Finite in English clauses serves various purposes, a very important part of which is to express polarity. As Thompson (2004) notes that any Finite is inherently

positive or negative in polarity. While positive polarity has no overt means of realisation in clauses, negative polarity is usually indicated in clauses with the addition of *not* or the contracted form *n't*. Negative polarity is also often expressed through Mood Adjuncts (never, hardly, etc.) as in the following examples.

Ade	*Has*	*not*	*signed*	*the register*
The President	*Would*	*not*	*attend*	*any congress meeting*
I	*Do*	*not*	*Like*	*the model*
Subject	**Finite**	**Neg. polarity**	**Predicator**	**Complement**
John and Samuel	*Would*	*hardly*	*Miss*	*any lunch*
She	*has*	*never*	*Saved*	*any dollar*
Subject	**Finite**	**Mood Adjunct**	**Predicator**	**Complement**

Fig. 2.17: Polarity in Clauses

As Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) maintain, though polarity is a choice between *yes* or *no*, there are some intermediate degrees between outright positive and negative polarity. The degree of intermediacy between positive and negative polarity is modality. They argue further that:

> In between the certainties of "it is" and "it isn't" lie the relative probabilities of "it must be", "it will be", "it may be"; and in between the definitive "do" and "don't!" lie the discretionary options "you must do", "you should do", etc. (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014, p. 178).

If the commodity of exchange in the dialogue is information, then modality is argued to be about the validity of the proposition in the clause in terms of probability (specifically on how

likely is it for the proposition to be true e.g. *possible, probable, certain*) and usuality (that is how frequently is the proposition true, which e.g. *sometimes, often, always*). In this case, the modality is referred to as modalisation. If, however, the commodity of exchange in the dialogue is goods-and-services, then the modality relates to how confident the speaker can appear to be in the eventual success of the exchange (Thompson, 2004, p. 67). This often concerns the degree of obligation on the other person to carry out directive (with scales ranging among *permissible, advisable, obligatory*), and in offers, it concerns the degree of willingness or inclination of the speaker to fulfill the offer. In these two cases, the modulation.

2.7.3.2 Mood

As earlier stated, one of the metafunctions of language identified in SFG is the interpersonal metafunction, by which the clause is seen as a means of meaning exchange in the communicative process. The Mood plays very significant role in the clause, as it is the element that enables the clause to perform its interpersonal metafunction as exchange. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) posit that in English, statements and questions are expressed "by means of a particular grammatical variation: variation which extends over just one part of the clause, leaving the remainder unaffected" (p. 139). What this means is that from one declarative clause (statement) for example, there can be a number of other clauses formed merely by varying some elements of the original clause. In the example below, it is easy to note that the Subject and Predicator of the first clause are being varied in the subsequent clauses, yet conveying full semantic senses:

i. *<u>You played</u> volley ball last year, <u>didn't you</u>?*

ii. *<u>We should not</u> kill the dog, <u>should we</u>?*

In these examples, the Subject of each clause (*you* and *we* respectively*)* is carried forward and repeated in the second clause in each case. The Predicator in the first clause and a part of the Predicator in the second clause (*played* and *should not*) are carried forward to the

second clause but varied in some ways in each case too. The combination of both the Subject and part of the Predicator (the Finite) is called the Mood, with the remaining part of the clause (*volley ball last year* and *kill the dog*) referred to as the Residue. The Mood in this sense is different from "mood", which usually refers to the choice of clause types, and as Thompson (2004, p. 49) notes, it is the presence and ordering of the Subject and the Finite that realises mood choices (indicative mood, imperative mood). A clause is, in the grammar of interpersonal meaning, divided into the Mood and the Residue as shown in examples *i.* and *ii*. below.

i. *I will eat everything you give me.*

I will	*eat everything you give me*
Mood	**Residue**

ii. *You can imagine what their responses and reactions will be when we get there.*

You can	*imagine everything you give me*
Mood	**Residue**

iii. *He gave him the money.*

He gave	*him the money*
Mood	**Residue**

Fig. 2.18: Mood Analysis of Clauses

The Mood consists of the Subject and the Finite operator in the clause. In the examples above, *I* is the Subject while *will* is the Finite operator in the first clause; whereas *You* is the Subject while *can* is the Finite operator in the second clause. Every other thing or words apart from the Subject and the Finite Verb in the clause constitutes the Residue. In clause *iii*, the Subject is *He*, the Finite is fused with the Predicator *gave* (no auxiliary verb to carry the load of

agreement) while *him the money* constitutes the Residue. The Subject can be realised by nominal groups either modified (as in *those who call my wife by name …*) or unmodified (e.g. *he, they, John, the Governing Board,* etc.), prepositional groups (as in *to come by road is not my problem*). It can also be realised by embedded or down-ranked clauses (as in: *smiling every time does not mean acceptance*). The Finite is the first functional element of the verbal group (Thompson, 2004), and through it, the speaker signals tense (past, present, future); polarity (positive or negative); and modality (extent of propositional validity) in the clause. The Finite is the element that is combined with the Subject by inversion to form the questions as shown in Fig. 2.19.

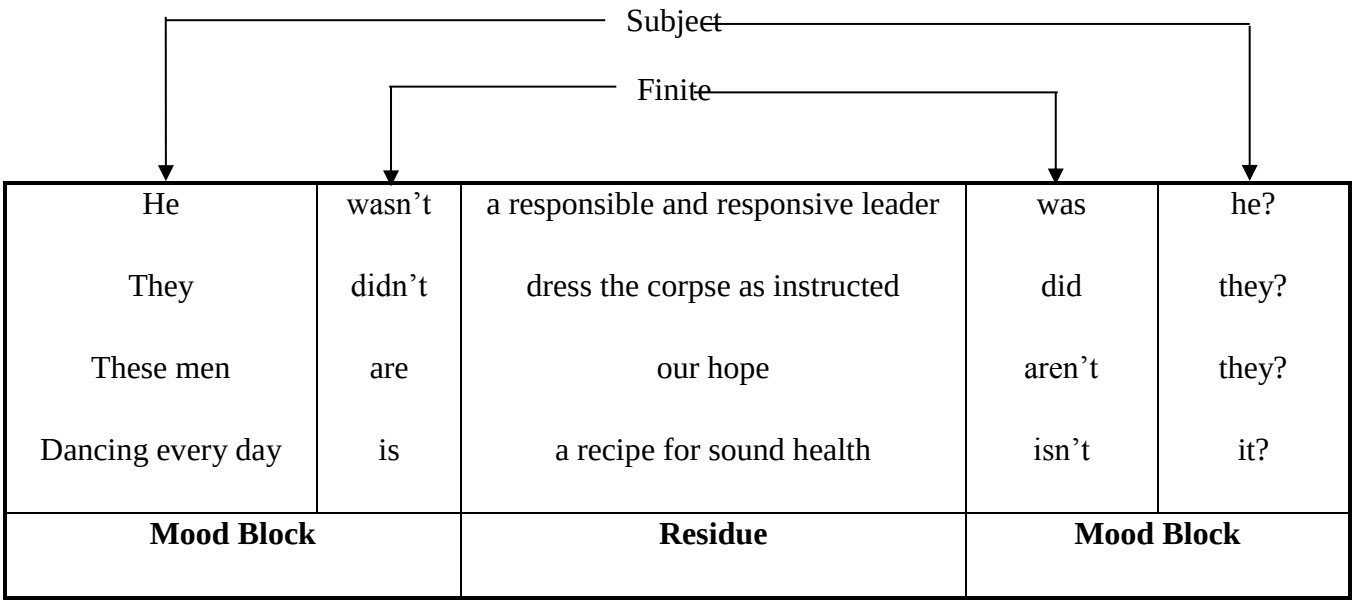


Fig. 2.19: Mood Analysis with Subject – Finite Inversion

Only independent clauses (see example i. below) and dependent clauses with the Finites (example ii. below) usually have Mood system in English, non-finite dependent clauses usually do not have (example iii. below) since they have no Finite. The following are examples:

i. *She was shot dead.*

[Mood realised by *She* as Subject, *was* as the Finite]

ii. *She was shot dead <u>because she stole money</u>.*

[Mood realised by *she* as Subject and part of the Predicator *stole*].

iii. *I eventually arrived, <u>having walked barefooted for many days</u>.*

[No Modal components: Subject and the Finite]

In the grammar of interpersonal meaning, clauses are analysed into the basic clausal elements of Subject, Finite, Predicator, Complement and Adjunct (SFPCA), with the Subject and the Finite combining to make the Mood Block, while all other elements of the clause combine to form the Residue. In other words, the Residue in clauses is made up of one or more of the Predicator, Complement and Adjunct. In the examples in Fig. 2.18 above, the Residue in each clause can be analysed as:

- *a responsible and responsive leader* (Complement)
- *dress* (Predicator) *the corpse* (Complement) *as instructed* (Adjunct)
- *our hope* (Complement)
- *a recipe for sound health* (Complement)

The Predicator as an element of the Residue in the Mood structure comprises the verbal group in the clause, but excludes the temporal or modal operator, earlier referred to as the Finite element. Thus, for example, in the verbal groups: *will be dancing, have relaxed, may have collapsed*, while the Finite elements are *<u>will</u>*, *<u>have</u>*, and *<u>may</u>* respectively, the Predicators in the verbal groups are *<u>be dancing</u>*, *<u>relaxed</u>*, and *<u>have collapsed</u>*. It is noteworthy that the Predicators are non-Finite. Predicators generally have four major functions in the clause structure, and these

are time reference specification (present, past, future); voice specification (passive or active voices); process specification (indicating process types: mental, verbal, behavioural, material, etc.) and a specification of other aspects and phases (such as seeming, trying, wishing, hoping, etc.).

The Complement as an element of the Residue in the Mood structure comprises the nominal groups that are not functioning (but can also function) as Subject in the clause. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014, p. 153) describe the Complement as "an element that has the potential for being given the interpersonally elevated status of modal responsibility – something that can be the nub of the argument". Thus, for example, three variants can be derived from the clause: *the president gave each state of the Federation some monetary intervention* by changing the roles and positions of the three nominal groups as follows:

i. *The President* [S] *gave* [P] *each state of the Federation* [C_1] *some monetary intervention* [C_2].

ii. *Each state of the Federation* [S] *was given* [P] *some monetary intervention* [C] *by the President* [A].

iii. *Some monetary intervention* [S] *was given* [P] *by the President* [A] *to each state of the Federation* [A].

The Complement can also be realised by dependent clauses as in examples *iv* and *v*.

iv. *We later realised <u>that what we were looking for all these years was deliberately and mischievously given away to the enemies by one of us who had been consistently unreliable.</u>*

v. *He insisted <u>they must replenish the stock before any further payments could be made.</u>*

The Adjunct, unlike the Subject and the Complement, as Halliday and Matthiessen (2014: p. 154) note, "cannot be elevated to the interpersonal status of modal responsibility" and arguments cannot therefore be constructed around the elements that make up the Adjunct in clauses. The

Adjunct is typically realised by the adverbial group, down-ranked clause or prepositional phrase as in:

i. *He made his submission very explicit [adverbial group]*
ii. *The gate was constructed when naira value was very high [down-ranked clause]*
iii. *We were beaten by our enemies [prepositional group]*.

Adjuncts, by their nature and functions, transcend the Mood structure and interpersonal metafunction of the clause, as they also function to convey both textual and experiential meanings. This accounts for the different types of Adjuncts, with details and examples in Fig. 2.20.

Metafunction	**Adjunct Type**		**Location in Mood Structure**	**Example in clauses**
Experiential	Circumstantial Adjuncts		In Residue	*He played the role **wholeheartedly.***
Interpersonal	Modal Adjuncts	Mood Adjuncts	In Mood	*The pilots were **entirely** out of control.*
		Comment Adjuncts	(Not in Mood Structure)	***Unfortunately,** we could help the victims.*
Textual			(Not in Mood Structure)	*He thought it was easy. **However,** he spent many years to get it.*

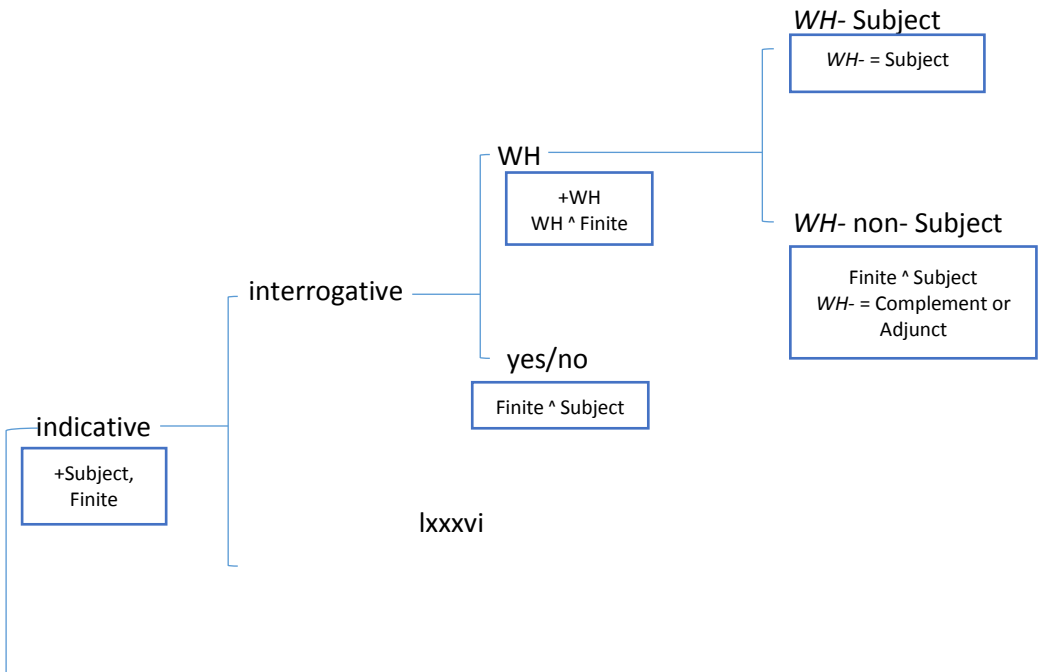
Fig. 2.20: Adjuncts in Metafunctional Analysis of the Clause

(Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014)

2.7.3.3 The Mood System

The Mood system in English provides the various mutually exclusive options that are available to language users at any given point. Language users therefore make choices from a pool of linguistic resources based on the context and the kind of messages to be conveyed, and this largely determines the structure of clauses. As shown in Fig. 2.19, the Mood operates only within the domain of independent or free clauses. The implication of this is that every independent or free clause has Mood, which could be of indicative and imperative types. Clauses with indicative Mood usually have the Subject, followed by the Finite. They are also of two types: declaratives and interrogatives. While declaratives have the Subject followed by the Finite (e.g. *the man died*) order, interrogatives do not.

Rather, interrogatives are of two types: one with inverted Finite followed by Subject (e.g. *did the man die?*) order; and the other, *Wh*-element followed by Finite (e.g. *where did the man die*) order. Declaratives could be exclamatory (e.g. *what a jewel she was!*) or non-exclamatory (e.g. *I must leave it*). Clauses of imperative Mood are of two types: suggestive (e.g. *my friend, let's try it*) or jussive, which can be marked (e.g. *you shut* up) or unmarked (e.g. *shut up*). Details of these are shown in Fig. 2.20.



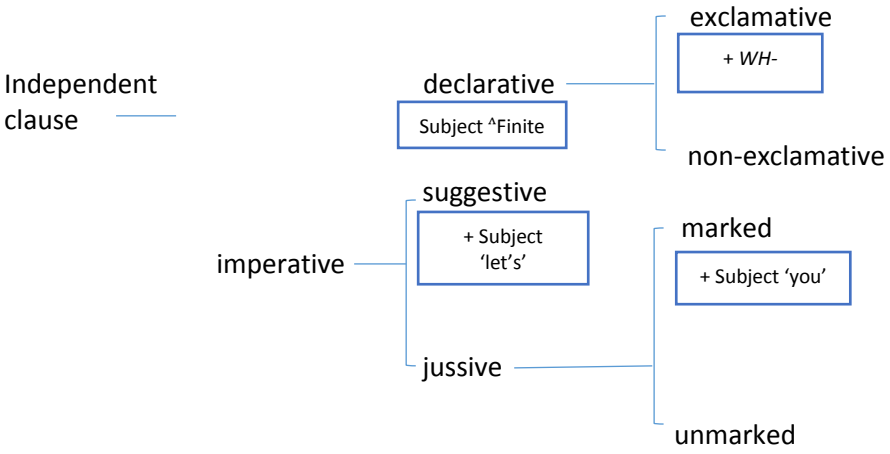


Fig. 2.21: The Mood System in English (Thompson, 2004, p. 58)

2.8 Classification of Questions across Disciplines

Questions and answers have become adjacency pairs that increasingly characterises the communicative contexts of investigations, courtroom processes and procedures, interviews, and all information-seeking and evidence-finding activities across all human languages. The importance of questions in humans' daily activities cannot be over-emphasised, just as the purposes and contexts of the use of questions remain largely inexhaustible. A man often starts a new day with questions: *How was your night? Did you sleep well? What are we taking for breakfast? When are you leaving for work?* etc. To these questions, he expects some information as feedback from the respondent, like *fine! Yes, thank you! Bread and omelet! 8.00 a.m.* respectively. The use of questions and answers permeates all spheres of life including both formal and informal settings. Teachers ask learners questions to test their level of understanding and assimilation, and learners also ask teachers questions to explain what they feel is not clear to them.

Medical practitioners elicit information from patients through questions and answers to know the kind of health problem the patients have. Lawyers ask their clients questions to be able to have in-depth knowledge of the clients' cases. The police ask the accused questions to

be able to obtain evidence on criminalities. Panelists at job interviews ask interviewees questions to know their competence level and suitability for the job at hand; and, buyers and sellers communicate and bargain through questions and answers. Questions are therefore very common in all forms of language use, including both written and spoken forms, as well as formal and informal modes in all human languages.

In criminal investigations and police interrogations, questioning is a major strategy for the elicitation of information and evidence. It has been averred (Adelsward, 1988; Luchjenbroars, 1997) that in criminal investigative processes, guilt and verdicts are determined on the basis of the outcome of the question-answer adjacency pairs. Seen this way, questions and questioning strategies have continued to attract more and more attention of scholars across disciplines, ranging from linguistics to law, psychology, sociology, and so on. In the judicial process and court trials, scholars are concurrent in their agreement on the primacy of questions and answers as the testimony elicitation technique (Coterill, 2003).

In her study on the popular murder trial of O. J. Simpson, Coterill categorised the various activity phases in the trial into five: jury selection, openings, witness examinations, closings and deliberations. Of these, she submitted that witness examinations took 91.9% days of the trial exercise, and it was in the form of "dialogic questioning of witnesses, by lawyers from both sides" (Coterill, 2003, p. 126). Atkinson and Drew (1979) specifically submit that in witness examinations, speakers' turns should be designed at least minimally as either questions or answers. Eades (1994) also avers that police and courtroom interviews are highly structured speech events, in which *questions* and their *answers* are fundamental. Questions do more than elicit information (e.g. *where is my box? In the bedroom.*), or seek confirmation (*you are happy, are you not? Yes, I am*).

Through the act of questioning in institutional and formal settings such as police-accused interrogation and courtroom interrogations, as Harris, (2003, p. 7) notes, "one speaker is able to

define the way in which the discourse is to continue, and thus also to define participant relationships along a dimension of power and authority". A deluge of multidisciplinary research exists on the use of questions and answers generally, and in institutional interactions specifically. A large number of these studies agree (Fisher et al, 1987; Davies, Westcott & Horan, 2000; Powell, 2002; Myklebust & Bjorklund, 2006; Myklebust, 2009), that "interviewees' willingness to disclose information" and "interviewers' ability to elicit the information" are the factors that influence what is said or not said in the process (Oxburgh, Myklebust & Grant, 2010, p. 47).

Questions have therefore attracted a lot of multidisciplinary scholarly attention because of their multi-contextual pervasiveness, as well as the great roles they play in daily formal and informal settings and conversations. In linguistics, questions have been studied or described largely from the perspective of grammar or syntax. SFG approaches questions from the study of the interpersonal meaning of the clause, with focus on the Mood. It identifies both the indicative and imperative types of clauses, with the indicative Mood leading first to interrogatives and declaratives; and from interrogatives, *Wh*-questions and yes/no questions are generated (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014; Bloor & Bloor, 2014). Even within SFG, there are varying classifications of questions. For example, while Halliday and Matthiessen (1999, 2014), Thompson (2004) and Fontaine (2013) identify *Wh*- and yes/no questions as the two broad types, Eggins (2004, p. 166) identifies "polar interrogatives (yes/no questions)" and "*Wh*-interrogatives (questions using who, what, which, where, when, why, how)". Carter and McCarthy (2006, p. 534) identify interrogative clauses with various types including polar interrogatives: *yes/no, x or y* questions. By these, they refer to clauses that "typically function to ask questions to which the answer is *yes* or *no*, or questions with *x* or *y* (alternative questions) such as *were you staying in Cardiff; do you know the way to the market?* They also identify (Carter & McCarthy, 2006, p. 538) *Wh-interrogatives*, which are clauses introduced "by *what, when, where, which, who, whose, why how*) such as *who wants more coffee? What can I do to*

help? and declarative clauses often used as questions, but marked by intonation such as *you want more coffee?* Quirk and Greenbaum (1990) also concur with Carter and McCarthy (2006) and others in their identification of interrogative yes/no questions and *Wh*-questions.

Tkachuk (2007) was a linguistic investigation and analysis of questions asked in the course of a court trial involving two lay men and a lawyer in the cross-examination phase. The case studied was the libel case of *McDonald's Corporation vs. Helen Steel and David Morris* held in the United Kingdom (1994 to 1996). The various questions recorded were first classified on the basis of their grammatical structures, while their functions were considered additionally. Following the classifications of Harris (1984); Woodbury (1984); Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik (1985), Phillips (1987) and Gibbons (2003), they identified five different types of questions, with examples as shown in Table. 2.22.

Table 2.2: Question Types Based on Grammatical Structure

Categories	Types	Examples
Wh- Questions	*Wh*- questions	*How do you define the word 'nutritious'?*
	Routinised *Wh*-Questions	*Which kind of cholesterol does it contain?*
	Grammatical yes/no Questions	*Is there any food that does not contain nutrients?*
	Indirect questions with yes/no	*Can you explain what 'total for week'*

Yes / no Questions	frame	*under each meal means?*
	Negative grammatical yes/no questions	*Does it not bother you?*
Declarative Questions		*So sugar is nutritious?*
Tag Questions	Reverse polarity	*But he is in the 30 per cent, is he not?*
	Same polarity	*We can regard it as authoritative, can we?*
	Agreement tags	*As a nutritionist, you are concerned with people's health, is that correct?*
Non-sentence Questions		*How about sugar?*

(Tkachuk, 2007, p. 241)

The grammatical structure-based classifications of questions from most of the previous works have very high similitude across studies, and only some minor variations can be observed in the descriptions. For example, Harris (1984, p. 12) identifies what he calls "Moodless – level or rising pitch", which equates largely to what Tkachuk (2007, p. 241) calls "Non-sentence questions". Another level at which questions have been classified by scholars is the level of function, that is, what a particular question is intended to achieve. Citing Bolinger (1957), Sacks (1972), Schegloff and Sacks (1973), Harris (1984, p. 6) argues that questions "are clearly attempts to get the hearer to say something, and hence are more clearly considered … for the role they play in discourse". It is thus possible either in daily casual or institutional settings to ask the respondent questions not only to provide some information, but to determine the type of information required as answers. Questions can therefore be used both to invite open and lengthy response (e.g. *can you tell us why you cheated?*), and strictly constrain the respondent in the type and length of answers to provide (as in: *did you tear it or not?*).

An extension of the function level of questions is what Shuy (1987) refers to as the fact value of the answers they invite, ranging from "high" fact value, open-ended questions to "low" fact value, restrictive *yes/no* questions (Luchjenbroars, 1997, p. 482). Questions have also been described in terms of their restrictivity impact on the answers expected. For example, Danet and Bogoch (1980) and Bullow-Moller (1992) identify the grammatical structure-based question types that included *yes/no* questions, declarative questions, *Wh*-questions, etc. They proceed to categorise each question type according to the freedom or constraint imposed on the type of answers expected. Thus, they categorise *yes/no* and declarative questions as constraining the respondent in the kind of answer expected, as in the following:

i. *Did you give her back?* [expected answer can only be *yes/no*]
ii. *You shouted at your boss?* [expected answer can only be *yes/no*]
iii. *You did not refund the money, did you?* [expected answer can only be *yes/no*]

Questions of the type above, where expected answers can only be a choice between yes/no are argued to be constraining, and therefore categorised as coercive (Danet & Bogoch, 1980). Other question types like *Wh*-questions, indirect questions are argued to be inviting open-ended responses and therefore non-constraining and non-coercive (Danet & Bogoch, 1980; Phillips, 1987; Bullow-Moller, 1992).

Questions have also been classified by a large number of studies as *open* or *closed* questions, following the response restrictivity criterion. Stern (1903/04), Varendonck (1911), Lamb et al, (1996), Korkman, Santtila and Sandnabba (2006), Myklebust and Bjorklund (2009) identified a set of questions called open questions, which "generated free narratives and longer responses from witnesses compared to closed questions" (Oxburgh, Myklebust & Grant, 2010, p. 48); or as described by the ABE interview document for England and Whales, enable the interviewee "give an unrestricted answer". These question types can be exemplified with the following, each of which gives the respondent some freedom in terms of the choice and length of what to say:

i. *In your opinion, what do you think are the factors responsible for the crisis?*
ii. *How did you reconcile the two parties?*
iii. *Can you tell this court what you experienced that year?*

Some literatures, albeit non-linguistic, have more technically described these questions as 5WH and "*how*" questions, that is, questions starting with such *Wh*-elements as *who, where, what, when, why,* and *how* (Home Office, 2007). In some other literature, they were described as those starting with "tell" or "describe" (Oxburgh, Myklebust & Grant, 2010, p. 50). Closed questions have also been defined in more than one ways, largely referring to questions that functionally restrict or pose some constraint in the type of answers expected. Richardson et al (1965) identify three sub-types of closed questions: identification, selection and yes/no questions; Aldridge and Cameron (1999) identify in general: free reports, open, specific, leading and non-leading questions; Davies et al (2000) identify open-ended, closed, specific yet not leading, and leading questions; while Cederborg et al (2000) identify invitation, directive, option-posing and suggestive question types. Leading and suppositional forms of questioning have been identified by Jacqueline, Graham and Mark (2004, p. 84) as "intuitively suggestive" and "are more powerful in their assertions". They aver that pre-suppositional questions are commonly used in the cross-examination procedure in courts, and are phrased so as to elicit a response from a two-alternative forced choice (i.e. yes/no). Each of these studies was conducted on separate investigative interviews at different times.

For Griffiths and Milne (2006), the classification of questions should be dependent on their functionality. They, on the basis of this, identify two broad categories, termed productive and unproductive questions. For them, productive questions are the questions that invite some full account of a particular event, person or happening, and the sub-types include "open" questions (defined as telling or describing questions); "5WH" questions (described as probing questions) and "appropriate closed" questions (described as yes/no questions), Oxburgh, Myklebust and Grant (2010, p. 51). They further contrast these with unproductive questions,

which they sub-categorized as “inappropriate closed questions” (described as appropriate closed questions used inappropriately in the course of the interviews); “leading questions” (described as questions suggesting answers to the interviewees); “multiple questions” (described as one question containing a number of sub-questions); and “forced choice questions” (described as questions that restrict respondent’s answer to a choice out of two).

Many studies have been conducted, with great volume of output and contributions to knowledge, on the type of effect the various question types usually have on the respondent. Such effect is often referred to in terms of coerciveness or restrictiveness (Danet & Bogoch, 1980). Danet and Bogoch (1980) is a study on what they term “combativeness” in the American adversarial systems of justice. They distinguish between the inquisitorial and adversarial systems of justice (inquisitorial, being the system practised in most European countries and adversarial, being the system practised in most English-speaking countries). Citing Damaska (1975), they note that in the inquisitorial system, all witnesses are evidentiary sources for the bench, and it is the judges who have the primary duty of obtaining information from them. This is opposed to the adversarial system where each of the prosecution and defense counsel has their own separate witnesses.

The investigators (Danet and Bogoch) analyse the linguistic strategies used by attorneys in the two discourse acts of *asking* and *objecting* in the trial process. They therefore examine the question and answer sequences from six criminal trials heard in the Superior Court of Boston, Massachusetts in 1976. They classify the various questions according to their structural and syntactic forms, and accorded the question types varying degrees of coerciveness. They submit, among other things, that “attorneys use coercive forms of questions far more often on cross than on direct”, and more specifically, that “prosecutors are consistently combative than defense attorneys” (Danet & Bogoch, 1980, p. 58).

Other studies on the nature of courtroom questioning have used Danet and Bogoch *supra* as foundation and for analyses. Bullow-Muller (1992) examines coercion in courtroom questioning using extracts from the mock trial of Lee Harvey Oswald. He argues that the degree of coerciveness of questions "cannot be gauged from the syntactic form without knowing if the responder is counsel's own witness or a hostile witness on cross-examination" (Bullow-Muller, 1992, p. 3). He opines that the same syntactic form does not denote the same control. He further asserts that coercion in courtroom questioning is not limited to the syntactic and structural levels but also to the pragmatic level on the receiving end, that is, the addressee, the judges, and the jury. For Harris (1984, p. 22), "the propositional content, context, and syntactic form all contribute to the relationship of questions to specific functions, though in varying and relative degrees".

Though the foregoing studies have extensively looked into the issue of questions in general and from different perspectives, it should be noted that most of these studies were conducted with focus on court trials, courtroom questioning and police-suspect interrogation. They were also largely conducted in advanced countries like the United States of America, United Kingdom and Australia. What can be easily deduced from this is that there are virtually no existing studies or literature on criminal investigative interviews outside the courts and the police. More specifically, there are no known literatures on interrogations involving students and officials of tertiary educational institutions as in the current study. It is equally note-worthy that there are scarce, if any, existing studies and literature on investigative interviews in the context of African countries, particularly Nigeria on which the current study is based.

2.9 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework adopted for the analysis of data in this study is, largely, the Systemic Functional Grammar. Though SFG is a holistic account of language in use, the aspect chosen for analysis is the Mood, which constitutes the grammatical resources for the realisation

of the interpersonal meaning expressed in the clause. The word Mood here is technically used to refer to the systematic combination of the Finite and the Subject in the clause, a configuration that generates different types of clauses, with each type used to achieve different communicative purposes. The study also leverages on conversation analysis for the identification of basic discourse structures such adjacency pairs, turns and turn-taking, interruptions and a host of other relevant conversational and discourse features.

2.10 Summary of Literature Review

In the preceding sections of this chapter, some literatures that are considered very relevant to the current study have been reviewed. The review started with a general discussion of discourse as a take-off point, followed by institutional discourse, which is a discourse type, and which includes interrogations, the focus of this study. A brief conceptual clarification of related and often confused terms: interaction, interrogation and interview was made, with some review of some existing studies on interrogations. Some elucidation of the Systemic Functional Grammar, the major theoretical approach for this study, was made. This included the fundamental tenets and basic principles of SFG, the realisation of the interpersonal meaning of the clause systematic lexico-grammatical choices at the centre of which is the Mood. The multidisciplinary and multidimensional descriptions of questions in various literatures were also reviewed.

The current study differs from the previous studies on institutional discourse in a number of ways. Firstly, none of the previous studies on institutional discourse has investigated student investigative and disciplinary interrogations, which are increasingly becoming routinised institutional activities in higher educational institutions globally. Secondly, the studies that have been documented on interrogations have focused essentially on structural and interactional peculiarities, asymmetry of roles and power, disadvantages caused by variation in proficiency levels, representation of interrogatees' story versions and variations in the actual spoken

accounts and the documented accounts by the police. In the current study, the objects of study were the interrogations between institutional representatives (panelists as interrogators) and the students who have been accused of some criminal activities (as interrogatees). The focus of analysis comprises the question-answer adjacency pairs in the interrogations, specifically, how grammatical systems and structures were used to achieve different communicative purposes. By some extension too, the study examined the structures and inherent peculiarities of student investigative and disciplinary interrogations, all of which could be said to be genre-specific to SIDIs.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

The aim of the study was to conduct a structural analysis of the discourse of SIDIs with a view to identifying the inherent syntactic patterns and determining how grammatical systems and structures were used to achieve different communicative purposes. By extension, the study examined the discourse features and discourse peculiarities of SIDIs. Consequently, the study investigated the lexico-grammatical resources used by the interrogators and the interrogatees in fifteen different student investigative and disciplinary interrogations in selected Nigerian universities. In doing this, the focus was mainly on the question-answer adjacency pairs that constitute each interrogation case.

The researcher analysed the proceedings from real and naturally occurring SIDIs. Three universities were chosen for the study and these were the Federal University of Technology, Akure; University of Ilorin; and, Adekunle Ajasin University, Akungba-Akoko. Fifteen interrogation cases were selected for the study, five cases from each university. Each of the cases went on for a minimum of forty-five (45) minutes and contained no fewer that sixty-five question-answer adjacency pairs. The study is a cross-sectional research rather than longitudinal. According to Dornyei (2010, p. 89), "cross-sectional research remains useful to describe variables and patterns of relationships as they exist at a particular time", whereas a longitudinal research, according to Menard (2002, p. 2) is research which "permit the measurement of differences or change in a variable from one period to another". A cross-sectional study can, thus, be equated to a synchronic study, while a longitudinal research can be equated to a diachronic study.

This research is a qualitative research. As observed by Donyei (2007), the main characteristics of qualitative research are the nature of data, the emergent research design and the peculiarities of research setting. By this, Donyei means, first, that qualitative research works with such data as recorded interviews, various types of texts and images, and that the data are transformed into textual form (transcription) for ease of analysis. Secondly, he argues that "no

aspect of the research design is tightly prefigured and a study is kept open and fluid so that it can respond in a flexible way to new details or openings that may emerge during the process of investigation" (Donyei, 2007, p. 37). Thirdly, that qualitative research takes place in the natural setting.

Dornyei (2010) further identifies two additional characteristics of qualitative research to include tendency to become increasingly long and its rather heterogeneous nature. The data for this study were the proceedings of each of the fifteen (15) interrogative cases selected for analysis. The research data shared the two characteristics of qualitative data identified by Dornyei above. Each case lasted over forty (40) minutes and all the proceedings were recorded and later transcribed. There were some cases where a case could not be concluded at one session, making a second hearing mandatory. This resulted in long transcripts, since all aspects of the proceedings had to be covered. The heterogeneity characteristic was reflected in the various components of the transcript of each proceeding. A typical SIDI consists of heterogeneous components (such as opening, closing, questions, answers, threats, sermons, appeals, etc.), yet the foci of analysis in this study were only the question-answer adjacency pairs that served as the major discourse strategy in the cases.

Although three universities and fifteen interrogative cases were chosen for the study, the sampling strategy was not aimed at making the universities and the interrogative cases representative of all Nigerian universities. Rather, the goal was to find naturally occurring instances of SIDIs, the analysis of which could lead to varied insights into the linguistic characteristics and interactional peculiarities of this evolving institutional interaction type. Thus, the sampling technique was purposive and purposeful (Dornyei, 2010). Iteration and saturation processes are two major characteristics of data collection for qualitative research. Iteration is defined as the time when researchers leave their data open as long as possible so that after initial accounts are gathered and analysed, additional participants or data can be added until

the data collection process reaches a point of saturation (Donyei, 2010). Saturation, on the other hand, has been defined as the point when no new information seems to be emerging from the data (Plum, 2008); and as noted by Arminen (2005, p. 62), "after a certain point, new data does not reveal anything quintessential that would not repeat or be parallel to existing findings". In this study, the iteration process included the researcher's initial decision to use only three SIDIs from each of the selected universities and to consider only thirty (30) question-answer adjacency pairs from each case for analysis. However, this decision changed later based on some considerations and two additional cases were added for each university to make a total of fifteen cases. The thirty (30) question-answer adjacency pairs initially selected per SIDI were also increased to a minimum of sixty (60) across cases to be able to achieve data saturation.

A combined conversation analysis and an aspect of the Systemic Functional Grammar was adopted for the analysis of the research data. While conversation analysis enabled the identification of discourse structures and features such as turns, turn allocation and turn-taking, adjacency pairs, interruptions etc., the aspect of SFG employed enabled the grammatical and structural analysis of all the component interrogators' questions and interrogatees' answers. The study also leveraged on the principles of SFG in the identification and classifications of the various lexico-grammatical resources deployed by the interactants to maintain interpersonal relationship and achieve their communicative goals at every stage of the discourse.

3.2 The Role of the Researcher

In this study, the researcher made arrangements for the collection of data by obtaining the formal approval of both the Federal University of Technology, Akure and Adekunle Ajasin University, Akungba-Akoko, Ondo State. In the case of the University of Ilorin, the researcher made arrangements with the Student Affairs Office which anchors student disciplinary matters

for the collection of the data. For all the cases from the Federal University of Technology, Akure, the researcher participated in the interrogations as an observer and personally recorded the interrogation proceedings. For the other two universities, the cases were recorded by a designated official who later submitted the audio tape to the researcher.

The researcher also personally transcribed all the audio tapes of the fifteen cases using recognised transcription notations and patterns. Where the researcher was present during the interrogations, he did not influence any part of the process and outcome of the proceedings. For all cases where the researcher was not present, and where the recordings were done for him, the researcher was able to confirm that the interrogation cases truly took place on the dates cited, and that the interrogators and the interrogatees were truly involved in the interrogations.

3.3 Method of Data Collection

Baxter (2010) notes that the business of linguistics is predominantly to explore the way in which people in the world use language in a range of social contexts. For the outcomes of such explorations to be widely accepted and relied upon, scholars have argued that it must be real samples of such language in contexts that should be explored. According to Have (2006), such real samples of language use can be collected in three different ways, viz: by copying broadcast of humans' communicative interactions, by using existing interactions, or by self-creating new recording of interactions. In this study, the researcher adopted the self-creation of interaction recording, by purposefully taking up the recording of interrogations and using the transcribed texts of the recorded interrogations as data for the study.

The research context was the student investigative and disciplinary activities in Nigerian universities. The object of analysis was the language used in the interrogation process, which was English. The foci of analysis were the questions and answers that formed the bulk of the

interrogations. To be able to achieve all these, three Nigerian universities were selected based on the following criteria:

i. The language of instruction and official communication in the three universities was English.
ii. Each of the universities was a public university, with students from diverse ethnic, social, and economic backgrounds (as against private universities where majority of the students were from wealthy background).
iii. Each of the universities had over twenty-five thousand (25,000) students.
iv. Each of the universities had a body of rules and regulations that governed studentship, as well as disciplinary procedures and sanctions against any erring student.
v. Because universities are microcosms of the larger society, members of the community, in this case students, do violate these rules and regulations. So, in each university, there are daily breaches of institutional rules and regulations.
vi. In each university, interrogation was *sine qua non* for student criminal investigations and discipline. Consequently, SIDIs have become routinised activities in each university.
vii. Each of the universities had a Student Disciplinary Committee (or Panel), whose primary responsibility was to investigate allegations of criminalities against any student or group of students so reported.

Of course, there were hundreds of SIDIs in each of the universities per academic session. These were mainly as a result of students' involvement in such anti-social acts as cultism, cheating in examinations, burglary, sexual harassment, extortion or collection of money under false pretense, admission racketeering, and so on. The researcher had to critically look at the various cases recorded and determine which of the cases should be selected considering iteration

and saturation parameters. The choices of the fifteen cases selected for the study were based on the following criteria:

i. All the cases actually took place, and had both the interrogators and interrogatees in attendance.
ii. All the cases went for a very long time (minimum of forty-five minutes in each case), as a way of achieving data iteration and saturation.
iii. There were a minimum of sixty (60) question-answer adjacency pairs in each case, and each case had sufficient discourse structures and discourse features for complementary analysis.
iv. Each case was concluded, thus enabling the researcher to know the final outcome of each case, and relate the outcome with the linguistic processes and peculiarities in the interrogation proceedings.

3.4 Transcription

Several patterns and conventions of transcribing recorded discourse have been suggested by scholars at different times. These include the transcription notations of Jefferson (1979), discourse transcription symbols of Schiffrin (1987), transcription conventions of Tannen (1989) and DuBois (1991). For Dornyei (2007, p. 248), "there is no perfect transcription convention that we can adopt automatically", and, based on this assertion, Dornyei advises applied linguists, citing Lapadat (2000) to "invent individualised transcription rules and formats that fit our purpose". Dornyei stresses further, citing Roberts (1997), that researchers should "use or develop a transcription system that can best represent the interactions they have recorded" (Dornyei, 2007, p. 248).

It was the transcription conventions of Tannen (1989) that were adopted for this study. Albeit, the transcription was made in a way that ensured a clear understanding of the communicative processes, with less focus on such phonological concepts and related details that

had mere tangential relevance to the issues of focus in the study. The transcriptions were done by the researcher himself, and he ensured that the orthographic versions (the transcripts) were predominantly representative of the audio versions for all the cases. To ensure this, the researcher listened to the audio versions over and over, and compared them with the orthographic version until he was satisfied that there were no discrepancies between the two versions. The various transcription conventions adopted are presented as Appendix 1, while the full transcripts for the cases investigated and analysed are presented with this report as Appendix 2.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

This study is based on human beings. It is a close and critical exploration of an aspect of some people's very sensitive and highly intimate affairs. It is, therefore, very important to be sensitive to a number of ethical issues that were involved. Dornyei (2010), reporting Johnson and Christensen (2004), enumerated the various sensitive aspects of social science and educational research to include the amount of shared information, relationships, data collection methods, anonymity, how the collected data are handled, data ownership and information considered to be very sensitive.

The interrogation cases investigated included cases of cultism, examination misconduct, attempted rape, and theft. These are cases usually handled with high level of confidentiality in Nigerian universities because of their numerous implications. In most cases, such cases are heard when there is restricted access. Students who appear before investigative and disciplinary panels are usually protected by ensuring that no one outside the panel has knowledge of the details of the interrogations. For cult-related cases, it is always so dangerous that each university had to beef up security around the venue of interrogation. One of the issues that must, consequently, be handled with utmost seriousness is the issue of anonymity not only on the part of the accused students (the interrogatees), but also in terms of the institutional representatives

(the interrogators). Another very important issue in interrogations is what participants say in the process, particularly the interrogatees, who in most cases, must name some persons either as witnesses or accomplices in the crime perpetration process.

As noted by Donyei (2010), one of the ethical principles of qualitative research is to ensure that the respondents are not traceable or identifiable from the recorded or transcribed data. The researcher ensured that the identities of both the interrogators and interrogatees were not revealed in the transcripts for all the cases analysed. In addition to interrogator and interrogatees' identities, all names and words that could serve as means of identification of persons and easily identifiable places were replaced with a pseudo-name *Mr. Timson* (for make interrogatees) or *Miss Timson* (for female interrogatees) in the transcripts. For all other non-interrogatee names in the transcript, *Mr. Titus* (for male referents) and *Miss Titus* (for female referents) were used. In terms of consent, which is also a major ethical issue in research, the researcher ensured that the approval of two universities (FUTA and AAUA) was obtained in writing to collect data in recorded format. For Unilorin, there was an understanding between the researcher and the office in charge of student disciplinary matters (Student Affairs Division) for the release of data. The ethical policies of each university also varied. These variations were largely considered and adhered to in the collection of data, transcriptions and presentation of data to the public.

3.6 Method of Data Analysis

A combined conversation analysis and Systemic Functional Grammar approach to data analysis was adopted in this study.

3.6.1 Conversation Analysis (CA)

CA principles and approaches were used to identify the structure (in terms of the component adjacency pairs, opening and closing, etc.) various turns and how the turns were

allocated in each interrogation case. Firstly, based on conversation analysts' view of discourse as a structured and organised activity, they identify one of the discourse structures as adjacency pairs. What is meant by adjacency pair is "a sequence of two utterances, which are adjacent, produced by different speakers, ordered as a first part and second part, and typed, so that a first part requires a particular second part or range of second parts" (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, pp. 295-6, cited in Schiffrin, 2007, p. 236). In the cases investigated, an adjacency pair comprised a set of two utterances, a first part, questions asked by the interrogators, thus requiring a mandatory second part, answers provided by the interrogatees.

For each of the interrogation cases, the total number of all component adjacency pairs (APs) were first identified. Each of the APs was also closely examined to be sure of the actual number that were question-answer sequences. The micro-contextual relationship of the two parts (Question and Answer: QA) that constituted each AP as well as the macro-contextual relationship between one AP and the one before and after it was also critically considered. This analysis enabled the researcher to understand the patterns of communication and the communicative purposes that characterised each discourse. In particular, the AP analysis enabled a clear understanding of the functional consistency and distinctiveness of the first part (usually interrogators' questions aimed at eliciting response in form of information provision) and the second part (usually interrogatees' answers to interrogators' questions). Closely related to the AP structure is the pattern of turn allocation and turn taking. If AP is a sequence of a first and a second part, and the first part is a prerequisite for the second part, then the first part is a turn (initiative) and the owner allocates the next turn (responsive) to the next speaker in the discourse. As such, an AP is a sequence of two turns: turn A is for the interrogators, while turn B is for the interrogatees. An understanding of the turn allocation pattern was aimed at providing useful insight into power relations in the discourse, as a party in the discourse is in control of turn allocations and turn utilization (that is, who speaks first, and who speaks next

between the interrogators and the interrogatees). This can be further illustrated using the excerpt below from one of the cases.

Excerpt 1 (Case 7)

AP^1	*Interrogator:*	*So what's the name of the cult?*
	Interrogatee:	*Eye Confraternity*
AP^2	*Interrogator:*	*And what's your position?*
	Interrogatee:	*Am not a member of any cult sir.*
AP^3	*Interrogator:*	*You said?*
	Interrogatee:	*Am not a member of any cult sir.*
AP^4	*Interrogator:*	*You were arrested by who?*
	Interrogatee:	*I was arrested by the police officers.*
AP^5	*Interrogator:*	*On the 23rd of March?*
	Interrogatee:	*Yes.*
AP^6	*Interrogator:*	*So tell us what happened.*
	Interrogatee:	*I wanted to collect money from my brother, in Ondo Road. He's a prison officer. So I called him and he said I should meet him in Ondo Road. That was Sunday evening, when I came back from the church. So on getting there, I met a friend at Ondo Road. He was inside a taxi. He said he wanted to collect something at Sawmill area.*

In the excerpt above, there are six (6) APs, each comprising an A part (that is, the interrogator) and a B part (that is, the interrogatee). The first part is interrogator's (initiating) turn, which precipitates the second part, the interrogatee's (responsive) turn to the interrogator's question. So, in each AP, there are two turns. In the excerpt, therefore, there are twelve (12) turns, six (6) for the interrogator, six (6) for the interrogatee. Each AP has macro-contextual relationship with the preceding and the succeeding APs in that each is a follow-up to the issue or proposition in the preceding AP, and each also leads to the issue or proposition in the succeeding

AP. This pattern forms some episodic chronology of narrations in the investigation process. Each AP also has micro-contextual relationship because of the context-relevance and correlational relationship between the initiating and interrogative component (of interrogators) as a first part, and a responsive and declarative component (of interrogatees) as a second part. The communicative pattern here thus comprises five initiating interrogatives as interrogators' turns (in AP^1 to AP^5) with one turn as command (in AP^6), and six responsive and declarative turns of the interrogatee.

3.6.2 Mood Analysis of Component Questions and Answers

Following from the notions of SFG above, every statement and every question in English has the Mood Structure and the Mood element. The Mood Structure essentially comprises a division of the entire clause into the Mood and Residue as in the following examples:

i. *Africa has overwhelming population of unemployed youths.* **[Statement]**

ii. *Has Africa overwhelming population of unemployed youths?* **[Question]**

Table 3.1(a): Mood Analysis of a Statement

Africa	Has	overwhelming population of unemployed youths.
Mood		**Residue.**

Table 3.1(b): Mood Analysis of a Question

Has	Africa	overwhelming population of unemployed youths?.
Mood		**Residue**

It can be easily seen from the statement-question example analyses above that the clause in each case has three elements, with two of the elements combining to form the Mood Block, while the remaining element forms the Residue. The two elements that merge together to form

the Mood Block are the Subject (*Africa*) and a part of the Predicator, in technical sense here called the Finite (*has*). Thus, in the statement version, the order of sequence is the Subject followed by the Finite (S ^ F: *Africa has …*), while in the question version, the order of sequence is the Finite followed by Subject (F ^ S: *Has Africa …*). This is further illustrated in the following tables.

