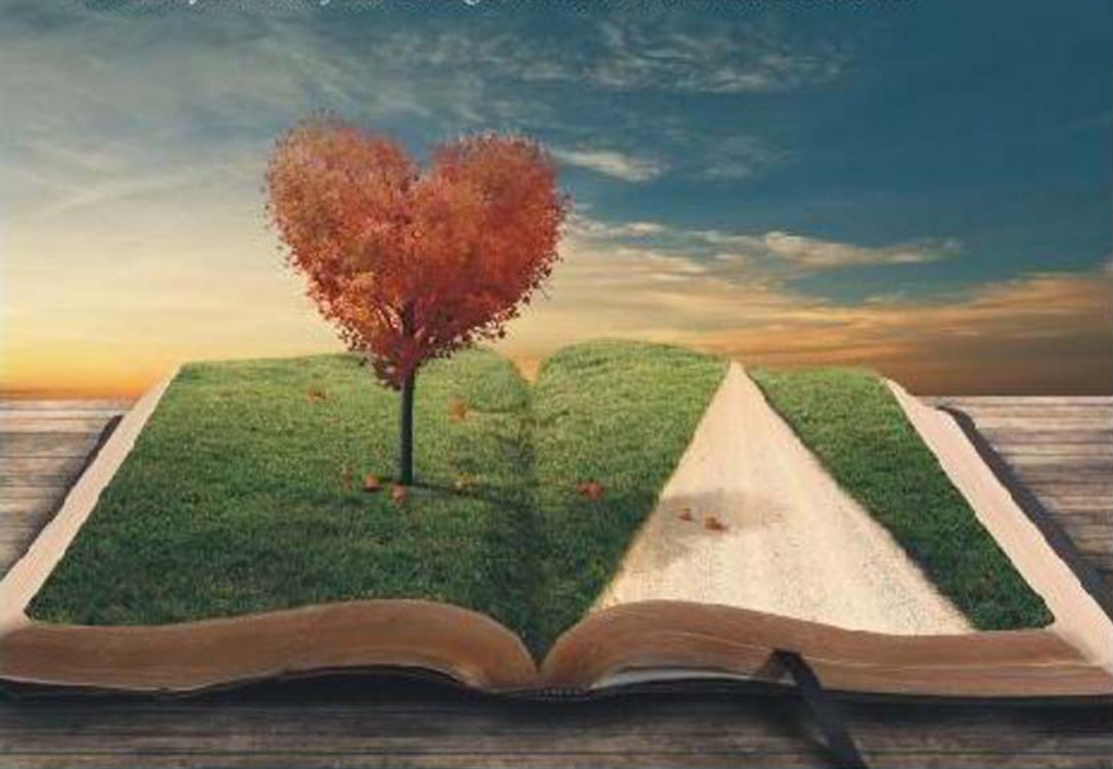


Recent Developments in African Linguistics and Literature: A Florilegium for Francina Moloji

Edited by B. Ekanjume-Ilongo, A. Hala-Hala and C. Dunton



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Preface

A little while ago I was socializing with a Malawian colleague and our conversation turned to a mutual friend, James Gibbs, with whom my colleague had worked at Chancellor College, Malawi, many years before, but with whom he had last touch more recently. I gave him an update on James and added that he was about to retire and that a *Festschrift* was being prepared in his honour.

My colleague looked astonished and exclaimed: “I thought those were only for women!”

I, in turn, expressed surprise. I’m sure my colleague, a man of learning, was aware of the term *Festschrift* but had simply misheard me. He thought that in James’s honour we were presenting him with a *Facelift*.

In the end, the book of essays assembled for James was published not as a *Facelift* or even as a *Festschrift*, but as a *Florilegium*. This is such a pretty word, we have used it in the sub-title of the present book.

Francina Moloi richly deserves a *Florilegium*. On the point of her retirement, no-one could dream of suggesting she could do with a *Facelift*, as she remains a woman of perennial freshness and strength, one of those whom age, it seems, can never whither, physically, mentally or spiritually. A person of great energy, during her last few years before retirement, she

was honoured by being appointed as Chair of the Board of Directors of the Lesotho Electricity and Water Authority; it was not for this reason alone that she was promptly nicknamed Professor Voltage.

