# Pronouns and Cognitive Shift: A Procedural Analysis of Titles of Church Posters in Edo State

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## *Abstract*

*This research is a pragmatic study of the cognitive impact that pronominal elements have in the titles of church posters. Posters are seen as a type of publicity arsenal of a church, and they are used to inform and invite readers to their programmes. It is against this background that this research is motivated to examine the role that pronouns play in persuading people to attend the programme or the church. So this research deployed the relevance theoretic concept of procedural encoding which states that in communication there are linguistic elements that do not encode concepts, but encode commands on how other concepts constructed are to be processed. Procedural encoders, pronouns being one of them, serve as constraints on the inferential computation of concepts both at the explicit and implicit levels. The researchers collected ten posters each from four churches under study, and selected the posters that have evidence of use of pronouns. It is observed that pronouns just like other reference items create easy accessibility and withdrawal of concepts which translates to less cognitive effort. Also, this research*

*observed that cognitively, pronouns can be used outside the conventional box, that is, there is a cognitive shift of reference as orchestrated by the reader's search for relevance.*

## 1.0    Introduction

The claim of this research is that though pronouns are referential, they cognitively contribute to the persuasive impact of the titles of church posters by making the mental construction of objects easily accessible, and by necessitating a cognitive shift that the reader of a poster willingly does according to his search for relevance. This paper adopts the relevance theoretic approach to utterance interpretation in general, and to reference resolution in particular. The essence is to reveal that pronouns are cognitively significant, and that speakers can exploit their linguistic and cognitive qualities to achieve a persuasive effect.

The goal of most audience is to identify the communicative intention of the speaker, and one way of arriving at this goal is to, first, formulate what the speaker says from an utterance. This involves a lot of linguistic and inferential tasks, such as identifying the intended referent of an expression (Scott 2013, p.151). For this to be possible, the reference element must not put the hearer to an unjustifiable effort and it must achieve enough effects to be worth the hearer's attention (Wilson 1992, p.175; Wilson & Sperber 2012, p. 65). One of such referential elements is pronoun. In relevance theory, pronouns are seen as procedural and truth-conditional: that is, pronouns impose constraints on explicature by guiding the search for the intended referent which is part of the proposition expressed (Wilson & Sperber 2012, p.166).

## 2.0    Theoretical Framework
### 2.1    Literature Review

Schmidt and Kess (1986) looked at persuasive language in advertising and televangelism. They attempted to refine the general understanding of the wider role of language in the persuasion process in order to determine if the linguistic features already established for television advertising can also be found in another form of language used to persuade. So they gathered data from the promotional sections of five of the most popular televangelist programmes, they searched through the data to observe any occurrence of the linguistic features discussed by Lakoff and Geis as characteristic of persuasive language. They found the followings:

a) The use of novel terms and expressions
b) The use of syntactic innovation in the the form of the absence of subjects and verbal auxiliaries
c) Metaphorical use of language
d) Instances of expressions that are semantically anomalous

Schmidt and Kess (1986, p.111) thus concluded that it is in asking questions about the difference in persuasive language use and informative language use that we come to understand more fully the impact that language can have in the persuasion process. It is very illustrative to state that Schmidt and Kess (1986) and this study are concerned about how language is deployed for persuasive purposes, however our area of focus and methodology vary. What is more, Schmidt and Kess' work falls into the trap that studies in discourse analysis and stylistics fall into- not paying attention to details. For instance, Schmidt and Kess (1989) claimed that novel expressions are persuasive strategies. This is absolutely correct, but did not explain the psychological processes and context in which these novel expressions become persuasive. They seem to generalize that all members of the audience are taken in by those expressions. This reinforces Blakemore's stand that in verbal communication there is still the need to explain how the hearer's linguistic knowledge interacts with his non-

linguistic knowledge for the successful interpretation of the utterance (Blakemore 1992, pp.47-48).