Table 3.1(c): Mood Analysis of a Statement

Africa	has	overwhelming population of unemployed youths?
Subject	Finite	**Residue**
Mood		

Table 3.1(d): Mood Analysis of a Question

Has	Africa	overwhelming population of unemployed youths?
Finite	Subject	**Residue**
Mood		

The modal structures of all interrogators' questions in each of the cases investigated were analysed to identify their structural patterns. The analysis of the structural patterns of all the questions gave insight into the various types of questions used by interrogators and it was thus easy to determine the functions of each type of questions and the effect of each question type on interrogatees' answers in the communicative contexts. As an example, the interrogators' questions and interrogatees' answers in Excerpt 2 are analysed as shown below.

Excerpt 2: (Case 2)

AP[7] *Interrogator: So she was a year ahead of you?*

Interrogatee: Yes.

AP[8] *Interrogator:* *So you admit that you are involved?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

AP[9] *Interrogator:* *So what led to your involvement? How many students did you bring in, did you arrange for?*

Interrogatee: *Arrange for what sir?*

AP[10] *Interrogator:* *Is it not an arrangement that you made for admission racketeering?*

Interrogatee: *Okay. A student*

AP[11] *Interrogator:* *Just one?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

AP[12] *Interrogator:* *You know the name?*

Interrogatee: *I can't recall the name.*

There are six APs in the excerpt above (AP[7] to AP[12]). Each of these is analysed in terms of the modal structure as follows:

<table>
<tr><td colspan="4">Modal analysis of the question in AP[7]</td></tr>
<tr><td>So</td><td>He</td><td>was</td><td>a year ahead of you?</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Residue</td><td>Subject</td><td>Finite</td><td rowspan="2">Residue</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Mood</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Modal analysis of the answer</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Yes. [No modal structure]</td></tr>
</table>

In the QA adjacency pair above, the modal structure of the question *So he was a year ahead of you?* is Subject followed by the Finite. The Residue comprises both the Adjunct[1] element *So* and the Adjunct[2] element *a year ahead of you*. The Mood type here is first,

Indicative, and then interrogative. The clausal configuration here equates to the clause type identified in literature as declarative question. A declarative question is a question with a declarative modal structure (Subject followed by the Finite) and a rising intonation to make it interrogative (Carter & McCarthy, 2006). It is also referred to as *queclaratives* (Thompson, 2004). The answer component of the AP (that is, *Yes*) has no modal structure. This clause type has been identified as minor and elliptical clauses (Thompson, 2004, p. 149), "where part of the message may be carried over from an earlier message (e.g. in the answer to a question), or may be understood from the general context". Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) do not clearly identify this type of questions, but posit that there are cases that often clearly show the absence of elements of the modal structure, and give instances of ellipsis and minor clauses as specific cases.

<table>
<tr><td colspan="4">Modal analysis of the question in AP[8]</td></tr>
<tr><td>So</td><td>you</td><td>admit</td><td>you are involved?</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Residue</td><td>Subject</td><td>Finite (fused)</td><td rowspan="2">Residue</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Mood</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Modal analysis of the answer</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Yes sir. [No modal structure].</td></tr>
</table>

The example above is similar in analysis to the one before it in that the modal structure is the same for the two clauses (that is, the Subject followed by the Finite). The two clauses also end with a rising intonation to make them interrogative even though their original structure is

declarative. The syntactic pattern of the answer is also similar as both do not have modal structures and are instances of interrogative minor clauses as identified above.

<table>
<tr><td colspan="4">Modal analysis of the question in AP[9]</td></tr>
<tr><td>How many students</td><td>did</td><td>you</td><td>arrange for?</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Residue</td><td>Finite</td><td>Subject</td><td rowspan="2">Residue</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Mood</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Modal analysis of the answer</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Arrange for what Sir? [Moodless construction]</td></tr>
</table>

The syntactic structure of the question above is different from the preceding two questions in that the modal structure comprises both the Subject and the Finite but in reverse order when compared to the preceding questions. The Residue also comprises the Complement element *How many students* (which is a type of Wh-interrogative element) and the Predicator element *arrange for*. This modal structure equates to a type of questions identified in literatures as *Wh*-interrogatives. The answer provided by the interrogatee is also a type of moodless clause, since no direct Finite and Subject can be identified.

<table>
<tr><td colspan="4">Modal analysis of the question in AP[10]</td></tr>
<tr><td>Is</td><td>it (not)</td><td>an arrangement</td><td>that you made for admission racketeering?</td></tr>
<tr><td>Finite</td><td>Subject</td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
</table>

Mood	Residue
Modal analysis of the answer	
Okay,	*a student* [Moodless construction]

In this example, the structural pattern is also different from the structural patterns of the preceding questions in that the Mood is realised by the Finite (with negative polarity *not*) followed by the Subject, whereas the Residue comprises the Predicator[1] element *an arrangement* and the Predicator[2] element *that you made for admission racketeering?* This structural pattern equates to the type of clauses identified in literature as *yes/no* interrogatives (Thompson, 2004; Carter & McCarthy, 2006; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). The answer provided by the interrogatee *Okay, a student* is also a moodless construction and another example of what has been identified in literature as minor clauses.

Modal analysis of the question in AP[11]
Just one? [Moodless construction used as an interrogative]
Modal analysis of the answer
Yes sir. [Moodless construction as an answer]

The question and answer in the AP[11] above are realised by moodless constructions in each case. Though the interrogators' turn is realised by a moodless construction as question, the interrogatee recognises that the construction is interrogative, hence his provision of an answer that is acceptable to the interrogators.

Modal analysis of the question in AP[12]

You	*know*	*the name?*	
Subject	Finite (fused)	Residue	
Mood			
Modal analysis of the answer			
I	*can't*	*recall*	*the name*
Subject	Finite (with neg. polarity)	Residue	
Mood			

In AP[12] above, the modal structure of the question is the Subject followed by the Finite, while the Residue comprises the Complement element *the name*. This is similar in structure to Aps 1 and 2 analysed above, a clausal configuration that realises declarative questions or queclaratives. The modal structure of interrogatee's answer is Subject followed by the Finite, while the Residue comprises the Predicator element *recall* and the Complement element *the name*.

Although the modal analysis of all the questions in each interrogation case was carried out, it was not all the clauses that constitute the interogatee's answers in all cases that were analysed because of the length of such answers. Instead, only the first two clauses of each answer were analysed.

3.6.3 Analysis of Structural Restrictivity Patterns of Questions

The Mood analysis of all the component questions per interrogation case was followed by the analysis of the structural restrictivity patterns of emergent question types. Structural restrictivity in this study refers to how the syntactic structure of a clause or question restricts the

type of answers expected as response. This type of analysis has to do with the functional and semantic relationship of each question type with the type of answers expected from the interrogatees. Thus, as identified in some previous studies (such as Danet & Bogoch, 1980; Bullow-Muller, 1992; Korkman, Santtila & Sandnabba, 2006; Myklebust & Bjorklund, 2009), while the syntactic structures of some questions give interrogattes freedom to determine the choice and lengths of answers to provide, the syntactic structures of some questions restrict interrogatees in the provision of their answers. This restriction is usually in terms of choices and lengths of the information to be provided. The analysis of some questions and answers in excerpt 3 further illustrate and exemplify this pattern.

Excerpt 3 (Case 3)

AP^{13}	*Interrogator:*	*Did they say are you not Timson Timson?*
	Interrogatee:	*No no. They just say are you not so so person? I was shocked. As in I never expected anybody to know me pointedly like that.*
AP^{14}	*Interrogator:*	*They mentioned your name?*
	Interrogatee:	*No. One of those three guys that came from LASPOTECH then, say are you not so so so, that you be our brother now. I couldn't say a word because it was like what I was hiding from has already caught up with me. They now took me to a joint there, where they are selling palm wine there. So they took me there, we went there. I was like, I sat there with them sir.*
AP^{15}	*Interrogator:*	*And you were glad you were able to meet them?*
	Interrogatee:	*No. I wasn't. Because the efforts I have been making have come to vain. They said a lot of things about the school.*
AP^{16}	*Interrogator:*	*So what are the things they said about the school?*
	Interrogatee:	*Is like the weakness of Frats in the school.*

In the excerpt above (AP^{13}- AP^{16}), the interrogators' question in AP^{13} *Did they say you are not Lagbaja Lagbaja?* requires only a choice-option between a propositional confirmation *yes* or a propositional refutation *no* and a maximum of a reinforcing construction (e.g. *Yes, I am*

for propositional confirmation or *No, I am not* for propositional refutation) by its syntactic structure. In the answer provided, however, the interrogatee not only refuted the proposition but also proceeded to give a reinforcing narrative that goes beyond a mere refutation. Rather than a short answer required, then, the interrogatee has made the answer a bit long, rendered in four sentences. In the next interrogators' next turn, they asked another question that similarly required a choice between propositional confirmation and propositional refutation again. Rather than provide a short confirmatory or refutational answer, the interrogatee proceeds to first refute the proposition that *They mentioned your name?* with *No no*, and provides explanatory account that spread across five (5) additional sentences, thus making the answer a long one.

Based on this analysis, questions were categorised into structurally restrictive questions (which comprised all such questions *yes*/*no* interrogatives, declarative questions and some types of *Wh*-interrogatives), also referred to as coercive questions in the literature (Danet & Bogoch, 1980), closed questions (Lamb *et al*, 1996; Korkman, Santtila & Sandnabba, 2006) and non-structurally restrictive questions, which were questions that invite interrogatees to make some narratives, also described in literature as open questions. According to the ABE interview document for England and Whales, open questions enable the interviewee to give an unrestricted answer, and which "generated free narratives and longer responses from witnesses compared to closed questions". Oxburgh, Myklebust and Grant (2010, p. 48) distinguish this category of questions as those questions that "generated free narratives and longer responses from witnesses compared to closed questions".

The categorisation of questions into restrictive and non-restrictive types enabled the determination of the frequencies of each category across cases, and the cross-case variation in such frequencies provided useful insight into interrogators' preference for each category. It also provided useful insight into the functional relationship between the syntactic forms of questions and the actual answers provided by the interogatees.

3.6.4 Analysis of Answers into Short and Long Answers

The answers provided by interrogatees in the interrogations complemented the questions asked by interrogators to form a complete adjacency pair in each case. In addition to this, interrogatees' answers played discourse continuity and discourse progression roles because the next turn of the interrogators (questioning) was always determined by the current turn of the interrogatees (answering). The answers therefore played very significant roles in the discourse. The analysis of the answers was done mainly to be able to determine the effect of the structural composition of each question on the respective answers provided. This effect is in terms of choices of information to be provided as answer and the freedom of respondents in terms of the lengths of answers to be provided. The choice of information to be provided as answer has to do with questions where respondents were restricted to only two options as possible answer to a question. The two options were propositional confirmation and propositional refutation. These were classified as "forced-option questions", and the questions that were in this category included all *yes/no* interrogatives, all declarative questions, all *Wh*-interrogatives (except those headed by *why* and *how*) and some moodless questions.

The analysis of the answers was therefore more specifically motivated by the following questions: one, do the structurally restrictive questions (that is, questions that require short answers: propositional confirmation *yes* or propositional refutation *no*) get only short answers as structurally pre-determined or they get elongated and expatiated answers in return? Where structurally restrictive questions take only short answers, what is the implication on the discourse? Where structurally restrictive questions take both short and long answers, what is the implication on the discourse? Having classified and identified all the types of questions that require short answers by their syntactic architecture, the various answers were also classified to be able to determine which answers were regarded as short and which ones were regarded as long in the study.

An answer to a question was classified as 'short' where the interrogatee limited him/herself to a choice from the propositional confirmation or propositional refutation options provided by the interrogator, as in the following:

Excerpt 4 (Case 2)

AP[17] *Interrogator:* *Was it Prof. Titus that introduced the student's dad to you?*

Interrogatee: *Yes.*

AP[18] *Interrogator:* *Are you a Christian or a Muslim?*

Interrogatee: *Muslim.*

AP[19] *Interrogator:* *Were you not given an invitation letter to attend this interrogation?*

Interrogatee: *No.*

In AP[17] and AP[19] above, some propositions were made in each of the questions and the interrogatee was expected to either confirm or refute such propositions. In AP[18], two alternatives were presented from which the respondent was expected to make a choice as answer. Each of these questions was suggestive and presented closed options from which answers were to be made. Each answer was made within the confirmation-refutation options given: confirmation of proposition in AP[17]; confirmation of one alternative in AP[18]; and refutation of proposition in AP[19]. Answers like these, which were made only from the two options presented by interrogators were classified as short answers because interrogatees did not go beyond the options provided in making their answers. In some cases, interrogatees reinforced their propositional confirmation or refutation in a bid to add more weight to their assertions. This was often done with additional sentences with the following as examples:

Excerpt 5 (examination malpractice case)

AP[20] *Interrogator:* *Have you ever faced any disciplinary panel in this University?*

Interrogatee: No sir. I have never for once faced any panel.

AP[21] *Interrogator: You think your parents will be happy if you are expelled from this University?*

Interrogatee: They will never be happy. In fact they must not hear that am sick talk less of expulsion. That's why am begging sir please pardon me and I will never be involved in any shameful act again. Please sir.

In AP[20] above, the interrogatee's answer to the *yes/no* interrogative is a propositional refutation *No sir*. In addition, however, he reinforced the refutation with some illustration provided in one sentence. Since the reinforcing clause was only adding to the propositional refutation, it was assumed that the duo were referring to the same thing. In this answer, there are two units of utterances: a propositional refutation *No* sir; and a reinforcement *I have never for once faced any panel.* Answers such as this which contain a maximum of two units of utterances were regarded as short answers.

However, there were instances where such questions had answers that contained longer stretches of utterances than two units, probably for elaboration purposes. In such instances, the answers were no longer short but became long answers because the interrogators had assumed some freedom of answer choice and answer length. A long answer is therefore an answer that contained more than two units of utterances with an example in AP[21] above, where the interrogator refutes the proposition in the preceding question, but goes ahead with full explanation made in three (3) additional sentences. In summary, a short answer in the study is a complete and meaningful utterance made up of not more than two constituent units. A unit, in this sense, is an utterance consisting any of a word, a phrase or a clause that can be functionally independent and considered a possible and acceptable answer by the interrogator. A long answer, on the other hand, is an answer that is expected to be restricted to *yes* or *no* but contains more than two units of utterances.

3.6.5 Analysis of Factual Concurrences across Cases

One approach adopted in relating the final decisions of interrogators (and of the University) to the question-answer information exchange and evidence gathering in each disciplinary case was to undertake an analysis of factual concurrence per case. In all SIDIs, there are usually two story versions: one, the version gathered by interrogators before the interrogation; and two, the real story from the perspective of the students involved (the interrogatee). One of the main responsibilities of the interrogators is to generate a story from all the bits of information obtained in the process, through narrative co-construction and de-construction (as applicable), and it is the story that will be used as the basis for the panelists' recommendations and Management's final decisions. Concurrence analysis in the study has to do with the extent of propositional agreement and propositional disagreement between the interrogators and the interrogatees. The aim of this type of analysis is to be able to determine how disciplinary outcomes relate to the question-answer proceedings in each case. This analytical principle can be further illustrated using the excerpt 3 below.

Excerpt 6 (Case 1)

AP[22] *Interrogator:* *Mr. Timson,*

Interrogatee: *Sir*

AP[23] *Interrogator:* *You (..) the statement you just made, I want you to reconfirm, that I relate with them as Buccaneers?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

AP[24] *Interrogator:* *That means as a member of their group?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

AP[25] *Interrogator:* *That I know everything about them?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir, everything about them. Everything about them.*

AP[26] *Interrogator:* *You mean?*

Interrogatee: Everything about them.

AP[27] *Interrogator: Although you have not been initiated*

Interrogatee: Yes, I know everything about them.

AP[28] *Interrogator: But you behaved and acted as one of them?*

Interrogatee: Yes, as one of them

From AP[23] to AP[28], there are five different propositions made by the interrogators: *i.* that the interrogatee relates with Buccaneers; *ii.* that he relates with them as a member of the group; *iii.* that the interrogatee knows everything about the Buccaneers; *iv.* that although the interrogatee has not been initiated, he knows everything about the Buccaneers; *v.* that the interrogatee behaved and acted as one of the Buccaneers. To all these propositions, the interrogatee concurs (that is, he agrees with all the bits of accusatory information put to him by the interrogators). In this excerpt, factual concurrence is, obviously, very high, thus showing a very high degree of truth-value for the interrogators' propositions. Factual concurrence can also be low, depending on the frequencies of factual disagreements between the interrogators and the interrogatees as in excerpt 7 below.

Excerpt 7 (Case 3)

AP[29] *Interrogator: ..... Now we want to know what role you played since joined them effectively in (this University), can you now tell us?*

Interrogatee: I don't have any role. The first statement is I never joined them effectively in (this University).

AP[30] *Interrogator: Mr. Timson*

Interrogatee: Yes sir.

AP[31] *Interrogator: You know what I mean by effectively joined them?*

Interrogatee: As in ..

AP[32] *Interrogator: I didn't mean that you were initiated here.*

Interrogatee: Full participation in their activities?

AP[33] *Interrogator:* *Yes, full participation.*

Interrogatee: *No.*

AP[34] *Interrogator:* *So you did not attend their meetings?*

Interrogatee: *I didn't attend their meeting once.*

AP[35] *Interrogator:* *You never attended their meetings?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, I've never attended their meetings. They met me before, they approached me.*

AP[36] *Interrogator:* *And begged you to come and be their number one?*

Interrogatee: *Ah no. They don't beg people.*

AP[37] *Interrogator:* *So what did they do to you? They appealed to you?*

Interrogatee: *No.*

AP[38] *Interrogator:* *Or they canvass you?*

Interrogatee: *They canvassed me to come back and participate..*

AP[39] *Interrogator:* *And to come and lead them because of your experience? You are just here to bamboozle us. Say the truth and let's know how to help you. Are you saying that you have never followed them to Ado-Owo road?*

Interrogatee: *Mummy I never follow them there as in I no know, as in, I no know what..*

AP[40] *Interrogator:* *You have never had any meeting with them? You have never acted as a number one? Were you not arrested by the police along Ado-Owo Road?*

Interrogatee: *At all. My stay in Akure was clean.*

In the excerpt above, AP[29], AP[33], AP[34], AP[35], AP[36], AP[37], AP[39] and AP[40] all contain some propositions from the interrogators to the interrogatee. The interrogatee, however, refutes all the propositions, an evidence of factual and propositional disagreement between the two parties. In cases like this, there is low factual concurrence. The levels of factual concurrence can be low, high, or very high, and this could have implications for the outcome and final decisions of the panel in each case. For example, it would be easy to determine in what factual

concurrence situation were interrogatees pronounced guilty and sanctioned or pronounced innocent and exonerated.

3.7 Summary

In this chapter, the details of research data and method of analysis have been presented. The presentation has, more specifically, been on the research design, the role of the researcher, method of data collection, conversion of audio recordings to orthographic versions (transcriptions), ethical considerations in the process of data collection, transcription and research reporting. The different approaches to the analysis of the research data have also been presented. In the next chapter, the data for the study and the summary of case-by-case analysis will be presented.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the analytical details in respect of the research data are presented. The details include, in chronological order, some brief on each of the SIDI analysed (so as to be able to relate the analytical procedures and outcome with each case type), the modal analysis of the component questions and parts of the answers, and an overview of the emergent lexico-grammatical resources used for the realisation of interpersonal meanings in the question-answer clauses. The analytical details of the structural restrictivity patterns of questions, answer types

and factual concurrence are also presented. The chapter ends with the correlation analysis of the question-answer sequencing and the outcome of each SIDI investigated.

4.2 Nature of Each SIDI

There were fifteen (15) different SIDIs analysed in this study. Some brief on each of the cases is presented below.

Case 1: This is a case of an alleged involvement in cult-related activities by a student. The student was accused of belonging to a named secret cult. The interrogation went on for two (non-consecutive) days. The student initially denied all the allegations and propositions confronted him with by the interrogators. After a lot of discourse strategies that included sermonisation, appeals and some threat, the interrogatee voluntarily confessed and admitted that truly, he was a member of the group and that he had been actively participating in all the activities of the group. The interrogators pronounced the interrogatee guilty and recommended him for disciplinary action in line with extant regulations of the University.

Case 2: This is a case of an alleged involvement in admission racketeering. The student was accused of extorting money from an unsuspecting candidate on an assurance that he would help the candidate secure admission into her chosen course in the University. Initially, the interrogatee was uncooperative and not forth-coming. After some persistence and use of some discourse strategies, the interrogatee started making useful revelations that eventually convinced the interrogators that the suspect was acting in good faith in support of the University. The interrogators pronounced the interrogatee innocent and recommended him for exoneration by the University.

Case 3: This is a case of an alleged involvement in cult-related activities by a student. The student appeared before the panel two times for interrogation. The panel employed different discourse strategies to make the interrogatee confess fully that he was a member of a named secret cult and that he had been participating in the cult's activities. The interrogatee did not make full confession as envisaged though there were areas of factual concurrence. The interrogators pronounced the interrogatee guilty and recommended him for disciplinary actions because he was said to be uncooperative and not being a witness of truth.

Case 4: This is a case of theft in which a student was alleged to have stolen a laptop and a Samsung Galaxy tablet of another student. The case went on for two times. The interrogatee initially was uncooperative but after some time of the deployment of different discourse tactics and investigation techniques, he confessed and admitted guilt. The interrogators pronounced him guilty and recommended him for disciplinary actions in line with the University's extant regulations.

Case 5: The case was on an allegation of an examination malpractice by a female student. After a long time of interrogation and evidence presentation, the interrogatee confessed and admitted guilt. She was recommended for disciplinary actions in line with the University's extant regulations.

Case 6: This was about a student who was alleged to have attempted to rape a female student. The case lasted two different interrogation sessions. The interrogatee did not confess, as he was refuting most of the propositions of the interrogators. The interrogators pronounced him guilty and recommended him for disciplinary actions for "not being a witness of truth".

Case 7: The student involved in this case was alleged to be a member of a named cult group on campus, He was reported to have been arrested by the police for cult-related activities and was prosecuted in a named court, though acquitted for want of evidence. Having been suspended by the University for that purpose, he needed to clear himself of the allegations before the panel to be re-absorbed as a student. The case went on for two different interrogation sessions. The interrogators pronounced the interrogatee guilty and recommended him for disciplinary actions in line with the University's extant regulations.

Case 8: This involved a student who was alleged to be a member of a named cult group on campus. The interrogatee denied most of the allegations against him. However, some item believed to be a charm was found on him while entering the venue of the interrogations. The interrogators pronounced him guilty and recommended him for disciplinary actions in line with the University's extant regulations.

Case 9: The case involved two students fighting on campus which resulted in the admission of one of them for a long time in the hospital. It took the interrogators a long time to get the interrogatee truly confess the extent of his involvement in the fight. The interrogators pronounced the interrogatee guilty and recommended him for disciplinary actions.

Case 10: The case involved a student, who was alleged to be involved in a crisis between different cult groups on campus. The interrogatee refuted most of the propositions of the interrogators by pleading alibi in some cases and feigning outright denials in other cases. The interrogators pronounced the interrogatee innocent and recommended his acquittal to the University.

Case 11: This involved a student who was alleged to have been involved in some examination malpractice. The interrogators pronounced the interrogatee guilty and recommended her for disciplinary actions in line with the University's extant regulations.

Case 12: This involved a student who was alleged to have been involved in cult-related activities on campus. He was also alleged to have been initiated and recruiting other students to join the group. The interrogators decided to free him because he was "a witness of truth" and because he had already been suspended for one session before.

Case 13: This involved a student who was alleged of membership of, and participation in all the activities of a named cult group on campus. The interrogators pronounced him innocent and decided to recommend his acquittal to the University.

Case 14: This involved a female student who falsely reported a lecturer to Management for sexual harassment. The interrogators used different strategies to make the student confess that the allegation against the lecturer was not true. The interrogators pronounced the interrogatee guilty and decided to recommend her for disciplinary actions in line with the regulations of the University.

Case 15: This involved a student who was alleged to have cheated in an examination. The interrogators pronounced the interrogatee guilty and decided to recommend him for disciplinary actions.

4.3 Structural Components of the SIDIs Investigated

For each of the SIDIs, the structural components in terms of the constituent turns, adjacency pairs and adjacency pairs that were questions and answers were determined. The details of such components are presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Structural Components of Investigated SIDIs

Cases	No. of Turns	No. of Adjacency Pairs	No. of Question-Answer APs	%age of Question-Answer AP to non QA AP
Case 1	388	193	143	74%
Case 2	228	114	94	82%
Case 3	434	217	173	80%
Case 4	346	173	161	93%
Case 5	132	66	60	89%
Case 6	290	145	138	95%
Case 7	388	194	186	96%
Case 8	156	78	73	93%
Case 9	214	107	100	93%
Case 10	306	153	137	90%
Case 11	284	142	128	90%
Case 12	448	224	188	84%
Case 13	210	105	83	79%
Case 14	298	149	134	90%
Case 15	314	157	135	86%

Table 4.1 shows the structural components of each of the SIDIs analysed. As shown in the table, each SIDI was composed of a number speaker turns (Speaker A, the interrogators; Speaker B, the interrogatees). As Pomerantz and Fehr (2011) note, actions in interactions are often performed in turns, with one speaker or interactant at a time. The turn-taking structure was patterned along the institutionally pre-defined roles of participants in SIDIs such that it was the role of the interrogators to initiate and allocate turns in the discourse. Turns were initiated by interrogators, and interrogatees oriented to the allocated turns by responding to the

interrogators. A combination of the corresponding turns of the interrogators and interrogatees gave way for the emergence of adjacency pairs (APs). An AP in the study comprised an initiated contribution of the interrogators and the complementary contribution of the interrogatees. Table 4.1 also shows the AP composition in each of the SIDIs. Also shown in the table are the number of APs constituted by question-answer sequences in each SIDI. It can be observed from the presentation that an average AP in SIDIs is minimally an interrogator's question and an interrogatee's complementary answer. The use of questions and answers can therefore be said to be the predominant linguistic strategy used in SIDIs. This is because in all the cases investigated, the least percentage of questions and answers that constituted the overall APs in each case was 74%.

4.4 The Lexico-grammatical Resources Used for the Realisation of Interpersonal Meanings in SIDIs

A SIDI is an interaction that involves two parties: the interrogators and the interrogatees. Language plays a very significant role in this process, as it enables the end-to-end transmission of information and it enables the enactment of relationship. These two major roles of language were played through the clause, as theorised in SFG. One fundamental grammatical system and resource for the realisation of this interpersonal meaning is the Mood. The analysis of the Mood in the SIDIs is reported in the next section.

4.4.1 Mood Analysis of Questions

The details of the modal structure analysis of questions in all the SIDIs investigated are presented in Table 4.2. The modal analyses of the questions showed that the Mood type for all the questions were generally indicative, but structurally interrogative. There are four emergent structural patterns in terms of the modal structures of the question-clauses analysed. These include: the Subject followed by the Finite (S ^ F) with an optional Residue identified as

declarative questions (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014; Carter & McCarthy, 2006) and as queclaratives (Thompson, 2004); the Finite followed by the Subject (F ^ S) with an optional Residue identified in as *yes/no* interrogatives (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014; Thompson, 2004; Carter & McCarthy, 2006); modal structures with *Wh*-element as head, identified as *Wh*-interrogatives (Quirk, *et al*, 1985; Carter & McCarthy, 2006; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014) and, interrogative moodless constructions, identified as minor clauses (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014) or elliptical clauses (Thompson, 2004). Table 4.2 below shows the different modal structures identified, the corresponding interrogative types and the varying frequencies across cases.

Fig. 4.2: Emergent Modal Structures and Frequencies across Cases

Cases	**Declarative Questions (S ^ F (^ R))**	***Yes/No* Interrogatives (F ^ S (^ R))**	***Wh*-Interrogatives (*Wh*-Head)**	**Interrogative Moodless Constructions**	**Total**
Case 1	45	41	39	18	143
Case 2	30	23	20	21	94

Case 3	53	45	36	39	173
Case 4	47	49	48	17	161
Case 5	12	27	16	5	60
Case 6	41	38	28	31	138
Case 7	54	46	61	25	186
Case 8	12	16	22	23	73
Case 9	35	32	23	10	100
Case 10	39	38	27	33	137
Case 11	36	42	29	21	128
Case 12	68	41	61	18	188
Case 13	27	15	28	13	83
Case 14	40	40	25	29	134
Case 15	40	41	24	30	135
Total	**579**	**534**	**487**	**333**	**1933**

As shown in Table 4.2, each of the four different Mood-based clausal configurations were found in all SIDIs analysed. Each case had varying instances of declarative questions, *yes/no* interrogatives, *Wh*-interrogatives and moodless constructions (also known as minor clauses). A frequency analysis of the four types of modal structures and the emergent question types across cases showed that in most cases, the modal structure Subject followed by the Finite, followed by an optional Residue and rising intonation (declarative questions), and the Finite followed by the Subject, followed by an optional Residue (*yes/no* interrogatives) were the most frequently used by the interrogators. *Wh*-interrogatives and interrogative moodless constructions were not as frequently used by the interrogators as declarative and *yes/no* interrogatives. Fig. 4.1 is a chart showing the comparative distribution and frequencies of the four question types across data, while examples of each type of emergent pattern of questions from the data are shown below.

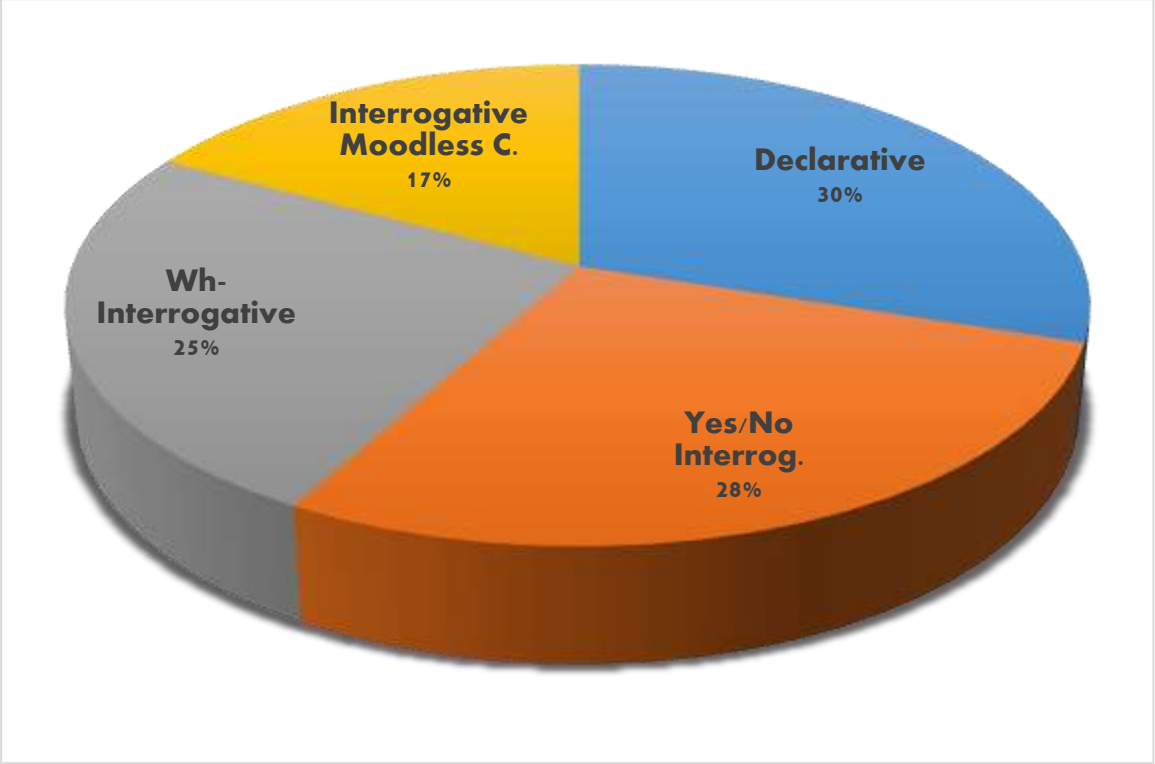


Fig. 4.1: Distribution of Question Types across Data

Examples of each Type of questions from the Data

i. *Yes/no* Interrogatives (the Finite followed by the Subject plus an optional Residue)

Is *Haven't* *Were*	*the reading room* *you* *you*	*the same place [C] as your toilet? [A]* *been warned [P] twice [A] to stop smoking in the Library? [C]* *allowed [P] to register for the course [C] the second time? [A]*
Finite	Subject	Residue
Mood		

ii. Declarative Questions (the Subject followed by the Finite plus an optional Residue)

You *You* *The Head of Department*	*mean* *agree* *did not*	*nobody told you the examination would commence that week* *you were the cause of the clash between the two cult groups?* *give you the invitation letter?*	*(Rising tone)* *(Rising tone)* *(Rising tone)*
Subject	Finite	Residue	Intonation
Mood			

iii. *Wh*-Interrogatives

Who *Which of the invigilators* *What*	*was* *collected* *haven't*	*paying [P] your school fees [C] after the death of your father [A]* *your script* *you [C] been told [P] about examination misconduct on this campus [A]?*
Wh-Subject	Finite	Residue
Mood		

iv. Moodless Constructions

A number of constructions were found in the data which served as questions, but which did not have any modal structure. In other words, they were functionally interrogative, but were not analysable in terms of the Mood structure. Examples of these are:

Excerpt 8:

AP[41] *Interrogator: When you got the letter who did you give?*

Interrrogatee: I gave the HOD.

AP[42] *Interrogator:* ***And then?***

Interrogatee: I went back to the hostel.

AP[43] *Interrogator:* ***At the hostel?***

Interrogatee: I packed my things and left campus.

In the excerpt above, there are two questions that do not have modal structures and these are *And then?* and *At the hotel?*. This type of constructions has no Predicator, and in each of the cases here, there is no Subject element in the clause. These clause types have been identified as minor and elliptical clauses (Thompson, 2004, p. 149), "where part of the message may be carried over from an earlier message (e.g. in the answer to a question), or may be understood from the general context". Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) do not clearly identify this type of questions, but posit that there are cases that often clearly show the absence of elements of the modal structure, and give instances of ellipsis and minor clauses as specific cases.

What is clear from the examples above and with reference to Thompson's (2004) description of elliptical clauses is that each of the moodless questions carried a part of its message from the preceding answers, and each was clearly understood by both the interrogators and interrogatee because of shared knowledge and mutual macro-contextual understanding and communicative orientation. The interrogatee understood the construction *And then?* to be a question that followed from the anteceding question-answer adjacency pair. He provides a context-relevant answer to the question and the interrogator accepts the answer and its suitability to the question. This is why the move to the next question in the next turn of the interrogator. One recurrent feature that characterises the investigated SIDIs is the use of some kinds of irregular expressions in the interrogative form. These include "Hm", "Erh?" etc identified as back channels. Back channels are described by Carter & McCarthy (2006, p. 892) as verbal and non-verbal vocal devices used to provide feedback and other supportive responses between

speakers, normally as a way to encourage the speaker to continue. Such expressions were moodless and were used mainly by the interrogators. They were used as strategies to either seek propositional revalidation or request for a repeat of the preceding answer from the interrogatees in the discourses. Excerpt 9 provides some examples of this feature.

Excerpt 9 (Case 2)

AP[44].	*Interrogator:*	*Let me ask another question. Now, do you still have suspected individuals around?*
	Interrogatee:	*A lot of them*
AP[45]	*Interrogator:*	*Hmm?*
	Interrogatee:	*There are a lot of them. Only that erm..*
AP[46]	*Interrogator:*	*You have not got them, or you do not know them?*
	Interrogatee:	*You know I told you sir, that I went to a military school. So all this am doing is not erm, is not as if erm..*

In AP[44] above, the interrogator asks a question to which the interrogatee provides an answer *A lot of them*. The use of *Hmm?* by the interrogator in AP[45] (an interrogative moodless construction) is to seek a revalidation of the information provided by the interrogatee in AP[44], which the interrogatee clearly understands and does in AP[45]. The use of words like *Hmm?, Erh?* etc. is characteristic of informal communications or casual interactions. What is important, however, is that both interrogators and interrogatees understand the contextual function of these words to be interrogative, and they orient to that contextual function across SIDIs.

4.3.2 Answers

Interrogatees' answers were the second constituent of an AP in the study. The interrogtees' answers were also analysed (though not all constituent clauses in the answers were

analysed because they were sometimes very long). The results of analyses showed that except in very few cases, interrogatees' answers were all in the indicative Mood type, but declarative in structure. The few exceptional cases (less than 5 occurrences per case) were occasions when interrogators wanted a repeat of the interrogators' questions for clarifications or expressed surprise at interrogators' preceding propositions (exemplified in excerpt 10 below).

Excerpt 10 (Case 3)

AP[47] *Interrogator:* *Some years ago, the Black Axe, they had their meeting at Ayo Area.*

Interrogatee: *Ayo?*

AP[48] *Interrogator:* *Yes Ayo Villa. Very close to (the Local Government). About five of the were initiated in the night. You know that building they are talking about?*

Interrogatee: *Storey building?*

AP[49] *Interrogator:* *Yes, storey building. So what, how do you get to know the place?*

Interrogatee: *I stayed in South Gate sir, and sometimes I go to the market to get things there. On Adesida road, I know some areas there. That's the way I would put it. I know some areas.*

AP[50] *Interrogator:* *So five of them were initiated in the night.*

Interrogatee: *That Ayo villa?*

In the excerpt above, the interrogatee's turns are four (4). In his first turn, the interrogatee asks the interrogator a question (*Ayo?*) in response to the interrogator's declarative turn. In the interrogator's second turn too, he asks a question (*Storey building*) in response to the interrogator's preceding interrogative turn. The same strategy is repeated in the fourth turn of the interrogatee, where he uses an interrogative turn as response to the preceding declarative

turn of the interrogator. In these three scenarios, the interrogatee is both expressing surprise and seeking clarifications.

4.3.3 The Implication of the Modal Patterns of Questions and Answers in SIDIs

The emergent syntactic architectures and modal structures of all questions and answers analysed in the study have some implications in the discourses. Firstly, patterns of modal structure of clause-questions in the SIDIs enabled the establishment of interpersonal relationship between the interrogators and the interrogatee. The relationship established and maintained is one between a dominant party (the institutional respresentatives, the interrogators) and a rather passive and subservient party (the accused students, the interrogatee). In this context, the relationship is asymmetrical. While the interrogators have the powers to invite, determine when and where to meet, interrogate the accused students, the accused students have no such powers. Instead, they are bound to obey all the dictates of the interrogators. The asymmetry of interrogator-interrogatee relationship inevitably leads to the institutionally assigned unequal roles in the interrogation process. While it is the role of the interrogators to get the facts of any alleged criminal breaches through questioning and other strategies, it is the role of the interrogatees to provide the information required from them by answering interrogators' questions. The question-answer strategy employed in SIDIs is therefore indexical of this relationship: only interrogators can ask questions, except in few cases where the interrogatees are allowed to ask questions. In such few cases, the purpose of such questions is largely to seek clarifications or express surprise at interrogators' propositions.

Apart from the use of different and corresponding Mood choices, other lexico-grammatical resources used for the realisation of the unequal role and relationship between interrogators and interrogatees include lexical choices. The interrogative structures and the

illocutionary functions of interrogators' questions are implicitly characterised by some element of compulsion and obligation on the part of the interrogatee to answer the questions. This is further exemplified in excerpt 11.

Excerpt 11 (Case 1)

AP[51]	*Interrogator:*	*How did you know Lagbaja Lagbaja?*
	Interrogatee:	*I knew Lagbaja in Ijebu-Ode.*
AP[52]	*Interrogator:*	*In Ijebu-Ode?*
	Interrogatee:	*Yes sir.*
AP[53]	*Interrogator:*	*The same school?*
	Interrogatee:	*No not the same school. I knew him through that brother I told you about. I knew him through that Lagbaja[2]. So he was the only one who knew I was [ ]*
AP[54]	*Interrogator:*	*If he is not a member of your school how did you come across him?*
	Interrogatee:	*As in, he used to come and meet that Lagbaja[2]. The Lagbaja[2], that Lagbaja[2] I was talking about is my area brother.*
AP[55]	*Interrogator:*	*He was your?*
	Interrogatee:	*Area brother. He used to be my area brother.*

In AP[51] above, the structure of the interrogator's question (*How*-headed) puts some obligation on the interrogatee to provide some explanatory information which the interrogator might not have been aware of, and probably needs. The interrogatee provides the information requested in 2. The interrogator shows acceptance of the information provided in the interrogatee's turn, hence the progression to the next question in 3. Though the question in 3. is moodless, the interrogative structure (ending with a rising intonation) also put some obligation

on the interrogatee to reconfirm a part of the information in 2., which the interrogatee does in 4. The progression seen here is a product of the institutional role understanding and cooperation by both the interrogator and the interrogatee.

Lexical choices and lexical selections also help participants in playing their institutionally assigned roles as well as the asymmetry of roles and relationship. This is clearly evident in the interrogatees' lexical selections and choices that clearly suggest subservience, apologies, hedging and respect for the institutional representatives (such as the use of words like 'sir', 'please sir', 'yes sir', more repeatedly by interrogatees).

4.5 Identified Functions Performed by each Type of Questions

According to Thompson (2004), the basic communicative function performed by questions is to elicit some missing information between the questioner and the respondent. In the contexts of interrogation, the interrogators were usually not there when the accused person did something or got involved in an act that is against prescribed regulations. But they were constituted to investigate such allegations and determine the veracity of the allegations as well as the culpability of the accused persons. So, the interrogators must look for sufficient missing information about the case so as to be able to build a story that will either incriminate or exonerate the accused persons. Obviously, therefore, a lot of information was missing and unknown to the interrogators, and such information was elicited through questions and answers. Of course, however, apart from this broad function of questions, questions, in their different types, served some other specific purposes in the question-answer based discourse. Such purposes which were identified in the data are discussed below.

4.5.1 *Story construction function*

Naturally, an average accused person did not want to give a continuous and truthful narration of their involvement in criminal activities. Yet, the investigating team needed a

coherent and sufficiently truthful story of such involvement to be guided in taking further necessary actions in the disciplinary process. Interrogators therefore tried to generate information in bits through questioning, and used such information to build some story around the issue being investigated. Coulthard and Johnson (2007) maintain on court trials that lawyers ask the accused questions:

> … to elicit factual recount for the benefit of the jury. The organising and embedding of these facts into a courtroom narrative is a powerful determinant of the way jurors recognise and analyse the vast amounts of information involved in making legal judgement (Coulthard & Johnson, 2007, p. 99).

The excerpt below contains series of questions and answers, and through the emanating bits of information, a coherent story or narration of criminal involvement was constructed (as consequently presented).

Excerpt 12 (cult related case)

AP**56**	*Interrogator:*	*What is your name?*
	Interrogatee:	*My name is Student TY.*
AP57	*Interrogator:*	*Matriculation Number and Level?*
	Interrogatee:	*123/13/3245, 400 Level.*
AP58	*Interrogator:*	*Department?*
	Interrogatee:	*Mathematical Sciences.*
AP59	*Interrogator:*	*Do you know why you are here?*
	Interrogatee:	*No, sir.*
AP60	*Interrogator:*	*On 24th April, 2013 there was a violent clash between two Groups of students on campus, are you aware of that?*

	Interrogatee:	*Yes, I am aware.*
AP[61]	*Interrogator:*	*In what ways were you involved?*
	Interrogatee:	*I don't have any involvement.*
AP[62]	*Interrogator:*	*Where were you on that day?*
	Interrogatee:	*I was in the hostel throughout that day.*
AP[63]	*Interrogator:*	*Were you at the scene of the clash?*
	Interrogatee:	*No sir. I was a bit sick that day and was in the room.*
AP[64]	*Interrogator:*	*You mean you were not one of the attackers that day?*
	Interrogatee:	*No I wasn't sir.*

(The interrogators showed a video clip of the incident and invited the respondent to view the clip with them. Then the interrogation continued).

AP[65]	*Interrogator:*	*Mr. TY, you just told us you were not in any way involved in the clash, now with what you have watched are you still maintaining that position?*
	Interrogatee:	*Actually sir, it was out of fear that I said I was not there that day.*

From this question-answer sequences, the following story was constructed:

> *Mr. TY is a student of this University. He is in 400 Level in the Department of Mathematical Sciences. His Matriculation Number is 123/13/3245. He first claimed that he was not in any way involved in the cult clash of 24th April 2013, that he was sick and therefore remained in the hostel throughout that day. However, when he was asked to watch the video clip of the clash and saw himself in the episode, he claimed it was fear that made him tell lie to the panel initially.*
>
> (Extracted from a disciplinary report).

To be able to gather sufficient information required to construct a credible story, interrogators used all types of questions in the process. In the excerpt above, the interrogators used *Wh*-questions in AP[56], AP[61] and AP[63]; *yes/no* interrogative questions in AP[59], AP[60], AP[63]

and AP[65]; declarative question or queclarative in AP[64]; and interrogative moodless constructions in AP[57] and AP[58]. Aside this broad function, each of the question types used in the interrogative process above has specific functions it performed. These specific functions are further discussed below.

4.5.2 *Request for specific information*

Quite often, interrogators needed to have specific information about the accused persons and other persons connected to the issue (such as personal details – names, departments, matriculation number, etc.), as well as specific information about the criminal action being investigated. Such information was considered vital in the story construction and fact finding chain, and was thus treated as an information gap, which must be filled. Thus, in the excerpt above, interrogators' questions in 3 and 5 both asked for specific personal information about the interrogatee: name in 1, matriculation number and level in 3, department in 5; while specific information about the respondent's involvement in the criminal action being investigated (that is, extent of involvement) was asked in 11. In order to achieve the elicitation of specific information objective, interrogators used mainly *Wh*-questions as in 1 and 11, and interrogative moodless constructions with examples in 3 and 5.

4.5.3 *Invitation / Directive Function*

Though all the questions analysed had interrogative structures, there were some interrogative structures that were identified to be functioning as subtle directives. These question types had yes/no interrogative modal structure (the Finite followed by the Subject, plus a mandatory Residue) with examples below.

Excerpt 12 (Case 12)

AP[66] *Interrogator: Can you throw more light on that?*

Interrogatee: I was at the station. Erh, my elder brother called the school,

that they had arrested some people. That some students that they got arrested with. So when the CSO now came, I heard that he came because all those men, they know him…..

The interrogator's question above has *yes/no* interrogative structure. Given this structure, the answer ordinarily expected was a propositional confirmation *yes* or propositional refutation *no*. But there is a difference between the form and the function of a question. The form here is evidently *yes/no* interrogative, but the function is directive, a subtle command to make some narration. The interrogatee understands the contextual function of this question type, hence his compliance to the subtle directive by providing the narrative requested. This type of question has been identified in previous studies as "requestions" (Danet & Bogoch 1980), "questions as commands" (Quirk et al, 1985), and "invitations" in some other studies. There were instances of this in all SIDIs investigated and the main function performed by such questions was to invite or subtly direct the interrogatee to provide some narrative account about him/herself or a particular aspect if the case being investigated.