At this point it would be appropriate to offer a brief biography of Francina Moloji and an account of the range of her achievements. (While the title of this book involves a cheeky take on the title of a play by Oscar Wilde, we could equally have adapted the title of Alex la Guma's *And a Threefold Cord*, acknowledging the three complementary strands in Francina's work as scholar, educator and social activist).

Francina's work as scholar has been primarily centred on psycholinguistics and child language acquisition; notable here has been the innovatory fieldwork-based research carried out by her in Lesotho in collaboration with Catherine Demuth and Matsepo Machobane. The chapters collected for this book, however, have been chosen to reflect the very wide range of Francina's interests. These papers have been arranged in thematic clusters. There are studies on language interference, including one on that subject in the context of Nigerian humour, and others that touch on concerns with social development and well-being, focusing on language in the contexts of education and clinical healthcare. Essays on theoretical and applied linguistics focus on languages as

diverse as Kizombo, Yoruba, Chishona and Sesotho, and on the sub-theme of onomastics, a burgeoning field in language/linguistics research in Africa, that even generates its own conferences. The socio-political domain is broached in papers on language policy: still a crucial and controversial issue in African development. Papers on literature include several on Nigeria, focusing both on little-known authors (such as DasyIva) and on the very well-known (Soyinka). There is a paper on contemporary creative writing in Lesotho and one on the controversial and still under-examined Mosotho writer A. S. Mopeli-Paulus. One paper examines the question, does literature have any verifiable relevance in an increasingly digitalized twenty-first century. Other papers expand the thematic range of the book: these include essays on marginalized ethnic groups and on accordion music (a genre of considerable socio-political significance in Lesotho).

A wide variety of contributions, then. Many were written by Francina's colleagues at the National University of Lesotho, at a time when the institution was undergoing a protracted managerial and financial crisis. Others come from colleagues based at universities elsewhere in Africa. We hope you enjoy reading them as much as we have enjoyed compiling them.

Vivat, vivat Francina!

Chris Dunton

Acknowledgement of Editors

David Publishing Company gratefully acknowledges the following individuals who made this book “Recent Developments in African Linguistics and Literature: A Florilegium for Francina Moloji” possible by serving as editors:

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In addition, the editors wish to thank the Management of the National University of Lesotho for providing the necessary funding for the publication of this book.

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***The Locative-Subject
Alternation of Vidms
and the Notion of
Causation in Kikongo
(Kizombo)***

Mbiavanga Fernando

This chapter examines properties of locative-subject alternation with verbs of inherently directed motion in Kikongo (Kizombo), a Southern African Bantu language of Angola zoned as H with number 16h according to Guthrie's (1970: 14-15) referential classification. Specifically, the correlation between locative-

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subject alternation and properties exemplifying the causative and anticausative alternation in these constructions are examined. Various diagnostic tests relating to aspectual verb class properties associated with anticausative properties are applied to sentence constructions that exemplify the locative-subject alternation in this language. These diagnostic tests include the acceptability of purpose phrase, agent-oriented phrase, by-phrase, reason phrase, instrument phrase, and temporal phrase modification. The chapter also addresses issues relating to transitivity in Kikongo (Kizombo). The chapter maintains that although the sample sentences examined suggest that the Kikongo VIDMs in their anticausative cannot be modified by a purpose clause, the sentences are felicitous with an agent-oriented phrase, a reason phrase, and an instrumental phrase. The acceptability of these adjuncts explains the presence of a causer.

1. Introduction

Locative-subject alternation also known as locative inversion has received considerable attention by many scholars (Bresnan & Kanerva, 1989; Machobane, 1995; Marten, 2006; Levin & Hovav, 1995). This alternation is often characterized as a process that reverses the grammatical relations of the participants (i.e., $DP_{Ag} - A_{grS}V - DP_{Loc} = DP_{Loc} - A_{grS}V - DP$). One of the substantiations for such types of relations in Bantu languages comes from agreement. In some Bantu languages after the reversal is obtained, the DP_{Ag} of

the sentence no longer triggers agreement with the preverbal DP in the verb structure; it is the postverbal DP that the verb agrees with.