Lapsanska (2006) examined the language of print advertising, and specified linguistic means used in advertising texts. His aim is to determine the use rate of linguistic means used in print advert slogans, and therefore he randomly selected two hundred and seventy (270) adverts from the United Kingdom, USA, and Slovakia. Lapsanska (2006) made some of the findings below:

a) 20% of all advert slogans (54/270) contained ellipsis
b) 7% of all advert slogans (18/270) contained phrasal verbs
c) 11% of all advert slogans contained parallelism
d) The most widely used sentence type is the declarative
e) The most widely used auxiliary verbs are 'can' and 'will'
f) Majority of the verbs are finite
g) Majority of the finite verbs are in the simple present form
h) Majority of the advert slogans use the omniscient 3rd person narrator
i) 76% of the adjectives are gradable

Lapsanska (2006) therefore concluded that the informal style of advert language predominates the formal style, and this runs through all types of magazines in the communities surveyed. Lapsanska's study is purely linguistic. Having noted the shortcomings of linguistic elements in utterance interpretation, it is inevitable that studies such as Lapsanska's would be under-determinate. Our study is a cognitive linguistic analysis of church print posters.

Chugh and Sharma (2012) looked at the linguistic features of newspaper advertisement in India. They wanted to investigate the extent to which rules/conventions of the English language are broken in print adverts. Their work is appropriately described as stylistic. Chugh and Sharma (2012) analysed print adverts at different levels: phonological, lexical, syntactic, and semantic. At the phonological level, they identified alliteration, rhyme, and onomatopoeia as tools. At the lexical level, they identified acronym, nominal, neologism, blending, and clipping as language tools. At the

syntactic level, they identified ellipsis, tense, imperative, binary connectives, inversion, grammatical parallelism, and anaphora. At the semantic level, they identified simile, metonymy, metaphor, and antithesis as linguistic tools deployed in print adverts for communicative and persuasive purposes. Chugh and Sharma's work is close to this study being that they are both print adverts. While they focused on newspapers, our study focuses on print posters on the street of Benin City.

Lowery (1998) preoccupied herself with the impacts of syntactic complexity on persuasive adverts. What motivated Lowery is the paradox of simplicity in adverts: the basic assumption is that simplicity in adverts is best, but Lowery observed cases where complex adverts are successful. The question then is: under what conditions is simple syntax in adverts best? After experiments on sampled population, Lowery (1998) observed that syntactic complexity has implications for the persuasiveness of adverts; this goes beyond the psycholinguistic expectation that syntactic complexity erodes comprehension. The implications are as follows:

a) In a broadcast context, moderate levels of syntactic complexity inhibit recall and recognition, but have no effects on attitudes.
b) Syntactic complexity affects the persuasiveness of advertising in a print context.
c) Syntactic complexity appears to affect one's willingness to process an advert (Lowery 1998, p.200).

Lowery (1998) concluded that though syntactic complexity could affect comprehension, it does not inhibit persuasion. This is because persuasion is a psychological affair. Lowery's essay justifies the need to do a psycho-linguistic study of persuasion in adverts, though our data only qualify as adverts in a strict sense.

Arai (2007) appeared to have taken the concept of explicature into consideration when she examined advertising language in Tokyo, Japan. Arai (2007) proposed that a persuasive/successful advert copy can partly be accounted for using relevance theory's notion of mental profit (cognitive effect) for the addressee. Arai's work goes beyond commercial advert

copies, as he examined government's instructional posters which are meant to persuade the audience to comply with certain policies. Arai (2007) examined concrete data (of the adverts) which contain theoretical expressions from the relevance theoretic perspective. He observed that ad hoc concepts are deployed in the adverts to achieve metaphorical/poetic effects, and also that weak implicatures boost the poetic effects in the adverts.

Arai's study is very significant to this study because it gives an explicatural account of persuasiveness in adverts: this is considered to be comprehensive and empirical. Unlike Arai, this study expands this explicatural analysis beyond ad hoc concept construction to cover instances of enrichment, reference resolution, and most significantly higher level explicature. Also, it is important to note that Carston has since updated ad hoc concept construction to lexical pragmatics (with the likes of Soria and Romero talking about lexical pragmatics), which inevitably implies that Arai's work may have some theoretical shortcomings. Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge Arai's insight into the persuasive significance of linguistic elements in advertising. This study looks at church print posters (considered as adverts) from a broad spectrum (both in content and theory).

Similarly, Silveira and Ibanos (2014) analyzed adverts billboards using relevance theory to illustrate how spontaneous inference takes place through imagery and linguistic elements. Their main focus is on how the non-linguistic elements in adverts generate efficiency and economy in deriving the communicative intention of the adverts. To this end, Silveira and Ibanos (2014) got three advert billboards which are not meant to market products, but ideas and values to the readers. Silveira and Ibanos (2014) noted that the images in the billboard adverts are extra effort the writer has to infuse into his message for it to be worth the reader's attention. By implication, they meant that images in adverts enforce the ostensiveness of the linguistic elements. What this also implies is that without the pictures, the message would lose the ostensive force that a stimulus has.