4.5.4 *Propositional confirmation / denial function*

Interrogators often had some information about the accused persons and their involvement in the issue being investigated. They, therefore, put such information in bits to the interrogatee as propositions, and expected the interrogatee to either validate or refute such propositions as part of the information gathering and fact-finding process. Examples of questions realising this function are shown in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 13:

AP[67] *Interrogator:* *Did any staff ask you to give him or her money so that you can be given accommodation?*

Interrogatee: *No sir.*

AP[68]	*Interrogator:*	*So you did not bribe anybody to get accommodation in the hostel?*
	Interrogatee:	*No. I don't.*
AP[69]	*Interrogator:*	*Then you should be the legal occupant of the room, shouldn't you?*
	Interrogatee:	*Yes sir*
AP[70]	*Interrogator:*	*Then what is the status of Titus Titus in the room? You sold your space to her?*
	Interrogatee:	*No sir. Am just assisting her. She lost her parents recently and she could not raise money for off-campus accommodation*

In this excerpt, each question asked by the interrogator contains one proposition or the other. These are pre-conceived opinions on the issue being investigated, and which the interrogators needed the interrogatee to either confirm as true or refute as false. The interrogator's proposition in AP[67] is refuted by the interrogatee in his next turn. The interrogators's proposition in AP[68] is refuted by the interrogatee in his next turn. As against the sequential propositional refutation in AP[67] and AP[68], the interrogator's proposition in AP[69] is confirmed by the interrogator in the next turn; while the interrogator's proposition AP[70] is refuted by the interrogatee. The two major interrogative types used to realise propositional confirmation and propositional refutation functions were *yes/no* interrogatives (with examples as in 1 and 5), and declarative questions / queclaratives (with examples in 3 and 7).

Within this broad function type, there is a sub-function, identified as propositional recapitulative function of questions. In this function, the interrogator picked all or a part of the interrogatee's preceding information and re-presented such information to the interrogatee for re-confirmation or re-refutation for the purpose of clarity on both sides, as well as emphasis. An example of this is provided in Excerpt 14.

Excerpt 14 (Case 6)

AP[70a] *Interrogator:* *You said you went to the hostel with four other students, is that correct?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

AP[70b] *Interrogator:* *And that all of them were your classmates?*

Interrogatee: *Most of them, I can't really remember vividly.*

AP[70c] *Interrogator:* *Can you mention their names?*

Interrogatee: *I can't remember vividly now but they were four that evening.*

AP[70d] *Interrogator:* *Was it up to a year that it happened?*

Interrogatee: *No sir*

AP[70e] *Interrogator:* *You mean you can't remember the four guys that you went to the hostel with even when it is far less than a year?*

Interrogatee: *I can't remember.*

The interrogator's question in AP[70e] is recapitulative of the interrogatee's information in AP[70c]. What happened in the excerpt is that the interrogatee, in his turn in AP[70a], confirmed the interrogator's proposition, also in AP[70a], that he went to the hostel with four other students. In AP[70b], the interrogator proceeded to confirm whether the four students were the interrogatee's classmates (or not), a proposition which the interrogatee confirmed in the same AP[70b]. When the interrogator asked the interrogatee to mention the names of the four students in AP[70c], however, the interrogatee claimed he could not remember. In order for the interrogatee's position that he could not remember the names of the four students to be clear to both parties, and for the purpose of emphasis, the interrogator recapitulated that position of the interrogatee and re-presented it to the interrogate for re-confirmation, a re-confirmation made by the interrogate in AP[70e]. Propositional recapitulative function was performed only with the use of declarative questions, and the purpose was for clarity and emphasis in the discourses.

4.5.5 Information gap-filling function

Some questions were identified to be serving information gap-filling function in the discourses. In the interrogators' construction of these interrogative types, they left some space open with the expectation that the interrogatee would provide the missing item of information. The architecture of such questions varied from type to type. One type of such questions is *Wh*-interrogatives, where a *Wh*- item is used to stand in the place a nominal (*who, which*- headed), temporal (*when*-headed), spatial (*where*-headed) or justificatory information (*how, why*- headed) and the interrogatee was expected to replace the item with the actual information to complete the statement. Other types of questions performing this function include reformulation questions (Carter & McCarthy, 2006) such as *You mean?*, incomplete declarative questions (such as *He was your?*) and some interrogative moodless constructions (e.g. *matriculation number CHE/14/?*). Examples of these are in excerpt 14 below.

Excerpt 14:

AP[71] *Interrogator: If he is not a member of your school how did you come across him?*

Interrogatee: As in he used to come and meet that Titus. The Titus, that Titus I was talking about is my area brother.

AP[72] *Interrogator: He was your?*

Interrogatee: Area brother. He lives in my area. He used to be my area brother.

AP[73] *Interrogator: Who is Titus to you?*

Interrogatee: Titus is like area brother to me. He was Buccaneer, that Titus. So Titus[2] is also a Buccaneer.

AP[74] *Interrogator: What do you mean by area brother?*

Interrogatee: As in, he lives in my .. area. He was a student of Tai Solarin University of Education and he stays in my area.

Each of the four (4) questions above is performing information gap-filling function. In AP[71], some justificatory information (*how*-headed) is required to fill the gap; the interrogator's turn in AP[72] comprises an incomplete declarative question (leaving out a nominal information); In AP[73] too, the interrogator's question also requires some nominal information (*who*-headed) to fill the information gap created. It is the same instance in 7, where another nominal information was left out for the interrogatee to provide.

4.6 Structural Restrictivity Patterns of Questions

The analysis of questions in terms of structural restrictivity showed two types of questions: questions which were structurally restrictive and questions which were non-restrictive. Each of these is further discussed below.

4.6.1 Structurally Restrictive Questions

The structural restrictivity feature of clauses was determined by closely examining the syntactic structure and modal composition of each question. Structurally restrictive questions in most cases required either a *yes* (propositional confirmation) or a *no* (propositional refutation). In some other cases, structurally restrictive questions required the provision of some "closed" information as answer. In these two scenarios, the expected answers can be said to be "closed" because in the former type, the choice of answers can only be made out of two options (confirmatory *yes* or refutational *no*), while in the latter, the answer can only be the specific information required. The question types that had this feature included *yes/no* interrogatives, declarative questions, some type of moodless questions, and some types of *Wh*-interrogatives. This is illustrated and exemplified through the following table, with more examples in excerpt 15.

Table 4.3: Structurally Restrictive Questions with Examples from the Data

S/N	Modal Structure	Question Type	In-Data Examples	Range of Answer	Nature of Answer
1.	S ^ F ^ (Residue) + Rising Intonation	Declarative Question	*So you knew him to be a Buccaneer?*	Yes or No	Closed
2.	F ^ S ^ (Residue)	Yes/no interrogative	*Did you request to be initiated?*	Yes/No	Closed
3.	*Wh-* ^ F ^ S (^ Residue)	*Wh-* interrogative (Type 1)	*When did you receive the letter?*	Temporal information	Closed
4.	*Wh-* ^ F (^ Residue)	*Wh-* interrogative (Type 2)	*So, who directed you to come and confess to the panel?*	Nominal information	Closed
5.	-	Moodless Constructions	*Candle and cross?*	Yes/No	Closed

Excerpt 15 (Case 8)

AP[75] *Interrogator:* *Where in Lagos did they give you this?*

Interrogatee: *Sabo.*

AP[76] *Interrogator:* *But you once said you attend St… Cathedral Church?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. I attend … Church in school. But in Lagos, I attend Celestial Church of Christ.*

AP[77] *Interrogator:* *So you agree this thing was collected from your bag by the security officer?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

AP[78] *Interrogator:* *What is the purpose of this thing?*

Interrogatee: *It is for protection.*

AP[79] *Interrogator:* *What type of protection?*

Interrogatee: *I just, they saw vision to me.*

AP[80] *Interrogator: They saw vision?*

Interrogatee: Yes sir.

In the excerpt above, the interrogator's questions are six (6). The interrogative and modal structure of the question in AP[75] (*Wh-* ^ F ^ S ^ (Residue)) creates a missing gap in the proposition, which requires a spatial information to complete. The nature of information required is closed because it is location specific. The interrogator orients to the closed nature of the answer expected by providing a short response *Sabo*. The interrogative and modal structure of the question in AP[76] (S ^ F ^ Residue + Rising Intonation) requires a confirmatory *yes* or refutational *no*. The interrogatee orients to this by providing a propositional confirmation *Yes sir* as answer in his next turn, though reinforced the confirmation with an additional sentence. All these question types were identified as being restrictive in form and structure, although they may not be restrictive in function at all times as further analysis (of answers) will show.

4.6.2 Non-Restrictive Questions

Non-restrictive questions were identified as those questions that gave the interrogatees some freedom to provide their answers. In these questions, interrogatees were not restricted in the scope, length and choices of their answers unlike in structurally restrictive questions. There were two basic interrogative and modal structures that served this purpose across data. The first were *yes/no* interrogatives that functioned as commands and invitation to narrate (with the structure: F ^ S ^ Residue (where Residue is a command)). The second interrogative and modal structure with this feature were some *Wh*-interrogatives (with *how* and *why* as head). Each of these is further illustrated in excerpt 16.

Excerpt 16 (Case 1)

AP[81] *Interrogator:* *Can you start again?*

Interrogatee: *I met a friend of mine who I have known before I enter*

this University. His name is Lagbaja, Lagbaja. He left school../

AP[82] *Interrogator:* *Face the Chairman. Can you go on?*

Interrogatee: *I met a friend of mine who I knew before I enter this University. His name is Lagbaja, Lagbaja. We met at Chapters where I was eating. I don't even know he was in this University before. We both talk and exchanged numbers. We both talk and exchange numbers. I know him through a brother in 2009. The brother stays in my area. That brother is like a street brother to me and we used to talk together, and that brother belongs to the Buccaneer Confraternity. So Lagbaja also used to come there because he is a member of the same… and he told me if I get admission..*

In the excerpt above, the two turns of the interrogator are made of questions with the same interrogative and modal structure. The questions were ordinarily interrogative in structure (requiring yes or no as answer). The interrogator, however, understood the illocutionary force of the questions to be subtle commands and invitations to make some narrations. In each case too, the interrogator understood that there was no length or choice restriction in the provision of his answers, hence the provision of open narratives as response in each case. The second type of non-restrictive question is shown in excerpt 16 below.

Excerpt 16 (Case 10)

AP[83] *Interrogator:* *Why is your matriculation number XXXXXX?*

Interrogatee: *I enter in year 2009*

AP[84] *Interrogator:* *And what level are you now?*

Interrogator: *400 Level*

AP[85] *Interrogator:* *Enh?*

Interrogatee: 400 Level

AP[86] *Interrogator: Why are you here?*

Interrogatee: I went to the department. I was expecting someone, so Secretary call me and now explained to me that I have a letter. So this morning she gave out the letter to me that (.) I should write original copy received by me. Then I asked him about the whole thing and she said there's going to be a meeting here, that when I get here, I will know everything.

The interrogative structures of the interrogator's question in AP[83] and AP[86] above do not put any constraint or restriction on the interrogatee in terms of choices and lengths of answers. In scenarios like these, the interrogators assumed that only the interrogatees had exclusive information about the particular aspect of the case in question and therefore allowed the interrogatees some freedom in the provision of such information. It can, thus, be seen that the interrogatee exercises this freedom by making his answer short in AP[83], but rather long in long in AP[86]. This is allowed by the interrogative and modal structures of non-restrictive questions.

4.6.3 Frequencies of Structurally Restrictive and Non-Restrictive Questions across SIDIs

With the identification and classification of structurally restrictive questions (to include *yes/no* interrogatives, declarative questions, some types of *Wh*-interrogatives and some moodless constructions) and non-restrictive questions (to include "invitation-to-narrate" questions and *how/why*-headed questions), the distribution and frequencies of these two categories of questions were determined across cases. Presented in Table 4.4 is the distribution of both restrictive and non-restrictive questions across cases.

Table 4.4: Distribution / Frequencies of Structurally Restrictive and Non-Restrictive Questions across SIDIs

Restrictive Questions		**Non-Restrictive Questions**	
Types	**Frequencies**	**Types**	**Frequencies**
Declarative Questions	610	Subtle commands	50
Yes/no interrogatives	508	*Wh*-interrogatives Type 3 (*how, why*-headed)	339
Moodless Constructions	310	Other moodless constructions	62
Wh-interrogative Type 1 (*when*-headed)	105	-	-
Wh-interrogative Type 2 (*what, who*-headed)	140	-	-
Total	**1,673**		**471**

Overall, there were 2,024 questions across SIDIs. Out of these, a total of 1,673 were identified as being structurally restrictive, while only 471 were identified as being non-restrictive. This distribution is further shown in the chart below (Fig. 4.2).

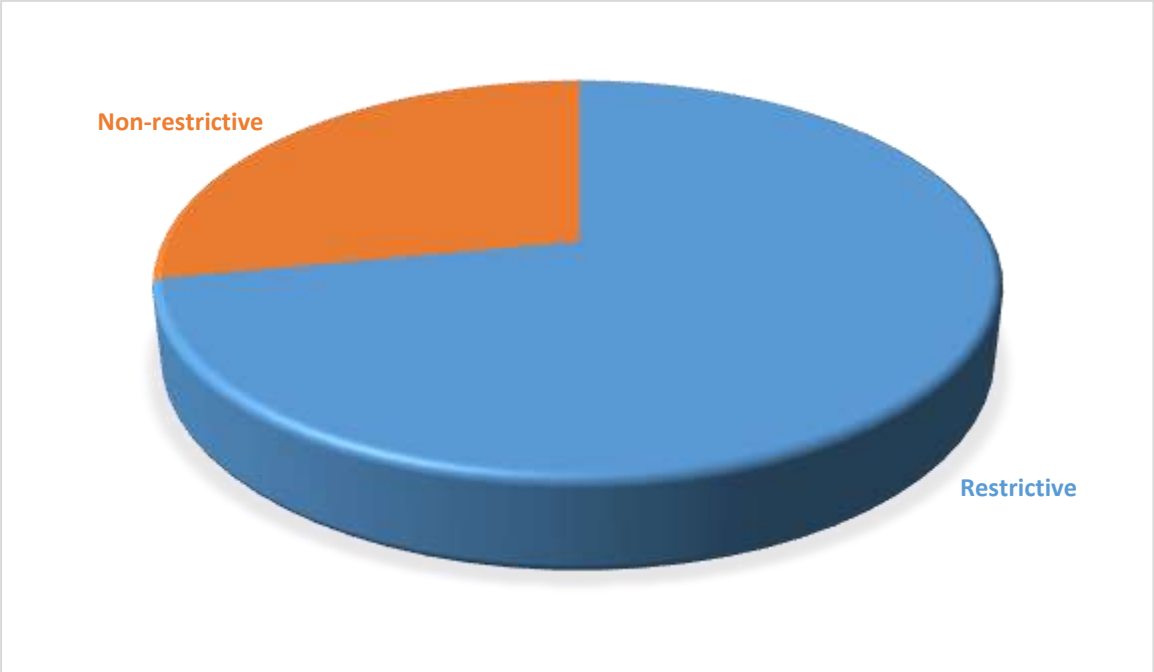


Fig. 4.2: Distribution of Restrictive and Non-Restrictive Questions across Data

4.7 Analysis of Answers

The objective behind the analysis of answers into short and long answers was to be able to determine the effect of the structural patterns of questions on the answers provided by interogatees and to determine whether the use of certain questions had inhibitory effect on interrogatees or not.

4.7.1 Short Answers

As earlier defined, a short answer in the study comprised a maximum of two different units of utterances, where the first unit either confirms the interrogator's preceding proposition or refutes it; and where the second unit is merely a reinforcement of the earlier propositional confirmation or refutation. All structurally restrictive questions were expected to have short answers, with examples in excerpt 17.

Excerpt 17 (Case 7)

AP[87] *Interrogator: When did you speak with him last?*

Interrogatee: The last time I saw him, that's the last time.

AP[88] *Interrogator: Do you have his phone number?*

Interrogatee: I have his phone number

AP[89] *Interrogator: When last did you phone him?*

Interrogatee: We don't usually call

AP[90] *Interrogator: But he's aware you are coming here?*

Interrogatee: He's not aware.

AP[91] *Interrogator: He has a chamber in this Akure?*

Interrogatee: Yes sir

In the excerpt above, there are five (5) questions of the interrogator. Each of these questions are structurally restrictive. The question in AP[87] (*Wh*-interrogative) requires a piece of temporal information (time); AP[88] (*yes/no* interrogative) requires a propositional confirmation/refutation answer; AP[89] also required an item of temporal information; AP[90] and AP[91] (declarative questions) require a propositional confirmation/refutation as answers. Each of these is therefore classified as being structurally restrictive, and required short answers. The interrogatee oriented to this answer type requirement by providing short answers in each case.

In AP[87], there are two clauses: the first is reformulative of the interrogator's preceding question, while the second makes reference to a piece of temporal information in his earlier turns as answer. Interrogatee's answer in AP[87] comprised two units of utterances, in this case, a clause each. In AP[88], the interrogatee provides a confirmatory answer (*I have his phone number*) without any reinforcement or additional information. In AP[89] and AP[90], the interrogatee's answers are indirect propositional refutation without any reinforcement or additional information. In AP[91], the interrogatee's answer is a propositional confirmatory *yes sir*. These were all short answers, and they were acceptable to the interrogator in that context. This type of answer was found in all SIDIs analysed.

4.7.2 Long Answers

The second category of answers identified were long answers. As against short answers, long answers contained more than two units of utterances with examples in excerpt 12. Long answers enabled the interrogatee to provide as much information as he or she so desired. Such answers could contain positions on issues, illustration of such positions, justifications for some actions, an episodic narrations. Although long answers were usually expected as responses to non-restrictive questions, interrogatees sometime provide long answers where short ones were expected, and *vice versa.*

Excerpt 18 (Case 13)

AP[92] *Interrogator:* *So why were you arrested by the police?*

Interrogatee: *I was in a birthday party with some of my friends. Two guys were fighting and it later escalated to the extent that policemen were invited. So all of us are arrested by police. It is not that we are cult members o.*

AP[93] *Interrogator:* *Do you know Mr. Titus Titus?*

Interrogatee: *No sir. I don't know him.*

AP[94] *Interrogator:* *Were you not on campus on 24th April this year?*

Interrogatee: *That day, I was in Lagos. My mum was sick and all of us children were called to come around. I haven't finished my exam then. But I have to leave because am the eldest among the children. I was not in school that day sir.*

The interrogator's question in 1 above is non-restrictive, as it requires some justificatory information which the interrogatee was given some liberty to provide. The question provides opportunity for a long answer and the interrogatee oriented to this opportunity by making the answer a bit long, rendered in four different sentences. In 4, the interrogatee provided a short

answer to the preceding question, which was structurally restrictive. However, in 6, instead of a short answer (propositional confirmation or refutation) required as response to a structurally restrictive question, he provided a long answer, spanning five (5) different sentences. What is interesting is that the interrogator showed their acceptance of such deliberate non-compliance by allowing him to fully provide his answer without any hindrance.

An observed pattern in the SIDIs was the high frequencies of long answers provided by interrogatees as answers to interrogators' restrictive questions. The implication of this pattern is that although the structural composition and interrogative nature of most questions required short answers, interrogators still allowed interrogatees some freedom to provide as much details or information as so desired by them (interrogatees). This suggests that there was some difference between the forms and functions of interrogators' questions in SIDIs.

4.8 Analysis of Factual Concurrence

One of the major discourse strategies that characterise SIDIs is propositional presentation by confrontation. The interrogators usually confronted interrogatees by presenting information bits as propositions, thus requiring the interrogatees' confirmation or refutation of such propositions. As earlier stated, every student disciplinary panel had some version of the story (some facts of the matter) of the criminality being investigated. Such story versions were presumed true until the accused students prove them wrong in part or as a whole. This is why the interrogators confront the interrogatees through a bit-by-bit propositional presentation. Factual concurrence was essentially about how true or how false the interrogatees were able to prove the interrogators' presumed "facts of the matter". In most cases where the interrogatees concurred with the interrogators' factual proposition, their answers were in the affirmative: *yes*, although such affirmation could be further reinforced with additional narrative details. At instances where the interrogatees disagreed with the interogators' factual propositions, the interrogatees' answers would be refutational: *no*, which could also be further reinforced in some

ways. Propositional confirmation and refutation could be explicit (*yes*, *no*), and it could also be implicit. Excerpt 12 below provides some examples.

Excerpt 18 (Case 3)

AP[95] *Interrogator:* *We want to, to know what and what activities you participated in when you were with them. That does not add anything to your punishment. It also does not remove anything from it. But what we are saying is that you show yourself as somebody that is open and truthful to us. So that when we are persuaded you begin to talk, we will ask the secretary to tell you what we have heard about you.*

Interrogatee: *That is why am hammering on this thing that most of these things are lies sir. There's no way I can bring the truth out of what you are saying now. It is just like my words against yours sir.*

AP[96] *Interrogator:* *So what you are telling us now is that you became a member of Black Axe in 200 Level?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

AP[97] *Interrogator:* *And when you got to the final year you never participated in their Meetings as a member?*

Interrogatee: *Sir the major activities the Black Axe ../*

AP[98] *Interrogator:* */Major or minor?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, there is one point I want to bring out is that (this University's) Black Axe don't normally have activities. If they have activities, you would have been seeing it around the premises.*

AP[99] *Interrogator:* *Maybe in (the city) let's not limit it to (this university), even at that In 2006, and, I was in a panel at a time, they were butchering themselves at a time..*

Interrogatee: *In (this city)?*

AP[100] *Interrogator:* *Yes, yes. Am I lying? There was a crisis. There was a time in (this University).. There was a time (in this University) here when Black Axe and Buccaneers were fighting each other, and you were in (this University) then.*

Interrogatee: *Sincerely speaking sir, with all my heart am telling you I never knew ../*

AP[101] *Interrogator:* *Lagbaja's case was one.*

Interrogatee: *I never heard about that.*

AP[102] *Interrogator:* *Have you heard of the story of XXX?*

Interrogatee: *XXX?*

AP[103] *Interrogator:* *Hmm!*

Interrogatee: *If I tell you say I don't know XXX you will say am lying. That's ../*

AP[104] *Interrogator:* */ XXX was a Black Axe member. He was butchered. It was God that saved him. So it's not right for you to say there was no activity. That's what we are telling you.*

Interrogatee: *I never knew. I never knew. Then when I was staying at erm, the SG Area there, at Westend area, I was staying with my uncle. Is a police officer but is presently not in the country. I was restricted to going out or anything then. I normally go from house to school to read, and go back home after my activities. I don't even have time then, I don't even, I have never heard of that they butchered somebody.*

A lot of propositions are made by the interrogator in the excerpt above surrounding the interrogatee's involvement in cultism and cult-related activities. It is easy to see that except in

one case (interrogatee's turn in AP[96]) where the interrogatee concurs with the interrogator's proposition, all other propositions were refuted by the interrogatee. This implies that out of the interrogatee's ten (10) turns in the excerpt, he disagrees with the interrogator in nine (9) turns, but only agrees with the interrogator's proposition in one (1) turn. What is happening here is that the interrogatee is invalidating the interrogator's presumed "facts of the matter", a situation that would have serious implication on the outcome of the case. Presented in Table 4.5 is the summary of the case-by-case result of factual concurrence analyses and the final decisions of each panel on the cases.

Table 4.6: Results of the Factual Concurrence Analysis across Cases

Cases	Propositional Concurrence	%age per SIDI	Propositional Disagreement	%age per SIDI	Panel's Decision
Case 1	72	69%	32	31%	Guilty
Case 2	42	60%	28	40%	Innocent*
Case 3	68	57%	48	43%	Guilty
Case 4	63	66%	33	34%	Guilty
Case 5	63	66%	33	34%	Guilty
Case 6	73	72%	29	28%	Guilty
Case 7	66	65%	36	35%	Guilty
Case 8	23	56%	18	44%	Guilty
Case 9	45	71%	18	29%	Guilty
Case 10	41	44%	52	56%	Innocent
Case 11	48	59%	34	41%	Guilty
Case 12	82	80%	21	20%	Innocent*

Case 13	23	33%	47	67%	Innocent
Case 14	57	65%	31	35%	Guilty
Case 15	49	64%	27	36%	Guilty

In the fifteen (15) cases presented above, the panelists pronounced the accused students involved guilty in eleven (11) cases (that is, cases 1, 3-9, 11, 14 and 15). It is only in four of the cases (that is cases 2, 10, 12 and 13) where the panelists pronounced the accused students innocent. In each of the cases with "guilty" verdict, it is easy to see that both the interrogator and the interrogatee have a very high rate of propositional agreement as against propositional disagreement. For example, in case 1, the percentage of propositional concurrence is 69% as against propositional disagreement, which is 31%. In case 4, while the propositional concurrence is 66%, propositional disagreement is 34%. What is therefore common to all cases with guilty verdict is a high percentage of propositional concurrence and low percentage of propositional disagreement.

Cases 2 and 12 are exceptional cases. Although each has a high percentage of propositional concurrence and low propositional disagreement, the panelists pronounced the accused students innocent. These two cases have some peculiarities. In case 2, the panel found that although the accused student was involved in the case (admission racketeering), his involvement was not without the knowledge of the University. The case was advertently orchestrated by some officials of the University to be able to identify some staff and students who were involved in such acts. So, the interrogator's narrative was a recount of the whole incident, which eventually enabled the University to know and deal with some staff and students frequently involved in admission racketeering. Case 12 was also an exceptional case because the panel pronounced the accused student innocent in spite of the high percentage of propositional concurrence and low propositional disagreement. The panel's decision was based

on members' belief that the accused student, though involved in cult-related activities, showed a very high level of cooperation by giving the panel very useful information that could assist it in its activities.

Panelists' decisions in 10 and 13 were based on the propositional concurrence and disagreement comparison. In 10, there were more factual propositional disagreement (56%) than agreement (44%). Similarly, in 13, propositional disagreement was more than propositional concurrence (67% and 33% respectively). Perhaps, the panel in each case was not quite convinced by the evidence and facts obtained. Hence the final decisions were to pronounce the two accused students innocent.

The inference that can be drawn from the results of factual concurrence analysis above is that the outcome of panelists' decisions on each SIDI is based, largely, on two factors. The first factor is the level of propositional concurrence between interrogators and interrogatees. This can happen in two ways: one, where propositional concurrence is higher than propositional disagreement (with examples in cases 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11 and 14) and, two, where propositional concurrence is lower than propositional disagreement (with examples in cases 10 and 13). Where propositional concurrence is higher than propositional disagreement, the tendency is that the decision of the panel will be negative (guilty); and where the propositional concurrence is lower that propositional disagreement, the tendency is that the decision of the panel will be positive (innocent). The second factor that can determine panelists' decisions is the extent of cooperation shown by the accused students. In cases where an accused student fully cooperates by providing very useful information, the panel can mitigate the punishment or pronounce outright innocence on the student. An example of this is case 12, where the accused student was exonerated in spite of the higher percentage of propositional concurrence than propositional disagreement in the case.

4.9 Evidence Elicitation Strategies in SIDIs

The whole essence of SIDIs was fact-finding and evidence elicitation from interrogatees by interrogators. This activity is language-based, and in the course of the study, there were some peculiar discourse strategies that were identified to have been used by interrogators to be able to achieve the goal and objectives of each SIDI. The identified discourse strategies are discussed in some detail below.

4.9.1 Question-Answer Sequencing as Predominant Fact-Finding Strategy

As earlier discussed, the predominant strategy for fact-finding and evidence elicitation in SIDIs was question-answer sequencing. The interrogators relied heavily on the use of questions and answers to gather information and confirm or validate information. As shown in Table 4.1, the lowest percentage of question-answer component of SIDI is 74% (case 1) and 96% as the highest percentage of the question-answer components of the SIDI was 96% (case 7). The average question-answer component of SIDI across the fifteen (15) SIDI was 87%. This component of SIDI is very critical, as other components are merely complementary. This is similar to what obtains in other types of institutional interactions and interrogations (such as doctor-patient interaction, counsel-accused interaction and police-suspect interrogations). It is an institutionally assigned role of interrogators to seek information by asking questions in the process, and that of interrogatees to provide information by answering interrogators' questions. In spite of this institutional definition of, and participant orientation to roles, interrogators were allowed to ask questions in exceptional cases. In such cases, interrogatees ask questions only for clarification seeking and expressions of surprise at a preceding interrogators' proposition.

4.9.2 Strategies for Clarity of Questions and Propositions

In order to ensure that the questions asked and propositions made were clearly understood by interrogatees, the interrogators employed the use of some strategies in the SIDIs. These strategies are discussed below.

4.9.2.1 Repetition

Repetition was found to be a recurrent strategy and practice in all SIDIs. The interrogators used repetition to ensure that the interrogatees clearly understand questions and propositions. Whole questions were in some case repeated, and in some other cases, some salient parts of the preceding questions were repeated. This is exemplified in excerpt 19.

Excerpt 19.

AP[105] *Interrogator: Mr. Timson Timson, you came to (this University) in 2006?*

Interrogatee: Yes sir

AP[106] *Interrogator: So when you entered this University what level were you placed?*

Interrogatee: As in .. the question is not clear sir.

AP[107] *Interrogator: What level were you placed in the cult?*

Interrogatee: It was the reason I left LASPOTECH. So when I got to (this University, I never had the intention of going along with the same cult group I was with then. That was why I changed the school.

In the excerpt above, the interrogator asks a question in 1, which the interrogatee understands and answers in 2. In 3, the interrogator asks another question, and the interrogator responds by saying he did not understand the question. The interrogator repeats his question (in 3) in his turn in 5. In the interrogatee's next turn (in 6), he shows that he understood the interrogator's preceding question by providing some illustrative information. The essence of the repetition employed here is to ensure that the interrogatee clearly understand the interrogator's question. Where interrogatees do not understand interrogators' questions, there are tendencies

for such to have implications on the outcome of the entire process. Instances of interrogators' repetition of questions and propositions were found in all SIDIs investigated, and in each case, the purpose was the same.

4.9.2.2 Recapitulation

Recapitulation occurs in SIDIs when the interrogator repeats a part or all parts of the interrogatees' preceding answer for the purpose of emphasis and propositional revalidation. In other words, the interrogator wanted the interrogatee to reconfirm or revalidate what he had said, so as not to be misunderstood. Instances of recapitulation are exemplified in excerpt 20.

Excerpt 20 (Case 3)

AP[108] *Interrogator:* *Can you continue?*

Interrogatee: *In my own position there, it was like much was required of me. But../*

AP[109] *Interrogator:* */ What position?*

Interrogatee: *That was Minister of Defense*

AP[110] *Interrogator:* *Erh?*

Interrogatee: *Minister of Defense*

AP[111] *Interrogator:* *What is the slang for it?*

Interrogatee: *Butcher*

AP[112] *Interrogator:* *Erh?*

Interrogatee: *They call it Butcher*

AP[113] *Interrogator:* *You held the position of Butcher?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

What the interrogator does in this excerpt is to summarise the information bits provided by the interrogatee in 4, 6, 8 and 10 in 11 (*You held the position of Butcher*) as a propositional recapitulation and confronts the interrogatee with it, expecting a propositional confirmation or refutation. The interrogatee understands this expectation, and orients to it by confirming the proposition in 12. Instances of interrogators' recapitulation were found in all SIDIs investigated, and in each case, the purpose was the same.

4.9.2.3 Reformulation

Reformulations are alternative expressions. According to Carter & McCarthy (2006, p. 921), reformulations indicate that the speaker has not selected the most appropriate way of expressing things and is refining what they say with a more apt word or expression. The interrogators employed the use of reformulations to ensure that the interrogatee gets what they are talking about clearly in the discourses. This is exemplified in excerpt 21 below.

Excerpt 21 (Case 7)

AP[114] *Interrogator: What we are saying is that you have denied before this panel that you are a cultist?*

Interrogatee: Yes sir

AP[115] *Interrogator: That you admitted to the police that you are a cultist?*

Interrogatee: Yes sir

AP[116] *Interrogator: But that that was under duress?*

Interrogatee: Yes sir

Sometime, the information bits provided by interrogatees may not be coherent, thus making it difficult for interrogators to make clear inferences. A way out of this is for the interrogators to reformulate such information bits in a coherent way and put it to the interrogatee as propositions that required confirmation or refutation. In the excerpt above, the interrogators

reformulates the interrogatee's preceding information bits in a clear way, and puts the refined information bits to the interrogatee in 1, 3 and 5. The interrogatee understands and orients to this by confirming the propositions in 1, 3 and 5. The interrogatees also used reformulation as a way of making their answers clear to the interrogators. Excerpt 22 below provides an example.

Excerpt 22 (Case 12)

AP[117] *Interrogator:* *There are contradictions in what you are saying. You said when he was called by God he left you.*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

AP[18] *Interrogator:* *Then after he heard of this incident he left you, which one are we to believe?*

Interrogatee: *No. What am trying to say is that, is not as if he left me. The way we used to stay before was close but is now different. The only place me and him now do things in common is based on work, based on academic.*

The interrogatee's contribution in 4 is a reformulation of an earlier contribution which the interrogator does not clearly get. The interrogatee simply employs this strategy for the purpose of clarity of information, which the interrogator quite understands and allows. Instances of interrogator and interrogatees' reformulations were found in all SIDIs investigated, and in each case, the purpose was the same.

4.9.3 Strategies for Cooperative Participation

The success of any SIDI (regardless of the positivity or negativity of the outcome) is dependent on the mutual cooperation of both interrogators and interrogatees. Since it was the panel that was given the assignment of investigation and fact-finding, it behoved panelists to find ways of ensuring the cooperative participation of interrogatees. Cooperative participation did not mean saying the truth in the process. Rather, it means providing context-relevant

information through answers to interrogators' questions. The strategies employed by interrogators in the cases are discussed below.

4.9.3.1 Interrogation Objective Clarifications

In all cases, interrogators normally let the interrogatees know why they had been invited to appear before the panel and to let them know the objectives behind the interrogations. In most cases, this introductory approach reduced interrogatees' fear and gave them some confidence to fully express themselves. An example of this is in excerpt 23 below.

Excerpt 23 (Case 12)

AP[119] *Interrogator:* *So you know, here we are asked to interact with you, get more information concerning your involvement in cultism.*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

AP[120] *Interrogator:* *The reason why you have to do that is because the name of the University is very very important.*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

AP[121] *Interrogator:* *And then we are here as a father and mother to make sure your life is better; to make sure you become a better person in life. And so whatever you need to say here, you must have that at the back of your mind.*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

AP[122] *Interrogator:* *That these people you are looking at, they have to sacrifice their time, energy and everything they have to be able to protect the name of this University, and protect you as an individual. And that is important. So you tell us the truth within a short period of time so that we will be able to round up.*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

4.9.3.2 Persuasion

There were instances where interrogators had to do a lot of persuasion to get the cooperation of interrogatees in the provision of truthful and useful information in the process. Persuasion involves pleading with, and coaxing of interrogatees by interrogators. In some cases, this strategy proved productive and in some, it proved unproductive. The use of persuasion was productive in cases where the interrogatee resultantly confessed or provided useful information, whereas it was unproductive where, in spite of all persuasions, the interrogatee did not provide useful or truthful information. An example of the use of persuasion in the discourses is shown in excerpt 24 below.

Excerpt 24 (Case 7)

AP[123] *Interrogator:* *We came to that place three times to see you. And we were not happy because we could not rescue you out of SIIB. And I was telling you then, I say Timson, if you had told us the truth while you were at (in detention), that we would have been able to bail you out of the problem. You did not tell us the truth until we got to SIIB. And we are really sad because of your condition then, because we could not get you released. And it was during the case that your mother died too. Because of you your mother died. And today, you are still adamant. Eh? You are still adamant. You want to kill your daddy again?*

Interrogatee: *No ma*

AP[124] *Interrogator:* *Or you don't want your life to be reformed?*

Interrogatee: *I want.*

AP[125] *Interrogator:* *Please am just begging you as a mother, because am not just*

Happy about what is happening now. Am almost shedding tears. If your mother could lose her life because of you and your dad, that

man, that man, you still want that man, you know what that man passed through that time? In fact, I pity that man. If you see the way they treated him at SIIB then, sleeping under staircase, on bare floor, and the University is trying to get you reformed so that you can finish your education in time, and still make it in life. But I don't know whoever, whoever must have given you this wrong counseling that you should be telling lies here. Because he is not helping you. The person wants to destroy your life. But as a mother, am just begging you in the name of God. The panel is not here to destroy your life. We just want to help you and that's why we have brought you here.

It is easy to see that the interrogator's turns in AP[123], AP[124] and AP[125] are full of pleading and coaxing. In the preceding part of the interrogation, the interrogators have tried by using different strategies to get the interrogatee make confessional contributions but all attempts have proved abortive. The use of persuasion here is another strategy and attempt used by the interrogators in this regard. In spite of all these, the interrogator did not make any more confessional contributions than he had made, thus making the use of persuasion here unproductive.

4.9.3.3 Threats

Though not in all cases, panelists sometime resort to the use of threats to get the accused students to cooperate in the provision of truthful and useful information. Threats can be defined as declarations of intention to cause harm or pain to another person or party. Just like persuasion, the use of threats can be productive or unproductive.

Excerpt 12 (Case 2)

AP[126] *Interrogator:* *Do you know that even if you graduated in 1982, we can recall your certificate?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

AP[127] *Interrogator:* *Let me give you an example, you know Robert Mugabe?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

AP[128] *Interrogator:* *Who is Robert Mugabe?*

Interrogatee: *Is a president*

AP[129] *Interrogator:* *Okay, at least you know that. Mugabe's erh, erh this thing, was Withdrawn by Edinburgh University. It's not only that. (This University) withdrew the certificate of a student recently.*

Interrogatee: *Sir, am here to give you everything you need sir. But I just need a call for a reason.*

AP[130] *Interrogator:* *What reason? We can't allow you to make a call outside here. Make your call here. Is it not concerning this matter?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

In AP[126], the interrogator threatens the interrogatee that his certificate could be withdrawn by the University even if he had graduated for many years. In AP[127], the example of Robert Mugabe whose certificate was withdrawn by his University was cited as an example. No graduate would naturally want to play with his her hard-earned degree or certificate. The interrogatee clearly understands the implication of this threat and in AP[129], he starts to have a change of mind. This strategy was productive in this context.

4.9.3.4 Sermonisation

In some of the cases, interrogators alluded to some scriptural preaching as a way of making interrigatees see reason to be cooperative in the interrogations. These were at stages when the interrogators found the interrogatees not forthcoming in information provision or not saying the truth. There were cases of sermonisation from Christian and Islamic teachings. In

some cases, such strategy was productive and in some it was unproductive. Excerpt 26 below provides an example of instances of sermonisation from the data.

Excerpt 26 (Case 7)

AP[131] *Interrogator:* *So between you and God, are you telling the truth?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

AP[132] *Interrogator:* *You know God knows you more than us. I can only judge you from what I see you doing. And especially your statement that you wrote at the police station. So between you and God, and the person of the Holy Spirit, do you know that God and Holy Spirit that you believe in and that you serve in the church, you said you are going to church?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

AP[133] *Interrogator:* *You know that they know you more than all of us?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

AP[134] *Interrogator:* *And they see you in secret places that we don't see you?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

AP[135] *Interrogator:* *Whether at night or during the day, and they see you when you are saying the truth or telling lies? Do you, between you and them now, are you telling us the truth?*

Interrogatee: *Am saying the truth.*

4.9.3.5 Information Cross-Matching

Information cross-matching in this study can be described as an act of examining the compatibility of an interrogatee's verbal account during the interrogation with his or her written account earlier made either with the police or submitted to the panel before the investigation. For example, in case 1, the interrogator confronted the interrogatee with some information in the

written statement he submitted to the police. Prior to that stage in the interrogation, the interrogatee had not been sufficiently cooperative. But with the information cross-matching based confrontation, the interrogatee started to show more cooperation (Excerpt 27 below).

Excerpt 27 (Case 12)

AP[136] *Interrogator:* *Oh you said you are not a member?*
Interrogatee: *Am not a member sir*

AP[137] *Interrogator:* *You are not a member?*
Interrogatee: *Yes sir*
AP[138] *Interrogator:* *And you have reasons?*
Interrogatee: *Yes I have reasons sir.*

AP[139] *Interrogator:* *(showed the interrogatee his statement earlier written, then continues) Is this your hand writing?*
Interrogatee: *Yes*
AP[140] *Interrogator:* *You wrote it voluntarily?*
Interrogatee: *Yes*
AP[141] *Interrogator:* *Hmm? Check very well.*
Interrogatee: *Yes sir*
AP[142] *Interrogator:* *Is that your hand writing?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

AP[143] *Interrogator:* *You wrote it voluntarily?*
Interrogatee: *Yes*
AP[144] *Interrogator:* *Hm?*
Interrogatee: *Yes sir*
AP[145] *Interrogator:* *You were not intimidated?*
Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

In AP[136], the interrogator reformulates the interrogatee's preceding averment that he was not a cultist and put it to him for revalidation or reconfirmation. In AP[137], the interrogator recapitulates the interrogatee's averment in AP[136] that he was not a member of any cult and put

it back to the interrogatee for another confirmation. The exchanges between AP[136] and AP[137] involve a propositional disagreement first between the interrogator and the interrogatee, and second, between the interrogatee's current averments against what he had earlier written and submitted to the police. The strategy employed by the interrogator between AP[139] and AP[145] is to show the interrogatee a copy of his earlier statement with the police, where he had admitted he was a member of a cut group. There are some other instances of information cross-matching, though not all SIDIs analysed have this strategy employed by the interrogator.

4.10 Structure of Student Investigative and Disciplinary Interrogations

In all SIDIs analysed, there were three emergent structural components. These are opening, interrogations *per se* and closing. Each of these is further discussed in some details below.

4.10.1 Opening

All fifteen (15) cases investigated have an opening part. It is in this part of the interrogation that the interrogators welcomed the interrogatees; obtained all relevant personal information on the interrogatees (such as names, departments, matriculation/registration number etc.); acquaint the interrogatee with the reasons for, and objectives of the interrogation; and sometime seek the interrogatee's cooperative participation by providing useful and truthful information. This is the phase, in most cases, where objective clarification usually takes place.

4.10.2 Interrogation *per se*

The interrogation intrinsically is the investigative aspect of the discourse. This is where interrogators seek general and specific information surrounding the particular case being investigated. This phase usually takes a very long time, as it is the main essence of the interrogators' assignment. The investigative aspects of SIDIs are predominantly based on questions and answers. It a phase where interrogators deploy all fact-find finding and evidence

elicitation strategies (persuasion, threats, sermonisation and cross-matching) to ensure the achievement of the desired result.

4.10.3 Closing

All SIDIs analysed had a closing part, where interrogatees were reminded that all they had said were voluntary and not based on any coercion. The interrogators also requested interrogatees to write down everything they had said at the interrogations session as a statement, sign it and submit it to the secretary for appropriate documentation and as an evidence for future references.

4.11 Conversational Features of Student Investigative and Disciplinary Interrogations

Conversation Analysts have continued to view conversations (casual and non-casual) as having some constitutive elements and organised in some distinct ways. These constitutive elements vary according to conversation type, and it is this variation that often accounts for different classifications of conversations into types. Pomerantz and Fehr (2010) have identified these constitutive elements of conversation to include activities and actions, turns, sequence, repair, epistemics, and the boundaries of episodes of interaction. Each SIDI was found to have these features and constitutive elements, and each is further discussed below.

4.11.1 Activities and actions

Student Investigative and Disciplinary Interrogations are interactions within which there are activities and actions. The general activity going on in each case is investigation and fact-finding. This takes place between two parties: interrogators and interrogatees. Within this broad activity, there are specific language based actions. Pomerantz and Fehr (2010, p. 169) define action as "what the participants are doing interactionally *vis-à-vis* one another". To be able to achieve their objectives, interrogators must take some actions in the process. These include obtaining information on the interrogatee; obtaining information on interrogatee's

involvement in the criminality being investigated; getting the interrogatee to confirm or refute some preconceived notions and information about the case under investigation, and so on. Pomerantz and Fehr (2010) further posit that actions are composed of practices that provide for their intelligible enactment. So, in the interrogation process, interrogators construct their turns in a way that enables the interrogatee to quickly understand what the interrogators want to achieve. Thus, the interrogators construct their turns as questions and the interrogatees understand that what the interrogators want is some information, which he is bound, within that context, to provide. The success of any SIDIs is measured in terms of how the objective of investigation and fact-finding has been achieved through the interrogator-interrogatee actions in each case.

4.11.2 Turns

For interrogators to achieve their objectives, they must take some specific actions (like propositional confirmation or refutation; asking for specific information; seeking to know the reason for some actions of interrogatees etc.). These actions are executed in turns. The turns are designed usually as one-speaker at a time, patterned along current speaker-selects-next-speaker form (that is interrogators' question is followed by interrogatees' answers, and vice versa). According to Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) and Pomerantz and Fehr (2010), turns are interactional time segments or moments that are taken by and allotted to participants to make their contributions in the discourse. In SIDIs, participants' turns are consistently structured in an organised way: there is a time for interrogators' question, and this is followed by interrogatees' answers although there were some instances of overlap and interruptions (coming more from interrogators).

4.11.3 Sequential Organisation

Participants' actions are organised in turns in SIDIs. In the turn taking arrangements, both interrogators and interrogatees understand the structure and system of narrative sequencing, such that it is mutually understood that the current interrogator's turn theme is a follow-up to their turn theme in the preceding adjacency pair. It is understood that interrogatees' answers are responses to interrogators' questions; interrogators and interrogatees must display an orientation to the objective of the interrogation; and that each question-answer sequence is in relation to the major theme and objective of the interrogation.

4.11.4 Repair

Repair is a conversation mechanism for the correction, adjustment or modification of what a participant is saying in the discourse. In the SIDIs analysed, repair took the form of self-repair, where interrogators or interrogatees self-correct themselves so that the other party could get what they were saying very clearly; and other-repair, where, in most cases, the interrogators correct what the interrogatees were saying. This feature manifested in all the cases, though at varying levels. The rate of self-repair was more on the part of interrogatees. Interrogatees' self-repair strategy could be linked to attempts not to be truthful or straightforward. It was also used where interrogatees felt that some contradictory information had been provided. An example of this is provided in the underlined utterance in excerpt below.

Excerpt 28 (Case 3)

AP[146] *Interrogator:* *At the time you became part of them in (this University) what position did you hold? I expect you to go straight. We had so so so meetings in so so so places, we did this we did that.. That's what we expect you to say.*

AP[147] *Interrogatee:* *Sir, if it was the initiation, I wasn't there. If it was meeting, I won't call it meeting because there is way the Black Axe normally call their meeting.*

4.11.5 Epistemic order

Pomerantz and Fehr (2010) note that interactional participants will display an orientation towards the knowledge that both they and others are entitled, required or forbidden to have (p. 171). In SIDIs, it would be assumed that both interrogators and interrogatees share some knowledge. For example, the interrogatee is expected to know that it is the University that has mandated the panel to do what it is doing; that the panel has some information about the student; that the interrogators have institutionally conferred right to ask interrogatees questions, and that interrogatees must answer such questions. This understanding and mutually shared background knowledge helped the interrogation process to progress, since questions were asked based on some of such assumptions. An example is shown in the excerpt below.

Excerpt 29 (Case 1)

AP[148] *Interrogator:* *Mr. Timson?*

Interrogatee: *Sir*

AP[149] *Interrogator:* *You are here because your pastor gave you directive to go and confess?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

AP[150] *Interrogator:* *But you have not made up your mind to confess. It is as simple as that. The Chairman was telling you at the beginning that is only the truth that can set you free. But you are still hiding a lot of things.*

Interrogatee: *Sir, am not hiding anything sir. Am not hiding anything.*

In the excerpt above, the interrogator and the interrogatee both know that the interrogatee had been alleged of involvement in some criminal activity; that the University had got to know about the case; that the interrogatee had not been giving the truthful information prior till then; and

that it is only by confessing that the interrogatee's problem could be resolved. This is an example of shared knowledge by both interrogators and interrogatees.

4.12 Summary of Analyses

In the preceding sections of this chapter, some summary of the SIDIs used for the study has been provided. There were four main analysis reported in the chapter. These include Mood analysis of interrogators' questions and selected part of the interrogatees' answers, structural restrictivity analysis of questions; analysis of interrogatees' answers, and factual concurrence analysis. The Mood analysis of interrogators' questions and interrogatees' answers was aimed at addressing the Research Objectives (RO) 1 and 2 of this study. The RO1 of the study is *to identify the various types of questions asked by interrogators in the interrogations* while the RO2 is *to determine interrogators' preferences for the identified question types in the interrogations*. The details of analysis reported in this chapter have shown the syntactic and modal structures of all questions of interrogators and selected answers of interrogatees. Based on this analysis, it was easy to make some statistical compilation in terms of the frequencies of each type of modal and syntactic structures (and the type of question to which each structure was equated) in the data.