Three central issues have featured the debate: first, the properties of the predicates that participate in locative inversion, second, whether the postverbal DP exhibits properties of the subject, and how to account for the preverbal DP of uninverted sentence in inverted sentence, and third, what type of information structure such a construction avails.

Recent research on the relation between motion verbs and the notion of causation, (Theophanopoulou, 2003; Beavers *et al.*, 2010), suggests that some unergative predicates in some languages can form causative and anticausative counterparts. Theophanopoulou (2003), while analyzing motion verbs in the Greek language, points out that those unergative intransitives, which also allow for a transitive syntax appear to fall into two classes: the first class involves predicates like *trexo* (run), *jelao* (laugh), *kalpazo* (gallop). For Theophanopoulou, this class has potentially causative interpretation since they may give rise to various degrees of causation, depending on the animate properties of the object. The second class of unergative, mainly, involves predicates of manner-of-motion, such as *walk*, *stroll*, and *travel*. In the view of this scholar, this class is referred to as pseudo-causative, precisely, because in

their transitive use, they do not give a causative reading.

Furthermore, Beavers *et al.* (2010) observe that [...] figures of motion events and patients of change-of-state events tend to be realized as direct internal argument. This means that motion verbs in the locative-subject alternation are analogous with the manner of result constructions of change-of-state, hence that change of location expressed in motion verbs is indeed similar to change-of-state verbs. For them, following the common assumption that coming to be in/at a location is like coming to be in/at a state and vice-versa is just an instance of more general constraint, as proposed by Levin and Hovav (1992). Thus, motion verbs in their uninverted form have a potentially causative interpretation since they may give rise to various degrees of causation, depending on the animate properties of the object. This means that in the causative and anticausative alternations, these verbs are comparable to the manner of results of change-of-state, hence that change-of-location expressed in motion verbs is indeed similar to change-of-state.

Despite comprehensive research in many languages of the world, the concept of the causative and anticausative with these constructions in *Kikongo (Kizombo)*, and in *Bantu* languages in generalis still unexplored. This chapter will examine Verbs of Inherently Directed Motion (VIDMs) (Levin, 1993). The chapter is structured as follows: following

this introduction, section 2 will analyze the *Kikongo (Kizombo)*¹ sentences with VIDMs, and section 3 will discuss the example sentences presented in section 2 and give some conclusions.

2. Verbs of Inherently Directed Motion (Vidms) in *Kikongo*

“Verbs of Inherently Directed Motion” include a specification of the direction of motion, even in the absence of an overt directional complement (Levin, 1993: 264). For some verbs, this specification is in deictic terms; for others it is in non-deictic terms. However, the class members do not behave consistently in all respects. They differ as to how they can express Goal, Source, or Path of motion. This article will examine the non-deictic verbs and four verbs (*-kwenda* ‘go’, *-kwiza* ‘come’, *-kota* ‘enter’ and *-vaika* ‘go out/exit’) will be examined. However, the discussion will center around the verb *-kwenda* ‘go’.

In principle, VIDMs do not specify the manner of motion. They denote a path component inherent in the lexical meaning of the verb. In *Kikongo (Kizombo)*, these verbs have the ability to take direction/path locatives. When the verbs *-kwenda* ‘go’ *-kwiza* ‘come’ and *-kota* ‘enter’ take the static goal locative complement *mu-*, they denote static location (*-kwenda/kwiza/*

¹ The terms *Kikongo* and *Kizombo* will be used interchangeably.

kota musuku ‘go/come/enter (in) the bedroom’) and when they take the directional goal locative complement *ku-*, they denote dynamic location (*-kwenda/-kwiza/kota kuzandu* ‘go/come to/into the market’). When the verb *-vaika* (exit) takes the static goal locative complement *mu-*, it denotes implicitly an initial location, the place which people come from; the locative prefix *mu-*, here, is understood as positional rather than associated with movement. Thus, it denotes the static spatial relation *suku*, the source (*nyoka vaikidi musuku* ‘the snake exited from the bedroom’). However, when the prefix *ku-* takes dynamic spatial relation with the goal *vata*, (*masolai mavaikidi kuvata* it means ‘the soldiers came out to the village’), the interpretation is the result of encyclopaedic lexical meaning of the verb with the locative prefix attached to it.