The last point above is arguable. Every ostensive act has a force of its own irrespective of the mode. It is understandable that images could strengthen the force, but that the linguistic elements do not have their own pull is out of the question. If images are solely the attention getters of print adverts, what becomes the fate of church adverts that scarcely use images? Nonetheless, it is commendable that Silveira and Ibanos (2014) have stated that the intention of an advertiser is to first make the elements on the billboard ostensive, after which the ostensive act would direct the reader's cognitive system to the communicative intention of the writer. It is on this note that their work is relevant to this study. However, it must be stated that Silveira and Ibanos' work differs from this research in scope and focus. While their work appears multi-modal, this research focuses only on the linguistic elements in posters, because the pictorial mode lacks the 'systematicity' and precision of language and thus could make one's interpretation highly subjective and non-empirical.

From the above, it is observed that the cognitive investigation of the interplay between context and the linguistic content that make up the advert is scarce, and purely linguistic analyses of the advert discourse undervalues the communicative/persuasive potency of advertisement. Hence there is the need to show that persuasion in adverts is achieved when the linguistic elements in the adverts strikes a contextual implication in the audience, and this is made easily accessible through procedural encoders such as pronominal elements.

## 2.2 Procedural Encoding

Procedural Encoding is born out of the need to intensify the argument that language elements are made up of two categories: content and functional, lexical and structural, conceptual and procedural. This is so because in language, there are elements that have meanings and there are elements that have structural significance. However, when this distinction was conceived in relevance theory, what preoccupied scholars was to

distinguish between elements that create 'mental' thoughts, and elements that give directions on how the thoughts are processed.

In 1987, a scholar, Diane Blakemore, emerged to create a distinction between expressions that encode concepts and expressions that give information on how the concepts should be inferentially processed. Deirdre Wilson and Dan Speber (2012, p.158) even conceded that 'within relevance theory, the idea that an expression may encode procedural constraints on the inferential phase of comprehension was first put forward by Diane Blakemore. Blakemore's 1987 argument was that while an expression plays a role in the recovery of the utterance's conceptual representations, it does not do it by encoding anything that is a constituent of it; rather, it encodes information about the inferential process that the hearer should use. Take for instance, the utterance:

1.  Ben can open Tom's safe. He knows the combination.

These are two clauses that have two different conceptual representations. The ideal thing would be to use the information in the first segment to interpret the information in the second segment which means that the information in the second segment would be an answer to the question raised by the information in the first segment. That is, Ben can open Tom's safe because he knows the combination.

On the other hand, there are several questions which may pop up from the first information. Some of the questions are: how can Ben open Tom's safe? Why would Ben open Tom's safe? When did Ben open Tom's safe? Where? In what manner?, et cetera. Also, it is not clearly stated how the speaker wants the information in the two segments to be processed. It is just by the default rule of discourse coherence that the second segment is an answer to the question raised in the first place. Frankly speaking in real life situations, it is not clear which is the answer to the other, it is not even clear which is a premise to the other. What if it were in a situation where both speaker and hearer are already aware that Ben knows the combination of the safe? The first clause therefore would be the new information; the

second clause would be used to interpret the first clause. We would have something like this:

2. Ben can open Tom's safe, (afterall) he knows the combination.

The introduction of *afterall* in the above utterance is a clear indication of how the speaker wants his utterance to be interpreted; that is, the second clause (he knows the combination) should be seen as a premise for arriving at the conclusion in the first clause. *Afterall* therefore is a procedural encoder.

Recall again that in the relevance theoretical framework, there are three ways in which information conveyed by an utterance can be relevant:

1. By allowing the derivation of a contextual implication.
2. By strengthening an existing assumption.
3. By contradicting an existing assumption (Blakemore 1992, p.138).

In each of these cases, establishing the relevance of a new assumption involves inference, and it depends on the contextual assumptions involved (Blakemore 1992, p.135). Recall also that the communicative principle states that every ostensive stimulus comes with its own optimal relevance. That is to say in coming into a communicative discourse, the hearer assumes that the speaker has done everything within her power to aid her comprehension, and whatever stimulus he produces is the best he can produce as at that time (communicative principle of optimal relevance). Inherent in the communicative principle of relevance is the assumption that the effort required gives an indication of the effect to expect (Sperber & Wilson 2012, p.38). Logically, a strong effort demands a high effect. So if a hearer comes across an input that, ab initio, demands a strong effort, but this effort is reduced by a procedural encoder, it follows that the hearer benefits from two ends: less processing effort and a high effect. This double-edge benefit could have a persuasive impact on the hearer.