The structural restrictivity analysis of questions and the analysis of interrogatees' answer to short and long types in the data was aimed at addressing the RO3, which is *to determine whether the identified question types have inhibitive effect on interrogatees' choices and lengths of answers*. With this analysis, the expected answer type based on the structural composition of each question against the actual answer types of answers (in terms of how short or how long) examined, with the result that there is some difference between the form of questions (in terms of how restrictive) and the functions of such questions (in terms of how accommodating and tolerant of long answers).

The analysis of factual concurrence in the data was aimed at addressing RO5, which is *to determine the relationship between the interrogation proceedings and the final decisions of the panels in each case*. In this analysis, the level of agreement and disagreement between interrogators and interrogatees on interrogators' propositions was critically examined. In terms of RO6, which is *to determine whether interrogatees were at any disadvantage occasioned by interrogators' questions*, the various discourse strategies employed by the interrogators to ensure the clarity of questions and propositions were critically examined and reported.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the various findings that were generated from the results of analyses in the last chapter are reported. The findings are reported according to the specific objectives of the study. The presentation of findings is followed by some discussion of the findings and their implications for SIDIs and related studies.

5.2 Research Findings

5.2.1 **Research Objective 1:** identification of the various types of questions asked by interrogators in the interrogations

vi. The study revealed that the predominant strategy used by panelists in student investigative and disciplinary interrogations was question and answer, with the panelists having the institutionally assigned role of information seeking through questioning and the accused students having the institutionally assigned role of information provision through answering.

vii. The study found that interrogators asked four (4) types of questions in SIDIs. These were *yes/no* interrogatives, declarative questions, *Wh*-interrogatives and interrogative moodless constructions. Interrogatees' answers were found to be predominantly declarative, except in few instances where interrogatees asked questions for clarification and expression of surprise purposes.

viii. The identified question types were found in all SIDIs investigated, though at varying frequencies across cases.

ix. The institutional assignment of roles (that is questioning for interrogators and answering for interrogatees) indicates asymmetry of role and relationship between the interrogators and the interrogatees. This asymmetry of role and relationship portrays interrogators as powerful and interrogatees as powerless in the SIDIs contexts.

5.2.2 Research Objective 2: Determination of interrogators' preferences for the identified question types in the interrogations.

i. The study revealed that in all SIDIs analysed, interrogators used declarative questions and *yes/no* interrogatives more than any other type of questions. These were questions that required direct propositional confirmation *yes* or propositional refutation *no*, and which were found to be restrictive in structure.

ii. After declarative questions and *yes/no* interrogatives, interrogators also showed more preference for *Wh*-interrogatives than moodless constructions used as questions in many cases.

iii. It was also found that interrogators' choices of questions were not based on case type. Rather, the interrogators' choices of which question type to use depended on the type of information needed at any point in the interrogation.

5.2.3 Research Objective 3: Determination of the inhibitory effect of the identified question types on interrogatees' choices and lengths of answers.

i. It was found that although majority of the identified questions asked by interrogators were structurally restrictive, the questions were functionally non-restrictive.

ii. It was further found that even when interrogators' questions required short and restricted answers, interrogators still allowed interrogatees to provide answers of their choices and in their desired quantities, with the implication that there were no instances of inhibition in the questioning and answering processes.

5.2.4 Research Question 4: Determination of the specific purposes that the identified question types served in the interrogations

i. The study revealed that the general purpose of all questions in the SIDIs was to elicit information that could be used to construct a story or narrative on the specific case on hand. In addition to this broad function, however, there were specific functions identified to have been performed by each type of question in the SIDIs.

ii. *Yes/no* interrogatives and declarative questions served propositional confirmation and propositional refutation functions; some *yes/no* interrogatives served the purpose of subtle commands and invitation-to-narrate function; *Wh*-interrogatives served information gap-filling purposes; while interrogative moodless constructions served discourse continuity, and in some cases, propositional confirmation-refutation purposes.

5.2.5 Research Question 5: Determination of the relationship between the interrogation proceedings and the final decisions of the panels in each case.

i. The study revealed that panelists' decisions on each student investigative and disciplinary case was largely based on the level of factual and propositional concurrence and non-concurrence, in which case, factual concurrence means the level of agreement of the information bits obtained from interrogatees in the interrogation process with the narrative information at the disposal of panelists prior to the interrogation.

ii. It was also found that where panelists' decision was not based on factual concurrence criterion, decisions were based on the interrogatees' level of cooperative participation measured by the quantity of truthful and useful information provided in the process.

5.2.6 Research Question 6: Determination of whether (or not) interrogatees were at any disadvantage occasioned by interrogators' questions.

i. The study revealed that both interrogators and interogatees in the SIDIs analysed employed the use of some discourse strategies to ensure that the interrogators' questions were clearly understood by the interrogators on one hand, and that the interrogatees clearly and freely expressed themselves in the interrogation process on the other.

ii. The discourse strategies employed for the clarity of interrogatives and propositions were repetition, recapitulation, reformulation and repair (self-repair and other-repair). These were extensively used by interrogators and interrogatees in the process.

iii. Based on the foregoing, the study found that the interrogatees were not at any disadvantage occasioned by the questions and questioning strategies of the panelists in the interrogation process.

5.2.7 Other General Findings

a) Distinct Peculiarities of SIDIs

i. The study revealed that SIDIs have some characteristics that made them a distinct type of institutional interaction compared to other types of institutional interactions like courtroom discourse, police-suspect discourse, teacher-pupil-discourse or doctor-patient discourse.

ii. The distinct peculiarities of SIDIs identified were the use of persuasion and coaxing, sermonisation, threat, and information cross-matching as information gathering and evidence elicitation strategies. The use of back channels for interrogative purposes was found to be a peculiarity, as well as the allowance given for the accused students to ask questions in the process.

b) Thematic Focus and Structure of SIDIs

i. It was found in the study that all SIDIs investigated had a thematic focus, which was investigation and fact-finding; and that participants (that is,

interrogators and interrogatees) mutually understood and oriented to this thematic focus throughout the interrogations.

ii. In order to achieve the thematic focus, SIDIs were made to comprise series of actions (information gathering, validation of propositions; etc.), which were organised into turns with each turn designed to achieve a communicative goal. Participants oriented to the one-speaker-at-a-time turn allocation pattern. The study therefore concludes that SIDIs are well organised institutional discourse, in which each participant understands and orients to their institutionally assigned roles.

5.3 Discussion of Findings

The various findings from the study above were derived from the data gathered and the analyses discussed in Chapter Four. A close examination of each of the finding will show that this study generally relates to some of the existing studies on institutional interactions, criminal investigations and criminal prosecution. The findings have also shown that SIDIs have a number of features in common, just as they have some dissimilarities with other forms of criminal investigation and prosecution based discourses. Some of these similarities and dissimilarities are discussed below.

The findings have shown that SIDIs are a well organised and well structured discourses, with participants taking actions in turns. The turn allocation pattern was designed such that it was the interrogators that usually initiated, and allocated the next turn to the interrogatees. The interrogators' turns were designed to be composed of questions as a major information elicitation strategy, while interrogatees' turns were designed to be composed of answers to the interrogators' next preceding questions. This finding is similar to the earlier findings on criminal investigations and prosecutions reported in Atkinson and Drew (1979), Coterill (2003), and Eades (1994). While Atkinson and Drew (1979) submit that speakers' turns in courtroom

interrogations should be designed at least minimally as either questions and answers, Eades (1994) avers that criminal investigations by the police and prosecutional interogations in courts are highly structured events where questions and answers are fundamental components. For Coterill (2003), interrogations by the police and the counsel in courts are designed as dialogic questioning, where the police and counsel's turns were made of questions and those of the accused persons were designed as answers to the interrogators' questions.

In terms of the types of questions asked by the professionals or institutional representatives in interrogations, the findings of this study have corroborated the earlier findings documented in this regard. Three (3) of the four types of questions identified, that is, declarative questions, *yes/no* interrogatives and *Wh*-interrogatives have earlier been identified in previous studies on criminal investigations and prosecutional interrogations. Studies that have identified these question types include Harris (1984), Woodbury (1984), Phillips (1987) and Tkachuk (2007). The only type of questions that has not been identified in most previous studies is interrogative moodless constructions, that is, instances where minor clauses, elliptical clauses or back channels are used as interrogatives.

The sequential organisation and fact-finding strategies in student investigative and disciplinary interrogations have been found to be indexical of power and role asymmetry. A similar finding has been reported by such studies as Gibbons (2004), Gnisci and Pontecorvo (2004), Haworth (2009), Farinde, Olajuyigbe and Mathew (2015). The role and relationship asymmetry is institutionally created, mutually understood and oriented to by the participants in the discourses.

Though some studies (such as Adelsward, 1988; and Luchjenbroars, 1997) have maintained that the verdicts of judges are determined on the basis of the outcome of the question-answer adjacency pairs, none of the studies specifically shows how such decisions were usually arrived at. The current study differs on this, as it goes further to discover that such

verdicts (of panelists in the interrogation proceedings) were based on the level of factual concurrence and the level of the interrogatees' cooperative participation in the cases.

Some of the existing studies have reported that the questioning strategies of institutional representatives and professionals in institutional interactions often have inhibitory effect on repondents' provision of information. Danet and Bogoch (1980) have argued that the majority of the questions asked in criminal investigations and prosecution were combative and restraining the accused persons in making their free narratives. Other scholars (including Newbury & Johnson 2006; Tkachuk, 2007) have also argued that questions that require confirmation or denial of propositions in the process of criminal investigation and prosecution were coercive and restraining, as a result of which the respondents might not be able to fully give their own version of the story. The current study departs from this previous findings as it has shown that although majority of the questions in SIDIs were restrictive structurally, interrogators still allowed interrogates to deviate from this structurally imposed restriction and make their answers as sufficiently informative as they desired.

The implication of the foregoing findings and discussion is that though SIDIs share some interactional features with other types of institutional discourses, they also have some uniqueness and peculiarities that can stand them out as a genre on their own. These peculiar features include the maximum allowable contribution from interrogators as answers to questions; the use of back channels as questions; and the use of objective clarifications onset, persuasion and coaxing, sermonisation, threats and cross-matching as strategies for cooperative participation.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Summary

This study investigated the use of language in the administration of justice in the context of higher educational institutions in Nigeria. The research was conducted basically to: determine the various types of questions asked the accused students in the students' investigative and disciplinary interrogations of the universities selected for the study; determine interrogators' preferences for the identified question types in the interrogations; and, determine whether (or not) the identified question types have inhibitive effect on interrogatees' choices and lengths of answers. Other objectives of the study were to: determine the specific purposes that the identified question types served in the interrogations; determine the relationship between the interrogation proceedings and the final decisions of the panels in each case; and, determine whether (or not) interrogatees were at any disadvantage occasioned by interrogators' questions.

The data used for the study consisted of the transcripts of students' investigative and disciplinary interrogations collected from three (3) different public universities in Nigeria. The investigative and disciplinary interrogations were formalised and naturally-occurring institutional discourse. The foci of analyses were the question-answer adjacency pairs in each of the fifteen (15) selected cases. The Mood structure analysis, an aspect of the Systemic Functional Grammar and a feature of the interpersonal meaning of the clause, was adopted for the analysis of all the questions of the interrogators and selected parts of the answers provided by the interrogatees. The Mood structure analysis provided insights into the syntactic architecture of each question-clause, that is, in terms of Subject, Predicator, Complement and Adjunct structure of each clause. It also gave insight into the modal structure of each question-clause in terms of the Mood block and the Residue. While the Mood block comprised the combination and systematic variation of the Subject and the Finite, the Residue comprised all other constituents of the clause. The analysis of the Mood in the questions and answers provided some insight into the lexico-grammatical structures used by the participants in the SIDIs not only for the realisation of interpersonal meanings in the discourses but also to achieve the different communicative objectives of the discourses. The analysis also gave some clue

about how roles have been institutionally assigned to each participant; how each participant orients to such institutionally assigned roles and participant relationships; and how the institutionally assigned role and relationship index power and relationship asymmetry in the contexts.

The analysis of the structural restrictivity patterns of questions also enabled the understanding of the great quantity of questions, which, by their syntactic architecture, required short confirmatory or refutational answers, while the analysis of the various answers provided by interrogatees enabled the determination of the ratio of long answers provided in response to all questions requiring short answers. The output of such analysis has confirmed that questions could be restrictive by their structure, but be non-restrictive by their function. This seemed to be a peculiarity of SIDIs when compared with such other institutional discourses as courtroom discourse involving counsel-accused or police-accused in criminal investigations.

The analysis of factual concurrence in all cases investigated has helped in the determination of how panelists arrive at their conclusions on each case. Some insight has, consequently, been provided to the effect that panelists' decisions on SIDIs were largely based on two factors: the level of factual concurrence and non-concurrence between interrogators and interrogatees; and the extent of cooperative participation exhibited by interrogatees in the interrogation process. With the identification of different strategies employed by interrogators and interrogatees at different times across cases to ensure questions and propositional clarity on both sides, the tendency for the interrogatees to be disadvantaged in the process as a result of the questioning strategies of interrogators has been reduced to the barest minimum. This justifies the position that the accused students were not in any way disadvantaged in the SIDIs.

6.2 Conclusion

Arising from the results of analyses and the emanating findings, this study concludes that although the predominant strategy for investigation and evidence elicitation in

student investigative and disciplinary interrogations is questioning, panelists' questions in SIDIs were usually very clear, straightforward and not in any way inhibitive to the accused students in the provision of their narratives. SIDIs provide room for the accused students to be able to sufficiently prove their cases by providing all useful and truthful information; and that the decisions on their case depend mainly on how their narrative and factual recount in the process concur or disagree with panelists' version of the story surrounding the criminality being investigated on one hand; and how sufficiently cooperative the accused students are in their provision of useful and truthful information on the other hand.

6.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, it is hereby recommended that:

i. members of the students' investigative and disciplinary panels of universities should ensure that the current interrogation system which allows unhindered provision of narratives and information by the accused students is sustained to avoid coercive provision of information which could lead to suspicion, allegations of bias and the miscarriage of justice;

ii. students, particularly those involved in some criminalities and are under investigation, should be encouraged to fully express themselves; ensure that they get panelists' questions and propositions very clearly; and say the truth at all times in the process, as such is a great factor for mitigative decision of panelists in the process;

iii. although this is not a language-based recommendation, there is the need for the nation's universities to ensure speedy resolution of students' criminal cases to as against the current practice where cases of criminal allegations are not be determined in good time, leading to students' loss of valuable time and resources before the outcome of his or her case; and

iv. as against the current practice in most universities, provision must be made for more professionals (lawyers, psychologists, counsellors etc.) to serve on student

investigative and disciplinary panels in universities. I addition to this, provision should be made to ensure that every interrogation proceeding of the panel is recorded, transcribed and kept in retrievable formats and archives for future uses.

6.4 Contributions to Knowledge

The study has been able to make contributions to knowledge with its vast data, the analytical methods and procedures; and the output of the research in terms of findings and recommendations, which can assist in improving universities' criminal investigations.

6.5 Suggestions for Further Studies

This study has shown that SIDIs are veritable resources for linguistic explorations. With the daily increase in the number of SIDIs globally, linguists should be more interested in language issues in this emerging genre and peculiar institutional discourse type. The following areas are specifically suggested for further studies in SIDIs.

i. Investigation of the linguistic strategies for lies and deception in SIDIs.
ii. Comparative investigation of questioning strategies and their effect in SIDIs and counsel-accused courtroom questioning.
iii. Translanguaging and interference in SIDIs.
iv. Use of other aspects of the Systemic Functional Grammar (such as experiential and textual metafunctions) for the analysis of SIDIs.
v. Comparative studies of questioning and questioning strategies in prosecutional interrogations, police-suspect interrogations and student investigative and disciplinary interrogations.

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APPENDIX 2: CASES ANALYSED

CASE 1

Interrogator: *Sit down there. Is that not a chair? ...*

You are welcome ... Can you introduce yourself?

Interrogatee: *I am Timson with matriculation number (0000 0000)*

Interrogator: *Please spea::k up. We can't hear you.*

Interrogatee: *I am Timson sir, with Matric Number (0000 0000).*

Interrogator: *BCH ...?*

Interrogatee: *(0000 0000)*

Interrogator: *Did you call it Physics or BCH?*

Interrogatee: *BCH/000000*

Interrogator: *Mr. Timson*

Interrogatee: *Timson, yes sir.*

Interrogator: *BCH...?*

Interrogatee: *(0000 0000)*

Interrogator: *You know why you are here?*

Interrogatee: *Yes.*

Interrogator: *Hm?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Are you sure?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. Very sure*

Interrogator: *Before you tell us why you are here, I should let you know one thing, and that should be clear to you. That what we are doing here is a serious*

business, we are not here to play; we are not here to joke; and we are not here to crucify you. We are here to give you what is called fair hearing, to listen to you. Are you getting what am saying?

Interrogatee: *Am getting it sir.*

Interrogator: *Please don't forget what am telling you. We are here not to crucify you, but we are here to listen to you as parents, as people that are older than you /?/ … So what we saying in essence is when you see people seated here, with their time, energy and everything, they are not here to crucify you or to destroy you; they are here as people that are older than you, and it is important to note because you cannot pass through this place for five years and nothing has changed. … And you are going to help this committee and help this university and help yourself by telling the truth, and the truth only.*

Interrogator: *Is that one clear?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *So which means you go straight, tell us what has happened, what you know and nothing but what you know .. I hope that is clear.*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Now since you have listened to that, can you tell us why you are here?*

Interrogatee: *As in .. in 2010, hmm, a friend of mine called me, and .. is a boy I've known before I enter FUTA …*

Interrogator: *Where is your document?*

Interrogatee: *Is here sir.*

Interrogator: *Nobody is asking a question already. We are asking why you are here, /-o o ti dahun yen o-/. Why are you here?*

Interrogatee: *I am here because I received a letter.*

Interrogator: *What did the letter say?*

Interrogatee: *That I belong to hmm … different cult groups on campus.*

Interrogator: *Are you, do you belong to a cult group?*

Interrogatee: *I don't sir.*

Interrogator: *Please don't waste our time, just tell us the truth.*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir, I want to tell the truth sir.*

Interrogator: *But you are denying belonging to cult groups?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Oh, you said you are not a member?*

Interrogatee: *Am not a member sir.*

Interrogator: *You are not a member?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *And you have reasons?*

Interrogatee: *Yes. I have reasons sir.*

Interrogator: *(showed him a statement he had earlier written and submitted on the case). Is this your writing?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Hmm? Check very well.*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Is that your writing?*

Interrogatee: *Yes.*

Interrogator: *You wrote it voluntarily?*

Interrogatee: *Yes.*

Interrogator: *Hmm?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *You were not intimidated?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Can you go on?*

Interrogatee: *So I met a friend that I know before I came to /this University/. His name is Ti.. Titus .. Titus, I don't really know the surname. So I met him in Chapters, South gate where I was, where I was eating. I met him at Chapters where I was eating at South gate.*

Interrogator: *Where were you eating, in the restaurant?*

Interrogatee: *Yes.*

Interrogator: *Eating or drinking?*

Interrogatee: *Eating, eating.*

Interrogator: *Sorry, sorry. Mr. Chairman, he made that statement (interrogators interacted for some clarification)…*

Mr. Timson, please listen to this (interrogator read an earlier statement of the interrogatee). So that's why I asked you to tell us the truth. So start again.

Interrogatee: *Okay sir.*

Interrogator: *Can you start again?*

Interrogatee: *I met a friend of mine who I have known before I enter /this University/. His name is /Titus, Titus/. He left school …/*

Interrogator: *…/ Face the Chairman. Can you go on?*

Interrogatee: *I met a friend of mine who I knew before I enter /this Universiy/. His name is Titus, Titus Titus. We met at Chapters where I was eating. I don't even know he was in /this University/ before. We both talk and exchanged numbers. We both talk and exchange numbers. I know him through a brother in 2009. The brother stays in my area. That brother is like a street brother to me and we used to talk together, and that brother belongs to the Buccaneer Confraternity. So Titus also used to come there because he is a member of the same… and he told me if I get admission…/*

Interrogator: *.../ Is a member of?*

Interrogatee: *The same Confraternity, Buccaneer Confraternity.*

Interrogator: *Can you give us their full names, these people you are mentioning?*

Interrogatee: *Sir the one I told you about is the one in /T. S./ University of Education, I stay in Ijebu-Ode. The one in /T. S./ University of Education, his name is /Titus/, we call him Titus that is what I know him with. And that is my bigger .. is like a bigger brother to me. So I know Titus through him, and me and Titus we met again at Chapters. So when we met.../*

Interrogator: *.../ So Titus is a member of Buccaneer Cult?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir, yes sir.*

Interrogator: *What is his full name?*

Interrogatee: *Titus, Titus or Timson, I don't ...*

Interrogator: *Titus what?*

Interrogatee: *Titus or Timson, I don't ..*

Interrogator: *What Department is he in?*

Interrogatee: *Then he told me he was in CSC sir. I don't , he told me he was in CSC, CSC Department. Hundred level.*

Interrogator: *Is he Titus /-abi-/?*

Interrogatee: *Yes, Titus Titus.*

Interrogator: *Titus?*

Interrogatee: *Yes, Titus*

Interrogator: *Can you go on?*

Interrogatee: *He told me he was in 300 hmm, hundred level, CSC. I met him and we both exchanged number and we talk. So we used to call each other. One Monday, one morning like that, I called him and told him that Titus, I need 500 naira we are about to start exam then.../*

Interrogator: *.../ You need?*

Interrogatee: *500 naira from him that I need money. I called him, and he said maybe when he entered school he is going to see me. I was in ETF receiving lecture when he called me that he was now in school that where am I. I told him he should come to the back of ETF. So I went there to meet him and we both talked. I asked for the money. He said he want to go and collect the money from somebody that maybe we should go together that he is not entering the school again, he is going to house from there. I now follow him. We board, hmm, we board a taxi at the North Gate, so, to Road Block. We drop at Cassava. We got to Cassava where two of his friends stays, hmm, Roland, Roland and Boxman. They call the guy Boxman, that is the name I knew him. Roland and Boxman.*

Interrogator: *Roland what?*

Interrogatee: *Roland Roland and Boxman, that's the name I know him. So they were both reading there. Me and Titus we went there and Titus was talking to the guy. When they were talking, while they were talking, the two of them were talking. While they were talking this guy came in Titus,*

Interrogator: *Roland and Boxman were reading, right?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *What is the name of Boxman?*

Interrgatee: *I don't really know sir. I know him as Boxman.*

Interrogator: *What is Boxman's real name?*

Interrogatee: *I don't know sir. He belongs to the Keggite, am also a member of Keggite sir.*

Interrogator: *Is Boxman a student?*

Interrogatee: *Yes. Titus a student also, and he is also a Keggite.*

Interrogator: *And Boxman too?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Yes?*

Interrogatee: *So Titus and Boxman they were reading together. Titus took me there and they were talking. We were talking about school generally, and Titus was talking about Keggite. Then one guy came inside, Titus Titus[2]. Titus[2] came inside. When Titus[2] came in Titus now said we should go to where they are selling /-jedi-/, as in, the place located near their house in cassava. They are selling /-jedi-/, cigarette and things like that there .../*

Interrogator: *.../ What is /-jedi-/*

Interrogatee: *I don't know as in /-jedi jedi-/*

Interrogator: */-Opa eyin-/?*

Interrogatee: *Exactly ma.. So all of us, four of us, all of us left there and the brother, they told me was in 500 level then because I was in 200 Level. His name is /Giman/, that's what he is called. He came there.*

Interrogator: *The name again?*

Interrogatee: *Giman, Giman.*

Interrogator: *What is the real name?*

Interrogatee: *I don't know the real name. That's the first time I would see him and that was the last time. His name is Giman. The first and the last time I met him.*

Interrogator: *So what happened?*

Interrogatee: *So when Giman was there, Giman was now asking Titus some sort of question and Titus and Giman were talking. Like they want to, before, they were asking like who is this, that maybe .. and they were talking like they want to bring back the Buccaneer Confraternity back to campus. They were telling Titus, Giman is telling Titus that what is the process, what is he doing now about that, and Titus say he is working on it that he want to go and meet the FC. That's what he told me, FC.*

Interrogator: *What is the meaning of FC?*

Interrogatee: *I don't know sir. I think he is the one in charge of the, the … cult group in (this University). He say he has gone to meet the FC that he want to gather people before, he want to gather people before going to, because they want to be meeting again. So that's what he told Giman. And later on when they were talking Giman called me outside and asked me that which level am I. I now told that am in 200 level. He asked for my name and I said Titus. He said he is doing his final defense next week that he need my suit because that was what I wear that day (?). He collected my name and I gave him my number. In the next day he called me for the suit. I told me to come to (the hostel). That's where I stay. He said he would. But I don't see him again. Later on I just saw my name being pasted after exam*

Interrogator: *Who said you should give him you suit?*

Interrogatee: *That Giman, Giman, that 500 Level brother there. So I was in the hostel after finishing exam when a friend called me that, a friend, Titus Titus called me that he saw my name pasted at (Faculty) Building, that my name is there. I was surprised. Then I went to (Faculty) building. When I saw the list I saw the names of everybody that was there that day, excluding the Giman. Am now wondering that that particular day, Titus Titus now called me and said he knew that I was the one that went to the Student Affairs to report the name. I was shocked that how would I report a name and my name will still be there. He said he knew I was the one /- o -/. That's what he told me. He (?) (Christy Christy), he was the daughter of a lecturer, of a Professor in this school. He was the Vice-President then. I go to her to go and tell that Christy am in trouble, this is what happened this is what happened. She now told me that we should go and meet Mrs. (Golfman). When we went there she was not around. Maybe that day I had the plan of telling her the whole truth then. So she was not there. I now went home. But during the holiday, when I was at home Titus came to my area again and come and meet me at home and told me that he knew I was the one. I now told him that how can I be the one and still put my name there. He now told me that he know the school will get them through me. That was the statement he made, that he will be send*

away /- o -/, that he know but I will be in trouble. That was what he told me. Then I told a sister of mine and she just told me that I should just take things easy that the school has a way of getting them themselves, that I should just be careful. That was what he told me then. So ever since then I came to the Panel, I was invited to the Panel. I just came here and say I know nothing about it, which is true sir. But I have never told them this whole story that am telling now. So then we, the Panel invited me again, but the thing is affecting me academically. The invitation, everything. When I was at home, when I was doing my I.T., my grandpa said he had a dream about me. So he now take me to a prophet. He now took me to a pastor. When I was with the pastor, the pastor said that I should just go that immediately am resuming to school after the, after my I.T. that I should go straight to the panel and tell them everything I know. So I went to Mrs. Golfman's office to tell her, to report to her that this is it and she said that I would be invited again to the panel to come and say what I know about the case. Sir that is what I know about the case sir.

Interrogator: *You promised to confess, so what confession are you making?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, that is my .. that was my confession. I knew nothing about it sir.*

Interrogator: *Eeh?*

Interrogatee: *I knew nothing about it sir. That is exactly what happened, all that I have said. But I was there with them, that day…*

Interrogator: *Listen. Listen. You have just made a statement. That statement that you made is interesting to me that you were there with them. Can you explain further?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, I just, I knew Titus as a friend. I knew him as one of them. But he was the one that took me there. He gave me the money that day. He collected the money from Titus[2] and gave me that day. So, I left them there and still came back to school because I still have lecture that day.*

Interrogator: *Mr. Timson*

Interrogatee: *Sir.*

Interrogator: *You are here because your pastor gave you directive to go and confess?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *But you have not made up your mind to confess. It is as simple as that. The Chairman was telling you at the beginning that is only the truth that can set you free. But you are still hiding a lot of things.*

Interrogatee: *Sir. Am not hiding anything sir. Am not hiding anything.*

Interrogator: *Your mind will continue to be troubled not only because of the invitation but because you are hiding the truth. The job of the people on this panel is not to destroy you like the Chairman has said, but to see how we can, we can wrench you from evil hands. Information on ground is more than what you have just said. You wrote a letter saying you want to confess, and when you say confession, the Chairman will tell you that confession is an admission of an offence. You have not confessed yet. And am sure you are not here to waste our time. All you have done now is to waste our time because you have not said anything new. All that you have said that I note is that you were there when they were conspiring among themselves to institute Buccaneer confraternity here. What role did you play there?*

Interrogatee: *I did not play any role. I did not play any role sir.*

Interrogator: *You mean you were just there, they discussed, you said nothing, you didn't do anything?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, Titus Titus has been telling me that immediately they bring back the Buccaneer, I will be able to join that they will initiate me. That they don't initiate at the university level anymore.*

Interrogator: *That immediately they do what?*

Interrogatee: *That immediately they bring the Buccaneer, they will be able to initiate me. That they do not initiate at the university level anymore.*

Interrogator: *So what did you say when he said that?*

Interrogatee: *I didn't say anything.*

Interrogator: *Did you request to be initiated?*

Interrogatee: *That was, that was what brought me and Titus together in the first instance.*

Interrogator: *You have not answered the .../*

Interrogatee: *.../ I said*

Interrogator: *Did you request to be initiated?*

Interrogatee: *I did not request to be initiated but the brother I met Titus through erh, he want me to be a Buccaneer then in 2008.*

Interrogator: *Who wanted you to be a Buccaneer?*

Interrogatee: *The Titus that I told you which is TASUED student*

Interrogator: *You were not a student then?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *You and Titus met there, and he linked you with Titus?*

Interrogatee: *No. I met Titus with him. I didn't know Titus was in (this University). Titus was .. Titus .. I was the one that came to (this University) before Titus. I know Titus is also a student of (this University). I was in 200 Level when Titus claimed to be in 100 level.*

Interrogator: *So, eventhough you have not been initiated, you still had the intention?*

Interrogatee: *I had the intention then sir.*

Interrogator: *So it was not an accident that you fell to a group of about five of them, and that was how you came about Buccaneer?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, it was an accident. Because Titus never told me that was where we were going to. And .. immediately I entered (this University) I had a sister who finished here. She's already told me everything about (this University) and when we were doing our registration, orientation week then, I saw people, as in, they were renouncing at the auditorium. So the impression of joining any cult had already left me then. I did not even have any impression of joining.*

Interrogator: *But you were present when they were discussing bringing the cult here?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *How long were you there?*

Interrogatee: *It took up to thirty minutes.*

Interrogator: *One hour thirty minutes?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. They discussed more than that.*

Interrogator: *What did the rule say you should do when you when you have such information?*

Interrogatee: *The rule say I should report it.*

Interrogator: *Did you report it?*

Interrogatee: *I don't sir.*

Interrogator: *Hmm?*

Interrogatee: *I don't sir.*

Interrogator: *So why are you wasting our time? That's what bothers me.*

Mr. Timson. You have just come here to deceive yourself.

Interrogatee: *Am not sir.*

Interrogator: *That's number 1. Number 2, you are full of clumsiness. You are a clumsy and complex person. The other day you came, and that was on 7th March, 2012, you said that day that, though you said you are a muslim that your name is AbdulHamid, then you said that erh erh you are erh you are now /Karlman/. You are /Karlman/?*

Interrogatee: *No am not /Karlman/. Am Karlman.*

Interrogator: *You are Karlman not Karlman?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *That was on 7th March, 2012. So then you said that three friends of yours that you mentioned, that they talked to you about Buccaneer and that you are in their midst but that you did not subscribe to the invitation to join their cult group. But however, you continued your friendship with them. You said that. Then later on, you heard that almost two or three of them, of your friends, have now confessed to be members of this Buccaneer. This other friend that you've mentioned, and that is, erh, Titus Titus, have you ever met him?*

Interrogatee: *Met him.*

Interrogator: *Yes, have you ever met him since then?*

Interrogatee: *No sir.*

Interrogator: *What is his status now?*

Interrogatee: *I don't know sir. I even thought he will be invited.*

Interrogator: *Ok. Is it possible for three people now to lie against you? And if you are in the midst of three or five friends, you understand me now? And all of them have come here to confess, and you want to face all of them before you say this your truth? You are just deceiving yourself. That is that. Then another thing again, on, on erh, I will tell you, you appeared here again on 16th of January, 2013. 16th of January, 2013 you appeared before us here. You said that, erh, that you were not a cultist but some of your friends are, that you are an active member of the Keggite club, and that you smoke.*

Interrogatee: *No sir, erh.. I don't smoke sir.*

Interrogator: *You confessed that you smoke. You still insisted that you are not a cultist. You said that you are a member of Keggite club and you smoke.*

Interrogatee: *Ah! I never said that. I don't smoke sir.*

Interrogator: *Then, you concluded by saying that the panel should sanction you appropriately if eventually they identify you to be a cultist, particularly that you are member of Buccaneer group. That was the last statement you made on March 7th, 2012. That was the concluding statement, that*

the panel should sanction you appropriately if eventually they now found that you are cultists particularly a member of the Buccaneer Confraternity. We are just telling you that we have overwhelming evidence to show that you are a cultist.

Interrogatee: *Am not a cultist.*

Interrogator: *So, you have to beg yourself to let us know now. If not, you want to close your case with us and we will know what to do.*

Interrogatee: *I was never initiated sir. Am not a cultist sir.*

Interrogator: *You were invited and told all the things you were going to enjoy from membership of that cult. And both of you (?), you drink, you go out together, all of you. So we have our information.*

Interrogatee: *Sir, I was never initiated sir.*

Interrogator: *So the onus is on you if you want to confess, and if you don't want to confess, so be it. One thing is that you are not a Muslim at all. You are just a nominal Christian or sorry a nominal Muslim. You are a Muslim and you said you went to a pastor?*

Interrogatee: *I don't say I went to a pastor sir. My grand father pastor, he took me to the pastor sir.*

Interrogator: *Erh? So who directed you to come and confess to the panel?*

Interrogatee: *The pastor.*

Interrogator: *But why did you go to a pastor? Are you not a student?*

Interrogatee: *No, my grandfather took me to the pastor. No he took me, it was my grandfather.*

Interrogator: *Erh, why a pastor, are you not a student of (this University)?*

Interrogatee: *I am, sir*

Interrogator: *Mr. Chairman sir, I want us to see how we can assist this boy. Karlman*

Interrogatee: *Sir.*

Interrogator: *Do you see?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *You are not ready to help yourself. See this is a simple test, a very simple test. See when you look at your physique in the mirror, wait, look at your face, look at your lips, your eyeballs, wait .. It means to say that Mr. Chairman, this student is not ready to confess anything here because if he is ready to confess you will just tell me simple truth that he smokes. Because when you look at this gentleman, you will see that .. it means to say that you have just come here to rattle us. So since you have come here to rattle us, I think, Mr. Chairman, we allow him to go and until whenever he is ready to come back he should be dismissed. We put him on suspension, or we drive him away from the University. Whenever he is ready to come back, we ask him to come back and confess. Let me tell you one thing. You do smoke, and you drink. They are the characteristics. Those two things appear strongly in your physique. There is no doubt about that. And let me warn you that those students that have been moving around with you, your friends, they do the same thing with you. You have common interest and if you don't have common interest, there is no point for you to be their friend. That is the reason why they invited you to this erh .. whether you join the group or not, the point is that you are interested to join the group. So whether you are initiated or not, it is not the concern of this committee, whether you are initiated or not. The fact that you are going out with, the logic that you are going out with those who commit those things indicate that you are happy moving with them. So coming here to tell us that erh you know now psychologically, you are not settled, your mind is not settled.*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Hnh Hnh. You are shaking. You are shaking because you are here with us. When you go out now, you become another being entirely.*

Interrogatee: *No no sir.*

Interrogator: *Wait. If you are ready to confess, tell us your participation, your involvement, what you have done so far and what you intend doing. Then, all of us can help you. Now just confess to us we can now help you. Mr. Chairman, that is what I wanted to say (Panel interacts).*

Interrogator: *Listen to me, few questions, erhm /Karlman Karlman/, alias [/Halipoo/*

Interrogatee: *[Hallipoo]*

Interrogator: */Hallipoo/, is your friend?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Ok, /Titus Titus/ alias /Bay/ is your friend?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: */Boxman/, alias /Bigboy/ is your friend?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *What is your appellation?*

Interrogatee: *My own?*

Interrogator: *Yes, what is your own appellation?*

Interrogatee: *T. T.*

Interrogator: *erh?*

Interrogatee: *T. T. Titus Titus.*

Interrogator: *That is not appellation*

Interrogatee: *As in T. T. Titus Titus.*

Interrogator: *Do you know /Boxman/?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *He is a confessed cultist. Do you know him?*

Interrogatee: *We are together.*

Interrogator: *You are together as friends?*

Interrogatee: *Yes.*

Interrogator: *He has confessed as a cultist. And others like that that you move together with. You know he has finished?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *That is why we are saying let us, help us to help you. Even, you even wrote in your statement, (to the secretary, "give me that statement"). You are very smart. Is undated statement, you say "I know that the truth will surely emerge at last". And I think I need a legal practitioner because is going far beyond my expectation, did you write that?*

Interrogatee: *I wrote that sir.*

Interrogator: *You wrote that, in your handwriting?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Hmm! Beautiful! You want to go to a legal practitioner?*

Interrogatee: *Please sir*

Interrogator: *I am coming, you know we are like father here. We are like father /- o -/. You want to go for legal practitioner, beautiful. It's your right /- o -/. But what is clear here is that all circumstantial evidence point to the fact that you are a cultist. If you want us to go to the extreme, we will bring the two of them, one single question, do you know Timson as a cultist? If one says yes, that's all, we ask him to go out. We call the other person, do you know Timson as a cultist, he says yes. We ask him to go out.*

Interrogatee: *Sir*

Interrogator: *No no no. And he knows the punishment differs from somebody that confesses and somebody that does not confess. So when they nail somebody, because you (?) .. a friend to the panel. Is a different ballgame /- o -/. /- Ekun o ran o -/. (Panel interacts within self). Leave him now, /- o mo right ee -/. /- A l'o mo right e -/. Legal practitioner! He's going to do this, he's going to do that ..*

Interrogatee: *Sorr//*

Interrogator: *Listen to me (shouts), you think we are here to waste time? We are here to reform you, not to destroy you. You are here as a student to be reformed, not to be deformed. So that you can become an active member of the society. We want you to graduate and become a good ambassador of (this University), good ambassador of course.. That is why we are here. We have our facts, they are here. We have mentioned some names to you, and we also have evidence. We also have children too. Ok, can you address me now?*

Interrogatee: *(cries) I will sir. I will sir.*

Interrogator: *Are you ready to talk now?*

Interrogatee: *Excuse me sir am ready sir.*

Interrogator: *Are you ready to tell us nothing but the truth?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir am ready sir*

Interrogator: *On your own volition?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Nobody is forcing you?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *We have enough evidence here. We have helped you enough.*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *We have said we want to help but you must help yourself.*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir, I will.*

Interrogator: *Time wasting /- o daa -/. Can you now tell us the truth?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, I relate with them as a Buccaneer. Because I know much and much about them sir.*

Interrogator: *When were you initiated? Tell us all the truth.*

Interrogatee: *Sir, I know about Buccaneer Confraternity as far back as 2008.*

Interrogator: *Just when you were initiated, (member cuts in /-"gbogbo yen naa l'o fe e so" -/).*

Interrogatee: *I was not initiated sir. That was the truth. I was not initiated but I know everything about them. So I, I, I relate with them as if, erm, am one of them sir.*

Interrogator: *And they accept you as one of them?*

Interrogatee: *Yes, they accepted me sir. And that is the truth sir. So that day I was there with them.*

Interrogator: *With all as Buccaneer and a member?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. That is it.*

Interrogator: *So, but the problem now is the date for your initiation has not been set?*

Interrogatee: *No. I have not been initiated.*

Interrogator: */-Ma tun je ka ni argument mo o -/.*

Interrogatee: *I know sir.*

Interrogator: */- A ti jo bere daadaa bai o -/.*

Interrogatee: *I know sir.*

Interrogator: *Now you have said you related with Buccaneers?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Mr. Timson,*

Interrogatee: *Sir*

Interrogator: *You, the statement you just made, I want you to reconfirm, that I relate with them as Buccaneers?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *That means as a member of their group?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *That I know everything about them?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir, everything about them. Everything about them.*

Interrogator: *You mean?*

Interrogatee: *Everything about them.*

Interrogator: *Although you have not been initiated*

Interrogatee: *Yes, I know everything about them.*

Interrogator: *But you behaved and acted as one of them?*

Interrogatee: *Yes, as one of them*

Interrogator: *And you act as one of them.*

Interrogatee: *I don't act as one of them sir.*

Interrogator: *What do you mean by that, how do you relate with them?*

Interrogatee: *Let me say as one of them.*

Interrogator: *But they didn't know you have not been initiated. Nobody knew among them.*

Interrogatee: *Only Titus knows sir.*

Interrogator: *Were they planning any initiation for you?*

Interrogator: *Titus was planning an initiation for me. They say they didn't do it at university level so Titus is planning to .../*

Interrogator: *.../ But others didn't know that you have not been initiated?*

Interrogatee: *Yes, others didn't know.*

Interrogator: *Timson*

Interrogatee: *Sir*

Interrogator: *Please can you tell us about your education since you left secondary school, even from secondary school?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir, as in, I attended Ijebu-Ode Grammar School sir.*

Interrogator: *What?*

Interrogatee: *Ijebu-Ode Grammar School.*

Interrogator: *Yes*

Interrogatee: *In 2006, I finished from the school in 2006 after then I, I was unable to get admission*

Interrogator: *So what were you doing then?*

Interrogatee: *I went to Arabic School. My father sent me to Arabic School, is an Alhaji. So I went to Arabic school for two years. After then I did JAMB in 2008. I picked Ife then but I was not given admission in Ife that year. So the next year, I picked (this University) and I was given an admission.*

Interrogator: *How did you know Baba Titus Titus?*

Interrogator: *I knew Titus in Ijebu-Ode.*

Interrogator: *In Ijebu-Ode?*

Interrogator: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *The same school?*

Interrogator: *No not the same school. I knew him through that brother I told you about. I knew him through that Titus. So he was the only one who knew I was…/*

Interrogator: */… If he is not a member of your school how did you come across him?*

Interrogatee: *As in, he used to come and meet that Titus. The Titus, that Titus I was talking about is my area brother.*

Interrogator: *He was your?*

Interrogatee: *Area brother. He lives in my area. He used to be my area brother.*

Interrogator: *Who is Titus to you?*

Interrogatee: *Titus is like area brother to me. He was Buccaneer, that Titus. So Titus is also a Buccaneer.*

Interrogator: *What do you mean by area brother?*

Interrogatee: *As in, he lives in my .. area. He was a student of T. S. University of Education and he stays in my area.*

Interrogator: *So you knew him to be a Buccaneer?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *So he didn't initiate you? All these are in this document.*

Interrogatee: *The reason why I didn't, why I was not initiated then was because I was not in university. That was the reason sir.*

Interrogator: *So when you got to (this University)..*

Interrogatee: *When I got to FUTA, I don't as in, me and Titus, Titus is no more living in that area and I hear that he even die. I heard he died.*

Interrogator: *Mr. Timson*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *The only difference between you and all others that we have with us Timson1, Timson2, Timson3 and others, and Timson4, and Timson5, is that you have not been initiated?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Otherwise, you have been doing everything with them.*

Interrogatee: *Sir, that's what I want to tell you.*

Interrogator: *Tell us*

Interrogatee: *When I met Titus, and I was in the gathering that they say they want to bring me back to Buccaneer, immediately the name was pasted in school, I don't meet with any of them anymore. I don't, everybody just, as in everything scattered, nobody even see, we were not even looking for each other. But I do used to call Timson1. Timson1 used to call me. But I*

used to call Timson2 then, Timson3. As in nobody is even ready. But Timson1 said he will be (?) he will go and meet hmm Timson5, which is the FC, that he will go and meet.. that he will talk to him, that ..