2.1 Agent/Theme Argument as Subject

The four sentences with VIDMs examined occur in the locative-subject alternation. Two types of alternations are identified: one with the locative morphology and another without locative morphology. However, they both have similar, but not identical interpretations. While the verb *-kwenda* does not take the Theme argument as subject in (1a), the verb *-vaika* does, as shown in (1b).

(1) a. *Mwana/mwini uwele kuzandu*

- Mu-ana/#Ø-mwini u-w-ele ku-Ø-zandu
 - 1a-child/7-sunshine 1-go-PST 17-5-market
 - Child went to market (Intd: the child went to the market)
- b. *Mwana/mwisi uvaikidi musuku*
- *Mu-ana/Ø-mwisi u-vaik-idi mu-Ø-suku*
 - 1a-child/3-smoke 3/AgrS-exit-PST 18-5-room
 - Child/smoke went out of of bedroom (Intd: the child/smoke went out of the bedroom)

2.1.1 Goal/Source argument as subject

- (2) a. *Kuzandu kuwele mwana/mwisi*
- *Ku-Ø-zandu ku-w-ele mu-ana/#Ø-mwini*
 - 17-5-river 17/AgrS-go-PST 1a-child/3-sunshine
 - To river went child/sunshine (Intd: the market is the place which the child/sunshine went)
- b. *Musuku muvaikidi mwana/mwisi*
- *Mu-Ø-suku mu-vaik-idi mu-Ø-ana/Ø-mwisi*
 - 18-5-bedroom 18-exit-PST 1a-child/3-smoke
 - In bedroom exited child/smoke (Intd: from the bedroom is the place which the child/smoke exited)

2.1.2 Goal/Source (without loc. prefix) argument as subject

- (3) a. *Zandu/mwini dyele/wele mwana*
- *Ø-zandu/#Ø-mwini di-u-e-ele mu-ana*
 - 5-river/3-sunshine 5-3/AgrS-14-go-PST 1a-child
 - Market/sunsine went child (Intd: the market/sunshine)

is the place where the child went)

b. *Suku divaikidi mwana/mwini*

• *Ø-suku di-vaik-idi mu-ana/ Ø-mwisi*

• 5-bedroom 5/AgrS-exit-PST 1a-child/3-smoke

• In bedroom exited child/smoke (Intd: from the bedroom is the place where the child/smoke exited)

The example sentences in (1), the preverbal argument *mwana* ‘child’ is the subject of (1a/b), a position in which it is interpreted with the thematic role Agent, whereas the postverbal arguments, *kuzandu* and *musuku*, are the adjuncts, a position in which they are understood with the thematic roles Goal in (2a) and Source in (2b). The sentences in (2), the verbs *-kwenda* and *-vaika* agree with the locative prefixes *ku-* and *mu-*, whereas in (3) the verbs agree with the nominal class prefixes. Although the sentences in (2) and (3) have similar meanings, they differ in that in the former the Goal/Source argument is realized with locative morphology and in the latter, the Goal/Source argument is realized without locative morphology. This means that the Goal/Source is used in its canonical form. In terms of discourse, the constructions in (2) and (3) are used interchangeably, and the choice of either variant is left up to speakers.

2.2 Purpose Clause Modification

While the example sentences with Agent/Theme argument

in (4) are acceptable with control in a *purpose* clause, the example sentences with the Goal argument with locative morphology in (5) and the Goal argument without locative morphology in (6) are not acceptable. This means the Locative argument as subject in (5) and (6) cannot exert control on a *purpose* clause.