What this translates into is that in guiding the hearer towards her communicative intention, the speaker could help by introducing elements that would constrain his selection of choice of contexts at a minimal processing cost (Blakemore 1992, p.137). This can be done through

procedural encoding. What this means is that procedural encoders contribute to relevance by reducing the inferential effort the hearer would have gone through in arriving at his interpretation. As Blakemore pointed out, procedural encoders contribute to relevance by guiding the hearer towards the intended contextual effects, hence reducing the overall effort required (Wilson and Sperber 1993).

This study also investigates instances where procedural encoders are deployed in church print posters to guide the readers towards the intended persuasive effects of the writer. Such instances include the use of pronominal elements to constrain the reader's search for the appropriate identification which automatically reduces the reader's processing cost and add to the relevance of the poster.

## 3.0    Methodology

This research is a qualitative study of the cognitive potentials of pronoun reference in church posters in Benin City. Being a pragmatic study, it analyses the data against the background of contextual features which include the Benin Christian setting, the cognition of the researchers, and other socio-cultural issues that pervade the Nigerian discourse space. The churches under study are:

a) Church of God Mission International (CGMi)
b) New Covenant Gospel Church (NCGC)
c) Omega Fire Ministry (OFM)
d) Christ Apostolic Church of God Mission (CACGM)

Forty posters were collected from the churches under study: ten posters from each church. The researchers visited each of the churches to collect the data. In few instances, there were reluctance on the part of some church officials to give out their posters, and so the researchers resorted to capturing billboards with technological devices such as phones and cameras. The focus of this research is on the title of the poster which usually is the theme of the programme the poster advertises.

**4.0     Discussion**

In relevance theory, pronouns are seen as procedural and truth-conditional: that is, pronouns impose constraints on explicature by guiding the search for the intended referent which is part of the proposition expressed (Wilson & Sperber 2012c, p.166). In our data, pronominal elements occurred twenty (20) times. There are persons: 1st person, 2nd person, and 3rd person. This is very instructive in understanding its use for persuasive purposes. The examples of pronominal reference in our data are as follows:

| CGMi | NCGC | OFM | CACGM |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1) **None** shall Be Barren | 2) Let'**s** Spread the Gospel | 3) Pick **your** Date | 4) If **I** be Lifted up |
| 5) **He** Took **your** Place and Paid with **his** Blood | 6) **I** shall Return | 7) Take **it** by Force | 8) Possess **your** possession |
| | 9) As **he** Is | 10) Lord, Show **me** Mercy | 11) **I** will Eat the Good of the Land |
| | 12) Power to Overtake **your** Overtakers | 13) Money Matters: Oh Lord Release **my** Money | |
| | 14) **My Wedding** Must Hold | 15) **My** Marriage must Work | |

|  |  |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|
|  | this year, 2018 |  |  |
|  |  | 16) **My** Restoration is now |  |
|  |  | 17) Oh Lord, Settle **me** |  |
|  |  | 18) **I** am not a Christmas Goat |  |
|  |  | 19) If **I** be a Man of God |  |
|  |  | 20) **You** Monitor me, **you** die |  |

In the sample data (40 posters), pronominal elements occurred twenty-three (23) times, out of which the personal pronoun is used fourteen times. The constant reference to person is instructive: it has a persuasive effect on the overall interpretation of the titles.

There is the use of the personal pronoun at the literal level as in examples 2, 5, 6, 7, and 18. Here the 2nd person pronoun refers to the addressee, and the 3rd person pronoun refers to someone in the discourse environment (usually God, Jesus). This conventional use of the pronoun has its persuasive effect because it makes room for ease of identification.