Interrogator: *You met the FC before?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir, no I have not met the FC before. I met (?) that I mentioned the FC. I've not met him before. His name is Timson5. That was what Timson1 told me that he will met FC and they would do something about it.*

Interrogator: *But you were there when they had meeting with him?*

Interrogatee: *No I was there when, ok, I was not in the meeting.*

Interrogator: *But there is a report here that you attended.*

Interrogatee: *I was not at the meeting.*

Interrogator: *Tell me when you met Timson5.*

Interrogatee: *When he met /Timson5/, I was not there.*

Interrogator: *So what prevented you from being there? What prevented you?*

Interrogatee: *When they say they want to go and meet /Timson5/ concerning the issue, I was in school then.*

Interrogator: *They called you?*

Interrogatee: */Timson1/ called me.*

Interrogator: *What did you tell him?*

Interrogatee: *No. I did not tell him anything he said I should come to Cassava now.*

Interrogator: *I was busy that's why you didn't go?*

Interrogatee: *Yes I was busy?*

Interrogator: *Enh eenh! That's what you ought to say.*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir, I was busy.*

Interrogator: *You had the intention of going to meet up?*

Interrogatee: *No sir, I was, I was, I was not*

Interrogator: *Not interested?*

Interrogatee: *I was even afraid that, I was afraid that*

Interrogator: *Listen. Listen. You will run yourself into trouble because you are still attempting to deceive us.*

Interrogatee: *Am not deceiving you sir.*

Interrogator: *As you see me here, I have been a student of (this University) before. I don't know how old you would be when I was graduating from (this University). So I know a little more than you. Look at all these men, they are not kids. So you are still attempting to deceive us and is very glaring and you need to stop that now.*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Mr. Timson*

Interrogatee: *Sir*

Interrogator: *I want you to answer a question.*

Interrogatee: *Daddy I will answer.*

Interrogator: *Among the statements you made is that you act as one of them?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *You speak their language?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *How were you able to pick, how did you learn their language?*

Interrogatee: *I learn it through that brother. Through that Titus, I learnt everything through him. Everything.*

Interrogator: *How did you learn it? By attending meetings?*

Interrogatee: *Is not by attending meetings. Whenever am in his room, as in, with his friends, it is what he used to talk to his friends and he even told me everything.*

Interrogator: *But you had a meeting that lasted for thirty minutes, was it not the language that you spoke?*

Interrogatee: *Yes, yes.*

Interrogator: *So why were you lying about it?*

Interrogatee: *No I thought, sorry, I picked it from Ijebu-Ode.*

Interrogator: *Even at Ijebu-Ode are you saying you have never attended any of their meetings?*

Interrogatee: *I never attended any meeting.*

Interrogator: *This man knows everything about Buccaneers.*

Interrogatee: *I said it sir.*

Interrogator: *And he has been acting it, and speaking their language. He has been in the waiting to be initiated. And he says here, that he is yet to be initiated.*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *And you agree you know everything and do everything they do?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *So what is initiation?*

Interrogatee: *No sir. There is something they call JJ. So, that was what /Timson3/ was doing for that so far ..*

Interrogator: *What is JJ?*

Interrogatee: *That's what they call it.*

Interrogator: *And what is the meaning?*

Interrogatee: *As in so far, I am an intending I was intended to join, so far am I .. that I will be knowing things about them so they are that's what Titus gave me*

Interrogator: *They do no longer hide anything from you?*

Interrogatee: *Titus no longer hide anything from me except for the initiation.*

Interrogator: *And if they had any operation or activity you would be invited?*

Interrogatee: *I will, no, no.*

Interrogator: *Ok. Fine. Can I put something to you. The threat letter that he wrote, that he wanted to go to a lawyer,*

Interrogatee: *Sorry sir*

Interrogator: *Wait, wait, wait let me tell you, you can't erh deceive us you can go to a lawyer. You have to confess to the lawyer first, before the lawyer can take your case up. Do you know that?*

Interrogatee: *I know sir, I know.*

Interrogator: *Ok. Once you do that, then you have sold yourself out. And if the lawyer takes your case to court, after you have been driven away from this University, then your expulsion stands and it would take years for the university to obey court order, if the university obeys court order, on you. If the university obeys the court order, I want to warn you,*

Interrogatee: *Ern, sir*

Interrogator: *If the university obeys the court order, your results will be hanging in your Department. And there is nothing the court can do about your results, am educating you /- o -/.*

Interrogatee: *I know sir.*

Interrogator: *So that you know what to do.*

Interrogatee: *Sir,*

Interrogator: *Wait, wait wait. Concerning the issue you raised about going to a lawyer, you will waste the whole five years you have spent here.*

Interrogatee: *Am not taking lawyer sir.*

Interrogator: *That is number one. Number two, erm, Mr Chairman, we have employed some tactic in the past in this panel and it has worked. And er .. he has spoken, and .. er .. that is, he has spoken, and we have heard him. We now warn him, that we will invite him for the last time. And if he doesn't play ball, completely confessing to us, what it takes and what it has taken, in doing this job, then we shall apply the big hammer. And once we do that, your life is finished.*

Interrogator: *Please sir.*

Interrogator: *If you like you can continue to buccanise. Forget about that. So I want to plead with us to get these materials that we have gotten now on ground, and allow you to go and do a rethink before our next meeting. And that rethink will bring him back to his senses. That is going to be the last chance for him. With that Chairman, we expect that, I mean, we gave them chances to go and do a rethink, serious rethink so that when they come back whatever it takes we are going to give them. That is that.*

Interrogator: *To corroborate my professor, I want to tell you my brother, you see we have said it all. Is it possible to have the culture of a particular environment or say a group, and yet you are not a member? You speak their language. It is a cultural element, and you go out with them, social activities together, you go out together as friends. Then you know their names and most of the times, all these your friends you stay together in the same room. You even do so many things together.*

Interrogatee: *I am a member of the Buccaneer Confraternity. I know I have been lying all the while. I want to appeal that I should be forgiven.*

Interrogator: *Nobody is putting words in your mouth /- o -/?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. I know. Please I want you to take me as your son and I promise I will not have anything to do with that group again.*

Interrogator: *Mr. Timson*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *You need to emphasise that nobody has forced you to say all this. Are you with me?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. Nobody has forced me to say what am saying sir. Please forgive me sir. I have already changed sir.*

Interrogator: *Mr. Timson.*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *For the first time in the last 35 minutes, you have just confessed. And I told you that confession is admission of offence. It is an offence for you to be a member of secret cults as a student of (this University). Having confessed, can you now tell us other members of the group?*

CASE 2

Interrogator: *Morning*

Interrogatee: *Good morning sir.*

Interrogator: *How are you?*

Interrogatee: *Fine sir*

Interrogator: *Erh, have your seat. .. Can you please introduce yourself?*

Interrogatee: *My name is Timson Timson, with Matriculation Number (0000 0000)*

Interrogator: *You've graduated?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *Okay, go ahead.*

Interrogatee: *I graduated from Forestry Department*

Interrogator: *What year?*

Interrogatee: *Last year sir*

Interrogator: *What year?*

Interrogatee: *2013*

Interrogator: *That will be 2013/2014 session. And you said you have graduated. Have you collected your result?*

Interrogatee: *No.*

Interrogator: *Yes, erh, you know why you are here?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Your Matric number again?*

Interrogatee: *(0000 0000)*

Interrogator: *So tell us why you are here. Were you given a letter?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *There is an allegation against you on your involvement in admission racketeering in (this University) here. That is the allegation, and that's why you are invited to this panel. So what is your involvement in the case?*

Interrogatee: *Erm, myself and a student here (names provided), the two of us were actually involved in the racketeering issue a couple of years ago.*

Interrogator: *You said couple of years ago, when exactly?*

Interrogatee: *I can't really remember the exact time.*

Interrogator: *You should remember, were you not here for five years?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *When did you start racketeering?*

Interrogatee: *You mean the one am involved in?*

Interrogator: *Before that time /- nko -/?*

Interrogatee: *I have never been involved in any racketeering.*

Interrogator: *Okay, the one, the one at stake now.*

Interrogatee: *Okay sir. That was in 400 Level.*

Interrogator: *You know you finished in 2013/2014? Did you start that year or the year before, or couple of years back?*

Interrogatee: *I started in 400 Level, when I was in 400 Level.*

Interrogator: *That was 11/12 session?*

Interrogatee: *Yes.*

Interrogator: *Okay, so the other person is Timson what?*

Interrogatee: *Timson Boxman*

Interrogator: *What department?*

Interrogatee: *Agric. Economics.*

Interrogator: *What level?*

Interrogatee: *She supposed to have graduated.*

Interrogator: *What year?*

Interrogatee: *She was in 500 level when I was in 400.*

Interrogator: *So she was a year ahead of you?*

Interrogatee: *Yes.*

Interrogator: *So you admit that you are involved?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *So what led to your involvement? How many students did you bring in, did you arrange for?*

Interrogatee: *Arrange for what sir?*

Interrogator: *Is it not an arrangement that you made for admission racketeering?*

Interrogatee: *Okay. A student.*

Interrogator: *Just one?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *You know the name?*

Interrogatee: *I can't recall the name.*

Interrogator: *You can't recall?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *And you said you have graduated?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *And you will go with our certificate? So if I ask you a 400 Level question now even without graduation ceremony, you will fail woefully?*

Interrogatee: *I only had her JAMB slip. I didn't .../*

Interrogator: *.../ Where is the JAMB slip?*

Interrogatee: *Is not here with me.*

Interrogator: *Why didn't you bring it?*

You don't know the name of the person and you say he is your relation. What's your relationship with him?

Interrogatee: *Is not my relation. I just helped the person.*

Interrogator: *How did you know him? Okay, tell us from the beginning, how you met the person, how you..*

Interrogatee: *I met the person during [the]*

Interrogator: *[How did you meet him?]*

Interrogatee: *I know her dad. So, Timson1 told me that he is going to assist .../*

Interrogator: *Who introduced her to you?*

Interrogatee: *I said I know her daddy.*

Interrogator: *Are you saying it is the dad that begged you to do it for him?*

Interrogatee: *Yes.*

Interrogator: *Okay. And you are telling us that you don't know the surname of the lady?*

Interrogatee: *I can't recollect.*

Interrogator: *Listen, you and the dad, do you live in the same area, oh sorry*

Are you a Christian or a Muslim?

Interrogator: *I am a Muslim sir.*

Interrogator: *Enh enh, is he a member of your mosque?*

Interrogatee: *No.*

Interrogator: *How do you come to know that person, the dad now?*

Interrogatee: *I knew him from someone.*

Interrogator: *From someone?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *You know the dad through someone?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *Who is that person?*

Interrogatee: *A lecturer*

Interrogator: *Lecturer where?*

Interrogatee: *Here*

Interrogator: *In this University?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *What's the name of the lecturer and the Department?*

Interrogatee: *Professor Timson*

Interrogator: *Professor Timson?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *Which department?*

Interrogatee: *Agric. Economics*

Interrogator: *Okay. So you know the dad through Professor Timson?*

Interrogatee: *Yes.*

Interrogator: *Was it Professor Timson that introduced the dad to you?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *For help?*

Interrogatee: *Hmmm, yes*

Interrogator: *Tell us exactly how he did so. Professor Timson couldn't help the dad, so he now introduced him to you a student under him. Is that what you are saying?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *He is the Dean of Agriculture, while he is a professor in the system /- o -/.*

Interrogatee: *Yes.*

Interrogator: *You must be ready to tell the truth, because you cannot be hiding under Professor Timson /- o -/. Please let me say something. Now you are here not because we want to grind you into submission or to accept any fact. We want you to tell us exactly, that's why I said you should tell us the story. And please, in an attempt to do that, let the cat open. We are here like, erh, you know many times you will have heard, we are here in loco*

parentis, your local parents, to protect you. So don't hide under any, don't play any prank or something.

Interrogatee: *But sir if I could ask sir, can I be excused for some minutes?*

Interrogator: *No. To do what?*

Interrogatee: *To make call*

Interrogator: *To whom?*

Interrogatee: *To someone*

Interrogator: *Make your call here.*

Interrogatee: *Ha!*

Interrogator: *Make the call here. Afterall we don't know the number, we don't know the person.*

Interrogator: *I am sorry I need to make a call.*

You mean you will need to make a call before you give evidence to this panel? What is the call about?

Interrogatee: *Sorry sir.*

Interrogator: *You want to call Professor Timson?*

Interrogatee: *It is confidential sir.*

Interrogator: *Enh?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Do you know that even if you graduated in 1982, we can recall your certificate?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Let me give you an example, you know Robert Mugabe?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Who is Robert Mugabe?*

Interrogatee: *Is a president.*

Interrogator: *Okay at least you know that. Mugabe's, erh, erh, this thing, was withdrawn by Edinburgh University. It's not only that. This University withdrew the certificate of a student recently.*

Interrogator: *Sir, am here to give you everything you need sir. But I just need a call for a reason sir.*

Interrogator: *What reason? We can't allow you to make a call outside here. Make your call here. Is it not concerning this matter?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: */- Hen hen! -/ Then make your call now. You are putting yourself in more trouble. He is very rigid o.*

Interrogator: *No sir. It is for the purpose of..*

Interrogator: *Make your call here, we won't disturb you. (Panel interacts). You want to confirm whether to say the truth?*

Interrogator: *I just want to confirm something.*

(Panel allows the interrogatee to go out with a security officer and the panel secretary to make his call)

Interrogator: *So you are through?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *You are ready for us now?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. I am very sorry for the way I actually behaved.*

Erm, it has to be like that because I have to get approval before saying some things on this case. Sir erm, like what I said earlier, I am Timson Timson from Agricultural Economics Department.

Interrogator: *Louder, louder.*

Interrogatee: *So, erm, the case started in 2012 when I was in 400 Level.*

Interrogator: *2011 or 2012?*

Interrogatee: *2012, am not very sure. But I remember I was in 400 Level then. It was because of the strike. We were supposed to graduate in 2013. So, erm, I was involved in the case. The reason why I called was that erm, this matter, I orchestrated the matter. And erm, I don't, I have faced some panels on it and what I told the panels then was that it has to be confidential so as, erm, to protect me. I actually know everybody here. But you may not know me. So when cases like this, I just have to plead to you that you leaking some information out can implicate me.*

Interrogator: *Don't worry about that. Don't worry.*

Interrogatee: *Sir the person that was involved, erm, I got the information from Professor Timson. So, we actually started the case by trying to get some people that were involved in admission racketeering then in the system. Because I told him that I ..*

Interrogator: *Sorry, you said we actually, who are the we?*

Interrogatee: *Myself, Professor Timson and Dean of Students then. So I told him I had information concerning those that were doing racketeering in the University*

Interrogator: *Hmm Hmm! Good, okay?*

Interrogatee: *We started the case and we planned to get the daughter's JAMB slip and everything like that. So I know Titus as a student and a thief, and erm, as someone that is not straightforward.*

Interrogator: *You know him as a thief?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. As a thief. He just came back from prison. So, and everything like that, I have relationship with SSS then. So, that time I told Professor Timson that this is what this guy is doing. We now planned together on how to, erm, make sure that he was caught. I walked with some gadgets like a recorder then. So, all the conversations with the guy including the staff that were involved, how they collected money, the negotiation, everything. I have handed everything over to the previous panels.*

Interrogator: *Okay.*

Interrogatee: *So am just like giving a run-down of everything that happened. Am just giving a summary. They have all faced some panels and I think the staff involved have been sanctioned too. And I collected the letter too, second semester 500 Level.*

Interrogator: *Okay*

Interrogatee: *So, Titus actually took me to Mr. Timson in XXX Office. Mr Timson was the one that they told me…/*

Interrogator: *…/ Timson what?*

Interrogatee: *I don't know his full names. So Timson said he is going to do it.*

Interrogator: *To do what?*

Interrogatee: *The admission but he was going to collect money. We said how much and he said hundred thousand. He said he was going to give some other staff from it.*

Interrogator: *Was Timson2 part of the set-up?*

Interrogatee: *No. It was only me that knew what was going on. So he said hundred thousand naira. We gave him the hundred thousand naira. So he then distributed it. I think Timson collected fifty five thousand, he supposed to get sixty thousand. But he gave him fifty five thousand naira that day.*

Interrogator: *Who?*

Interrogatee: *Mr. Timson. Timson2 collected ten thousand naira and a bike man also got ten thousand naira. They all worked together as a team.*

Interrogator: *Bank man?*

Interrogatee: *Bike, bike rider.*

Interrogator: *Is he a student?*

Interrogatee: *No. So we were arrested by SSS then. I was arrested with them but they later released me. Because they've been involved in series of erm..*

Interrogator: *Racketeering?*

Interrogatee: *No. Series of theft cases in and outside the university community. And the recording, even in SSS, he told them that he was involved and that the way he used to do it is that he would take laptops from rooms and would go and sell them. So the money was distributed like that, hundred thousand naira, sixty thousand naira to Timson and Timson, forty thousand naira to us, which I didn't collect. And the university actually produced the money.*

Interrogator: *So you kept the ten thousand with the University?*

Interrogatee: *I didn't just collect it. Then we started the admission process like that. There was a way they did it because the Dean, Professor Timson were involved. So they didn't let the admission work out. They deliberately didn't let the name come out. So the girl now went back to them to collect her money back and that was when the trouble started. So they called us all and there was a panel. I think Mr. Timson4 was there that day when they interrogated us and they confessed that they truly collected the money for the admission. They first denied that they didn't know anything. I didn't want Timson to know anything so I had to be very smart. That was how we started the panel. So along the line, he went to Ibadan no I was in Ibadan for I.T. He was in final year. So SSS was looking for him and the case was involving more and more people. But he had traveled out of (the town) that time and it was difficult to bring him back. Sorry it was SARS that first arrested him. They drilled him so much. After then the SSS were then looking for him. ……..*

Interrogator: *Why was he arrested?*

Interrogatee: *For a case of robbery*

Interrogator: *Okay.*

Interrogatee: *I think they collected the phone of a SSS man at gunpoint. So they arrested him. He was in detention for like two years before the court set him free, that he had no case to answer. But before then he has been committing a lot of atrocities around and all the people around know the*

way they used to carry out their operations. I have experience in all of these things because when I was in secondary school, something like this happened and I was able to help the school, Command Secondary School, Ibadan to identify the culprits then. There was a boy that was strongly involved in cultism then, so I was interested and was studying him, observing him. We stayed in the same lodge but I didn't have any proof then. But I am always afraid of leaking secrets because civilians, they can do and undo….[ ]. But Professor Timson, he taught us in 200 Level and we went for a field trip together. It was then that I started moving close to him because I saw him as someone who can keep secrets and who is reliable. As God would have it, that time, the boy stole my phone. I bought the phone for 80 thousand naira. He stole it and even told me that he was the one and that what would I do.

Interrogator: *That's Timson?*

Interrogatee: *Yes.*

Interrogator: *He said what would you do?*

Interrogatee: *He didn't say it directly but I was putting words into his mouth. He later now said it that it was him and that had it been that he wanted to do more harm to me he would have packed the system, my modem and everything, even though he later packed all those ones. After the stealing of the phone, armed robbers came into our lodge and stole everything in my room then.*

Interrogator: *You were not around then?*

Interrogatee: *I was around. It during the exam.*

Interrogator: *At gun point?*

Interrogatee: *They were operating with cutlass. So my laptop, my room mate's laptop and money ..*

Interrogator: *You were not in the room?*

Interrogatee: *I was in the room but it was around midnight. So they said we should drop everything with us and told us that we should cooperate. That was*

his gang then that was working for him because what happened was that he has gang that work for him. I knew this because me I am a person that used to go to the mosque in the morning to pray. He is not a person that usually prays but anytime he said he wanted to follow us to the mosque then around 6 a.m., I used to see somebody waiting for him around that Rescue area. That person would stay there with some loads. So that person would pretend as if he was going to read. So he was operating like that and did not know I was smart in knowing everything. So he carted away that laptop he said he would have even packed. That statement I even recoded it as an evidence that he was the one that stole the thing. So that was what I now reported to Professor Timson that there is a student like that and this is what he has been doing bla bla bla. Professor Timson now said he knows how to deal with him that he would give me a recorder, a gadget and I would be relaying everything to him. So that was how everything went. So he went to prison.

Interrogator: *He was jailed or detained in the prison?*

Interrogatee: *He was detained for some years, for two years, but the courts were sitting on his case. But I think later, they /- sha -/ free him but he was remanded for two years. So he now came back to school, he wrote to school to resume his studies and they granted him the offer. So he's back in school. I think he is in 500 Level or so now.*

Interrogator: *Is he still currently a student?*

Interrogatee: *He is currently a student now. I think they just want to allow him to finish. So he used to contact me. He told me this morning that they invited to come and appear at this panel and asked me that did they call me too. I then told him that we would meet here but he said he told the HOD that he is in Abuja that he would not be able to come.*

Interrogator: *Whereas he is around?*

Interrogatee: *He should be around. He said the HOD called him and he said he is not in school that he is in Abuja.*

Interrogator: *So you are erh, you are on our side?*

Interrogatee: *Yes.*

Interrogator: *You see let me say something. See when things happen like this, you should be well assured that members of this panel are trusted people the way the University trusted you.*

So you were truly not involved in the racketeering, only that you were assisting the University to expose the bad elements among students?

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *And you said you have been given a letter of exoneration by an earlier panel?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. I have been exonerated.*

Interrogator: *Can we see the letter?*

Interrogatee: *I didn't bring it.*

Interrogator: *Okay. Next time you make sure you take along documents like that. Just ensure you get us a copy. You will be protected, is that clear?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Let me ask another question. Now, do you still have suspected individuals around?*

Interrogatee: *A lot of them*

Interrogator: *Hmm?*

Interrogatee: *There are a lot of them. Only that erm..*

Interrogator: *You have not got them, or you do not know them?*

Interrogatee: *You know I told you sir, that I went to a military school. So all this am doing is not .. erm, is not as if .. erm..*

Interrogator: *You need a career in criminal investigation?*

Interrogatee: *Yes. So I mingle with so many people not because of what they are doing in order to do it with them or something. Most of the time, you know when*

I even came, when I just .. erm, when I entered this place, I was passive, I won't just shoot out first. That's how I operate. If someone wants to collect information, you have to be smart. So, I know a lot of people and I even used to brief Prof. concerning them. These people, the Timson's gang are people that have done so many havoc in the town and within too. Even in my lodge, nothing less than up .. erm .. up to 12 laptops have gone and nobody can do anything about it and erm .. (?) and I know that they were the persons involved. Even up till last two months, SSS came from Abuja, they said they were looking for one guy there, Boxman or something like that. .....

Interrogator: *Sorry, members of his gang, are they members of this community?*

Interrogatee: *No. They are from outside. And I know of one other guy like that that usually come from Lagos..*

Interrogator: *Is that one a student?*

Interrogatee: *He's not a student*

Interrogator: *Does he belong to any cult group?*

Interrogatee: *No. He's not a member of any cult.*

Interrogator: *You are sure he doesn't belong to any cult group?*

Interrogatee: *He does not. Am very sure. Because he confided in me, you see I didn't ask as if I was opposed to it or as if I was antagonising. You see I know so much about him even at times he used to tell me things about his family. So am very sure he does not belong to any cult group. I know that he is not cult member, he is not yahoo yahoo boy and the like…. But that's what he does…..*

Interrogator: *Do you know his town?*

Interrogator: *Sir?*

Interrogator: *Do you know where he comes from?*

Interrogatee: *Yes, Ibadan. So what am now saying is that a lot of them are present in school and around there. But the constraint is number one I cannot just*

easily be moving with someone I have not been moving with before. Secondly, erm, someone should be careful.

Interrogator: *Right!*

Interrogatee: *Because I can't be working for the school and erm, because if, God forbid, if I lose my life in the course, nobody will care about me and my family. But is because of Prof. Timson that am doing this, and is because of the trust. Because I don't know anybody….*

Interrogator: *Who could be so trusted.*

Interrogatee: *Yes.*

Case 3

Interrogator: *Sit down please. You are welcome. Can you introduce yourself?*

Interrogatee: *Am .. [ ]*

Interrogator: *[Please we can't hear you. While you are facing the Chairman, we must hear you from behind. You name again?]*

Interrogatee: *My name is Timson Timson and am from Department of Applied Geology. Matriculation number (0000 0000)*

Interrogator: *Okay. Do you know why you are here?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Hnm?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *You know why you are here?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Let me ask you direct, do you know why you are here?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *100%?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. I have been here before.*

Interrogator: *You've been here before?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *That is not before me. Do you know why you are here?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *What is the allegation you are here to defend?*

Interrogatee: *Actually before I received the letter from my Department, the allegation was am a suspended cultist. But that, you know, when I come back to school for December break, I received a letter from the Department saying I was rustication from the University ..*

Interrogator: *Rustication! Story /- l'o n so yi o -/. We have not got to story at all. Do you know why you are here?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *The allegation is that you are a cultist. Is that the allegation?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Are you a cultist?*

Interrogatee: *Yes.*

Interrogator: *Fine. You admit that you are a cultist?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *So, before then, that is exactly what I want you to remember to know so that it can be clear to you and clear to these members why you are here. And I need to reiterate this, we are here to be able investigate the veracity of your case and we want to find out what you have said and what you are going to say whether it is going to be true or not. Why? Two things: the name of this University, the name of (this University) is important to us. /- Ko s'eni to bi omo t'o fee .. se -/ Yoruba /- ni e -/?*

Interrogatee: *No sir.*

Interrogator: *Are you Ibo?*

Interrogatee: *Am from Delta sir.*

Interrogator: *There is nobody that will have an institution and give it bad name. Number two, is because of you and your future. The University does not want you to be a vagabond, does not want your future to be destroyed; does not want your career to be in jeopardy. And that is why they are taking every step to make sure they redeem you back, to bring you back from the wrong path. So if you look at the people that are here, that's why they are ready to sacrifice their time, their energy and everything they have. So, on that basis, you will come here and be able to tell us the truth .. and nothing, but the truth. And the moment you are able to do that we will now be able to say this is what happened that is what happened in the*

interest of this University and in the interest of this our student and his parents. So, on that note sir, erh, you said you have admitted to be a cultist?

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Which of the cult groups?*

Interrogatee: *Black Axe.*

Interrogator: *Hmn?*

Interrogatee: *Black Axe.*

Interrogator: *Since when?*

Interrogatee: *It's been, it's been a while now. That is since 2000 and 2003.*

Interrogator: *You were admitted to this institution in 2007?*

Interrogatee: *2007, Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *So, in which institution were you initiated?*

Interrogatee: *At LASPOTECH sir.*

Interrogator: *Chairman, let the Secretary take record. Yes, where were you initiated?*

Interrogatee: *At Lagos State Polytechnic sir.*

Interrogator: *LASPOTECH?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. Lagos State Polytechnic.*

Interrogator: *So when you got to (this University), you were already a king?*

Interrogatee: *I was not a king when I got admission into (this University) sir.*

Interrogator: *Chairman, what we have on ground is that he knows why he is here. He admitted that he had … he had been here before. He admitted that he is a cultist; a member of Black Axe since 2003. Am I right?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *He admitted that he was initiated at LASPOTECH, Lagos State Polytechnic. Since when?*

Interrogatee: *2003.*

Interrogator: *You entered this University when?*

Interrogatee: *In 2007.*

Interrogator: *But you did Pre-Degree?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *So, you came in in 2006?*

Interrogatee: *Yes but*

Interrogator: *You've joined at LASPOTECH since 2003?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *What month, what day, can you remember?*

Interrogatee: *I don't know what date sir.*

Interrogator: *Ok was it while in ND or HND?*

Interrogatee: *I was fresher then.*

Interrogator: *Enh?*

Interrogatee: *I was a fresher then.*

Interrogator: *During your ND? /- Abi pre naa lo ba wo 'be -/?*

Interrogatee: *No sir. During my ND.*

Interrogator: *ND programme in what?*

Interrogatee: *Electrical Electronics sir.*

Interrogator: *In Electrical Electronics?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Mr. Timson Timson, you came to this University in 2006?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *So when you entered this University what level were you placed?*

Interrogatee: *As in.. the question is not clear sir*

Interrogator: *What level were you placed in the cult?*

Interrogatee: *It was the reason I left LASPOTECH. So when I got into this University, I never had the intention of going along with the same cult group I was with then. That was why I changed the school.*

Interrogator: *Meaning that you did not finish your course at LASPOTECH?*

Interrogatee: *It was just my OND I did there.*

Interrogator: *OND only?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *You didn't finish?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *And you came to (this University), you escaped cult activities or because you loved (this University)?*

Interrogatee: *No it's like that it's just because I love my life sir.*

Interrogator: *So when you.. at what point did you change, did you commence your activities as a cultist?*

Interrogatee: *that was around 2005. I had a problem then. It was like there was this fight between different cult groups.*

Interrogator: *That was in 2005?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. I was, as in, I hold a position then, that position was like.. much is required of me then. But*

Interrogator: *Can you continue?*

Interrogatee: *In my own position there it was like much was required of me. But..*

Interrogator: *What position?*

Interrogatee: *That was Minister of Defence*

Interrogator: *Erh?*

Interrogatee: *Minister of Defence.*

Interrogator: *What is the slang for it?*

Interrogatee: *Butcher*

Interrogator: *Erh?*

Interrogatee: *They call it Butcher.*

Interrogator: *You held the position of Butcher?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Minister of Defence, at LASPOTECH or here?*

Interrogatee: *Here sir. At LASPOTECH. That was2005 sir.*

Interrogator: *Hnn?*

Interrogatee: *That was 2005 sir.*

Interrogator: *You left LASPOTECH when there was a crisis. What role did you play in the crisis?*

Interrogatee: *I was needed to front the battle then. The cult group I was want me to front the battle.*

Interrogator: *To front?*

Interrogatee: *To front the crisis*

Interrogator: *You mean to lead as the Minister of Defence?*

Interrogatee: *Yes.*

Interrogator: *There was crisis then?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *Between?*

Interrogatee: *Black Axe and .../*

Interrogator: *.../ Erh?*

Interrogatee: *Two cult groups.*

Interrogator: *So you were needed to lead the fight?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. So but then, I didn't, is like my spirit didn't even carry it. Actually I had to leave Lagos before I then applied to this University.*

Interrogator: *You escaped or absconded you mean?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir, I absconded.*

Interrogator: *Because you couldn't lead the battle?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *And, what was the er (..), how did they tell you to lead the battle?*

Interrogatee: *Is because of the position I held then sir.*

Interrogator: *Erh, they're giving you axe, giving you guns and other weapons?*

Interrogatee: *Sir is not about the instrument they gave me. Is about the person that is holding it. I might not be strong enough to carry the gun…*

Interrogator: *Mr. Timson Timson*

Interrogatee: *Sir*

Interrogator: *You intend to come and confess. You must be speaking like somebody convinced. You are speaking like a woman.*

Interrogatee: *Is not that am not convinced sir. Am convinced.*

Interrogator: *Speak boldly.*

Interrogatee: *Am convinced but this thing is not erh*

Interrogator: *Nobody is hearing you outside. People that are here on this panel must hear you. That is the thing.*

Interrogatee: *Sir, actually am here to confess, and I come all the way from Lagos just to meet the panel just to come and express myself out. I don't know if I will be collected back to the University but I must express .../*

Interrogator: *.../ No. It depends on you. So express yourself.*

Interrogatee: *I ran out of the University then because of that fight.*

Interrogator: *University or Polytechnic?*

Interrogatee: *I ran because my house was very far from the area. The campus at Ikorodu that was where I was.*

Interrogator: *They didn't know your residence?*

Interrogatee: *Yes.*

Interrogator: *Otherwise they would have pursued you?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir, they would have come after me.*

Interrogator: *Were you expelled by the Polytechnic then?*

Interrogatee: *No sir.*

Interrogator: *It was a self-expulsion?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. So on getting to (this University), that's 2006, I decided to like stay low, I didn't want to be noticed by anybody because they might be here. They are almost everywhere. So I decided to stay low and hide my activities. On getting to (this University) then I succeeded for roughly two years I think before. Sir I don't know what caught up with me some people might call it nemesis because as they say, maybe if you are running away from something, no matter how long it will continue to...*

Interrogator: *How?*

Interrogatee: *We normally use that term. So in my 200.. I was in 200 Level then, It was 200 Level when I was in (this University), I misplaced my picture, matriculation picture so the matric day that we held in this University then I was present. So like I wear the gown and was snapping some*

pictures. I snapped pictures and sent them to some of my friends that I know at LASPOTECH then.

Interrogator: *You met them where?*

Interrogatee: *I met them here. I guess they were invited by friends also. That was when I started having problem.*

Interrogator: *You mean some of your colleagues at LASPOTECH?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *Who were members of the cult group?*

Interrogatee: *Yes. Black Axe.*

Interrogator: *Member of the..*

Interrogatee: *Members of Black Axe sir.*

Interrogator: *Are they students here?*

Interrogatee: *No. They just came for matriculation.*

Interrogator: *Of somebody?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. Because me then too I normally travel for programmes like that and see whether we can gather members for the group.*

Interrogator: *Okay, they were from another institution?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *So they now came for that purpose?*

Interrogatee: *That was the reason why they came.*

Interrogator: *Chairman sir, he said, the last I heard was that in 2006 when he came to (this University), he decided to stay low. He succeeded only two years. In 200 Level, that was in 2008, he met some friends he used to know at LASPOTECH. Is that correct?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *They came during matriculation. So you can continue.*

Interrogatee: *Then it was at this field here.*

Interrogator: *Hm?*

Interrogatee: *It was at the open field there, the garden here..*

Interrogator: *What is the name of the field here? There are many open fields on campus, mention the one you mean.*

Interrogatee: *The one in front of the Auditorium sir.*

Interrogator: *You mean where people take pictures during ceremonies?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Go on.*

Interrogatee: *So the took me out of the gathering.*

Interrogator: *How many were they?*

Interrogatee: *Three of them*

Interrogator: *And they were still members of Black Axe?*

Interrogatee: *I don't think because, I guess that was the last time I saw them last.*

Interrogator: *So they took you out, what then happened?*

Interrogatee: *Ok. They took me out and were like what's up now. Me I was trying to be neutral to see what they have in stock for me. I was trying to just like play along. They said wetin I de do for here now. They spoke pidgin to me. They said how far now that after the last incident at LASPOTECH they have not seen me again. That I just left like that. So I lied to them. I said my mum was having problem then that was why I left that side. They now said that since am here that the school must move. That this school, this school, that the activities here are very very weak. That's what they told me then. But then me I told them that I was doing so many many things, that am an orphan. As at then I have lost my dad. I lost my dad in 2002. So I told them that me I no sure say I fit carry the responsibility here*

because.. I told them that I have more than three years to use from that moment they saw me. I told them I no go get time for that, and this school they normally place calendars with pictures, that any student caught whether cultism, examination malpractices or any other thing. I told them I don't want to be a victim of such. But after a while, I don't know, I can't really remember how long, some guys came to me and they said they know me..

Interrogator: *Hm?*

Interrogatee: *They said they know me. That was how they found me.*

Interrogator: *Where, where did they find you?*

Interrogatee: *Sir*

Interrogator: *At home?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, not at home. They met me at the Gate, North Gate. Coming to school.*

Interrogator: *North gate?*

Interrogatee: *Yes. So they said how far because this University is not big as at then. Not like now that more departments have been brought. Most of them were popular guys. They saw me then and they were like how far. They now explained that they know me as so so person.*

Interrogator: *What name did they call you, They said are you not..?*

Interrogatee: *No. They were like are you not so so person as in one of them that came from LASPOTECH then approached me. That was what they asked me. I now told them then that I was shocked actually because for such statement to come out of their mouth I don't know what I can tell them because…*

Interrogator: *Did they say are you not Timson Timson?*

Interrogatee: *No no. They just say are you not so so person? I was shocked. As in I never expected anybody to know me pointedly like that.*

Interrogator: *They mentioned your name?*

Interrogatee: *No. One of those three guys that came from LASPOTECH then, say are you not so so so, that you be our brother now. I couldn't say a word because it was like what I was hiding from has already caught up with me. They now took me to a joint there, where they are selling palm wine there. So they took me there, we went there. I was like, I sat there with them sir.*

Interrogator: *And you were glad you were able to meet them?*

Interrogatee: *No. I wasn't. Because the efforts I have been making have come to vain. They said a lot of things about the school.*

Interrogator: *So what are the things they said about the school?*

Interrogatee: *Is like the weakness of Frats in the school.*

Interrogator: *Weakness of?*

Interrogatee: *The fraternity in the school. They talked about them. Sir there, sincerely speaking I told them my mind that I won't be able to join them. The fact remains where I was coming from, is much harder than this school. They do not have the morale to really hold me down like by force I must move out with them but they threatened me.. because where I was coming from..*

Interrogator: *They threatened me to do what?*

Interrogatee: *That if I don't join them, that I will..*

Interrogator: *You didn't say they threatened you, did you?*

Interrogatee: *Yes, but they don't have the morale for such threat to really happen because I was..*

Interrogator: *Unlike LASPOTECH?.*

Interrogatee: *Yes, unlike LASPOTECH. So like in LAPOTECH, so many things are happening and no one sees anybody. So they can do a lot of things. Unlike here, I can say they do it hide and seek here. That is the way I will call it. So the threat was like (?) me I just tell them that nothing de happen I just felt that they have come to disturb me then. I was in JCI then but..it was part of such..*

Interrogator: *JCI?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir, Junior Chambers International. I was a member then so it was that kind of exposure that made me to like go for some activities in school. Since then, I started hiding my.. until 400 Level second semester I was in I.T. That's was when I got the invitation.. I normally meet two of them on the field. I know three of them but it is only two I normally see.*

Interrogator: *At the time you became part of them in (this University) what role did you play, what position did you hold? I expect you to go straight. We had so so so meetings in so so so places, we did this we did that.. That's what we expect you to say.*

Interrogatee: *Sir, if it was the initiation, I wasn't there. If it was meeting, I won't call it meeting because there is way the Black Axe normally call their meeting.*

Interrogator: *What is the language they use for it?*

Interrogatee: *It is meeting. But when they call meetings like that it not just a gathering of two or three people. It is a gathering of much people, members. But whereby two people come to me and take me out and sit one side, I won't call it meeting.*

Interrogator: *At what time did you decide to join them in (this University)?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, I didn't, I never decide to join them in (this University) sir.*

Interrogator: *You see this is the junction we are. At this junction, it is either you are able to swim or sink. And that is where the panel will now make their recommendations, and you have options. The option you have is to be a friend of this panel or enemy of the panel. Is either you are a friend of (this University) or enemy of (this University). You know why am saying that, at this junction that we are, you need to identify yourself or what against the committee. And the reason is that after this investigation panel, I told you at the beginning, we want a situation where your life will be better. So that we will be able to redeem you from life's destruction; so that you will be able to continue your career and every other thing. But you are not helping us with vital information. And it has become very*

difficult to make very good decision that will affect your life positively. You should be able to tell us pointblank: I joined at LASPOTECH, but when I got to (this University) I was not interested.

Interrogator: *Mr. Timson*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *You would know that when a blacksmith begins to hit an iron at a particular spot, it is either that that point is bent or there is a nut there. You had confessed before that you were one of them. You know you have appeared before, that you were suspended. Now you have decided to come back and confess. You would know that we have some facts on ground. So there is a limit to which you can hide facts. So it's better you say it out and then allow us to help you. Is that clear?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. Sir let me, let me say this. As the Chairman has said, he said at this junction, I will be the one to help myself out.*

Interrogator: *Speak up now, are you not a man?*

Interrogatee: *My throat is dry sir. Sorry sir. One thing I will just like to say is.. I don't know, the activities in (this University), I have not really been participating.*

Interrogator: *You mean?*

Interrogatee: *The activities, cult activities in (this University) here, I have not really been participating. But that doesn't mean I don't know one or two people that are Black Axe members.*

Interrogator: *We are not asking you to start mentioning names now.*

Interrogatee: *That activity in (this University) which you say you didn't participate in, because I have heard many things from you. Like am saying, there is a limit to which you can deceive us.*

Interrogator: *Sir, I want to throw a light to the statement you asked me, because to me, when I went to meet erh, she told me a lot, she gave me advice. Most of these facts, that you said you are having, sir I just told you sir. Members*

that are not participating, like it is very very difficult to see a Black Axe member that will say this is my number two, no. Instead, they will sacrifice somebody else. Am not saying they've sacrifice me but if there is a fact, just like the first meeting I said, why I stood my ground then was that I knew whatever fact they have on me, as long as I am not participating (?) But since the letter now came like this, I now see that there is nothing (?) but is better I just let them know so that it won't be as if I used my own hand, am working presently, the work is not that good but I have joy going around doing something as long as am not being held back (?) from where am living. It is very difficult to see a Black Axe member that will say this guy is like so so so. Instead they call it home. That's what they normally call it. You would home somebody else for that. So I don't know if you have facts, sir, no /- wahala -/. Pardon me for that statement sir.

Interrogator: *Are you saying that you will not let go the name of any member of Black Axe?*

Interrogatee: *In (this University) here, if it is the names of Black Axe members, that I can do because even if am not participating..*

Interrogator: *That you do things together.*

Interrogatee: *Am already out of it sir. Because, let me throw another light because you might not know if you are a member of Black Axe, when you are in school, that's a stage. When you are out of school, that's another stage. The stage of out of school is like no more participation in violence. You now start doing the work like (?) so if am out now, the assumption is that Timson don graduate they might not know what happened maybe I was rusticated or not (?) but if you need name of members that one is small thing. I know many of them but that doesn't mean am participating with them. And then you get your facts, you might get your facts right when you follow them those traits I leave up (?). That's just it.*

Interrogator: *Your Matric number is 0000 0000?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Where are your mates now? Your level mates.*

Interrogatee: *Am 2012 set sir.*

Interrogator: *Erh?*

Interrogatee: *They have graduated sir.*

Interrogator: *So, what level were you in 2012?*

Interrogatee: *500 Level.*

Interrogator: *Did you graduate?*

Interrogatee: *No sir. I have some set-back.*

Interrogator: *Set-backs! Carry-overs?*

Interrogatee: *Yes. I will call them carry-overs but..*

Interrogator: *Have you cleared them?*

Interrogatee: *I cleared that of first semester, but next semester, because I got the letter during the second semester and I was asked not to participate in the examination.*

Interrogator: *So which means you ought to have graduated?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. Since 2012.*

Interrogator: *So you are at the point of redemption now. Do you agree?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *So, you have to do everything possible to ensure your redemption. So meaning that you gain nothing by telling us untrue statements, okay?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *So at the time you were with them, what activities did you participate in? You know already you have admitted, so whether or not you participated does not add more to it. It means there no casualties when those actions were taken? We want to know what and what activities you participated in when you were with them. That does not add anything to your*

punishment. It also does not remove anything from it. But what we are saying is that you show yourself as somebody that is open and truthful to us. So that when we are persuaded you begin to talk, we will ask the sectary to tell you what we have heard about you.

Interrogatee: *That is why am hammering on this thing that most of these things are lies sir. There's no way I can bring the truth out of what you are saying now. It is just like my words against yours sir.*

Interrogator: *So what you are telling us now is that you became a member of Black Axe in 200 Level?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *And when you got to the final year (?) you have never participated in their meetings as members?*

Interrogatee: *Sir the major activities the Black Axe ..*

Interrogator: *Major or minor?*

Interrogatee: *Sir there is one point I want to bring out is that (this University) Black Axe don't normally have activities. If they have activities, you would have been seeing it around the premises.*

Interrogator: *Maybe in (this city), let's not limit it to (this University), even at that in 2006, and, I was in a panel at a time, they were butchering themselves at a time..*

Interrogatee: *In (this city)?*

Interrogator: *Yes, yes. Am I lying? There was crisis. There was a time in (this University) here when Black Axe and Buccaneers were fighting each other, and you were in (this University) then.*

Interrogatee: *Sincerely speaking sir, with all my heart am telling you I never knew..*

Interrogator: *Titus's case was one.*

Interrogatee: *I never heard about that.*

Interrogator: *Have you heard of the story of Boxman?*

Interrogatee: *Boxman?*

Interrogator: *Hmnn.*

Interrogatee: *If I tell you say I don't know Boxman you will say am lying. That's ..*

Interrogator: *Boxman was a Black Axe member. He was butchered. It was god that saved him. So it's not right for you to say there was no activity. That's what we are telling you*

Interrogatee: *I never knew, I never knew. Then when I was staying at erm, the gate there, at Westend area, I was staying with my uncle. Is a police officer but is presently not in the country. I was restricted to going out or anything then I normally from house to school to read, and go back home after my activities. I don't even have time then, I don't even, I have never heard of that they butchered somebody.*

Interrogator: *Even you, you were not known to be a member in 200 Level, were you not approached to come and join?*

Interrogatee: *It was two years after I came to (this University) sir. It was two years.*

Interrogator: *So I am asking you to tell us what happened from that two years after?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, sir, if it is for the case of activities, nothing happened. But when I go to the field, I see Black Axe members like they stay at one side, you know, playing or talking. The last time I was there, they said me I de go field? They were like so I normally go to the field. I said yes I normally go to the field. That whenever they are on the field they normally pursue most people away so that it is only them that will be playing alone. But I said no such thing doesn't really happen. Everybody would just play and when they are tired they go home. That's what normally happen then. But the case of cutting somebody head, case of, I don't know, to me, I have never participated.*

Interrogator: *Case of robbery?*

Interrogatee: *Robbery, no.*

Interrogator: *Because it happened between 2006 and now.*

Interrogatee: *2006, no.*

Interrogator: *Erh? On the highway?*

Interrogatee: *On the highway.*

Interrogator: *There were some Black Axe members that were arrested and detained. Did you not know about it?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, sir, if you want me to say things I might have heard about,*

Interrogator: *Not things you might have heard about. So tell us now.*

Interrogatee: *Nothing.*

Interrogator: *Mr. Timson*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Some years ago, the Black Axe, they had their meeting at Ayo Area.*

Interrogatee: *Ayo?*

Interrogator: *Yes Ayo Villa. Very close to Akure South Local Government. About five of the were initiated in the night. You know that building they are talking about?*

Interrogatee: *Storey building?*

Interrogator: *Yes, storey building. So what, how do you get to know the place?*

Interrogatee: *I stayed in South Gate sir, and sometimes I go to the market to get things there. On Adesida road, I know some areas there. That's the way I would put it. I know some areas.*

Interrogator: *So five of them were initiated in the night.*

Interrogatee: *That Ayo villa?*

Interrogator: *Yes, we got all of them. So they were invited to appear before the panel. So they were tried, and they thought we were joking. So by the time the chips were down, we discovered that they were members of Black Axe. So you are wasting our time.*

Interrogatee: *I want to, I want say something to that sir*

Interrogator: *Yes*

Interrogatee: *I want to throw light because it was not really everything unless if you are a member of Black Axe, it is not everything that you know. But most things you know are things you heard from people or things [ ]. So, first point is they don't initiate in the room. It is always done in a jungle. So, the initiation there, I don't think what they were doing there was initiation because you can never initiate I a room according to the tradition they believe in.*

Interrogator: *It was not in a room, there was a bush behind the building.*

Interrogatee: *It's too small sir. Is it not this same Ayo Hospital, this same GRA area?*

Interrogator: *Let's leave that aside. You know we were alluding to all that to show you that we are aware of cult activities between 2006 and at least 2011/2012. Okay? Now we want to know what role you played since joined them effectively in (this University).*

Interrogatee: *I don't have any role. The first statement is I never joined them effectively in (this University).*

Interrogator: *Mr. Timson*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *You know what I mean by effectively joined them?*

Interrogatee: *As in ..*

Interrogator: *I didn't mean that you were initiated here.*

Interrogatee: *Full participation in their activities?*

Interrogator: *Yes, full participation.*

Interrogatee: *No.*

Interrogator: *So you did not attend their meetings?*

Interrogatee: *I didn't attend their meeting once.*

Interrogator: *You never attended their meetings?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, I've never attended their meetings. They met me before, they approached me.*

Interrogator: *And begged you to come and be their number one?*

Interrogatee: *Ah no. They don't beg people.*

Interrogator: *So what did they do to you? They appealed to you?*

Interrogatee: *No.*

Interrogator: *Or they canvass you?*

Interrogatee: *They canvassed me to come back and participate..*

Interrogator: *And to come and lead them because of your experience? You are just here to bamboozle us. Say the truth and let's know how to help you. Are you saying that you have never followed them to Ado-Owo road?*

Interrogatee: *Mummy I never follow them there as in I no know as in I no know what..*

Interrogator: *You have never had any meeting with them? You have never acted as a number one? Were you not arrested by the police along Ado-Owo Road?*

Interrogatee: *At all. My stay in (this city) was clean.*

Interrogator: *Erh?*

Interrogatee: *Yea. It was clean.*

Interrogator: *Timson, we wont be able to help you again o.*

Interrogatee: *Ma, daddy, you see that is a cult activities, when it happened we are all in (this University). Many people heard about it. I heard about it. But I was not there, if I was there, I would have been caught along with them. That's what am saying here. See the point am trying to bring is that I've been out of this university for two months now.*

Interrogator: *You were lucky that you were not there that day. Some other days you were there and those days were not hot. But for you to tell me that you*

were never there, I don't believe that. You better own up now and tell us everything.

Interrogatee: *I want to say something. Please, you see, losing my academic activities here will be very very painful because of what I've gone through over the years. But I don't want it to be as if it is now my words against yours or your words against mine. Just like what I said, if you have it on tape, let it come upfront and show it before I go.*

Interrogator: *Timson.*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *the only truth I have heard from you since you commenced this your so-called confession is that no member of Black axe will come forward and tell the truth. And that's exactly what you are proving now.*

Interrogatee: *No sir. Many has come to this panel and I believe they must have said the truth. That was why.*

Interrogator: *No you didn't get me. You said it that no member of Black Axe will come open and tell the truth*

Interrogatee: *They won't point at an higher-rank officer. Is, it is very very scary. That's the way I will put it because it is very very scary. You know this is something of tradition.*

Interrogator: *So you believe in tradition?*

Interrogatee: *No no. I was trying to bring out a point there. Am speaking as a member, I won't..*

Interrogator: *What position do you hold?*

Interrogatee: *Here?*

Interrogator: *Yes, what position do you hold?*

Interrogatee: *No position sir.*

Interrogator: *Not even their leader?*

Interrogatee: *Am I worth it?*

Interrogator: *What you are now saying is that you are very passive. You were one-time number 1 member of Black Axe Confraternity in (this University) here. Timson, say the truth and let the devil be ashamed. Get out of this problem once and for all.*

Interrogatee: *Mummy, see the letter has been passed. It is for me to redeem myself whatever I say. It's not as if I am holding on to the fact that am coming here today and I will gain freedom.*

Interrogator: *So you don't want to gain freedom?*

Interrogatee: *I want to gain freedom but it is not like to come and be forcing myself to say what is not true. I am coming here to express myself but I cannot force you people to believe me. That's what am trying to say I can't force you guys to believe me. I can't force you. I can't force you, serious. Okay, the first time I came here I said I was not a member, with reasons then. And I said something when I was leaving, that if they have any concrete evidence they should bring it and if they bring it I will go out of the University. I know I was a member then but I know there was no evidence. I was not participating if I was participating there will be evidence. There will. That's what am saying.*

Interrogator: *One of the evidence is that you are a number one, a one-time number one member. Number two, you were having meetings with them; number three, you were having initiations, you used to attend initiations along Ado-Owo Road. And there was a particular initiation you attended, whereby the Okada man that brought you was forcefully initiated, forcefully. Are these not enough evidence?*

Interrogatee: *Okada man, that brought me, ah!*

Interrogator: *Why are you repeating that statement?*

Interrogatee: *Mummy, the funny thing is that you know they are giving me something now. They are giving me a position that I never held. Even in LASPOTECH, I never held that position.*

Interrogator: *But number one member at LASPOTECH will be a more..*

Interrogatee: *I will say it, that at LASPOTECH I was a member. Because then it was even stronger there than here. I would have said that I was once a number one there. I held so so position, I did so so something. But there was nothing at all like that here.*

Interrogator: *Stronger there than here, what do you mean?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. I remember sir, that you are the Chief Security Officer here sir. See when it comes to activities, cult activities, I want you guys, I want you to like hold on to that (?) so that in case of other (?) I might not gain admission here again I dint know. if you want to like probe people, you can use it and ask question with it. In (this University), there is no much activities because nothing has been happening really. When you come talk about Ekiti, talk about Lagos, things have been happening there. That's why I said nothing has really been happening here. Stronger in terms of the people here and other (?) in terms of violence, they are not violence minded people. Let me just put that way because if they are violence minded people they won't care about their certificates because even the person they want to like threaten them gan an is not (?) they will just say carry that person and go and keep him one side. So nothing is really happening here. That's the point an trying to say here, Nothing is happening. Me, where I am now, ma, is just a pity that am old, that I have wasted a lot of years (?) myself and the like. That's just the pitiable thing. Because no matter what I say here today, I don't Know. I just, I don't know. let me just put it that way, I don't know. but the points mum is really bringing out, number one, number one, that's a very misleaded information ma. Am serious, am saying it. It's a fact. Serious! Serious! It's just ..I don't know why that. I don't know who brought that statement up. That am number one, am number one.*

Interrogator: *What number were you?*

Interrogatee: *No number sir.*

Interrogator: *No position occupied?*

Interrogatee: *None sir.*

Interrogator: *Chairman, it has been difficult all along.*

No progress.

No progress made.

He is concealing information about their activities, and his participation. Apart from the fact that he said he had been a member before he came to (this University), and erh, they identified him in (this University). All he's saying is that he did not participate and was not holding meetings with them. Is that not it?

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. I didn't go to them sir.*

Interrogator: *They came to you?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *To do what?*

Interrogatee: *To invite me*

Interrogator: *Did you join them?*

Interrogatee: *No.*

Interrogator: *Why didn't you report to the University authorities?*

Interrogatee: *That's a very dangerous thing to do sir.*

Interrogator: *Dangerous?*

Interrogatee: *Ahh! Is very very dangerous. Where I have been coming from, I don't know much of here but where I was coming from, that was a very very dangerous thing. Going directly to University, without any assurance of protection or the likes. I might redeem my, my, my certificates and get out of this matter but my life might not (?) is very very important that's just it sir.*

Interrogator: *Are you still under the fear that they may attack you now?*

Interrogatee: *They cannot attack me again sir.*

Interrogator: *Are you still a member of the cult group?*

Interrogatee: *I have not yet renounced.*

Interrogator: *Eh?*

Interrogatee: *I have not yet renounced.*

Interrogator: *Can you a member without participating?*

Interrogatee: *There are many people like that sir.*

Interrogator: *In (this University) here?*

Interrogatee: *Hnn, I don't know, but is possible.*

Interrogator: *At your level as a very senior member, as a 500 Level student, and as former number one where you were coming from,*

Interrogatee: *Not number one sir.*

Interrogator: *Which are you?*

Interrogatee: *I was Minister of Defence, not number one sir.*

Interrogator: *So, do you think they will keep an eye off you without you participating effectively in their activities in (this University)?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, from my perspective, is not as if am lying but the people that opposed me then, I don't think they are here anymore. So whoever .. might know about me must have gotten information from those ones but is not everybody that has the audacity to come and approach me [ ] like ah this guy, this guy, is not everybody that can do that. So really I can be bold enough like, free enough to walk and down..*

Interrogator: *Well the unfortunate situation is that we thought he's going to be a friend of this committee..*

Interrogatee: *I want to be sir*

Interrogator: *You are not, and is unfortunate.*

Interrogatee: *The, the, the only thing for me to bridge that gap to be a friend of the University is to accept what you are telling me to accept.*

Interrogator: *No. your essence of coming here is for you to be able to tell us what you want to tell us and that should be the truth. You said you want to say something, say what you want to say and then we round up. And then if you want to plead for pardon, plead. You don't want to plead for anything and you are still denying you don't know anybody.*

Interrogatee: *I never said I don't know anybody. What am saying is the activities I participating, I know people who have never participated in any activities. Yes. It is possible. I know people that have never participated in their activities. But when you asked me that the activities I have participated in like going out together, going to /- agoo agooko -/, I don't know.*

Interrogator: *Initiations? Attend meetings?*

Interrogatee: *Those ones, I don't have answer to those ones because..*

Interrogator: *Give advice to them?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, let me say one thing. There is a slogan among the Black Axe, these things am saying, they areal but you might not believe it. They normally say something that Black Axe members they no get lawyer.. is a word, as in speak for yourself, you don't get advice from anybody. They don't have lawyer. That's it. Soo giving advice, that one is not, that one is not even part of it at all, at all, at all. Because you said I should round, I should say whatever I want to say, I got into this town yesterday sir. Just like I said, am doing something that is not big enough to even pay house rent. But still, just to free myself. When mum sent me the message that I have been invited to the panel to sit, I know that this is another opportunity. Just like what I said, I do not strongly believe that I might gain entrance back, but what I say is against what you think, is just like that. On getting here yesterday night, I just pray that the Lord will see me through but I can't say more than what I know. Coming down here is to plead for pardon from the panel and from the school authority to give me access. If*

am given access, whichever way they might need my support, I will. Then they will know that yes, Timson is really trying. I will be giving the panel real, genuine, not evidence that are not provable, genuine evidence, I will be able to get them. But is like taking my old age back because there is a stage you can't (?) much things anymore. That's it. But that sacrifice, I can do it. But is not as if like, is not like, is not like, I will like force people (?). I just want to plead that you should pardon me.

Interrogator: *Were you an executive member of the Students' union?*

Interrogatee: *No. but a friend of mine was. Me I was not..*

Interrogator: *Who was?*

Interrogatee: *That's Titus.*

Interrogator: *Do you have any regret at all?*

Interrogatee: *If, if I, if there is no regret, I won't have left LASPOTECH. I have nothing less than, I think one semester and some months more to use to get my ND certificate. But it was because of the regret that am here.*

Interrogator: *So, what pardon are you pleading?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, I need the pardon of this panel to give me opportunity am a better person, the school has made me better.*

Interrogator: *I don't understand, have you committed an offence?*

Interrogatee: *For being a member of fraternity, even if not from this school, being a member of a cult group, even if not a member in this school,*

Interrogator: *Make your statement in a clear way, so please start again and let people hear you.*

Interrogatee: *Am asking for pardon to be more better than where I was before.*

Interrogator: *Better?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. Because, just like what I said, ..*

Interrogator: *Are you ready for renunciation?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, just like what I said, when you asked am I still a member, I said yes, since I have not renounced. It is when I renounced publicly that is when the chain of being a member and individual is broken. But even-though if I decide not to participate, and I have not renounced, then am still a member even for hundred years.*

Interrogator: *If you renounce, does that make you (?)*

Interrogatee: *No.*

Interrogator: *So renouncing publicly, does that mean the organization will delete your name?*

Interrogatee: *Automatically sir. But when you renounce, they might come after you for a while, especially when you are a key member, a very very key member of the cult group. They will surely come after you because like you've given more into these activities and they will want to know why you are stepping out.*

Interrogator: *So what is the guarantee that if you are brought back into the University, you will not continue to follow your former path?*

Interrogator: *Sir I will like the, the University to have surveillance on me 24/7.*

Interrogator: *Surveillance?*

Interrogator: *Yes.*

Interrogator: *La*

Interrogator: *Sir, it is a very simple and short process. But in a long night. From wherever when you see guys at joints, you can be very close to them, listen to them and hear what they are saying. From there, they will pick them, pick them into a jungle. They don't use a single place for it because the one they use now may be detected by the military before the next time. So they will not want to go there again. They will now decide to go to another place. So from there they take, we call them jews. We set fire burning. Members, not even from that place alone, members from outside will be there from different states. Don't be surprised even people from*

Ghana might be there. It's like my brother is doing initiation today. They will like wait and observe everything going on there…….

Interrogator: *And they drink concoctions?*

Interrogator: *Yes that one is for members.*

Interrogator: *So please write what you have said, all this and that, and that you are ready for renunciation and that you are saying this voluntarily. Thank you very much.*

CASE 4

Interrogator: *Good afternoon*

Interrogatee: *Good afternoon sir.*

Interrogator: *Your name?*

Interrogatee: *Timson Timson*

Interrogator: *And your Registration number?*

Interrogatee: *123/123*

Interrogator: *Where do you live?*

Interrogatee: *Off campus sir*

Interrogator: *Where off-campus doesn't the place have any address?*

Interrogatee: *No. 25, XXXX Street, Tanke Area, Ilorin*

Interrogator: *What is your department and your level?*

Interrogatee: *History sir, 300 Level*

Interrogator: *There is an allegation against you that, I mean there is a report that a student's laptop and handset were missing for some time, and that the items were found in your possession. Now you have been invited to this panel to tell us your own side of the story so that the University can take necessary action on the case. Is that clear?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *We also need to let you know that this panel will rely heavily on the information you will give us, so that the University can be properly guided. We do not want a situation, you know, where students will be taking laws into their hands or fighting one another on issues like this. So we must ensure that cases like this don't continue to happen, and so that the University can at all times be peaceful, with security of lives and properties for everyone.*

Interrogatee: *Okay sir.*

Interrogator: *Don't also forget that we have some report on the case from the security Unit of the University. We have interacted with the student whose laptop and phone were missing, and he has some fellow students who can testify. So it is easy for us to, erm, I mean if you are telling lies we will know, and if you are saying the truth we will know. Hope that is clear?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *So as we are here, you can see the Security Officer?*

Interrogatee: *I don't really know sir*

Interrogator: *The CSO is here; we have lawyers here; we have officers from Student Affairs here and some of us are your lecturers. So just be free to tell us what happened and if there is any way we ca be of help, surely we will. So how did it happen?*

Interrogatee: *What sir?*

Interrogator: *You mean you were not listening?*

Interrogatee: *I listened sir.*

Interrogator: *So why were you asking me as if you didn't understand what we are saying?*

Interrogatee: *No sorry sir, as in, I didn't understand../*

Interrogator: *.../What do you know about the stolen laptop and Samsung phone?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, I don't know anything about it. I don't know anything.*

Interrogator: *Don't you have a case with the Security Unit?*

Interrogatee: *They just came for me and said my laptop and phone were stolen items and../*

Interrogator: *../ Your laptop and phone?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *So what happened after they came for you?*

Interrogatee: *They took me to their office and said I should write a statement.*

Interrogator: *Then?*

Interrogatee: *And they seized the laptop and my phone.*

Interrogator: *What is the make of your laptop?*

Interrogatee: *Toshiba*

Interrogator: *What specifications?*

Interrogatee: *I can't remember sir*

Interrogator: *And the phone?*

Interrogatee: *Sir?*

Interrogator: *What is the make of the phone?*

Interrogatee: *Samsung*

Interrogator: *When did you buy the laptop?*

Interrogatee: *Is long sir*

Interrogator: *You mean you can't recollect the date you bought it?*

Interrogatee: *I can't remember but is, as in, over two years now*

Interrogator: *What of the phone, when did you buy it?*

Interrogatee: *last year sir*

Interrogator: *And where did you buy the phone?*

Interrogatee: *Lagos*

Interrogator: *You have the receipt with you?*

Interrogatee: *No sir.*

Interrogator: *You don't have the receipt?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *What is yes sir?*

Interrogatee: *I don't have it here sir*

Interrogator: *What of the receipt for the laptop?*

Interrogatee: *Is not here sir.*

Interrogator: *So you are carrying about a laptop without receipt of purchase?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. I kept it at home in Lagos that's why sir.*

Interrogator: *Now you are in 300 Level, right?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Do you mean that you have been using a laptop since 100 Level?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Even on this campus?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *You have been using the laptop since when you were in hundred level in this University?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *You know we can call your classmates to testify on this?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *So if we call five of your mates they will confirm that they used to see you with a laptop in 100 Level?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *What if they say no it is not true?*

Interrogatee: *(….Silence)*

Interrogator: *Don't you know that will mean you are telling lies here?*

Interrogatee: *I know*

Interrogator: *Are you sure you had a laptop when you were in 100 Level?*

Interrogatee: *Yes but most of the time, it was in Lagos*

Interrogator: *Now, do you know Timson Timson?*

Interrogatee: *Timson Timson?*

Interrogator: *Yes*

Interrogatee: *I know him*

Interrogator: *You know him to be ..?*

Interrogatee: *Student*

Interrogator: *And where does he live?*

Interrogatee: *Off campus*

Interrogator: *Do you know his house in town?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *What is the relationship between the two of you?*

Interrogatee: *There is no relationship sir.*

Interrogator: *Are you two not course mates?*

Interrogatee: *We are course mates*

Interrogator: *What of Timson Timson?*

Interrogatee: *I don't know her*

Interrogator: *Are you sure?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *And you don't know the two of them are friends?*

Interrogatee: *I don't know sir*

Interrogator: *By the way, where are your parents living?*

Interrogatee: *Lagos sir*

Interrogator: *The two of them?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *And they live together?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *What work does your father do?*

Interrogatee: *(… Silence) Driver*

Interrogator: *Driver, in Lagos?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Is he an official driver or commercial driver in Lagos?*

Interrogatee: *Commercial*

Interrogator: *And your mother?*

Interrogatee: *She's selling small small items like that.*

Interrogator: *So can you tell us where you got money to buy your laptop and Samsung phone?*

Interrogatee: *I used to work when am not in school*

Interrogator: *So you bought them with your money?*

Interrogatee: *Yes and with money I saved from my school fees*

Interrogator: *Now, on the day of your final paper last semester, you went to the students' hostel?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *To meet Timson Timson after your last paper?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Did you meet him that evening?*

Interrogatee: *No sir.*

Interrogator: *Didn't you know he was not around before going to his room?*

Interrogatee: *I didn't know he was not around*

Interrogator: *And what happened when you couldn't see him?*

Interrogatee: *Nothing happened…/*

Interrogator: *…/ Did you leave immediately or waited for him to return?*

Interrogatee: *I stayed for some time.*

Interrogator: *Where did you stay?*

Interrogatee: *Around the hostel*

Interrogator: *Like how many people were there with you?*

Interrogatee: *There was nobody. I was the only person there.*

Interrogator: *Did you find anybody in his room?*

Interrogatee: *No sir*

Interrogator: *Then what were you waiting for?*

Interrogatee: *Just to see Timson when he comes back. I wanted to borrow some money from him so that I can travel with it.*

Interrogator: *How long did you wait for him that evening?*

Interrogatee: *Like 30 minutes*

Interrogator: *30 minutes?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *When did you get home that night?*

Interrogatee: *Around 8 p.m.*

Interrogator: *And you finished your paper by 5.00 p.m. that day?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *And you immediately went to the hostel after your paper?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *What is the distance between the hostel and the Lecture Hall where you sat for your last paper?*

Interrogatee: *Like 10 minutes to trek.*

Interrogator: *And to get to your house from campus is about…?*

Interrogatee: *Sir?*

Interrogator: *Will it take up to 30 minutes to get to your house from campus?*

Interrogatee: *No sir.*

Interrogator: *So if you spent 15 minutes from the Lecture Hall to the hostel and you spent another 30 minutes between the hostel and your house in town, where then did you spend over two hours between 5 p.m. and 8 p.m. that day?*

Interrogatee: *I was in the hostel area*

Interrogator: *Do you know that that was exactly the time a laptop and Samsung handset were stolen from that room?*

Interrogatee: *I don't know. But I know I didn't do anything, I only waited for Timson that evening. Even I saw some students playing football then. I don't know anything about the phone that were stolen sir.*

Interrogator: *I need to let you know that we are very serious on this panel. None of us has any time to waste, and we have a responsibility to submit a report to Management on this case. Now, there was a reported case of stolen laptop and Samsung phone in Room .. of .. Hostel. The items were allegedly stolen on 24th March, 2013 between 6 p.m. and 7.30 p.m. Are you following?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Now you have confirmed that you were in the hostel around the item owner's room that particular time. Not only that, the two items were*

allegedly found in your possession some months later, and the owner was quick to identify that they were his stolen items../

Interrogatee: *Sir../*

Interrogator: *Just wait, wait a minute*

Interrogatee: *Okay Sir.*

Interrogator: *But here you are, denying the allegation. You see we have been very gentle with you and handling you like we will handle our children. But you need to know, quite for sure, that if you refuse to tell us the real truth here, the University will transfer your case to the Police and you know the implication of that. You know what that means?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir please am not lying to you sir. I didn't steal any laptop and I didn't steal any phone. Everything am saying here is the truth sir. I don't know anything about the stealing. I just went there for a purpose, I didn't even see him that day.*

Interrogator: *Now the issue is this, you know erm, we have to get certain things very clearly. One, were you in that place that evening between 5 p.m. and 8 p.m. or not?*

Interrogatee: *Sir I was there but../*

Interrogator: *You agree you were there?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Two, you said you went to the hostel to meet Timson Timson?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *And there was nobody in his room that time?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *And you went to the place immediately after your last exam for that day?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *While going for your exam what were the things you took along?*

Interrogatee: *My writing materials and handset*

Interrogator: *Where did you keep your laptop?*

Interrogatee: *(… silence)*

Interrogator: *Did you go for the exam with your laptop?*

Interrogatee: *No sir*

Interrogator: *Mr. Timson*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Are you computer literate?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *What can you do on the computer?*

Interrogatee: *(… silence)*

Interrogator: *What software packages do you have on your laptop?*

Interrogatee: *(…silence)*

Interrogator: *Can you mention 5 documents that you have saved on your laptop?*

Interrogatee: *I have been doing my assignment there*

Interrogator: *Assignments?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *What did you use to save it?*

Interrogatee: *(… silence)*

Interrogator: *Now is it correct that you have one Nokia Asa phone?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Where is the phone now?*

Interrogatee: *I gave someone to use*

Interrogator: *When did you give the person?*

Interrogatee: *Like, as in three months ago.*

Interrogator: *Do you have a phone now?*

Interrogatee: *They have collected my phone*

Interrogator: *Who collected your phone?*

Interrogatee: *The security people, that time when they said I stole a phone and laptop, and they said I should write statement.*

Interrogator: *Now from what you have been saying and the interaction we have been having with you, we can conclude that it was when you got another phone three months ago that you dashed out the former Nokia phone you were using, am I correct?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *And that was exactly the same time that Timson's phone was missing in the hostel and the same time you went to his hostel without meeting anyone in the room, am I correct?*

Interrogatee: *(… silence)*

Interrogator: *Answer now*

Interrogatee: *Sir, I have my phone and I didn't steal anybody's phone.*

Interrogator: *We also want to put it to you that you claimed you have been using a personal laptop since your 100 Level, right?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *And for the past three years that you have been using a personal laptop, you cannot mention five documents or folders you have saved on the laptop, is that not correct?*

Interrogatee: *(… silence).*

Interrogator: *Now the fact that you didn't go to the last exam with your laptop suggests clearly that it might not be true that you truly own a laptop before the examination held that day, do you agree?*

Interrogatee: *I have laptop sir. But I didn't../*

Interrogator: *But what do you use the laptop for when you can't remember 5 documents you have ever saved on it?*

Interrogatee: *It is my laptop sir.*

Interrogator: *Now for the same laptop you claim to be yours, the true owner had provided the receipt of purchase and other evidence of ownership. He had shown us some secret inscriptions on the laptop, yet you are claiming you are the owner. Don't you think you it will be good to say the truth?*

Interrogatee: *No one can say that sir because it is mine. I have the receipt at home in Lagos. I cannot be telling you lies, for what? They are mine and nobody can claim them sir.*

Interrogator: *Do you know what risk you are taking by telling us lies?*

Interrogatee: *Sir am not telling lies*

Interrogator: *The University will hand you over to the Police authorities for thorough investigation, and you will be suspended throughout that investigation period. The police will take you to court and if eventually found guilty, you will be sentenced to jail. That will be the end of your studentship in this University if you don't know. Do you know the kind of pain and suffering you will get from the police?*

Interrogatee: *Sir I don't even pray for that../*

Interrogator: *The torture?*

Interrogatee: *Please sir*

Interrogator: *The humiliation and the extortion?*

Interrogatee: *Please sir.*

Interrogator: *And at the end of all of these you will still be expelled, meaning all the time and monies you have spent on this programme become wastes?*

Interrogatee: *Please help me sir, am saying the truth. I can't be lying to you sir.*

Interrogator: *Since you are not ready to cooperate with this panel, then we have to stop further interaction and allow the police to take over your case.*

Interrogatee: *Am ready sir, please am ready.*

Interrogator: *So what do you want to say now? We have interacted with some of your classmates and they have confirmed to us that you didn't have any laptop in your 100 and 200 levels, you think they are wrong or they don't know what they are saying?*

Interrogatee: *(… silence)*

Interrogator: *You have also confirmed to us here that your father is a driver in Lagos and your mother a petty trader, thus meaning that they didn't buy any laptop for you, isn't that correct?*

Interrogatee: *(… silence)*

Interrogator: *Talk now*

Interrogatee: *No it's not like that sir*

Interrogator: *So it's like how?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, the issue is I was afraid before that's why.*

Interrogator: *You were afraid of..?*

Interrogatee: *Sorry sir.*

Interrogator: *No now you said you were afraid before, but afraid of what?*

Interrogatee: *Actually, the laptop is not mine.*

Interrogator: *And the Samsung phone?*

Interrogatee: *It is also not my own sir.*

Interrogator: *So how did you get them?*

Interrogatee: *I know I have done something bad but please pardon me*

Interrogator: *No now, just tell us how it happened. We are not crucifying you here are we?*

Interrogatee: *No sir.*

Interrogator: *Enh enh. Can you tell us what happened and how it happened?*

Interrogatee: *What sir?*

Interrogator: *You just said the laptop and the phone were not yours, right?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *And the Security arrested you with the items and confiscated them from you?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *And you have said they were not yours?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *So how did they get into your possession? I mean how did you get them?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, I really need your help. I know I have done something very bad, I just need your help on this case.*

Interrogator: *But we cannot help you if you don't let us know everything about what happened now. Can't you just tell us what happened or we just say that you stole the items and close your case?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, that day, it is true that I went to the hostel after my last paper. That day I didn't have any money on me. I was hungry and did not have t-fare back to town. So I just wanted to see Timson so that I can beg him to give me something. But on getting there, I could not see him and none of his roomies was around…*

Interrogator: *Then?*

Interrogatee: *It was that time, I did not even know what came upon me.*

Interrogator: *So what happened next?*

Interrogatee: *That was when I carried the laptop and took the Samsung phone.*

Interrogator: *You need to be very clear if you want us to assist you. How did you carry the laptop?*

Interrogatee: *As in../*

Interrogator: *../Was the door of the room opened or closed when you got there?*

Interrogatee: *It was closed*

Interrogator: *So you broke the key to gain access into the room?*

Interrogatee: *(… silence)*

Interrogator: *What you are saying is that you opened the door of the room yourself and went away with the items, is that correct?*

Interrogatee: *Yes, but please assist me sir. I didn't know what came on me that day sir. My condition that day was critical and I didn't even know what to do. Please help me sir, I promise such will never happen again sir.*

Interrogator: *So you now admit that the laptop and the Samsung phone were not yours?*

Interrogatee: *Yes, please sir*

Interrogator: *And that it is not true that you used to have a laptop and Samsung phone in 100 level?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Now what was your aim of stealing the laptop and phone?*

Interrogatee: *I just, as in../*

Interrogator: *You wanted to sell them and get some money?*

Interrogatee: *I don't even know sir. Please all I need is your fatherly help on this case. I know I have done something very bad. But please pardon me sir.*

Interrogator: *Did you participate in the students' orientation programme in year one?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *And you attended all the presentations made then?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Do you have a copy of the Students' Handbook?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *And you are familiar with everything there?*

Interrogatee: *Not really sir*

Interrogator: *But you know it is an offence to steal other people's properties?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, I know sir, even outside the campus I know it is not good and it is an offence. Am just pleading for you, as in, I just want you to help me. It will never happen again sir.*

Interrogator: *Do you know that we have information that that was not the first time you would such thing here on campus?*

Interrogatee: *Me?*

Interrogator: *Yes, of course*

Interrogatee: *No sir…/*

Interrogator: *Are you not Timson Timson?*

Interrogatee: *Yes I am.*

Interrogator: *Try to recall and confess to us how you have been involved in similar acts on campus since your 100 level. Or do you want us to prove to you that you once stole something somewhere on campus?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, it's not me sir. I have never, never stole anything. Even this once self, I just don't know what happened that day.*

Interrogator: *So you know it is an offence to steal something in this University?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *And you know the punishment for such acts?*

Interrogatee: *That's why am begging you sir and ma. Please have pity on me. Please forgive me and I promise that would never happen again. I can even write undertaking. Please my parents must not hear this, they will just collapse sir. Please help me.*

Interrogator: *Mr. Timson Timson*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Now you have confessed that truly you stole a laptop and a Samsung phone that belonged to another student?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *And you know it is an offence to do such in this University?*

Interrogatee: *I know sir*

Interrogator: *And you know the punishment attached to such offence?*

Interrogatee: *Please sir, please help me sir. I don't want to lose everything I have put into this programme. Please help me God will help you too and your children.*

Interrogator: *We can only help you if tell us other cases of stealing that you have been involved in on campus. You know the cases of stolen laptop and stolen phones have kept rising. We know you are one of those perpetrating this act, and we also know that you know some other guys stealing laptops and phones all over the place. Or you mean you don't know them, or have never stolen other items on campus?*

Interrogatee: *Daddy honestly me too I use to hear but I have never stolen anybody's phone or laptop apart from this one.*

Interrogator: *And how do you want us to believe that claim?*

Interrogatee: *Am saying the truth sir. I can use anything to swear even. If not for my terrible condition that day, I should not have carried their things.*

Interrogator: *Who is your best friend on campus?*

Interrogatee: *It is Timson Timson*[2]

Interrogator: *Him or her?*

Interrogatee: *Male sir*

Interrogator: *So how close are you?*

Interrogatee: *He's my friend from secondary school*

Interrogator: *And which secondary school is that?*

Interrogatee: *Ansar' Ud Deen Grammar school*

Interrogator: *Where?*

Interrogatee: *Offa*

Interrogator: *I see. So you are a Muslim?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *A Muslim stealing?*

Interrogatee: *Sorry sir*

Interrogator: *You are a disgrace. Anyway, all that you have said here, were you forced to say it?*

Interrogatee: *No sir*

Interrogator: *Now we will release you to go but some quick points.*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Our duty in this panel is to investigate your alleged involvement in the act of stealing a fellow student's properties and to submit our report of investigation to the University Management, okay?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *And now you have confirmed that truly you were involved in the act, right?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *But that you know it was bad and it was an offence to steal in this University?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *And that you are begging the University to forgive and pardon you, am I right?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Now before you go and write all that you have said here, we want you to know that this University has the primary obligation of ensuring that every student is adequately equipped with the necessary academic skills and refined in terms of character. That is why the University frowns seriously at such acts that are criminally inclined like stealing, rape, sexual harassment, cultism and so on. Eventhough you are pleading to be pardoned after you have confessed, you must know that it behoves the University to ensure that such acts are completely discouraged among students, and the only way is to punish anyone found guilty of such offences to serve as deterrent to others. More importantly, as a Muslim that you claim you are, you really need to be closer to your fellow Muslim students and Alfas. It is always annoying to claim to be either a Muslim or a Christian and still be getting involved in acts that are completely ungodly. Which examples will you say you are copying? You think you parents will forever be happy to hear what you have done?*

Interrogatee: *No sir*

Interrogator: *So, you can go, but please write everything you have told us here in a paper and submit to the secretary.*

CASE 5:

Interrogator: *Good morning*

Interrogatee: *Morning sir*

Interrogator: *Louder now, morning to you.*

Interrogatee: *Good morning sir, good morning ma.*

Interrogator: *why are you shivering, any problem?*

Interrogatee: *No problem sir*

Interrogator: *Are you afraid that you are here?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *You don't need to be afraid now, after all you know some, if not all of us here, am I wrong?*

Interrogatee: *No sir.*

Interrogator: *Okay, back to business now. Do you know why you have been invited to appear before this panel?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. I was given a letter from the Student Affairs to come and face panel.*

Interrogator: *Face panel?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *And what have you done that led to your facing the panel.*

Interrogatee: *They said I cheated in the exam.*

Interrogator: *Cheated in the exam?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Anyway before all that, can you identify yourself to this panel please?*

Interrogatee: *Sir?*

Interrogator: *What is your name?*

Interrogatee: *My name is Timson Timson*

Interrogator: *What level are you in?*

Interrogatee: *200 Level sir*

Interrogator: *Please speak up, we can't hear you. You are in 200 Level, you said?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *In which department?*

Interrogatee: *Biochemistry*

Interrogator: *Biochemistry?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *And your matric number?*

Interrogatee: *0000 0000*

Interrogator: *We have to let you, you see you have to know that the University has information on your involvement in some examination malpractice during the First Semester examinations. You were not the only student involved in such act and the University has decided that all such cases must be investigated so that the affected students could know their fate in good time, and to serve as deterrent to other students. Are you with me?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *So this panel has been constituted to investigate all cases of students' alleged involvement in examination misconduct and make recommendations to the University management in that regard. Lucky enough you have said you know why you are here, don't you?*

Interrogatee: *Yes I know sir.*

Interrogator: *So it's going to be of great help to you if you tell us everything that happened, how it happened and who and who were involved. Like I said, we have the whole information with us, okay?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *And we only want to see how truthful you will be at this interaction. So can you tell us what happened?*

Interrogatee: *I was writing the ... paper that day when the invigilator came to me and seized my paper.*

Interrogator: *The invigilator seized your paper?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *What course was that and when was it held?*

Interrogatee: *That's XXX 202. I can't remember the date now but it was first semester*

Interrogator: *So why did the invigilator seize your paper?*

Interrogatee: *He said I was copying from a paper like that and which is not true.*

Interrogator: *And when he collected your paper, what next did he do?*

Interrogatee: *He said I should fill a form.*

Interrogator: *Did you fill the form?*

Interrogatee: *I was forced to fill the form because I was not cheating. Sir I was not cheating, I was not cheating that day. It was not my first paper and they have never catch me cheating.*

Interrogator: *Okay but what was that paper they said you were copying from?*

Interrogatee: *I just found the paper beside the table. I don't know who put it there sir.*

Interrogator: *You mean that before you started the examination you did not notice the paper there if it was not you who brought it inside?*

Interrogatee: *I didn't first see it sir. But later when I saw it the exam has started and I didn't want to disturb anybody, that's why.*

Interrogator: *Now were all of you not told to put away anything on you before entering the examination hall?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir, and I kept my bag outside.*

Interrogator: *So you are saying you didn't bring anything into the hall except your writing materials?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Do you know the implication of telling us lies at this panel?*

Interrogatee: *(… silence)*

Interrogator: *Can you recollect your mates who sat beside you that day?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *You know they have been here to tell us what happened?*

Interrogatee: *But I did not cheat sir. I was only doing my exam, I don't know who put the paper there, and I didn't copy from any paper.*

Interrogator: *Miss Timson Timson*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *You see we are only giving you what we call fair hearing at this panel. We have all our information on you and about how you were caught copying from a material you surreptitiously brought with you into the examination hall that day. It is better for you to tell us exactly what happened and how it happened. That is the only thing that can help you. If you confess, then we can try to see how you can be given soft landing.*

That is better than telling lies. If you keep telling lies the University can summarily expel you and that will be the end of your career in this University. Is that clear to you?

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *So you better make your choice now between just minor punishment if you tell us the truth and heavy punishment if you refuse to say the truth because we have all our information, and we have witnesses that have come here to testify to what happened and how it happened that day. You were not the only student caught that day now?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *So if others have come here and told us what happened precisely, you think they are not wise or smart?*

Interrogatee: *No sir but../*

Interrogator: *But what? Are you afraid to tell us what happened?*

Interrogatee: *(… silence)*

Interrogator: *You don't need to be afraid. We are like your parents at home. No one is carrying stick to beat you, or do you see any policeman around?*

Interrogatee: *No sir.*

Interrogator: *So why are you afraid to tell us what you did, and what you have written in your statement that happened?*

Now do you want us to bring the lecturer that invigilated and caught you that day?

Interrogatee: *No sir.*

Interrogator: *Or you want to be on suspension pending the time you will have a rethink?*

Interrogatee: *Ah, no sir please.*

Interrogator: *So talk to us now.*

Interrogatee: *Sir it was true that the paper was there.*

Interrogator: *Was where?*

Interrogatee: *Beside the table*

Interrogator: *And who put it there?*

Interrogatee: *Sir…/*

Interrogator: *Who put the paper there or did it walked into that place by itself?*

Interrogatee: *(… silence)*

Interrogator: *he paper you wrote was the morning paper and the first for that day in that hall. Right?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *And you agree that the hall was swept before your examination that day?*

Interrogatee: *Possible sir.*

Interrogator: *See, the other evidence we have against you is that one, the handwriting on your answer script and the one on the scribbled paper were the same, which means they were your handwriting. Is that clear to you?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Two, the content of the scribbled material is directly related to the course for which you were writing the exam. In fact, we further found that the material contained answers to two of the questions for that paper that day. Okay?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Now you are saying you didn't take the paper in and you weren't copying from it, am I right?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *But when you entered and you found it you didn't call the attention of the invigilator to it. Now you are saying you didn't do this and that. You think we are mumu here?*

Interrogatee: *No sir. Please help me sir and ma*

Interrogator: *What kind of help are you begging for?*

Interrogatee: *Please sir*

Interrogator: *Do you agree that you it was you who took the paper into the hall?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *So why were you lying before?*

Interrogatee: *Am very sorry sir*

Interrogator: *You brought the paper into the hall, not that somebody else kept it there?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *And the invigilator caught you when you were trying to copy from the paper?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Were you the only student who did that?*

Interrogatee: *I don't know about others sir*

Interrogator: *So you admit that the handwriting in the scribbled material was your hand writing?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. It was my handwriting.*

Interrogator: *How did you know what you scribbled in the paper was going to come out in the exam?*

Interrogatee: *I didn't know sir. I just, as in, that's the topic that is difficult for me to cram and I just felt that …*

Interrogator: *Felt that ..?*

Interrogatee: *As in, just to help me because I don't want to fail the course.*

Interrogator: *Are you sure the questions did not leak out before the exam?*

Interrogatee: *No sir.*

Interrogator: *Do you know the regulation of this University on examination malpractices?*

Interrogatee: *(… silence)*

Interrogator: *Do you know it is an offence for any student to cheat during examinations?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *So since you know it is an offence, why did you do it?*

Interrogatee: *Am very sorry sir. Please forgive me sir. It will never happen again*

Interrogator: *Do we assume that this is how you have been doing since your 100 Level?*

Interrogatee: *Ah no sir*

Interrogator: *So,*

CASE 6: ALLEGATION OF RAPE

Interrogator: *Hello good morning*

Interrogatee: *Good morning sir, good morning ma*

Interrogator: *How are you today?*

Interrogatee: *Fine sir, thank you sir*

Interrogator: *You are Timson Timson?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *From Chemistry Department?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *What is, erm, your Matric. Number?*

Interrogatee: *0000 0000*

Interrogator: *And your Level?*

Interrogatee: *400 Level sir*

Interrogator: *Good. Just, as a kind of, I mean.. just to let you know.. This is panel that has been set up to investigate an allegation against you about an issue between you and one other female student in the University. The University has report that you were involved in the rape of the particular student and that has caused a lot problems to the affected student. Are you with me?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *You know, we all know that sometimes when something like that happen, it may not be deliberate, you know. And the onus lies on the suspected person to prove his case at a forum like this, if not in the courts of law, so that the person's level of involvement can be determined. We all know that it is destructive to just dismiss or expel a student without thorough investigation and fair hearing. It is that fair hearing that we want to give you so that the case can be decided. Now the principal agent, that is the student involved has been interrogated and she has told us her own version of the incident. We need to hear from you too, so that we can be balanced and fair in our recommendations to Management. Okay?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Is this explanation well taken and understood?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *They don't tell lies here o. If you refuse to say the truth, then you will suffer the consequences. Is that okay?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *So, we don't want any waste of time at all. We just want you to tell us your own side of the story, and if you think you need the assistance of this panel in any way, please tell us. As a panel of the University, we must be seen to be fair and objective. We must also be thorough in our investigation so that our report will not be faulted at Management level. So, can you please tell us what you know about the incident?*

Interrogatee: *Good morning sir and good morning ma. To be sincere, sir, I did not rape anybody and nobody can say I rape her. Me and the girl are like, as in, we are friends. We have been friends for long and it's just a little misunderstanding between us that led to the issue.*

Interrogator: *So are you saying there is no case?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *I mean, are you saying you did not rape her or that you did not attempt to do that. What we mean is that, are you saying the two of you are friends and that what happened should not be taken to be rape? You really need to be very clear in what you say.*

Interrogatee: *Sir, I did not rape her and I did not even attempt to do that. Why would I do that when…/*

Interrogator: *Mr. Timson, let's get you clearly, but you also need to get what we are saying clearly. Did you attempt to rape her or not?*

Interrogatee: *I did not attempt to rape anybody*

Interrogator: *Mr. Chairman, I think we need to start on a better platform so that our work can be easy. Mr. Timson*

Interrogatee: *Sir*

Interrogator: *You are a student of this University?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *In the Department of?*

Interrogatee: *Chemistry sir*

Interrogator: *And in what level of study?*

Interrogatee: *400 sir*

Interrogator: *Now do you know one Miss Timson Timson?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. I know her. We are classmates, and we have been friends even before our admission into the University.*

Interrogator: *How do you know her?*

Interrogatee: *We did pre-degree together*

Interrogator: *You mean you didn't know each other before your pre-degree admission?*

Interrogatee: *No sir.*

Interrogator: *Was she your girlfriend that time?*

Interrogatee: *When sir?*

Interrogator: *In your pre-degree days, was she your girlfriend?*

Interrogatee: *No. We were just, kind of, friends as in, school things.*

Interrogator: *Was she at any time your girlfriend in this University?*

Interrogatee: *Not really sir, but we have been very close. We even used to read together, sit together and do discussions and tutorials together. We are not boyfriends and girlfriend sir.*

Interrogator: *On 21st July, 2013 you both attended a lecture together, I mean Physics course?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir, all of us in Chemistry 300 Level.*

Interrogator: *At the end of the lecture, you invited her to your hostel?*

Interrogatee: *No sir.*

Interrogator: *Do you remember discussing with her after the class that evening?*

Interrogatee: *No sir. We didn't discuss anything. I left for my hostel and I didn't know where she headed. It was not only me that went to the hostel that time, we were about four and all of us were boys and classmates.*

Interrogator: *So you didn't ask her to follow you to the hostel after the lecture?*

Interrogatee: *No sir.*

Interrogator: *Have you been going to classes to read together?*

Interrogatee: *No sir.*

Interrogator: *It seems you don't want to cooperate with this panel the way you have been answering us.*

Interrogatee: *Sir I have been saying only what I know is the true sir.*

Interrogator: *You don't want to cooperate?*

Interrogatee: *I am sir.*

Interrogator: *For your information, the issue at hand is a purely criminal matter which Government has been frowning at. The University supposed to refer your case to the police so that the investigation can be handled by the police and you get prosecuted in court. But you know how much money that is going to cost you? You know the stress and the torture? You know the damage that could cause your reputation and you know that once you are in the police custody for investigation the University will have to place you on suspension?*

Interrogatee: *I know sir. Sir, am only telling you what I know as far as the panel's questions are concerned. Am not telling any lies here sir.*

Interrogator: *Okay. You went to the hostel after the lecture, didn't you?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *With her?*

Interrogatee: *No sir*

Interrogator: *With who then?*

Interrogatee: *I went with some of my classmates. We attended the lecture together*

Interrogator: *Was there any time you ever invited her to your hostel?*

Interrogatee: *No sir.*

Interrogator: *Was there any time you ever invited her to read together in the night?*

Interrogatee: *No sir.*

Interrogator: *There was no time you ever invited her to read together on campus?*

Interrogatee: *No time sir.*

Interrogator: *Have you ever read together in the night?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir, but we only met in the Lecture Hall then. I didn't invite her. There were other students there we were reading together.*

Interrogator: *The information at our disposal clearly indicates that after the lecture that evening, you invited her to your hostel, that you wanted to give her something../*

Interrogatee: *Me? Never. I never invited any girl to my hostel. For what?*

Interrogator: *You said you went to the hostel with four other students, correct?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *And that all of them were your classmates?*

Interrogatee: *Most of them, I can't really remember vividly.*

Interrogator: *Can you mention their names?*

Interrogatee: *I can't remember vividly now but they were four that evening.*

Interrogator: *Was it up to a year that it happened?*

Interrogatee: *No sir.*

Interrogator: *You mean you can't remember the four guys that you went to the hostel with even when it is far less than a year?*

Interrogatee: *I can't remember.*

Interrogator: *Do you know you can land yourself in big trouble?*

Interrogatee: *I don't understand sir.*

Interrogator: *You are trying to be smart now, are you not?*

Interrogatee: *No sir. It's just that I can't recollect the names of the guys sir*

Interrogator: *Can the guys come and testify that you went to the hostel together that night?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *So you want us to invite them to testify?*

Interrogatee: *I cannot say the panel should not do that*

Interrogator: *So we can invite them?*

Interrogatee: *The panel can invite them sir*

Interrogator: *Okay give us their names then. We will invite them to this panel to testify.*

Interrogatee: *Sir?*

Interrogator: *What are their names now?*

Interrogatee: *That's what am saying sir that I can't vividly remember who among our mates went together.*

Interrogator: *I have said you will land yourself in great trouble and mess. Better for you to tell us the truth and let us stop wasting valuable time here. How on earth will you walk together with four of your classmates from the lecture hall to the hostel and within 3 months you cannot remember those same guys? And you cannot remember their names?*

Interrogatee: *Am trying to remember but I can't be too sure. I just know I was not the only person that went to the hostel that evening.*

Interrogator: *What in your own judgement would anybody want to gain by lying against you for whatever reasons?*

Interrogatee: *I don't know sir*

Interrogator: *Are you the most brilliant in your class?*

Interrogatee: *No*

Interrogator: *The richest?*

Interrogatee: *No sir*

Interrogator: *So why would anybody want to lie against you?*

Interrogatee: *I don't really know sir.*

Interrogator: *Then something must be wrong somewhere. That means you are hiding the truth from us here, aren't you?*

Interrogatee: *I am not sir. I can't tell you lies sir.*

Interrogator: *The student in question had come here to tell us you lured her to follow you to the hostel that night and that you promised you would give her something, you think she was lying?*

Interrogatee: *She is lying sir. Not me.*

Interrogator: *Two students in your class have come here to testify that the they saw the two of you going towards your hostel after the lecture that evening, are you saying they are wrong?*

Interrogatee: *Not me sir.*

Interrogator: *Some students have come here to testify that they heard when the lady was screaming for help that night and that they saw you when you were running away from that scene, you mean they were not correct?*

Interrogatee: *They were not correct sir.*

Interrogator: *Okay then, can you tell us your movement between the time your lecture ended and the next morning?*

Interrogatee: *I.., I..*

Interrogator: *What we mean is after the lecture, where did you go; what did you do and where did you sleep that night, is that clear?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Go on then.*

Interrogatee: *Immediately after the lecture that evening, I went to the hostel. I ate and after that I went to town.*

Interrogator: *Where did you go in town?*

Interrogatee: *I went to an uncle's place*

Interrogator: *At what time was that?*

Interrogatee: *Around 8 p.m. that night.*

Interrogator: *And what time did you return to the hostel?*

Interrogatee: *Afternoon of the following day sir.*

Interrogator: *Can you prove it to us that it was not after the incident of your rape attempt that you went to town that night?*

Interrogatee: *It was not, at all. I just went on my own. Not because of anything sir*

Interrogator: *And what was your purpose of going to town that night?*

Interrogatee: *I used to go like that sir. Is not my first time, sometimes I spend weekends in town.*

Interrogator: *And what work does your uncle do?*

Interrogatee: *He is part seller sir*

Interrogator: *What type of parts?*

Interrogatee: *Motor parts*

Interrogator: *And where does he live in town?*

Interrogatee: *Around Stadium area*

Interrogator: *Is he married?*

Interrogatee: *No sir. He is still single.*

Interrogator: *Now you have three options at this point.*

Interrogatee: *Okay sir*

Interrogator: *One, the University will refer your case to the police for investigation and criminal prosecution in court*

Interrogatee: *Sir..*

Interrogator: *Two, you cooperate with us by telling us the truth so that we can conclude your case and be able to assist you. Three, we can advise management to immediately suspend you from the University until you are ready to cooperate with this panel. So which one is your preferred option?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, am cooperating with you sir. I will cooperate sir.*

Interrogator: *No because you think you are smart now. You have been in this University for how long?*

Interrogatee: *Roughly four years now*

Interrogator: *You have been in this University for four years?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Meaning you are in your final year?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Do you have any carry-over course against you?*

Interrogatee: *No sir*

Interrogator: *Has anybody ever reported that you wanted to force her to have sex with her?*

Interrogatee: *No sir. This is why am../*

Interrogator: *So why this one?*

Interrogatee: *I don't even know sir*

Interrogator: *What could someone gain doing that?*

Interrogatee: *Am sorry but I don't even understand.*

Interrogator: *You mean you don't understand?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *You know what you are doing now, don't you? Just trying to deceive us by denying all allegations. Do you think you can deny all these in the presence of the girl with all her witnesses?*

Interrogatee: *Why not sir? I will now because I don't know what they are talking about.*

Interrogator: *You don't know what they are talking about?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *But who are your own witnesses who can say something on your movement that evening?*

Interrogatee: *They are not here now sir. But I can bring them later to talk to the panel sir.*

Interrogator: *Mr. Timson*

Interrogatee: *Sir*

Interrogator: *You are denying the allegation against you, right?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *One of the characteristics of hardened criminals is to always deny all allegations against them. That exactly is what you are doing here. Are you sure you are not a hardened criminal?*

Interrogatee: *I am not Sir*

Interrogator: *And how can you prove that?*

Interrogatee: *I know and swear am not a criminal*

Interrogator: *Was there any time you have ever been arrested by the police?*

Interrogatee: *No sir*

Interrogator: *You have never been arrested by the police for any crime?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *The security on campus?*

Interrogatee: *Sir*

Interrogator: *Have you ever had any case with the security on campus here?*

Interrogatee: *No sir*

Interrogator: *Are you sure? The Security Officer is here mind you.*

Interrogatee: *No sir*

Interrogator: *We have given you the three options from which you have to make a choice. Out of these options the line you are towing is very clear, and that is, that you are not ready to cooperate with us, and therefore that the University should either suspend you or refer your case to the police. Whether you like it or not, we have our facts. No matter how smart you are proving, you cannot outsmart us with the quantum of information at our disposal as a panel of the University.*

Interrogatee: *Sir../*

Interrogator: *Listen. You have a saving grace and life-line now. And that's to give us one, the full names and phone numbers of your classmates with whom you went to the hostel that evening. If those guys called here and now, and they testify that truly you all went to the hostel together that evening, then your case is simplified. Two, you need to give us the names and the phone numbers of that uncle of yours to whose house you went and slept that night, and from where you returned to the campus the following day. We will call the person now, and let him testify on this matter. If you cannot do thee, then, it will be crystal clear that you are just wasting our time here by telling us lies on this case. So the choice is yours again.*

Interrogatee: *Sir, I swear to God who made me, am not lying here sir.*

Interrogator: *We know. But what of the names and phone numbers we ask you to provide?*

Interrogatee: *Ah! If you give me time, I can bring them tomorrow sir*

Interrogator: *Tomorrow?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *So that you can go and coach them on what to say?*

Interrogatee: *No sir../*

Interrogator: *../But what?*

Interrogatee: *Just to get the names and the phone numbers sir*

Interrogator: *So you don't know the names of your uncle again?*

Interrogatee: *I know it sir but the phone numbers*

Interrogator: *You can't produce his phone numbers offhand?*

Interrogatee: *No sir*

Interrogator: *Do you have the contact on your phone?*

Interrogatee: *It is in my former phone sir. It's not with me here*

Interrogator: *And you don't know the names of your classmates with whom you returned to the hostel that evening even when it is not up to six months?*

Interrogatee: *Sorry sir but I can bring../*

Interrogator: *If you cannot provide them here, then it's of no use again. You are being smart and you will see where your smartness will land you.*

Interrogatee: *I will bring them tomorrow sir, please am not lying sir.*

Interrogator: *Do you think you can deceive us here?*

Interrogatee: *No sir, am not, and will never do that sir.*

Interrogator: *Now we are going to call in students who can testify that truly you lied to the girl that she should follow you to the hostel and that you attempted to rape the girl that evening. Once they confirm that, then you know you are in for a very serious problem. Do you have any friends among your classmates?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Who know much about your movement?*

Interrogatee: *Not really sir*

Interrogator: *Did any of your room mates know your movement that night?*

Interrogatee: *I don't think so sir*

Interrogator: *You once proposed to the girl that you wanted her hand in love?*

Interrogatee: *No sir, not me*

Interrogator: *Okay, what do you know about the girl?*

Interrogatee: *As in..*

Interrogator: *What can you say about the girl?*

Interrogatee: *I don't really know much about her. I just know she is my classmate and we did pre-degree together. That's all I can say.*

Interrogator: *Do you know whether she has a boyfriend or not?*

Interrogatee: *I don't know, I can't say sir.*

Interrogator: *So you have never asked her out?*

Interrogatee: *Never*

Interrogator: *But do you know you have not been truthful to this panel?*

Interrogatee: *I've been saying the truth sir.*

Interrogator: *We know you have been hiding a lot of things from us. And let me tell you, it is only when you say the truth and show remorse that we can assist you. But this one that you are playing to be smart, there is no way we can help you. Mind you, it is you that will lose in the end because by the time you are suspended and your colleagues are leaving you behind in school and graduating, you will know you have only succeeded in deceiving yourself.*

Interrogatee: *Sir please help me on this matter sir. I don't know anything about it. I was not the person. I have never done anything of such.*

Interrogator: *Okay, do you have anything you want to say again before we take our decision?*

Interrogatee: *Sir am just begging this panel to assist me. I don't know anything about the case.*

Interrogator: *You have probably got advice from a lawyer who told you to deny all allegations against you. Haven't you?*

Interrogatee: *No sir, I didn't discuss anything with any lawyer. Am only saying all I know sir.*

Interrogator: *Anyway, our conclusion here is that you have not been cooperative because you are telling lies here. Please note too that we have given you opportunity of giving us information about some people who can testify on your case but you have refused. Haven't you?*

Interrogatee: *No sir, am just pleading that I should bring the information tomorrow. I can't refuse sir*

Interrogator: *Bring it tomorrow! Do you think we have that luxury of time?*

Interrogatee: *Please sir.*

Interrogator: *You think this is the only case we are investigating?*

Interrogatee: *Please sir.*

Interrogator: *We actually know what to do in your case. Yours is not the first and the last, where students will come here and be telling us series of lies. But we do detect so easily, and that always makes their sanction double. We have told you the implication of lying. We have also warned you of the consequences of that. Whatever eventually happens is your choice anyway. But note that we have given you the opportunity for fair hearing but you missed it.*

CASE 7

Interrogator: *Can you introduce yourself?*

Interrogatee: *Am Timson Timson*

Interrogator: *What level?*

Interrogatee: *Spill-over*

Interrogator: *Hmm?*

Interrogatee: *Spill-over, final year*

Interrogator: *Your Registration Number?*

Interrogatee: *0000 0000*

Interrogator: *0000 0000?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Do you know why you are here?*

Interrogatee: *Sir?*

Interrogator: *Do you know why you are here?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Why are you here?*

Interrogatee: *Am here to face panel.*

Interrogator: *Because of what?*

Interrogatee: *Cult related sir*

Interrogator: *Eh?*

Interrogatee: *Cult related sir.*

Interrogator: *So what's the name of the cult?*

Interrogatee: *Eye Confraternity*

Interrogator: *And what's your position?*

Interrogatee: *Am not a member of any cult sir.*

Interrogator: *You said?*

Interrogatee: *Am not a member of any cult sir.*

Interrogator: *You were arrested by who?*

Interrogatee: *I was arrested by the police officers.*

Interrogator: *On the 23rd of March?*

Interrogatee: *Yes.*

Interrogator: *So tell us what happened.*

Interrogatee: *I wanted to collect money from my brother, in XX Road. He's a prison officer. So I called him and he said I should meet him in XX Road. That was Sunday evening, when I came back from the church. So on getting there, I met a friend at XX Road. He was inside a taxi. He said he wanted to collect something at Sawmill area.*

Interrogator: *What is the name of that person?*

Interrogatee: *The name of that person as in..*

Interrogator: *The person you wanted to collect something from*

Interrogatee: *He is Titus*

Interrogator: *A prison officer?*

Interrogatee: *Yes.*

Interrogator: *So if we call him here you think he will corroborate what you are saying?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. So he said he wanted to collect something from a lady there. That I should follow him. That after collecting it, we will go to his house and he will give me the money I requested for. So on getting there, policemen were already there. So they didn't let us come out of the car and they arrested everyone of us. And they took us to the police station.*

Interrogator: *Everybody inside the taxi?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Including the prison officer?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *So what happened again?*

Interrogatee: *So, when they investigated everybody, they saw that, they see that am the only (this University) student there. All the rest are non-students. And they said something happened there the, the previous Sunday. And they said (this University) student came to initiate students there. That they are looking for any, any student of this University. So they arrested me and transferred the case to SIIB. So at SIIB, they released all the non-student.*

Interrogator: *Yes, go on.*

Interrogatee: *They released all the non-student and tortured me.*

Interrogator: *And did what?*

Interrogatee: *And they tortured me. And they were asking me that what did I know about it. I told them I didn't know anything.*

Interrogator: *You were tortured by who?*

Interrogatee: *The police.*

Interrogator: *Torture is a big, wide activity. What kind of torture do you mean?*

Interrogatee: *I was beaten up with stick and ..*

Interrogator: *What?*

Interrogatee: *Stick*

Interrogator: *They hit you o the head or where?*

Interrogatee: *They hit me on the leg.*

Interrogator: *They beat you once?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *And you translated that to be torture?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *What else did they do?*

Interrogatee: *Only the beating and slapping*

Interrogator: *Did they slap you?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *They slapped you how many times?*

Interrogatee: *I can't count sir*

Interrogator: *Can you continue?*

Interrogatee: *And they said what happened. I told them what happened. They said am a cultist, I said no. They start beating me beating me. I was tired, and very helpless. So, I need, I just tell them that am this am that, which am not.*

Interrogator: *What is this and that?*

Interrogatee: *I told them that am one of, am member of the cult. They told me am a cultist. I said no, no. They start beating me beating me. I told them am a*

cult. So then, they released, they, they stopped beating me. And they took me back to the cell.