What is striking here is the pragmatic use of the personal pronoun where the 1st person no longer refers to the speaker, but the addressee, and the 2nd person now refers to a perceived enemy within the discourse. This is termed **the cognitive shift of reference**, and it has a persuasive significance. Let us consider the following titles:

   4)  **I** shall Return

A positive cognitive shift of 'I' from the speaker to the reader.
Source: NCGC (Collected at Aduwawa, Benin City)

16) **You** Monitor **me**, **you** Die!
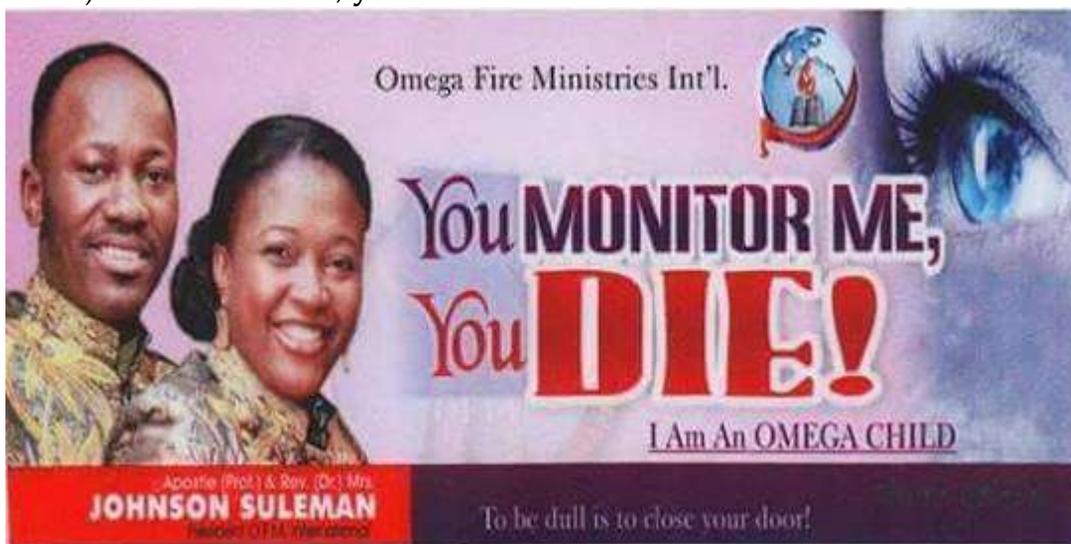


A negative cognitive shift of 'you' from the addressee to a 'perceived'
enemy
Source: OFM (Collected at Akpakpava, Benin City)

Under normal circumstances, the personal pronouns (I and me) should refer to the voice behind the posters (Wilson & Sperber 2012c, p.166), but this is not so. Rather, there is a cognitive shift of referents where 'I' and 'me' in examples 4 and 9 respectively refer to the addressee, and the owners of the posters made it manifest that the reader input herself into the referents of 'I' and 'me.' It is in this assumption of new referents that the reader is persuaded by the addresser's intended meaning. Let us input the title into the computation heuristics to pontificate how this shift of reference create an effect in the eventual implicature that emerges, thus:

a) Decoding of Speaker's (S) utterance: **OFM says 'you monitor me, you die**.'

b) Expectation raised by S's utterance in line with the communicative principle of relevance: **this utterance is relevant enough to be worth the reader's processing effort, and it is the most relevant utterance compatible with the poster's ability and preferences**.

c) Expectations raised by meeting the requirement of the communicative principle of relevance: **this utterance can be relevant to the reader if it can assure the reader of divine protection from monitoring spirits who eventually eliminate their victims.**

d) Invocation of implicit assumption/implicit premise: (i). **monitoring spirits are dangerous and should not be taken lightly**.

> (ii). **any church that can kill monitoring spirits must be powerful**.

e) Invocation of explicit enrichment to (a): **if an evil spirit trails *the reader*, then the evil spirit will die.**

> (ii). **OFM assures the reader that if an evil spirit trails *the reader*, then the evil spirit will die.**

f) Derivation of strong implicature (e (a) + d/c): **if OFM assures the reader that it can kill monitoring spirits then OFM must be powerful, and it is a safe haven for the reader**.

g) Derivation of weak implicature ($f + d^{1-n}/n$): **the reader should associate with OFM to continue enjoying the divine security it offers**.

It is important to note how the literal 'me' encoded by the first person personal pronoun, cognitively shifts to 'the reader' who is the second person in this discourse. This has to happen for the reader to find the title relevant, and therefore meet the expectation of the communicative principle of relevance in stage **c**. It is this cognitive shift of reference that introduces and foregrounds the reader's interest which is replicated in every other stage, and finally in the implicature derived. Also, the second person pronoun encoded by 'you' which should have referred to the reader, cognitively shifts to refer to 'an evil spirit' (a third person) within the communicative discourse. The reason is that it is not in the interest of the reader, as stated in the communicative principle of relevance, for 'you' to refer to him. As such, it is comfortable for this reference to be shifted to a perceived enemy.

This is also the case in 'My Wedding Must Hold this Year, 2018.' The noun phrase (my wedding) is premodified by a determinate pronoun (my). This determinate pronoun is supposed to refer to the writer of the poster, but this is not this case because there is a cognitive shift from the writer to the reader. This shift is cognitively inferred in stage **E** of the computation heuristics, and thus it plays a major role in the persuasive effect that is generated at level of implicature (see the analysis of this poster under DNP). More examples of this referential shift from 1st person to the addressee can be found in examples 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, and 19. Some of the posters are presented below, thus:
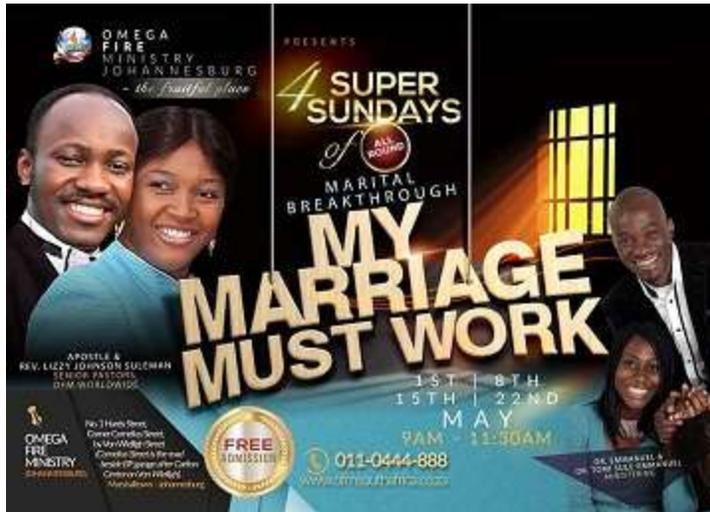
A positive shift of the first person determinate reference- 'my' from the addresser to the addressee.
Source: OFM (collected online)



A positive shift of the first person determinate reference 'my' from the addresser to the addressee
Source: NCGC (collected at Main Gate, Ugbowo Benin City)

This cognitive shift happens in two dimensions. When the reference has a positive sense, the addressee assumes the referents (positive cognitive shift), but when it has a negative sense, the addressee distances herself away from it (negative cognitive shift). Like we have in example 16, 'you monitor me, you die!,' the reader does not assume the referent in 'you' (though you refers to the 2nd person, that is, the person reading the title), and the writer makes it manifest that he does not intend 'you' to refer to the addressee. Rather, the reference of 'you' is shifted to a perceived enemy.

This cognitive shift of referents is mutually manifest between the addresser and addressee, and as such, it caters for the less effort (on the part of the addressee) exerted in deriving the addresser's communicative intention. The implication of this mutual manifestness is that there is a bond which exists, and has been strengthened by the use of reference in church print posters. Recall that Sperber and Wilson (1995, p.218) are of the opinion that:

> a speaker aiming at optimal relevance will leave implicit everything her hearer can be trusted to supply with less effort that would be needed to process an explicit prompt. The more information she leaves implicit, the greater the degree of mutual understanding she makes manifest that she takes to exist between her and her hearer.