Interrogator: *Took you back to?*

Interrogatee: *To the cell.*

Interrogator: *How many days did you spend there?*

Interrogatee: *I spent one week and, .. one week sha.*

Interrogator: *How did you get out?*

Interrogatee: *Sir?*

Interrogator: *How did you get out?*

Interrogatee: *They transferred the case to the court. So they discharged the case from the court. From the court, they transferred me to the prison. They remanded me at the prison.*

Interrogator: *Which prison?*

Interrogatee: *(XXX XXX)*

Interrogator: *For how many months?*

Interrogatee: *I spent up to a week there.*

Interrogator: *You spent up to?*

Interrogatee: *A week.*

Interrogator: *Are you sure?*

Interrogatee: *I was coming from prison to court. So after then, I have sickness. So, the magistrate said they should discharge me so..*

Interrogator: *You have sickness?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *What type of sickness?*

Interrogatee: *Tuberculosis*

Interrogator: *Eh?*

Interrogatee: *Tuberculosis*

Interrogator: *So how did you parents know about this your incident?*

Interrogatee: *They came, they came to the police station*

Interrogator: *And your dad's work?*

Interrogatee: *They came to the police station*

Interrogator: *What is his work?*

Interrogatee: *He is a businessman*

Interrogator: *Where is him?*

Interrogatee: *He's in Lagos*

Interrogator: *Your mum?*

Interrogatee: *She's late*

Interrogator: *Erh?*

Interrogatee: *My mum is late*

Interrogator: *Since when?*

Interrogatee: *During the, during this case.*

Interrogator: *She just passed on?*

Interrogatee: *Yes. Last year*

Interrogator: *What was her work before she passed on?*

Interrogatee: *She is a petty trader*

Interrogator: *And you are number what in the family?*

Interrogatee: *Am the last born sir*

Interrogator: *Your brothers and sisters, how many of them?*

Interrogatee: *Two boys and one girl.*

Interrogator: *The eldest is where?*

Interrogatee: *He's in Lagos*

Interrogator: *Where does he work?*

Interrogatee: *He works in an insurance company*

Interrogator: *In Lagos?*

Interrogatee: *Yes. In Lagos. He's an IT consultant*

Interrogator: *In Lagos?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *Which secondary school did you attend?*

Interrogatee: *XXXX Secondary School, Lagos*

Interrogator: *Where is that?*

Interrogatee: *Lagos, Lagos*

Interrogator: *Where in Lagos?*

Interrogatee: *Yaba*

Interrogator: *And you sat for WAEC in what year?*

Interrogatee: *2005*

Interrogator: *Then from there you proceeded to where?*

Interrogatee: *I proceeded to this University, 2008*

Interrogator: *Are you a member of any secret cult?*

Interrogatee: *No sir.*

Interrogator: *There is a story here that says you are o.*

Who is Timson Timson?

Interrogatee: *Timson Timson?*

Interrogator: *Yes*

Interrogatee: *I don't know any Timson Timson*

Interrogator: *How many of you were detained by the police in the same cell?*

Interrogatee: *Timson1, the person selling Indian Hemp and two other persons like that.*

Interrogator: *You confessed to the police that you are a member of Eye Confraternity?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Here you are, as our student, something that you voluntarily confessed to the police, you are now denying here?*

Interrogatee: *Ex sir [..*

Interrogator: *And is here in writing from the books that he was a confessed Eye Confraternity member, initiated at Lagos State Polytechnic. Look at everybody you can see here, none of them will want your life to be destroyed. And what I have been saying you have nowhere to stand. We have the written report from the police and we also have our facts. And, right in our presence here, you have the gut to tell us that all this is not correct…. So if your first two minutes of being here are bundles of lies, I wonder, on what platform are we going to stand. If Timson who has confessed to the police before is coming here now to say he is not a cultist again, then something is wrong somewhere. But we must let you know why we are here. That nobody here wants your life destroyed. So cooperate with us so that we can salvage your life. And nobody will want his time to be wasted by somebody who is ready to go astray on his own.*

Can you prove to us that you are not a cultist?

Interrogatee: *I don't have any proof but…/*

Interrogator: *…/ You don't have any proof?*

Interrogatee: *Yes. But am not a cultist sir.*

Interrogator: *When you have an opportunity like this, it's a rare opportunity to be able to tell us your activities on campus, your friends, your movement and so on. So that from there we can know and be convinced that truly, you are not a cultist. Do you have any such proof?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, am not a cultist. If I come to school, after class, I usually go home. No member of cultism in this campus can identify me as one of them.*

Interrogator: *So it's only if we bring members of cult and they are able to identify you, that is the only proof you have?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *So you don't have friends, you don't have church or mosque members that you do things together around?*

Interrogatee: *The friends I have, they've passed out, as in they've graduated from the school.*

Interrogator: *So you mean you are the only one who knows yourself, nobody, no guardian or adviser can vouch for you?*

Interrogatee: *The only guardian I have is Mr. Boxman*

Interrogator: *Is he a lecturer, an admin. officer or a pastor?*

Interrogatee: *He's not a lecturer.*

Interrogator: *Where is he?*

Interrogatee: *He's in town.*

Interrogator: *So you don't have any teacher that can identify and vouch for you around?*

Interrogatee: *I don't have any teacher, but I have someone in town.*

Interrogator: *No lecturer teaches you?*

Interrogatee: *No. I have lecturers that teaches me but I don't ..*

Interrogator: *No lecturers who can vouch for you?*

Interrogatee: *Not really*

Interrogator: *Let me tell you, I graduated from this University. And apart from lecturers who taught me, there are people in the system who know me. Who can vouch for me. So if you are passing through a university there is nobody in the department, not even in Senate, not even anybody that registered you. So there is nobody that can even say any little thing about you?*

Interrogatee: *Not really sir.*

Interrogator: *Are you a Muslim or a Christian?*

Interrogatee: *Am a Christian*

Interrogator: *Do you attend any church?*

Interrogatee: *I attend church*

Interrogator: *In the church, they don't know you?*

Interrogatee: *They know me in the church*

Interrogator: *They cannot vouch for you in the church?*

Interrogatee: *They can vouch for me in the church*

Interrogator: *Enh we are asking you if you have anybody who can vouch for you around and you are saying no. When you yourself told the police that you are a cultist and you wrote if yourself, and you are now saying you are not a cultist and that it is by asking cultists to come and identify you that you can prove yourself. So which mean we cannot trust you, we cannot believe what you are saying. Do you think that is right?*

Interrogatee: *No sir.*

Interrogator: *Do you think there is anybody in this university who can write an attestation on you?*

Interrogatee: *I don't think so sir.*

Interrogator: *Has anybody written any attestation for you before?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Who is that person?*

Interrogatee: *Dr. Timson Timson*

Interrogator: *Dr.?*

Interrogatee: *Timson Timson*

Interrogator: *He's not a member of staff here?*

Interrogatee: *No he's not a member of staff*

Interrogator: *What work does the person do?*

Interrogatee: *Former Commissioner for Health*

Interrogator: *In this state here?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Who's the pastor of your church?*

Interrogatee: *Pastor Timson*

Interrogator: *Which church is that?*

Interrogatee: *C & S*

Interrogator: *And where is that?*

Interrogatee: *St. XXXX Cathedral.*

Interrogator: *St. XXXX cathedral?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *So you are coming from town?*

Interrogatee: *Yes. I don't stay on campus*

Interrogator: *So the pastor does not know you very well?*

Interrogatee: *I can't really say. But he can vouch for me sir.*

Interrogator: *You are sure if we call the pastor now and ask about you from him he say you are a good boy, that you do come to church regularly?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *You are sure he will say that?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *What did you call the name of your pastor?*

Interrogatee: *Pastor Titus*

Interrogator: *Erm, Erm, Titus*

Interrogatee: *Sir*

Interrogator: *You have almost succeeded in disappointing me. Honestly. I will start with you that statement. Because is like you, you have been wrongly tutored before coming to this place that this is what you should say when you get here, forgetting all the antecedents concerning you, which all us especially the three of us that were there when you were arrested know. When you were detained, did you see me there?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *With other university officials, abi?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *We were there. You were even telling us that day that if you were released o, by the special grace of God, you would come to us to tell us some of the members of the Eye Confraternity in this University and hand them over to us. You promised us like that. We were even there when you were moved to detention, and you told us that when you were released you would come so that we can have one-on-one discussion. You told us. Is not that we have brought you here to be crucified. Already you have been punished by the police authorities. So we are not talking of we now punishing you again. But rather that we want to perfectly rehabilitate you. And we can also use you to help the system… So I want to disabuse your mind from that that you are here so that they can kill you. No. We have*

invited you here as one own son, as our own brother, and as our own student so that you can contribute to our efforts to curb cultism on campus. That's all. ….

Mr. Timson, are you being threatened by your colleagues there that if you come here and you mention their names or you say something about the group they are going to hurt you in any way?

Interrogatee: *Sir, nobody threatened me. And am not even, after the scene, am not in Akure. I didn't stay in Akure. It was after the scene I got contacted with the tuberculosis, and ever since then, am in Lagos.*

Interrogator: *When did you contact the tuberculosis?*

Interrogatee: *From SIIB to the prison.*

Interrogator: *Why did you accept to write what you know you are not?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, I was beaten up and I couldn't eat. I was very helpless.*

Interrogator: *Is it possible even when they beat you, and you know that you are not a member of this cult, as a result of their beating, you have to tell that something you know that you know if you say this is what I am, it is going to destroy your future, wouldn't you have even persevere with that beating?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, I have not been arrested before. So, everything just bored me up. And am not myself that time.*

Interrogator: *How the did you know the names of the people you mentioned? Did you bring them from the moon?*

Interrogatee: *They brought two names for me*

Interrogator: *Who brought them?*

Interrogatee: *The secretary sir.*

Interrogator: *And erm, you mentioned to them that you know these people?*

Interrogatee: *No, when they brought the names, I tell them, just to let me go out of the police station. I didn't want them to disturb my future.*

Interrogator: *Do you really want your future not to be disturbed?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Are you sure?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Then you really need to tell us the truth. We have not got any truth from you. Were you not the one who wrote the statement we have here from the police?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, I was under duress then. I was not even myself then. I have not been arrested before. So when it happened, I was just saying like am dead. So when they told me if I can do this and that they will talk to the policemen and they will tell them to release me, I then told them.*

Interrogator: *It's okay. Now tell us about what you do, what you eat, what you drink. Have you been taking Indian Hemp before?*

Interrogatee: *Av not taken Indian Hemp before. But I do drink erm, piles drink. All these /- jedi -/ thing. All these piles.*

Interrogator: *Do you drink dry gin?*

Interrogatee: *No. I don't drink dry gin.*

Interrogator: *How do we know that you are not a crook or a tout when you do join them to drink /- jedi jedi -/ thing like garage boys?*

Interrogator: *Am not a crook, am not a tout. I am always in school throughout, and I do go to church every Sunday.*

Interrogator: *You contracted erm TB?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *You contracted it at the SIIB?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *How do you know it is TB?*

Interrogatee: *When I got to the prison, I was coughing. So the cough is constant. So when I cough sometimes, a little blood just come out.*

Interrogator: *How many weeks did you spend there?*

Interrogatee: *I spent like a week in the prison.*

Interrogator: *So do you have a medical report?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *You have a medical test that confirmed you have tuberculosis?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *You have them with you here?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator $_1$*:* *Mr. Chairman, (?). So it's part of the alibi of this student to cover up because he has been tutored, definitely, by some forces outside this panel to say all this. Erm, Mr. Chairman, sir, if we want to show erm fatherly and motherly kindness as we always do, a student must be able to come out and tell us .. the truth, and nothing but the truth. But, sir, if a student, after being pampered, after being advised, after being warned, refused.. to tell us the truth, then we apply our normal rules. This report that we have before us cannot be said to be taken under duress. And erm, what we have here cannot in any way be said to collected under any form of duress. So, Mr. Chairman Sir, my conclusion, is that, if we .. erm beg and pamper this student not to ruin his future, and he refuses, he wants to ruin his own future, then we let it be.*

Interrogator$_{1:}$ *Mr. Timson, are you ready to talk now?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Do you want your future to be thrown away just like that?*

Interrogatee: *No sir.*

Interrogator: *While you were in prison custody, do you enjoy the life there?*

Interrogatee: *No sir*

Interrogator: *Do you like the ways of life there?*

Interrogatee: *Now when did the prison officials detect that you have developed some sickness?*

Interrogator: *Was it after you have been released or when still in their custody?*

Interrogatee: *When I was with them. If I cough, when I was coughing or sneezing, blood was coming out.*

Interrogator: *How long were you coughing?*

Interrogatee: *One day, that very day, they took me to court. Then the judge said they should release me on bail. So I couldn't go back to the prison again*

Interrogator: *So you just coughed for one day and you were released on bail, so you still have a case in court now?*

Interrogatee: *No. I have finished the case.*

Interrogator: *You were freed by the court?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Do you have any evidence to show for that?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Now you said you were beaten and that it was under duress that you made that statement, /- abi -/?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Now my question is this, out of all plenty plenty cults in this country, how come you were able to mention one?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, I didn't mention any name, so..*

Interrogator: *You didn't mention any cult?*

Interrogatee: *I didn't mention any name, and I want, I want to clarify something. I didn't mention any name. When, the .. policemen was beating me, and*

they were asking me that did I know the student, I said I didn't know anybody

Interrogator: *What did they say?*

Interrogatee: *They said did I know the student, I said no.*

Interrogator: *Did they not mention the name of the student?*

Interrogatee: *They said Titus. They also mentioned another name again. I said I didn't know that name. They then said am a cultist, that am an Eye Confraternity person, that I belong to secret cult and I said no. So when they were beating me, when the beating was increasing, I now told them that am a cultist.*

Interrogator: *And after you told them what else did they tell you?*

Interrogatee: *I didn't tell them anything.*

Interrogator: *You know you wrote a confessional statement, and we have all of them here. We are not saying all these things from our head. They are all what you wrote.*

Are you still going to tow that line or you want us to give you some time to deeper within yourself. Am looking at you as a gentleman. Am looking at you as someone who is, who is sincere. That's the way I see you, but you have not given that impression. Deep down within you, deep down within you, assuming it's only you and I that are here, you know that you are not telling us the truth. You know, we have a copy of your statement with the police and we have similar documents from your case file in the court. We have everything. So how do you want to play this game? Do you want to play it to your own favour or do you want to play it to your own detriment? I will give you some three minutes to think about it. So think through and give us answers to the questions.

Interrogatee: *Sir, I don't have anything to think. The statement I wrote, I was forced to write the statement.*

Interrogator: *At the point of writing this statement, you were being beaten?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. So if I want to write, they will say are you this, write it there, are you this, write it there.*

Interrogator: *Is that beating?*

Interrogatee: *No. They were beating me. When I said, when I want to write anything they will say no I shouldn't write it that way. And they were just beating me. So I was under duress, I was just writing.*

Interrogator: *What's the meaning of the word duress?*

Interrogatee: *(…… silence).*

Interrogator: *No no no. What's the meaning of duress?*

Interrogatee: *I don't know what am doing.*

Interrogator: *Give us the dictionary meaning of the word duress*

Interrogatee: *(…….)*

Interrogator: *You don't know?*

Interrogatee: *I don't know*

Interrogator: *Have you ever used it before?*

Interrogatee: *Have I…?*

Interrogator: *Have you ever used the word duress before?*

Interrogatee: *No*

Interrogator: *This is your first time of using it?*

Interrogatee: *I have used it before.*

Interrogator: *You should know the meaning then. If you have used it before now you should know the meaning. What do you understand by duress?*

Interrogatee: *What I know the meaning is if I do not comfortable.*

Interrogator: *What do you mean by not comfortable?*

Interrogatee: *(.....)*

Interrogator: *So obviously you have been told what to tell this panel when you get here. Do you know the word duress is used by lawyers in court?*

Interrogatee: *I don't know.*

Interrogator: *So you have been told to emphasise the word duress. And ever since you came .. that's been the word you kept repeating, duress, duress, duress. And now you don't know the meaning of the word you have been emphasizing repeatedly. So, XXXX, I asked you earlier, I don't know how you want to play this game. This is a game that you are playing. Even from the statement that you wrote here, and from your handwriting, it is not easy to see that this is somebody that was beaten and beaten to write this statement. If they are beating you, you cant even concentrate to write anything. Your handwriting here did not show that you were forced to write.*

So, who is lying to whom? What path do you want us to tow?

Interrogatee: *I am not lying sir.*

Interrogator: *You said you do go to church regularly?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *And you know God hates lies?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *So between you and God, are you telling the truth?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *You know God knows you more than us. I can only judge you from what I see you doing. And especially your statement that you wrote at the police station. So between you and God, and the person of the Holy Spirit, do you know that God and Holy Spirit that you believe in and that you serve in the church, you said you are going to church?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *You know that they know you better than all of us?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *And they see you in secret places that we don't see you?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Whether at night or during the day, and they see you when you are saying the truth or telling lies?*

Do you, between you and them now, are you telling us the truth?

Interrogatee: *Am saying the truth.*

Interrogator: *That's your final answer?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator 2: *There is another question I want to ask you about. It is a follow-up to the questions that have been asked here.*

You admitted that you are a cultist under duress?

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *If you were under duress when you were writing the statement at the police station, are you still under duress now?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, when I, when I came to you there you see how I was doing*

Interrogator: *Eh?*

Interrogatee: *When I came to your office then, I was not myself. I could not eat*

Interrogator: *Eh?*

Interrogatee: *I was not myself, I could not eat; I couldn't do anything.*

Interrogator: *So what you are now saying is that you are under duress when you were with the police, and before us you are not yourself. Is that what you are saying now?*

Interrogatee: *I was not myself when I was with the police.*

Interrogator: *So today now, are you yourself?*

Interrogatee: *Am myself today sir.*

Interrogator 2: *And let me tell you one thing. The lawyer was telling that you believe in God, that err you know God knows you. I am a pastor and I can tell you how God reveals the true picture of people to me. Some time ago, a lady told me she was going to her father to do certain things. But before she returned, God told me that it was a lie, and that she was taken to one hotel in the town here by a man, and so on. When I told her she was shocked. She could not have believed that what she was hiding, God has a way of revealing it to me. So let me tell you that you can't deceive us here o. you should think twice o. we may not tell you everything we know. But think twice, this is your life and destiny. Don't destroy it; don't sell it off. We are not deceiving you here. Don't just think that we are gathered here to deceive you. We only want to change you; we want to rehabilitate you. By the grace of God, we have rehabilitated several lives. Mr. Chairman, permit me to give this testimony…… a student just donated to us Wi-Fi from Engineering. That student have a problem and his life would have been destroyed. But someone among us tutored him, mentored him. He told him the way to go and he agreed. Eventually he graduated. Today he is a regional director in Airtel. He is a very rich man, and he is the one that spearheaded that donation to our school today. We are happy today because his life was changed. He's better for it and he could even look back to the University where he has graduated and do something for that University. This is what we thought your life will be. But it's left to you to decide. We will be happier if your decision is positive. That is the essence of what we are saying here. We are not here to deceive you.*

Interrogator 3: *That's a word for the wise.*

Interrogator 4: *Mr. Timson*

Interrogatee: *Yes ma*

Interrogator: *I really sympathize with you o that your late mother, you know when you were in SIIB, myself and err, Dr. Boxman came to SIIB about three times?*

Interrogatee: *Yes ma*

Interrogator: *We came to that place three times to see you. And we were not happy because we could not rescue you out of SIIB. And I was telling you then, I say Timson, if you had told us the truth while you were police custody, that we would have been able to bail you out of the problem. You did not tell us the truth until we got to SIIB. And we are really sad because of your condition then, because we could not get you released. And it was during the case that your mother died too. Because of you your mother died. And today, you are still adamant. Eh? You are still adamant. You want to kill your daddy again?*

Interrogatee: *No ma*

Interrogator: *Or you don't want your life to be reformed?*

Interrogator: *I want .../*

Interrogator: *Please, am just begging you as a mother, because am not just happy about what is happening now. Am almost shedding tears. If your mother could lose her life because of you and your dad, that man, that man, you still want that man, you know what that man passed through that time. In fact, I pity that man. If you see the way they treated him at SIIB then, sleeping under staircase, on bare floor, and the University is trying to get you reformed so that you can finish your education in time, and still make it in life. But I don't know whoever, whoever must have given you this wrong counseling that you should be telling lies here. Because he is not helping you. The person wants to destroy your life. But as a mother, am just begging you in the name of God. The panel is not here to destroy your life. We just want to help you and that's why we have brought you here.*

Interrogatee: *(…….silence)*

Interrogator: *Mr. Timson, what's your lawyer's name?*

Interrogatee: *Mr. BBBB*

Interrogator: *That's your lawyer's name?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *When last did you see him?*

Interrogatee: *Around June.*

Interrogator: *June when?*

Interrogatee: *This June, 2015.*

Interrogator: *When did you speak with him last?*

Interrogatee: *The last time I saw him, that's the last time.*

Interrogator: *Do you have his phone number?*

Interrogatee: *I have his phone number*

Interrogator: *When last did you phone him?*

Interrogatee: *We don't usually call*

Interrogator: *But he's aware you are coming here?*

Interrogatee: *He's not aware.*

Interrogator: *He has a chamber in this town?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Can you tell us the address of his chamber?*

Interrogatee: *Central Market area.*

Interrogator: *That upstairs?*

Interrogatee: *Yes upstairs*

Interrogator: *You are saying his chamber is in that building?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *His chamber is in that building?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *What name does he use for his chamber?*

Interrogatee: *XXXXXX XXXXXX*

Interrogator $_1$: *The lawyer works in XXXXX XXXX. He's an associate.*

Okay, gentlemen. This enrolment or order issued by the court clearly indicates that the case was struck out for lack of diligent prosecution. So it was the prosecution that did not do their work diligently.

Interrogator $_2$: *Exactly. He has not been acquitted at all.*

What we are saying is that you have denied before this panel that you are a cultist?

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *That you admitted to the police that you are a cultist?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *But that that was under duress?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

CASE 8

Interrogator: *You are welcome.*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Can we know you?*

Interrogatee: *My name is Timson Timson*

Interrogator: *What Department?*

Interrogatee: *XXXX XXXX Department*

Interrogator: *Matriculation number?*

Interrogatee: *0000 000 000*

Interrogator 1: *Ladies and gentlemen, can we invite the security in so that they can tell us what they found when they were checking this guy in? You know we always give them instruction to search each suspect's bag before they come in. So when they searched this guy, they found something and I want them to come and brief, show us.*

(Interrogators invited the security men in who showed them what they found on the interrogatee while checking him. The interrogation continues).

Can you identify this bag?

Interrogatee: *It is my own*

Interrogator: *It is your own?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *So what is this?*

Interrogatee: *It is a cross, from the church*

Interrogator: *How does a cross look like?*

Interrogatee: *It is candle and cross*

Interrogator: *Enh?*

Interrogatee: *It is candle and cross*

Interrogator: *Candle and cross?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Are you sure this is the sign of cross?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *Show me, where is the cross?*

Interrogatee: *(Shows him) This is the cross*

Interrogator: *Are you sure?*

Interrogatee: *Am sure. This is the cross; this is a cross; and three candles.*

Interrogator: *Tied with what?*

Interrogatee: *(silence)*

Interrogator 2: *(shouts) Talk now. Simple instruction. If you don't talk I will carry you to the police station now. Tell us the composition of this.*

Interrogatee: *Candle, candle. Cross and thread.*

Interrogator: *How many crosses?*

Interrogatee: *Three crosses*

Interrogator: *How many candles?*

Interrogatee: *Three*

Interrogator: *Then?*

Interrogatee: *Thread*

Interrogator: *So what did they use to tie them?*

Interrogatee: *The thread.*

Interrogator: *Enh?*

Interrogatee: *Thread*

Interrogator: *Who gave you?*

Interrogatee: *My pastor*

Interrogator: *Enh?*

Interrogatee: *My pastor*

Interrogator: *Pastor what?*

Interrogatee: *Pastor XXXX*

Interrogator: *Pastor..?*

Interrogatee: *Pastor XXXX. That's the name.*

Interrogator: *To do what?*

Interrogatee: *(silence)*

Interrogator: *You know, we have sorted that issue of cultism. This is another issue entirely.*

What is the name of the person that gave you?

Interrogatee: *His name is Pastor Timson Timson. He is my pastor.*

Interrogator: *What is his phone number?*

Interrogatee: *I don't have his phone number with me now. But I have it at home.*

Interrogator: *Prophet XXXX of which church?*

Interrogatee: *Celestial Church of Christ,*

Interrogator: *Where?*

Interrogatee: *Lagos.*

Interrogator: *Where in Lagos, be specific now.*

Interrogatee: *Sabo, Lagos*

Interrogator: *But you once said you attend XXXX XXXX church?*

Interrogatee: *I attend XXXX XXXX church in school. But in Lagos, I attend Celestial Church of Christ.*

Interrogator: *So you agree this thing was collected from your bag by the security officer?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *What is the purpose of this thing?*

Interrogatee: *It is for protection.*

Interrogator: *(Laugh). What type of protection?*

Interrogatee: *I just … they saw vision to me.*

Interrogator: *They saw vision to [ ]*

Interrogatee: *[to me]*

Interrogator: *They saw vision?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *What is the basis of the vision?*

Interrogatee: *They just, they just see vision to me, and they said they should take me to the altar and told me to sit down with one candle and prayed for me. The remaining of the candle, I should put the cross and tie it with thread and it should be on my body anywhere I (?).*

Interrogator: *Anywhere you go?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Since when was that?*

Interrogatee: *Since 2014*

Interrogator: *Since 2014, what month in 2014?*

Interrogatee: *Maybe around May/June.*

Interrogator: *Around May/June?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Is very, is, is, is becoming an embarrassing situation, when a simple question is asked and you are trying to be smart. Then you are making all of us to believe that you are not truthful. The most simplest question is the fact that an extraordinary material, because this is not normal with any ordinary person, a reasonable person on the street does not carry something like this about. Now you are carrying this extraordinary material around and a simple question since when have you been carrying it about, and you cannot answer.*

Interrogatee: *Since 2014*

Interrogator: *What month?*

Interrogatee: *Sir I can't recollect the month but I collected it from church.*

Interrogator: *Around what month?*

Interrogatee: *I can't remember the exact month I collect it but am, I know is between June and December, 2014*

Interrogator: *Between June and December, what were you doing?*

Interrogatee: *That's when I went to church.*

Interrogator: *When were you arrested by the police?*

Interrogatee: *March*

Interrogator: *20 what?*

Interrogatee: *2014*

Interrogator: *Was it after this problem that you went to church and they saw vision about you?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *That was June?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *Your arrest was in March?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *And you were released when?*

Interrogatee: *Around April.*

Interrogator: *March you were arrested, April you were released?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *It is normal to worship God, no problem about that. So after you were released, you went to the church and they saw vision about you. And they asked you to be putting this in your pocket at all times. Am I right?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Have you been doing that before that time?*

Interrogatee: *No sir.*

Interrogator: *Has there been any time you forgot to put this on?*

Interrogatee: *No time sir.*

Interrogator: *But why is it wet?*

Interrogatee: *Is not wet. Is always in my pocket.*

Interrogator: *Erh?*

Interrogatee: *Is not wet sir. Is always in my pocket.*

Interrogator: *Where do you put it when you sleep?*

Interrogatee: *My pocket*

Interrogator: *So you sleep with knicker?*

Interrogatee: *No sometimes I sleep, I slept with my jean. So I put in my pocket.*

Interrogator: *You sleep with knicker every night?*

Interrogatee: *No, I sleep with knicker*

Interrogator: *Knicker! Can a knicker have pocket?*

Interrogatee: *No, I sleep with jean*

Interrogator: *Jeans?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *How about the other day that you slept without a jean?*

Interrogatee: *If I don't sleep with the jean, I sleep with this and a Bible.*

Interrogator: *And where do you put it?*

Interrogatee: *I put it in the middle of the Bible, and I put it on my head.*

Interrogator: *What did they tell you is going to happen if you don't put it on?*

Interrogatee: *Nothing. Just protection.*

Interrogator: *Protection for what?*

Interrogatee: *(-----)*

Interrogator: *500 Level student? Protection for what? We didn't train you to be a moron here, we train you to be smart. After 5 years, what is this going to do for you, you mean you didn't ask?*

Interrogatee: *They just said it is for protection. And I didn't ask any further question.*

Interrogator $_2$: *Okay, Mr. XXXX XXXX. You can only deceive yourself, you cannot deceive us. This erm candle and the thing you have here, they gave you when you told them that you have been invited to appear before this panel. So, and erm, the purpose for which you are given is that all of us here should accept everything you say, that is, to tie yourself not us here, so that er whatever you say here should be binding. And I want you to know that most of us that are here are not here as ordinary individuals. We have the emblem of God on our head. We have the barner of God over us, and God speaks to us and we hear from him. So he doesn't leave us. So by the time you were coming for this thing, God spoke to me, and thank God I know your pastor here. You know I mentioned to you prophet the last time. Your prophet had tutored you to come and lie here. You visited prophet and he tutored you to come and say all this all this. So am only advising you, /- s'gbo be yen -/, you really need to invite Jesus into your life. You need to accept Jesus Christ as your Lord and savior. It's only God that can save you from all this kind of err, err, intrigues, satanic intrigues. This is now revealing to you the vanity of what has been given to you. That is the only essence of it. There is only God. By the special grace of God I studied and I know all this kind of thing very well. And all of them are just erm they are satanic emblems. They are satanic items. People believe in them but they are of no meaningful use, no consequence. At best, it's just to ridicule their holders. (?) And I know that all these prophets you are visiting and they are giving you all these, your father is not aware of it. By the time you go back to your father and tell him this and that happened to me, you will worsen his case. That's what I was saying the other time. So am just advising you to know what you are doing. Don't ruin your life and don't let these fake pastors destroy your future. We want you to be a successful person, and nobody*

is interested in destroying your life. These are satanic materials. If you have faith in them then it is to your peril. And we are telling you that that faith is not faith, from the context of God, is not faith. That's just it. The other day I said you should come and see me in my office yet you refused. You need serious counseling. You need to behave and live your life like somebody well trained, like a graduate that knows what he is doing. I once assured your father that by the grace of God, I would take you to a living faith church, we would pray for you, you will be delivered and you will be rehabilitated. You didn't let all these happen. And now you are coming with a candle.

Interrogator: *You know many of us have been in this business for almost 12 years now. There have been cases where students would take the names of their lecturers to big Alfas, so-called prophets and Babalawos because they are performing their institutionally assigned functions. But like he has warned you the Bible says Touch not my anointed, and do my prophet no harm. We even tell our students then, if our purpose of coming here is to redeem your life, if our purpose is to take you back from the way of destruction you have embarked upon, then whatever you do would return back to you. And I just searched the meaning of three crosses from Google now. And what I have here is that sometimes some people would put it on the road where there would be a ghastly motor accident and people will lose their lives. The other one says it represents trinity. The other one says three crosses and candle, you remember when Jesus was crucified on the cross (?). So these are various meanings that I have online.*

Interrogator 3: *Mr. Chairman, that may be intellectual.*

Interrogator: *No I'm coming. You see they, they, they misinterpret the spiritual aspect of it and use it the way they like. Anything about Calvary is about carrying your cross. It is about difficulties, about sorrows, about sadness. And when you go to Calvary you will be delivered as stated in the Book of (?). This one you have with you is not, is not err, is not things that are holy. It is negative. And is unfortunately that at this age you are already going into that. Is too early. Elements of cultism, secrecy, something that any other person may not know but only known to you and other person is*

characteristic of cultism. That's it. So without us actually pursuing you, God has revealed who you are. You have exhibited elements of secrecy, which is the hallmark of cultism. Cultism is about people doing secret thing. What they are doing is only known to few members, not anybody outside their group. If you show this thing to any student on campus now, they will not know it. And therefore what's definition of secret cult, it's something known to you, and your other (.). and we have more than enough evidence from what you have told us.

Interrogatee: *Sir am not doing anything secret.*

Interrogator: *No it's secret because people on the streets do not know it.*

Can you show it where they are worshiping there?

Interrogatee: *(...)*

Interrogator: */- So ewure l'o ma so ibi t'a ma fokunsi lara e -/. So we pray, we fast before coming here. /- Mi i ti fi epo kan enu mi -/ since morning. /- Iwo lo je ka soro debi oro wa -/. If I have serious assignment like this I know how I do it, ditto for all. So God is the one protecting everyone. We were worrying that you would not let us make a headway in what we are doing. But God has just used a simple thing to show who you are, the characteristics of secret and diabolic people. If I ask people around to tell me what three candles on a cross means, they will tell me, and I mean it.*

Anyway, so do you still insist you are not a cultist?

Interrogatee: *Sir I am not a cultist sir.*

Interrogator: *You have never been involved in cultism even before your admission into this university?*

Interrogatee: *I have never been involved.*

Interrogator: *Do you have any of your friends who is a cultist?*

Interrogatee: *No sir.*

Interrogator: *Are you aware of any cult group or cult members in this university?*

Interrogatee: *No sir. I don't know anyone.*

Interrogator: *So why were you arrested by the police?*

Interrogatee: *I was in a birthday party with some of my friends. Two guys were fighting and it later escalated to the extent that policemen were invited. So all of us are arrested by police. It is not that we are cult members.*

Interrogator: *Do you know one Batman Batman?*

Interrogatee: *No sir. I don't know him.*

Interrogator: *What of Boxman Boxman?*

Interrogatee: *I don't know him*

Interrogator: *Were you not on the campus on 24th April this year?*

Interrogatee: *That day, I was in Lagos. My mum was sick and all of us children were called to come around. I haven't even finished my exam then. But I have to leave because am the eldest among the children. I was not in school that day sir.*

Interrogator: *Are you really sure you will tell this panel the truth?*

Interrogatee: *Why not sir. I will.*

CASE 9

Interrogator: *How are you?*

Interrogatee: *Fine sir*

Interrogator: *You have to speak loud so that we can all hear you please. Good morning.*

Interrogatee: *Morning sir*

Interrogator: *Please give us your name, matric number and level*

Interrogatee: *I am . A 300 Level student. Matric Number XXXXX*

Interrogator: *And your Department?*

Interrogatee: *Mechanical Engineering sir*

Interrogator: *So welcome to this interaction. You have been invited to come and give us your own side of the story on the fighting between you and another student recently. Is that clear to you?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *So can you tell this panel what happened?*

Interrogatee: *Thank you sir. On that fateful day, I was in the hostel when Titus came to our room. Me I was trying to sleep so that I can wake up and go for night class that evening. So there was an argument in the room and it was like, the guys were just disturbing me. I begged them that they should…/*

Interrogator: *Who were they?*

Interrogatee: *As in, Titus and other guys in the room.*

Interrogator: *Do you stay together with Titus in that room?*

Interrogatee: *No sir. He has his own house. He stays off-campus*

Interrogator: *So he came for a visit to your room in the hostel?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Who did he visit?*

Interrogatee: *Titus and Titus, they ae my room mates*

Interrogator: *Are you a legal occupant of that room?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Please go on*

Interrogatee: *So I was trying to tell them that I wanted to sleep a bit but they didn't reason along with me.*

Interrogator: *They were still making noise in the room?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *How many were they then?*

Interrogatee: *I think, they were like, yes 5 of them*

Interrogator: *So you were the only person that didn't join them?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *And what were they actually discussing?*

Interrogatee: *Sports sir*

Interrogator: *Go on*

Interrogatee: *So, when I discovered that they were not ready to listen to me, I just went outside to one of the rooms around.*

Interrogator: *You left them in the room?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Then?*

Interrogatee: *So after a while, like 19 minutes, I went back into the room because the guys in the room where I went to wanted to go out and they didn't want to leave me in the room.*

Interrogator: *Do you still remember the room number?*

Interrogatee: *Very well sir*

Interrogator: *And you remember those in that room that evening?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *Please go on*

Interrogatee: *So when I got there they were still arguing. I then tried to, as in jokingly, push out of the room so that others can reduce their noise.*

Interrogator: *How do you mean jokingly?*

Interrogatee: *Just to like joking with him. Just held his right hand like this and was just trying to take him out of the room.*

Interrogator: *So?*

Interrogatee: *The next thing was, he just gave me a slap, and I was like. I couldn't just understand what was going on.*

Interrogator: *So what happened next?*

Interrogatee: *I still did not say anything but when others were saying that served me right, it was then I knew it was a planned attack.*

Interrogator: *You mean that slapped you?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Without doing anything to him?*

Interrogatee: *I was just joking with him now that he should please go so that we can rest../*

Interrogator: *And the next thing is slapping?*

Interrogatee: *I was surprised sir.*

Interrogator: *Can you explain further what you mean by a planned attack?*

Interrogatee: *Because it was like all of them against me.*

Interrogator: *Did the other students in the room also slap or beat you?*

Interrogatee: *No sir but they were like, happy because nobody condemned what he did.*

Interrogator: *Were you having issues with any of your room mates prior to that time?*

Interrogatee: *Not really sir*

Interrogator: *So what happened next after the slapping?*

Interrogatee: *I slapped my own back*

Interrogator: *Then?*

Interrogatee: *We started fighting*

Interrogator: *So what were other people in the room doing then?*

Interrogatee: *They were supporting him against me. They were all beating me for him.*

Interrogator: *You mean all of them were against you?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *So what happened next?*

Interrogatee: *He first wounded me, and later one of the iron that one of them wanted to use to hit me just hit and blood was gushing out. So that's how they rushed him to the hospital. But I was seriously wounded too.*

Interrogator: *Mr. , it will be of great help to you if you can just stop pretending and lying, and just tell this panel the truth as it happened. You know we have interacted with Titus and most of the students in your room on this case?*

Interrogatee: *I know sir*

Interrogator: *We have even gone ahead to invite some other students who witnessed what happened that day to testify before this panel. Are you with me?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *So you will doing yourself a great disservice if everything you are telling us is running contrary to what many other students who saw what happened have told us. What that will mean is that you are not a witness of truth, which is another offence as a student of this University. So you better be careful, okay?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *People have come here and said that they forced out of your hand when you wanted to kill him, are you saying they were telling lies?*

Interrogatee: *Sir that's not true sir. It was him and his friends in the room beating me with sticks and iron.*

Interrogator: *They have confirmed that they used force to get the rod you were holding out of your hand that time, you mean that's also wrong?*

Interrogatee: *I didn't carry any rod. It was them beating me.*

Interrogator: *They have also testified that blood was gushing out of his head before he was rushed to the health centre, which you have also confirmed, haven't you?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *So who is lying here now you or those witnesses?*

Interrogatee: *I didn't beat him with any rod*

Interrogator: *Now when they were making so much noise in the room and were disturbing you, shouldn't you have reported to officially either to the Security Unit or the House warden?*

Interrogatee: *(… silence)*

Interrogator: *What were students instructed to do when a fellow student is trying to cause them problems?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, I didn't cause it. I even wanted to go and report but they started the fight sir.*

Interrogator: *Do you know it is an offence to fight on the campus?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *And you know what the regulation says about that in this University?*

Interrogatee: *(… silence)*

Interrogator: *Assuming had died that day, you think you yourself will be alive today?*

Interrogatee: *Sorry sir but it was not me that hit him with rod sir*

Interrogator: *And you come here only to tell lies?*

Interrogatee: *Am saying the truth sir*

Interrogator: *You see, many of you students are very careless and don't value human life. A child well brought up from home will never be involved in this kind of shameful act. No society will allow things like this to go on because it*

can often lead to loss of lives. All students have been advised and warned against such acts. That is the essence of the orientation and series of counselling that we do for every new students after their registration. If after all the sermonisations and counseling we still have students like you who prove adamant and recalcitrant, then the University will have to use its instrumentality to deal with them, because the university is not meant for animals.