The cognitive shift aside, recall that there are instances where the pronominal elements are used in their normal sense. An example is NCGC's 'As He Is.' Here 'he' refers to a third person- Jesus. What is unique about this use of pronominal element is that it is the first use in the title, which negates the description of a pronoun as that element which is deployed instead of a noun to avoid unnecessary repetition.
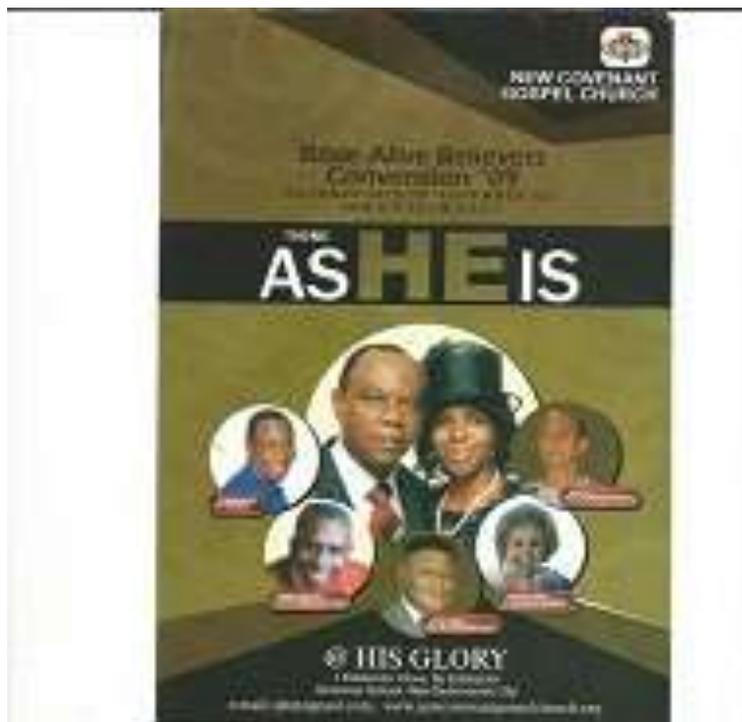
Source: NCGC (collected from NCGC headquarters at Edokpolor rd, B/C)

However, in the title above, no noun or noun phrase has been mentioned to help the reader conceptualize who 'he' refers to, yet this does not affect the reader's derivation of the writer's communicative and persuasive intentions. To start with, does the use of 'he' imply that the concept (Jesus) it refers to is assumed to have been mentioned in the context, such that mentioning it again in the title is taken to be unnecessarily repetitive? The reader has to assume so in order to freely construct the concept into the computation heuristics, and the writer of the poster makes it mutually manifest that he expects the reader to perform such a construction, thus:

a) Decoding of Speaker's (S) utterance: **NCGC says 'As He is.'**
b) Expectation raised by S's utterance in line with the communicative principle of relevance: **this utterance is relevant enough to be worth**

**the reader's processing effort, and it is the most relevant utterance compatible with the poster's ability and preferences**.

c) Expectations raised by meeting the requirement of the communicative principle of relevance: **the utterance can be relevant to the reader if it helps the reader become like Jesus and enjoy the benefits that Jesus enjoyed on earth**.

d) Invocation of implicit assumption/implicit premise: **the life that Jesus lived while on earth and in heaven is the life of a king, and every Christian is encouraged to even do better**.

e) Invocation of explicit enrichment to (a):

(i) **As *Jesus* is in heaven, so are we on earth**.

(ii). **NCGC promises to make the reader live like Jesus.**

f) Derivation of strong implicature (e (a) + d/c): **NCGC can make the reader live the life of a king**.

g) Derivation of weak implicature (f + $d^{1-n}/n$): **Kings are made in NCGC**.

In stage **e (i)**, 'Jesus' takes the position of 'he,' and this has to be so for **e** to be in synchrony with **c** and **d**.

## 5.0    Conclusion

To start with, pronouns being a reference element make manifest the relation that the writer of the posters assumes to exist between him and the reader. Consequently, the reader drawing from the ostensiveness displayed by pronominal elements expends less cognitive effort in accessing and withdrawing the concepts that the pronouns represent. By this, pronouns contribute to relevance. The deployment of pronominal reference, especially personal pronoun, at the explicit level, shows that a very important persuasive strategy in church discourse is in personalizing the positive things of God, and depersonalizing the negative ones. This accounts for the cognitive shift of reference. It appears church advertisers have realized that humans are driven by the search for their own relevance.

Hence, those advertisers deploy linguistic items that would effortlessly guide them to the satisfaction of this search for relevance.

Therefore within the scholarships on procedural encoding, this research has contributed significantly. The scholarships on procedural encoding postulated that certain linguistic elements encode procedures which constrain the search for relevance both at the implicit and explicit levels. At the explicit level, they pontificated that procedural encoders constrain the inferential adjustments needed to make logical forms fully propositional. For instance, the pronoun- 'he' is seen to constrain the meaning of the referent as 'male.' However, this study has established the existence of cognitive shift, that is, pronominal reference can be used out of the conventional box. This study has seen that readers, guided by their search for relevance, can pragmatically shift the reference of the 1st person pronoun to refer to them (2nd person). This study also discovered instances where the 2nd person pronoun no longer refers to the reader, but a perceived enemy.

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