Interrogatee: *Sir, I didn't cause the fight that day, and I didn't hit him with iron rod sir.*

Interrogator: *Our worry about you is how about five other students would have to be against you in the room and that would escalate into serious fight. Since when have you been having issues with them in the room?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, I just can't understand them. I just like to go my way but because they all speak the same language, they will be abusing me with their language and they will all be laughing at me.*

Interrogator: *How do you, I mean how did you know they are abusing you in their language afterall you don't speak the language?*

Interrogatee: *I know sir*

Interrogator: *So is it because you are not from the same ethnic background that you are having issues against each other?*

Interrogatee: *I just don't know, can't understand.*

Interrogator: *Your physical appearance suggests that you are not a gentle guy at all, are you?*

Interrogatee: *Am a gentle student sir. I have never had any issue with anybody in this campus*

Interrogator: *Can you mention some of your very close friends on campus?*

Interrogatee: *Titus, Manas and../*

Interrogator: *From your department?*

Interrogatee: *No sir*

Interrogator: *They are in which department?*

Interrogatee: *Titus is in Engineering, Manas is in Chemistry*

Interrogator: *Can you prove it that you are not a cultist?*

Interrogatee: *I am not a cultist sir.*

Interrogator: *But you do smoke now?*

Interrogatee: *Smoke?*

Interrogator: *Yes don't you smoke?*

Interrogatee: *I do smoke sir*

Interrogator: *And you take alcohol too?*

Interrogatee: *Yes but just small quantity*

Interrogator: *And what is the difference, little quantity and large quantity?*

Interrogatee: *(… silence)*

Interrogator: *It is only cultists who easily get angry at the slightest provocation am I wrong?*

Interrogatee: *Am not a cultist sir*

Interrogator: *It is only cultists that don't quit fights unless they see blood or a life is lost, don't you agree?*

Interrogatee: *(… silence) am not a cultist sir*

Interrogator: *The information at our disposal shows that that was not, not the first time you would be fighting a fellow student, can you disprove that?*

Interrogatee: *I have never fought anyone in this school*

Interrogator: *That you are so aggressive and violent in your relationship with other students in the hostel, isn't that correct?*

Interrogatee: *It is not sir*

Interrogator: *So on that day, it was not that the other students were making noise because students in the next room claimed they weren't aware of such noisy argument. You think they are telling lies?*

Interrogatee: *That is not true sir*

Interrogator: *It seems you want to prove difficult for us the way you are answering questions and frowning your face. You really don't know the problem you are in. You think it is joke to fight on campus, wound a fellow student to the point of admission in the hospital and yet telling lies to this panel?*

Interrogatee: *Am sorry sir*

Interrogator: *All information and reports clearly indicate that you caused the tussle, and that you injured an innocent student in the course of the fight. We have evidence to prove that. So you have no hiding place, say the truth and let's close your case. Or you still have more lies to tell?*

Interrogatee: *Am not lying sir*

Interrogator: *Now do you know that the porters were on duty in the hostel that evening?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Do you know their responsibilities in the hostel?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *So you don't know that they witnessed what happened that day?*

Interrogatee: *I know sir*

Interrogator: *And you think they will not testify on the case before this panel?*

Interrogatee: *(… silence)*

Interrogator: *Can you see this document?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *That's the report from the Hall warden on the case, or you don't believe?*

Interrogatee: *I do sir*

Interrogator: *Now have a look at this picture. Can you identify the persons there?*

Interrogatee: *(....)*

Interrogator: *Can't you talk?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir sorry*

Interrogator: *Who is this?*

Interrogatee: *It is me sir*

Interrogator: *And this?*

Interrogatee: *Titus sir*

Interrogator: *So you can see that the only saving grace is for you say the truth so that your punishment can be softened for you. But if you still want to be lying, you can continue so that your punishment can be full. And, mind you, this panel will simply report to Management that you are not truthful and that you are guilty. So you will just be suspended or rusticated straight away. And that will be an unsuccessful end of your studies here. So you can continue deceiving yourself.*

Interrogatee: *Please sir, am very sorry sir.*

Interrogator: *Why are you sorry? /- Sebi -/ you are smart now.*

Interrogatee: *Am not smart sir. Am sorry sir*

Interrogator: *So what new thing do you want to tell us before we send you away?*

Interrogatee: *Sorry sir*

Interrogator: *Are you are ready to tell us the truth now?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *So how did it happen?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, Like I said, me I wanted to sleep so that I can go for night class.*

Interrogator: *En enh?*

Interrogatee: *But they were making noise so I couldn't sleep. Me and .. we had an issue before. So as he was making noise, I just decided to show him that am not the coward type.*

Interrogator: *And then?*

Interrogatee: *I actually hit him first and he retaliated.*

Interrogator: *How did you hit him?*

Interrogatee: *I actually boxed him on the head*

Interrogator: *And how did he retaliate?*

Interrogatee: *He also hit me on the neck and we started fighting*

Interrogator: *Is it true that all other students in the room were beating you?*

Interrogatee: *No sir. It was only me with him*

Interrogator: *So it was not that their noise was so much as to cause a fight?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *But because you and had issues before, you just wanted to show him, right?*

Interrogatee: *Yes but am very sorry sir*

Interrogator: *So how did the issue of iron rod arise?*

Interrogatee: *rushed to take the iron rod because I was stronger than him.*

Interrogator: *Yes?*

Interrogatee: *But I was able to snatch it from him. He actually wanted to use it to injure me.*

Interrogator: *And after snatching it from him?*

Interrogatee: *I didn't just know how it happened that I hit him with it.*

Interrogator: *You now admit you hit him with the rod?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *And you agree that the hitting resulted in a serious injury on his head?*

Interrogatee: *Am very sorry sir*

Interrogator: *Do you know that some other students were planning to attack you to avenge what you did to him?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *And you know that could have led to a serious crisis on campus?*

Interrogatee: *Sure*

Interrogator: *Okay. So you admit you have caused a serious injury to a fellow student on campus?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. Please forgive me sir.*

Interrogator: *You also know that the student was hospitalized for a long period as a result of that?*

Interrogatee: *I know sir*

Interrogator: *But you also know it is an offence to fight on campus?*

Interrogatee: *I know sir*

Interrogator: *Do you regret doing what you did at all?*

Interrogatee: *I do sir. I even wanted to go and beg him at home but they said his father could harm me, that's why.*

Interrogator: *Alright. Now you have confessed that truly you fought a fellow student called …?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *And that you injured him to the point of hospital admission?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *You have also confessed that you started the fight?*

Interrogatee: *I did*

Interrogator: *You said you know it is an offence to fight on campus?*

Interrogatee: *I know sir*

Interrogator: *But you have been regretting your action?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

CASE 10

Interrogator: *So what's your name?*

Interrogatee: *My name is Timson Timson*

Interrogator: *What Department?*

Interrogatee: *XXXX Department*

Interrogator: *Faculty?*

Interrogatee: *XXXX CCCC*

Interrogator: *Matric number?*

Interrogatee: *BBBB VVVV*

Interrogator: *Why is your Matric Number BBBB VVVV*

Interrogatee: *I entered in year 2009*

Interrogator: *And what level are you in now?*

Interrogatee: *400 level*

Interrogator: *Enh?*

Interrogatee: *400 Level*

Interrogator: *Why are you here?*

Interrogatee: *Erm this morning I got to, got to my Department. I was expecting someone, so Secretary call me and now explained to me that I have a letter. So this morning she gave out the letter to me that (.) I should write original copy received by me. Then I asked him about the whole thing and she said there's going to be a meeting here, that when I get here, I will know everything.*

Interrogator $_1$*:* *Please you are talking like baby, how do you want us to hear you?*

Interrogatee: *Sorry. My HOD, my secretary served me this letter this morning [ ]*

Interrogator: *Your departmental secretary not your secretary!*

Interrogatee: *Sorry the departmental secretary, my departmental secretary serve me this letter this morning., that (.) I should write original copy received by me which I did. He said there's going to be a meeting here by 10 O'clock, that I should be here by 10 O'clock.*

Interrogator: *You collected the letter?*

Interrogatee: *Yes, this morning.*

Interrogator: *What's your real name?*

Interrogatee: *My real name, Timson Timson*

Interrogator: *And your matric number?*

Interrogatee: *0000 0000*

Interrogator: *So why are you here, okay they've got that. Is that the reason why you are here?*

Interrogatee: *Honestly, that's all I know. I don't know any other thing.*

Interrogator: *What is in your letter? Read it and let's hear it.*

Interrogatee: *"Committee on cult-related activities. The underlisted students who were (?)*

Interrogator: *Speak up now*

Interrogatee: *The underlisted students who were suspected to belong to different cult groups on campus are hereby invited to appear before the above-named panel on Monday 21st September, 2015 by 10. a.m. in the Old Council Chamber.*

Interrogator: *So you know the reason why you are here?*

Interrogatee: *Just, I knew the reason but*

Interrogator: *Enh?*

Interrogatee: *I just got this this morning I have not (?)*

Interrogator: *I have not asked you when. Do you know the reason why you are here now?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *What is the reason now?*

Interrogatee: *On cult-related activities.*

Interrogator: *That you have been suspected to be a cultist.*

Interrogatee: *Me sir?*

Interrogator: *Yes. Are you not a cultist?*

Interrogatee: *No. Am not a cultist sir*

Interrogator: *Enh enh. That's what we are asking you.*

Interrogatee: *Am not a cultist*

Interrogator: *And what are you?*

Interrogatee: *Am a student.*

Interrogator: *Where do you stay?*

Interrogatee: *I stay in my, I stay in XXXX for now*

Interrogator: *Where were you staying before?*

Interrogatee: *Erm, XXXX*

Interrogator: *Enh enh. There was an incident at XXXX on (?) 2014, when some smoking guys had a serious fracas and you were one of them.*

Interrogatee: *Am ah, I was not there*

Interrogator: *We have evidence here.*

Interrogatee: *I stayed inside XXXX. And there's nothing like that. I've never even heard such thing like that.*

Interrogator: *The incident occurred in XXXX, in an uncompleted building where you and some other students were suspected, or alleged to have been smoking Hindian Hemp [ ]*

Interrogatee: *[Sorry sir]*

Interrogator: *In fact, a crisis broke out that day and er, the landlord were involved, the police, and you are one of the suspects. So tell us the story.*

Interrogatee: *I am not aware of the story. If there's anybody that can testify that I am one of them, maybe (.) am sorry sir maybe the person can come and prove it because this is the first time am hearing this kind of issues sir.*

Interrogator: *Do you smoke?*

Interrogatee: *I do sir*

Interrogator: *Do you drink?*

Interrogatee: *Er, I drink, but that was (…)*

Interrogator: *Who is Timson Timson?*

Interrogatee: *Timson?*

Interrogator: *Yes. Do you know him?*

Interrogatee: *I don't know anybody called Timson*

Interrogator: *Timson Timson in your Department*

Interrogatee: *In my former Department, I don't know anybody like that*

Interrogator: *Enh?*

Interrogatee: *No sir.*

Interrogator: *Do you know Boxman Boxman?*

Interrogatee: *Boxman Boxman*

Interrogator: *Yes Boxman Boxman*

Interrogatee: *Yea, I know him*

Interrogator: *How do you know him?*

Interrogatee: *He is … Building, FST student, because he is a friend to one of my old secondary school mates.*

Interrogator: *Who is that person?*

Interrogatee: *His name is Timson Timson*

Interrogator: *So you wrote the name down somewhere?*

Interrogatee: *No, is my (?)*

Interrogator: *What's your relationship with him?*

Interrogatee: *He is my secondary school mate.*

Interrogator: *So who is Boxman?*

Interrogatee: *He is just a fried sha, because I knew Boxman through that Timson my secondary school mate.*

Interrogator: *You used to visit joints?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *What beer do you take?*

Interrogatee: *Normal beers*

Interrogator: *Hm?*

Interrogatee: *Normal beer sir, like star, Smirnoff and so on.*

Interrogator: *Which is your preference?*

Interrogatee: *Sir?*

Interrogator: *Your preference: star, stout, guilder?*

Interrogatee: *No am not that alcoholic person, just occasionally*

Interrogator: *Or you drink anyone you see anytime?*

Interrogatee: *Nooo. Just occasionally when I go out, or maybe there is a party like that.*

Interrogator: *So what is the proof that you are not a cultist?*

Interrogatee: *Sir am surprised. Am not a cultist sir. I was even asking these security men outside that because I don't understand, as in am surprised to see this kind of thing. Am not a cultist. I have never belong and I have never invited to join any cult.*

Interrogator: *What is your relationship with Timson Timson?*

Interrogatee: *I don't, I have never heard of that name*

Interrogator: *He has been part of (?) before*

Interrogatee: *I don't know*

Interrogator: *Mr. XXXX*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *We have information that you stay in the same Lodge with XXXX BBBB, that the two of you are very close.*

Interrogatee: *Sir, I stay the same Lodge, I don't, as in am the only person that stay in that place. That hmm, BBBB, hmm that is my friend, he stay in CCC area.*

Interrogator: *What of Timson1, Timson2 and Timson3 because they are also friends of XXXX?*

Interrogatee: *I don't know any of them*

Interrogator: *That BBBB that is your friend ../*

Interrogatee: */ I have not seen him this semester*

Interrogator: *That's not what am saying*

Interrogatee: *Okay*

Interrogator: *What am saying is that er, do you know that BBBB is, who is your friend, is also a friend to Timson1, Timson2 and Timson3 and all of them stay in the same house?*

Interrogatee: *Okay sir*

Interrogator: *And you go there regularly to visit [ ]*

Interrogatee: *[I don't go there regularly sir]*

Interrogator: *How often do you go there?*

Interrogatee: *We are in, when I was in my former Department, we do see very well. Because the reason why we are even. Because that area is like I stay in Green roof area and he stays in Redemption Church area. So the lodge is just like beside each other. That was when I was in my first, before I changed.*

Interrogator: *Because I wanted to show you, if you do go there regularly let us know*

Interrogatee: *No.*

Interrogator: *Because if we call them now and ask them, if they say that you do go there regularly it will be a different thing because we will not believe anything you say here again.*

Interrogatee: *No. I have already explained everything sir. I don't used to go there regularly. Even that my friend I have not seen him this semester because since I have changed department, we have not been having time to see each other like before.*

Interrogator: *Are you very sure you are saying the truth?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. We used to stay very close together at my former lodge because our lodge were close to each other.*

Interrogator: *So in your relationship with BBBB, you didn't relate very closely with Timson1, Timson2 and Timson3?*

Interrogatee: *No. I know BBBB through Timson, and that's all. It is not as if we used to relate so closely.*

Interrogator: *But una de smoke together, that's what we are saying.*

Interrogatee: *Sir?*

Interrogator: *All of you do smoke together, don't you?*

Interrogatee: *I don't smoke. I can't even smoke because I have a swollen gum here*

Interrogator: *You have what?*

Interrogatee: *I have a swollen gum in my mouth. So I cannot smoke.*

Interrogator: *Swollen gum?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Since when have you been having swollen gum?*

Interrogatee: *That was in JSS 2*

Interrogator: *Your gum swells?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *But you are still taking cold beer with your swollen gum now?*

Interrogatee: *Sir?*

Interrogator: *You still take cold beer, don't you?*

Interrogatee: *Sometimes sir.*

Interrogator: *But you know Indian Hemp doesn't help you?*

Interrogatee: *Even I have been warned not to take beer anymore by my dad here. There was a day he saw me drinking and he was very annoyed. Since that day I have been avoiding beer.*

Interrogator: *It's just that you are reducing it, not that you are not taking it at all again, am I right?*

Interrogatee: *Ma I can't lie to you because you asked me a question and am trying to explain the true position of things.*

Interrogator: *It's a serious offence o, smoking?*

Interrogatee: *I don't smoke sir. I can show you the gum. I can't lie, I can't even eat some certain food, some food like eba, garri,*

Interrogator: *And you say you take alcohol?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *You are a Muslim?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir, am a Muslim*

Interrogator: *You are a Muslim, and you are still taking alcohol and smoking, as a Muslim?*

Interrogatee: *I take alcohol but I don't take Indian Hemp.*

Interrogator: *Oga student, we pity you because of your academics. This university is not interested in expelling or dismissing you on account of anything. It will be our joy that every student that we admit gets our degrees. But in some cases, you students go out of the normal way to cause problem for yourselves. Now we have information that you are a member of a*

particular cult group. And we are looking for ways of assisting you so that you can graduate but you are not coming straight.

Are you a cultist?

Interrogatee: *I am not a cultist sir. I don't even know anything about it. I have never been a member and am not even intending to join. Am not a cultist.*

Interrogator: *You know, it is easy for students who confess and show signs of remorse and readiness to renounce, because the university will simply pardon such students. In your own case now, you are not ready to confess or tell the truth. The simple reason why we are here is to give you a soft landing, so that all difficult punishments can be mitigated.*

So, which cult do you belong to?

Interrogatee: *I don't belong to any cult sir. I don't belong to any cult and I have never been a member of any cult.*

Interrogator: *Enh?*

Interrogatee: *I have never invited to any cult. I have not even been interested.*

Interrogator: *You have not been initiated?*

Interrogatee: *I have never.*

Interrogator: *Enh?*

Interrogatee: *Never. I have never been initiated.*

Interrogator: *And you want us to believe you?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir because am not and I have never been a member.*

Interrogator: *Do you have reasons, or convincing evidence why we must believe you?*

Interrogatee: *Sir I am not a cultist. And am saying the truth.*

Interrogator: *The evidence we have here shows that you have some friends, and we have mentioned them to you. That you and those friends of yours do drink and smoke together, and that there was a particular day that a crisis*

ensued when you were all together and it was violent. Are you saying all these are not true?

Interrogatee: *Not true sir.*

Interrogator: *If we know your friends, and we see that you used to do everything in common, then we can assume that whatever anyone of you does, others will likely do. So that is the area you are going to look at so that you can know what to do and how to convince this panel that you are a cultist, although you are a friend to some persons who have been suspected to be cultists.*

Interrogatee: *Sir, that time when we stay together, I have never, the only event I've seen is that sometime I do hear people say maybe he do smoke*

Interrogator: *We can't hear you please. Speak louder*

Interrogatee: *I said ma I've never, I've never seen him smoke Indian Hemp before. Is only cigarette I have caught him with. I don't know about any other thing.*

Interrogator: *Even as he smokes, he drinks, you still like to be a friend to him?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, let me (.), is not, is not that he is my close friend like that, is because he was my senior when we were in secondary school.*

Interrogator: *What baffles us is that as a Muslim you are moving very closely with somebody who smokes Indian Hemp and drinks. So assuming there is a crisis somewhere they will not arrest you with him?*

Interrogatee: *Is true sir.*

Interrogator: *Well our advice is that henceforth you better stay away from such persons otherwise you will land yourself in very serious troubles and it will be difficult to get out of it. Is that okay?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Are you a practicing Muslim?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *You said you live in XXXX?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Where do you pray?*

Interrogatee: *Beside my landlord house. There is a mosque there.*

Interrogator: *In XXXX area?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Who is your landlord?*

Interrogatee: *Dr. Timson, Timson*

Interrogator: *So Dr. Timson Timson knows you very well?*

Interrogatee: *I was one of his tenants*

Interrogator: *You were?*

Interrogatee: *One of the tenants in his house. Former one of his tenants.*

Interrogator: *Can he make any recommendations on you?*

Interrogatee: *He can.*

Interrogator: *So why did you leave his house?*

Interrogatee: *Just because of the location, and my current course. So that I can be close to most of my new coursemates.*

Interrogator: *So where you were living is where Dr. Timson house his three wives?*

Interrogatee: *He doesn't even have three wives. Is only one wife up till now.*

Interrogator: *You know some students know you to be a cultist?*

Interrogatee: *No student can say am a cultist sir. I've said it sir. If anybody say am a cultist, please let the person come and prove it. Because am surprised. I am not a cultist, I have never been invited to join a cult, I don't have any friend that is a cultist. Am so worried and very surprise sir.*

Interrogator: *So we can invite two students to testify?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. I know what am saying. Am not a cultist*

Interrogator: *And if they testify with prove and evidence, you know you will not graduate from this university?*

Interrogatee: *I know sir. Please let them come and prove it. I know am not a cultist and I don't have anything to do with secret cult whether on campus or anywhere. That's why I don't even have many friends because you can't predict what any guy could do at any time.*

Interrogator: *Okay, you can go. But write a statement of everything that you have said here and give the secretary.*

CASE 12:

Interrogator: *Can you introduce yourself?*

Interrogatee: *My name is Timson Timson*

Interrogator: *Matriculation number?*

Interrogatee: *0000 0000*

Interrogator: *Which church do you attend?*

Interrogatee: *I attend St. Cathedral Church*

Interrogator: *You don't attend the Catholic church here?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir because their service is very very early there. Their service in Cathedral is around 10. So I used to go there.*

Interrogator: *8. O'clock is very early?*

Interrogatee: *Yes.*

Interrogator: *When were you attending your lectures here, when you were in school?*

Interrogatee: *Because if I go lecture from Monday to Saturday, then on Sunday I would still go to mass by 8 O'clock so my body will be already tired.*

Interrogator: *So tell us about yourself and speak loud. What is your name?*

Interrogatee: *Timson Timson*

Interrogator: *Your matric number?*

Interrogatee: *0000 0000*

Interrogator: *Hm?*

Interrogatee: *0000 0000*

Interrogator: *Do you know why you are here?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Tell us*

Interrogatee: *It was, let me just refer back to 2012, because since 2012..*

Interrogator: *In a simple sentence*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *And I want you to be straightforward.*

Interrogatee: *No problem, there is no even time.*

Interrogator: *Who tell you there is no time?*

Interrogatee: *Because what I want to say will not take time.*

Interrogator: *So in one sentence*

Interrogatee: *Is based on the cultism that happened in 2012, because I was forced to do it. I was staying at Stateline then..*

Interrogator: *What did you do? You have not even addressed the issue before us. The issue is you are brought here because of the allegation that you were a cultist. Is that not it?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Are you a cultist?*

Interrogatee: *They forced me.*

Interrogator: *We don't need to put words in his mouth. Somebody has helped you now. So, why are you here?*

Interrogatee: *It was based on 2012, I was..*

Interrogator: *No no no. You have missed the road..*

Interrogatee: *It was based on the cultism case that happened in 2012. That I was errm, I was, I was arrested at SIIB about the cultism case. They forced me, because before I went with them I was already being forced so I was in ..*

Interrogator: *Mr. Chairman, it will make things easy if he answers my question. You were alleged to be a member of a cult group?*

Interrogatee: *Yes.*

Interrogator: *Which cult group?*

Interrogatee: *Black Axe.*

Interrogator: *Black Axe?*

Interrogatee: *I was forced to join.*

Interrogator: *You were forced to be a member?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Oh, so you were a member?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *So you know, here we are asked to interact with you, get more information concerning your involvement in cultism*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *the reason why we have to do that is because the name of the University is very very important*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *And then, we are here as a father and mother to make sure your life is better; to make sure you become a better person in life. And so whatever you need to say here, you must have that at the back of your mind*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *That these people you are looking at, they have to sacrifice their time, energy and everything they have to be able to protect the name of this University, and protect you as an individual. And that is important. So you tell us the truth within a short period of time so that we will be able to round up.*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *So, who forced you?*

Interrogatee: *It was erm, this boy, Timson2 with this guy that were doing..*

Interrogator: *What are their full names?*

Interrogatee: *Boxman Boxman*

Interrogator: *Boxman what?*

Interrogatee: *Timson Timson, is an Edo boy (spells the names).*

Interrogator: *What Department?*

Interrogatee: *He was in engineering sha*

Interrogator: *Has he graduated?*

Interrogatee: *No. All of us we were in 300 level then.*

Interrogator: *Ok. What's the other person's name?*

Interrogatee: *The other person is Timson Timson*

Interrogator: *Timson Timson?*

Interrogatee: *Yes. But that one is not a student. He was doing UDS. So I don't know because after 2012 they just called me back to school so I have not been seeing any of them since that time.*

Interrogator: *And what course was he studying then?*

Interrogatee: *He was studying computer science*

Interrogator: *So these are the people that forced you?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *And they are stronger than you?*

Interrogatee: *Aah, if you see them sir. I was, it was, I won't lie to you..*

Interrogator: *Wait, wait. Wait. They forced you into the group?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *And they initiated you?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Ok, into Black Axe?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *There is a belief that Black Axe never forces anybody.*

Interrogatee: *Aah! It's a lie o. They used to force people*

Interrogator: *So when they forced you, you are now alleged during what session. They forced you when?*

Interrogatee: *2012, June, June 13 / 14 sha. Because that day was a Friday. I went out after I get home. So I met them there. At the Gate here.*

Interrogator: *That was 2012?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *When did the student Affairs invite you? Or when did you find your name on the board?*

Interrogatee: *They came to the police station down there to snap me..*

Interrogator: *That was when you were there?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir because when we had problem it was my elder brother that called them, that there were so so so student at police station. That he couldn't leave his working place to come. So he now had to call the school. It was now the school now came and they collected our information there.*

Interrogator: *So it was the police that arrested you?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Are you saying it that night that you were initiated that you were arrested?*

Interrogatee: *Noo. I said June, I said June 13 / 14 that was when they forced me. I got arrested July 25th.*

Interrogator: *So tell us how you were forced.*

Interrogatee: *It was around thereabout nine to ten at this North gate*

Interrogator: *You were arrested in July 2012?*

Interrogatee: *Yes.*

Interrogator: *A month after your initiation?*

Interrogatee: *Yes. Two weeks, July 25th. That was when I got arrested.*

Interrogator: *Okay tell us what happened.*

Interrogatee: *So is it after I got arrested or before?*

Interrogator: *No at the time you were being forced to join.*

Interrogatee: *Okay, so they now took me like going out or something. So there was a..*

Interrogator: *Hmm, we don't understand.*

Interrogatee: *No as in the bar that I was drinking, they came to me.*

Interrogator: *You met them there?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *And you don't know them before?*

Interrogatee: *Yes, I don't know them.*

Interrogator: *And you were alone drinking?*

Interrogatee: *I was alone drinking.*

Interrogator: *Drinking what?*

Interrogatee: *I was just drinking beer.*

Interrogator: *What sort of beer?*

Interrogatee: *Star. Star.*

Interrogator: *So all alone you can go outside and drink beer?*

Interrogatee: *You see that's why I even ,,*

Interrogator: *Do your parents know that you drink at home?*

Interrogatee: *I used to drink beer at home. My dad knows.*

Interrogator: *Your dad drinks?*

Interrogatee: *Yes, my dad drinks*

Interrogator: *Is your father living with your mother?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *What work was your father doing?*

Interrogatee: *Is a teacher.*

Interrogator: *Where?*

Interrogatee: *In one secondary school in Lagos sir*

Interrogator: *Your mother is what?*

Interrogatee: *My mother is a trader.*

Interrogator: *Are you the number one child?*

Interrogatee: *Am second to the last*

Interrogator: *Are you the only boy?*

Interrogatee: *No, we were five boys and a girl.*

Interrogator: *And you are the number one?*

Interrogatee: *The fifth*

Interrogator: *What's the name of the bar where you were drinking that day?*

Interrogatee: *I can't really remember the name because it was since 2012, but I know the place.*

Interrogator: *Where?*

Interrogatee: *They just got it opened, as in, that time. At the back of that place where they used to carry motor to Lagos. At this North gate, at the back. There was a nearby, this thing, empty building there. So they just like how far they want to see me. And the next thing, I was thinking maybe they wanted to like (?). So I wanted to like accompany them.*

Interrogator: *And you left your drinks there?*

Interrogatee: *I left the drinks there because I wanted to even drink more, and my house was not even far from there. When I now followed them, what they just did, they just, from the back, they just kicked me. I just fell to the floor and*

say okay o what's going on what's going on. And they were two. When I, it was XXXX that I punched, the second one now took stick and hit my waist with it and I fell to the floor. They said what will happen is that I should give them my phone and every thing. I was there, they hold me down for about one hour there. They were controlling some other people there but I know only one guy there the name is Arnod. That's the only one I know there. He was the one that now came.

Interrogator: *Is he one of the students?*

Interrogatee: *Yes. They controlled him from town.*

Interrogator: *They called him to come?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *So they are three.*

Interrogatee: *Yes.*

Interrogator: *What's the name of the third person now?*

Interrogatee: *I know him as Arnod. I don't know his real name.*

Interrogator: *Arnod?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. He's tall and giant like this. So he was the one. From there, they now, they put, the clothe I wore, they removed it. They collected my phone and they collected my 1500 naira. I did not even pay for the beer I drank that day. It was the next day that I paid the woman. But the woman didn't know what happened. She was just laughing. So that was what really happened. So since then, I have been running away from them.*

Interrogator: *I don't understand, they initiated you there?*

Interrogatee: *Yes. It is by beating. They were there about more than three hours beating me. I was standing on, I was punching them, they were punching me back.*

Interrogator: *That was around 9 p.m.?*

Interrogatee: *The time was past nine then. It was around eleven. So after they did that, they were now like, they said they were trying to test my physical*

whatever that since am good that I was already a member. I say how? They said they were going to call me. So it was that July 25th that they then told me to pay 1500 which they needed to do the next initiation they were holding. So they controlled me I couldn't go and meet them. But I had no choice. I was at this South Gate where I met them one on one. They were already prepared. So I now joined them we were now going.

Interrogator: *Voluntarily, not that you were forced?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. So when we were now going along the Shasha area, because if you look your left and your right is bush. We were just going then I said ha ha! Where are we going?*

Interrogator: *Around what time was that?*

Interrogatee: *Around past ten. So it was the intervention of the police, all those patrols, that did not allow us to go. They stopped.*

Interrogator: *In which vehicle was that?*

Interrogatee: *No the vehicle that took us from South Gate dropped us at Old Garage. We then took a bus to Shasha and when we dropped, we started trecking down into the bush. So when we were trecking, that was when the police now stopped us and asked that where are we going to. So XXXX was like telling them they were going for a party or something. The police then said by this kind of time, they better tell them the truth. Meanwhile they asked what was inside XXXX's bag. So when they now opened the bag, they now saw, they now saw an axe inside the bag that he was carrying. And they now asked what was he doing with the axe. He said they were using it in school to do a kind of clock. They said which kind of clock. They now got all of us arrested and took us to Oba-Ile, Oba-Ile station first of all. So it was when we were now in Oba-Ile, they were torturing us, XXX couldn't speak. I told them that this was how they forced me like am telling you, that they forced me. But they keep on torturing XXXX, he couldn't confess. They now say they are going to carry us to SARS or SIIB. So we were praying that they shouldn't carry us to SARS then. It was the next morning I just saw myself at SIIB. That was when they now*

got all of us lined up. And meanwhile the school has not yet known, even my brother has not yet known. They collected our phone there. So when we are now there, they were now like they say what happened. I told them the whole story that this was how they tortured me and they were forcing me. And assuming I have gone for this initiation, I would have known more members that are there. So they were torturing XXXX, he couldn't even answer. It was later they called two or three people from SARS that came, it was then that he confessed. Because me, they've already freed me. They said I should go on my own. They tortured him, he now said he was a member, that he has been into Black Axe since 2007 2008. He confessed everything there. So it was now then they told us that we should start calling our parents. I knew my mum's number off-hand, so I called her. She was already panicking. She now called my elder brother, that is working in the bank, because my elder brother finished from this school in QSV, that was 2006. So he knew one of his friends that is working in this school, I don't know. So he called and told him. So I believe is that one that now got the information to the former CSO, because when the former CSO came, I remember when he came, they told him that they cannot [ ] with another cult member. They said he should go..

Interrogator: *Who?*

Interrogatee: *The former CSO.*

Interrogator: *The former CSO of this University?*

Interrogatee: *Yes. They chased him away. I don't know if you can remember*

Interrogator: *Do you mean the former CSO was a cult member?*

Interrogatee: *That's what those police people say. They said that they can't deal with him because he asked them that he wanted to know the students that were involved then. They told him that no, they can't tell him that he should go and call the school officials. So that was when, I can remember your face, I remember daddy's face … I remember one other professor's face like that, when you came and you snapped us. So it was then they now took the case to court, and they were like, ah! Who were the people that were*

among. I told them that they forced me. So that's why the used me as a witness against them then, as a Black Axe. Immediately there me I was freed. All of them was taken to the prison. Since then I have been hearing that he has been looking for me, that he is going to kill me or something. So the place am even staying am not safe. Am staying at Woleph before, but I was like afraid, am now staying in the hostel. Am even scotting

Interrogator: *Is he out of prison now?*

Interrogatee: *I don't know maybe he's out because all this matter am saying is since 2012. And the school just called me back around January. So I don't know maybe they have freed him or is okay. So that's is just my fear for now.*

Interrogator: *Do you have any information about him?*

Interrogatee: *He's in engineering..*

Interrogator: *That's the problem you have. Somebody wants to pursue you and kill you, yet you don't have information about his full names, department?*

Interrogatee: *I just know he's in engineering*

Interrogator: *But you were initiated finally?*

Interrogatee: *No. it's just the beating for more than three hours. It was that initiation that we were going for gan gan gan. That was what they wanted to use me for*

Interrogator: *But you knew you were going to join them?*

Interrogatee: *Sir, I can't actually say because when we were even going, I was afraid.*

Interrogator: *When they asked you to follow them from South Gate, what prevented you from shouting or alerting the security unit?*

Interrogatee: *Noo. Let me tell you the place we were in. you know FUTA junction?*

Interrogator: *Yes.*

Interrogatee: *There is this bar that is there, erm..*

Interrogator: *By the right?*

Interrogatee: *Yes, by the right. How do I, if you know that place sir, how can I shout in that place?*

Interrogator: *They invited you to that place?*

Interrogatee: *They came there to meet me.*

Interrogator: *Are you talking of Oloko?*

Interrogatee: *No. before Oloko. They came to meet me there.*

Interrogator: *You were still drinking?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Drinking drinking got you into problems. No please, we have to be honest with ourselves o. drinking drinking got you into the hands of cultists?*

Interrogatee: *Am serious sir*

Interrogator: *And you still continue to drink?*

Interrogatee: *I've even stopped.*

Interrogator: *Don't joke with us o. One of them told us that he knew you as a member, and that that was why he invited you to join them. That you have been a member from Lagos.*

Interrogatee: *No ma. Seriously. You can even ask my dad and my mum..*

Interrogator: *How will your dad and mum know when you used to come home around 2 a.m., 1 a.m.?*

Interrogatee: *Let me tell you ma, I did pre-degree here. And I have been honest till, I don't have any problem until this matter. So if I have been a member since 2008 and me am still in this school, and I will not be caught?*

Interrogator: *There is a problem in Yoruba that says ojo gbogbo n t'ole, ojo kan n t'olohun. There have been students or ex-students of this university who had been member right from pre-degree and they were not caught until they wanted to collect their call-up letters. So it's not a new thing that you*

were here for many years and you were not caught. But you were running away from the Black Axe?

Interrogatee: *Yes am running away from them*

Interrogator: *Not now, that time that you were beaten for three hours or was it two hours?*

Interrogatee: *Three hours.*

Interrogator: *They were beating you, they were torturing you, and they were mobilizing the other troupe. And thereafter you were released, on compassionate ground abi?*

Interrogatee: *They just told me they would get back to me.*

Interrogator: *And you were running away from them.*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *That beer parlour, you didn't go again?*

Interrogatee: *Aah! I didn't go again.*

Interrogator: *Now it now occurred to you to go to another beer parlor in the night again. You know we are investigating o. This one doesn't add together. Within two weeks? A student who is not a cultist before, who has not joined them before? Okay, how many bottles of beer can you take at a sitting?*

Interrogatee: *I can take four*

Interrogator: *So on the day you had the first encounter with them what time of the day was it?*

Interrogatee: *It was thereabout 8.*

Interrogator: *8 O'clock! Don't you drink in the daytime?*

Interrogatee: *I used to drink in the daytime but we used to have lectures during the day so my free periods are in the evening.*

Interrogator: *Do you still drink now?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir, I wont lie, I still drink. But I don't do it around here again.*

Interrogator: *You go to hotel abi?*

Interrogatee: *Noo. My elder brother have one place around Igoba. So during the weekends I go there. He told me he never want to hear this kind of matter again. So I go there, he buys all the drinks I want to drink like on Sunday or Monday when I go to church and come back.*

Interrogator: *So you drink as much as you like during the weekend?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *But during the week, you don't drink at all?*

Interrogatee: *At all, I don't drink at all during the week.*

Interrogator: *You have girlfriend?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *What Department is she in?*

Interrogatee: *Hmm, XXX.*

Interrogator: *You see the problem we have with you, now we ask you a question, you laugh small as if (?). Let me tell you, this is your last card. You better tell us the truth. Do you smoke?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *What do you smoke, what type?*

Interrogatee: *Benzon sir*

Interrogator: *Benson and Hedges, You smoke weeds too?*

Interrogatee: *No ma. I don't even know where they sell weeds*

Interrogator: *But you said you thought those people were going to but weeds that evening, that they used to sell weeds very close to that beer parlor?*

Interrogatee: *They don't sell weeds around there. It's benson they sell there. And one benson is fifteen naira.*

Interrogator: *You said when they said you should come that you thought they were looking for weeds to buy*

Interrogatee: *Erh, they were the ones that went to buy weeds. I don't smoke weeds.*

Interrogator: *But you said they used to sell weeds there?*

Interrogatee: *Yes. The one I said was at the North gate. Is at this North gate. That was the first encounter we met. I was thinking maybe you were talking about the second encounter..*

Interrogator: *En you knew they smoked?*

Interrogatee: *Yes now*

Interrogator: *And you knew they were going to buy weeds?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *And you know that around that place they sell weeds there?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *You met around that place?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *You know they smoke around that place?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *All those are characteristics of cultism, or cultists sorry, and then of course you have to move with your own people o. Colleagues like you will be in CCF, JCCF, Islamic groups and so on. Do you have any friends on campus?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Where is he now?*

Interrogatee: *Hmm, he left me when I had this problem. He doesn't talk to me but I still take him as my best friend. He's in 500 Level MTS.*

Interrogator: *Who is he?*

Interrogatee: *Erm, his name is Timson3*

Interrogator: *Erh?*

Interrogatee: *Timson*

Interrogator: *Timson what?*

Interrogatee: *He's Timson, hmmm, Timson, he is 5 200 Level sha*

Interrogator: *You don't know the name of your best friend?*

Interrogatee: *As in, Timson..*

Interrogator: *What is his name?*

Interrogatee: *Timson Timson sir.*

Interrogator: *Does he belong to any cult group?*

Interrogatee: *Aaah no.*

Interrogator: *How was he not caught with you?*

Interrogatee: *He goes to church. From pre-degree, we were tight friend from pre-degree. So when, he said God called him. I don't know. So since then, it's because of even that that he decided to stay away from me. Because he said me I used to smoke and drink..*

Interrogator: *Then why do you still consider him as your best friend since he has been staying away from you?*

Interrogatee: *Because we surf in common if we are in the department.*

Interrogator: *Does he see you as his best friend?*

Interrogatee: *I believe he sees me as his best friend because me I used to help him.*

Interrogator: *Help him on what ground?*

Interrogatee: *As in, based on assignments. Most of our assignments we work together. At times we used to be in the same group.*

Interrogator: *But you said after he heard of this incident, he left you?*

Interrogatee: *He's only advising me that..*

Interrogator: *There are contradictions in what you are saying. You said when he was called by God he left you.*

Interrogatee: *Yes.*

Interrogator: *Then after he heard of this incident he left you, which one are we to believe?*

Interrogatee: *No what am trying to say is that is not as if he left me. The way we used to stay before was close but is now different. The only place me and him now do things in common is based on work, based on academic.*

Interrogator: *What is your status now academically?*

Interrogatee: *Since 2012, that's when I have gone out. Am just coming back to school.*

Interrogator: *Are you sure when you were away you were not participating in cult activities?*

Interrogatee: *Ha ha, I can even tell you the place I stay. I don't have time for things like that anymore. My father used to say that somebody that has fallen into a well, and know how deep the well is won't want to go there again. Because I won't say almost more than a million was spent during the incident that I had then at SIIB. So even before I came to this school, they just warned me that if I liked I should go and be doing that that am no longer their child at home.*

Interrogator: *How did you spend a million?*

Interrogatee: *Am coming, the overall in SIIB, I don't know what they used to call him, so they collected 250 from us first. My mum, when she came from Lagos*

Interrogator: *Two hundred and..?*

Interrogatee: *Two hundred and fifty thousand, that they were going to free me that I was not going to have any problem. But after they now collected our statement again, and they took our case to court, another 250 got involved again.*

Interrogator: *From the police?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. The police collected it from my mum again. Then the letter they now drafted was that I was a witness to Black Axe. That one was like 500 thousands.*

Interrogator: *Who drafted the letter?*

Interrogatee: *It was that my brother that did it. Because I was not around*

Interrogator: *So it was your cousin that told you they collected such amount of money?*

Interrogatee: *Yes.*

Interrogator: *How do you know he was saying the truth?*

Interrogatee: *For him to be saying that kind of thing, I don't know, all the police at SIIB there, they are all thieves. Any small thing like this they will just be talking thousand, thousand.*

Interrogator: *What level are you now?*

Interrogatee: *Am just, am just returning from 4*

Interrogator: *400 level?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir*

Interrogator: *Have you ever held any meeting with these people?*

Interrogatee: *Ha, no sir.*

Interrogator: *Have they ever extorted money from you?*

Interrogatee: *Yees, that first encounter, they collected my phone and my 1.5*

Interrogator: *Have they returned your phone?*

Interrogatee: *Noo. I don't see anything till now. And this was another, another phone I just bought this one when I was coming from school. So this is the phone am using now. But I have been hiding away from them because if they see me again, once they just see you the first thing is either phone or money.*

Interrogator: *You said what?*

Interrogatee: *I said the first thing when they want to have anything with you is your phone and money before they will then start beating you.*

Interrogator: *But you look like a cultist.*

Interrogatee: *Aah, no o. so I don't look like one. God forbid bad thing. And I serve in the Catholic church. What just led me into this the drink.*

Interrogator: *What was your role in Catholic church?*

Interrogatee: *I was an altar server. Let me tell you sir, if you rules about Catholic church*

Interrogator: *What are the rules?*

Interrogatee: *I received holy communion*

Interrogator: *Yes? But you people drink*

Interrogatee: *Everybody drinks. Even the Reverend Father drinks. Everybody knows that. The Reverend Father knows. I have gone to seminary when I finished my secondary school.*

Interrogator: *(Laughed)*

Interrogatee: *The Reverend Fathers drink. But they don't do it openly.*

Interrogator: *So they do smoke die die*

Interrogatee: *Once in a while. They just do it like, when I feel like. Like when we are doing our harvest, you see [ ] on top of their table and nobody says anything.*

Interrogator: *And they womanise?*

Interrogatee: *No. Is just my girlfriend o. Is only her o. Apart from her I don't have any other girlfriend.*

Interrogator: *Where is she?*

Interrogatee: *Even me and her we even have a little problem now.*

Interrogator: *Where is she now? That is the question.*

Interrogatee: *Now she stays at Stateline.*

Interrogator: *What Department is she?*

Interrogatee: *She is in XXX, 200 Level*

Interrogator: *Eh?*

Interrogatee: *XXX, 200 Level*

Interrogator: *What is the name?*

Interrogatee: *Timson*

Interrogator: *Timson what?*

Interrogatee: *Timson Timson*

Interrogator: *And you know you can't marry her?*

Interrogatee: *God can do it sir*

Interrogator: *Eh?*

Interrogatee: *God will do it sir.*

Interrogator: *Does she like your ways of life?*

Interrogatee: *No. She complains that I do smoke.*

Interrogator: *What about your interaction with the cultists?*

Interrogatee: *I didn't tell her about that*

Interrogator: *Eh? She didn't know?*

Interrogatee: *I, I just*

Interrogator: *So the period you were away where did you tell her you went to?*

Interrogatee: *I just told her that I had little problem. I just lied sha. If I should tell her, she would leave me and she won't talk to me.*

Interrogator: *You didn't tell her you were in detention?*

Interrogatee: *Ha ha! How would I tell her that kind of things, she would not want to hear now. I can't tell her that kind of thing. Even till tomorrow, I don't pray that she will know.*

Interrogator: *So you spent so much money at SIIB?*

Interrogatee: *Yes. Any small thing it is 5000. You want move to that place, 5000; your people want to talk to you, 5000.*

Interrogator: *What was your experience there?*

Interrogatee: *My experience there was not a good thing at all*

Interrogator: *How many months did you spend there?*

Interrogatee: *Just a month. And since then, my life hasn't ..*

Interrogator: *Do you still drink?*

Interrogatee: *Ah, I drink but is not like before.*

Interrogator: *Don't you know that it's your drinking that has put you into problem?*

Interrogatee: *I know sir*

Interrogator: *With your bad experience in the prison, you still drink?*

Interrogatee: *I do but not like before.*

Interrogator: *He said the Reverend Father drinks, did you not say that?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Now you said that when you arrested and detained at the police station, the former CSO came there and the police said he should go away that he's a cultist?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *Can you throw more light on that?*

Interrogatee: *I was at the station. Erh, my elder brother called the school, that they had arrested some people. That some students that they got arrested with. So when the CSO now came, I heard that he came because all those men,*

they know. The CSO is a flexing type, so they know him. When he came I believed they chased him away. They said he is a cultist that they can't treat cultist case with another cultist. So that why they chased him out there. And that's what delayed my parents then from coming. Because after that period, that was when they come. I don't know how they got information that he is a cultist. But I just know that I saw him. It was the CSO that first of all came before you people came.

Interrogator: *Some clarification on that, you said you believed they chased him away?*

Interrogatee: *They chased him away.*

Interrogator: *You believe or you saw it?*

Interrogatee: *I heard them*

Interrogator: *You heard them talking about him?*

Interrogatee: *Yes. You know once you get to the SIIB inside the station there. The first cell was where they put us so I was overhearing what they were saying.*

Interrogator: *Were you seeing the CSO?*

Interrogatee: *Yes. I know him*

Interrogator: *No. You were in the cell there is no way you can see him. You heard his voice or you saw him?*

Interrogatee: *I heard his voice*

Interrogator: *Where is that CSO now by the way?*

Interrogatee: *Ah, since I came back I have not seen him.*

Interrogator: *Do you know him? Do you know the CSO in person if you see him?*

Interrogatee: *The CSO that am talking about is this former CSO here.*

Interrogator: *That's what we are saying. Do you know him in person?*

Interrogatee: *If I see him I will know him.*

Interrogator: *Is fair complexioned?*

Interrogatee: *He's dark, tall. Is like a bold man like this.*

Interrogator: *Was there any time you drank with him in a bar?*

Interrogatee: *Nooo.*

Interrogator: *What's his name?*

Interrogatee: *I just know him as CSO. He was the former CSO here in the school before.*

Interrogator: *But come. Let's go back to the beginning. You were asked why you were here. And you said you knew. So you confirmed you are a cultist?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *You were initiated?*

Interrogatee: *No.*

Interrogator: *there is no way you can call yourself a cultist without having been initiated. We have information you were initiated. And you yourself have confirmed to us here that you are a cultist. So there is still a grey area somewhere.*

On the day you were arrested, where were you going?

Interrogatee: *We were going to the initiation ground.*

Interrogator: *(Read the content of his earlier statement to him, indicating that he was a member, an initiated member)*

Were you initiated?

Interrogatee: *Yes. That's what am saying now.*

Interrogator: *What were the actions at your initiation venue?*

Interrogatee: *It was beating.*

Interrogator: *Enh enh! So you were initiated. How many of them were there?*

Interrogatee: *More than ten. They will beat you for a long time.*

Interrogator: *More than ten that beat you?*

Interrogatee: *Yes*

Interrogator: *Where?*

Interrogatee: *What's the name of that place oo, it was around that Shasha area. Because they used to change the venue.*

Interrogator: *So the day the caught you was not the first day you would go to Shasha area?*

Interrogatee: *Nooo.*

Interrogator: *So later at another time, they now caught them, maybe they were going for the initiation of another batch.*

Interrogatee: *Yeees*

Interrogator: *Because you cannot be a cultist without initiation. You know we have got that clear?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *My dear brother, why did you say you were forced?*

Interrogatee: *It was, why did I say I was forced was that they were, if I voluntarily want to become a Black Axe, they don't need to force me*

Interrogator: *Yees*

Interrogatee: *But them they were beating me and forcing to say that I must be a member of Black Axe.*

Interrogator: *then why didn't you report to the school authorities?*

Interrogatee: *I was afraid now. They were threatening me.*

Interrogator: *Threatening you for what?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir. If you see all these people, they are not people you can play with. If I should report to the school authorities, the school cannot be my body*

guard from morning till night. At the end of the day, if the school authorities should leave me they will be the one to hinder me later.

Interrogator: *But you said you are running away from them now. So why are you running away from them now? Let me tell you, if you had reported to the Management, Management has strategies of protecting students from all these cultists. If you claim ignorance, is a different thing entirely. If you claim ignorance that you don't know such place that you can report to is a different ball game. Telling us that if you report they will kill you, your life is not safe, are you not running away from them now?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Are you not changing houses now because somebody threatened to kill you?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Enh enh so what are you talking about? What you could have done is to have come to the Guidance and Counseling Unit and report to them. The Management has a way of fishing these people out. And once they are fished out, you are safe.*

Ok, confirm one or two statements you have just made now. They forced you to join them on what date?

Interrogatee: *13 / 14th June.*

Interrogator: *13 / 14th June when?*

Interrogatee: *2012*

Interrogator: *Okay. Then, you were arrested 25th of?*

Interrogatee: *July*

Interrogator: *2012?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Where were you initiated?*

Interrogatee: *At erh erh, near the near the Shasha area*

Interrogator: *So when you were arrested was the second trip to that place, not the first one?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Was there going to be another initiation?*

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*

Interrogator: *Who were the people to be initiated?*

Interrogatee: *They were just, they were coming. I don't know most of them because they do invite other people from other schools.*

Interrogator: *Who were the people from this University?*

Interrogatee: *I didn't recognize any people from this University except me, Timson1, Timson2, and Timson3 that I said was very tall. Those of us that were caught that night. Those were the people I recognized.*

Interrogator: *Who is Timson2?*

Interrogatee: *He is tall. He was, he was, he was even the one that threatened me most.*

Interrogator: *Are they our students?*

Interrogatee: *Yes.*

Interrogator: *You know what we are going to do. Because of our time, is that erm, this thing you have just mentioned, all the three issues, the day you were forced, your initiation, the day you were caught, you have to write them down on paper. And then you have the right for one thing, you have the right to plead if you want to plead for anything. And you will add another thing, that you are ready to renounce if you like. That one na voluntary thing o. What is compulsory is to write down everything you have said. It is not compulsory to say you want to you want to renounce or you want to make a plea.*

Interrogatee: *I should put on paper?*

Interrogator: *Yes but you will state there if you want o, that you are pleading for mercy; that you are ready to renounce cultism, and that nobody forced you to do all these things, you are doing it voluntarily.*

Are you ready to do that?

Interrogatee: *Yes sir.*