2.2.1 Agent/Theme argument as subject

- (4) *Mwana dikendele kuzandu mpasi vo kasumba kinkutu*
 • *Mu-ana di-ka-end-ele ku-Ø-zandu mpasi vo ka-sumba ki-nkutu*
 • 1a-child Cp-1-go-PST 17-5-market so that 1-buy 7-shirt
 • ‘Child went to market so that s/he buys t-shirt’ (Intd: the child went to the market so that s/he buys a t-shirt)

2.2.2 Goal/Locative/Source argument as subject

- (5) #*Kuzandu dikwendele mwana mpasi vo kwa sumba kinkutu*
 • *Ku-Ø-zandu di-kwend-ele mw-ana mpasivo kwa sumba ki-nkutu*
 • 17-5-market Cp-go-PST 1a-child so that 17/market buy 7-shirt
 • ‘To market went child so that there buys shirt’ (Intd: the market is the place which the child went so that s/he buys a t-shirt)

2.2.3 Goal/Locative/Source argument (without loc prefix) as subject

- (6) #Zandu didyendele mwana mpasi vo dyasumba kinkutu
- Ø-zandu *di-dy-end-ele mu-ana mpasivo dya-sumba kinkutu*
 - 5-market Cp-5-go-PST 1a-child so that 5-buy 7-shirt
 - ‘Market went child so that it buy shirt’ (Intd: the market is the place which the child went so that s/he buys a t-shirt)

2.3 Agent-Oriented Phrase Modification

Unlike the case with a *purpose* clause, the example sentences with Goal/Locative argument as subject in (7), and in (8 and 9) can be modified by an *agent-oriented* phrase.

2.3.1 Agent argument as subject

- (7) *Mwana wele kuzandu munswalu*
- *Mu-ana Ø-w-ele ku-Ø-zandu mu-nswalu*
 - 1a-child 1/AgrS-go-PST 17-5-market 18-fast
 - ‘Child went to market fast’ (Intd: the child went to the market fast)

2.3.2 Goal/Locative/Source argument as subject

- (8) *Kuzandu kwele mwana munswalu*
- *Ku-Ø-zandu ku-w-ele mu-ana mu-nswalu*
 - 17-5-market 17-go-PST 1a-child 18-fast
 - ‘To market went child fast’ (Intd: the market is the place

which the child went fast)

2.3.3 Goal/Locative/Source argument (without loc prefix) as subject

(9) *Zandu dyele mwana munsualu*

- *Ø-zandu di-y-ele mu-ana mu-nswalu*
- 5-market 5/AgrS-go-PST 1a-child 18-fast
- ‘Market went child fast’ (Ind: the market is the place where the child went fast)

The example sentences in (8 and 9) differ in the sense that in (8) the Goal/Locative argument is realized with locative morphology, while in (9) the verb is realized without locative morphology. Nevertheless, they both have similar, but not identical interpretations since the Goal/Locative argument in (9) is used in its canonical form.

2.4 By-self Phrase Modification

The example in (10) below with the Agent argument as subject is acceptable with a *by-self* phrase, whereas the example with Goal/Locative argument with locative morphology in (11) and without locative morphology in (12) are infelicitous. The constructions with the *by-self* phrase have the interpretation of someone doing something without external help.

2.4.1 Agent argument as subject

(10) *Mwana wele kuzandu yani mosi*

- *Mu-ana Ø-w-ele ku-Ø-zandu yani mosi*
- 1a-child 1/AgrS-go-PST 17-5-market him/herself
- Child went to market him/herself (Intd: the child went to the market alone)

2.4.2 Goal argument as subject

- (11) #*Kuzandu kwele mwana kwau mosi*
- *Ku-Ø-zandu ku-w-ele mu-ana kw-au mosi*
 - 17-5-market 17-go-PST 1a-child by-itself
 - ‘To market went child him/herself’ (Ind: the market is the place which the child went alone)

2.4.3 Goal argument (without loc prefix) as subject

- (12) #*Zandu dyele mwana dyau mosi*
- *Ø-zandu di-i-ele mu-ana dy-au mosi*
 - 5-market 5/AgrS-go-PST 1a-child 5-it self
 - ‘Market went child by itself’ (Intd: the market is the place which the child went alone)

2.5 Again Phrase Modification

Like the example sentences in (13) with the Agent argument as subject, the sentences with Goal/Locative argument with locative morphology in (14) and without locative morphology in (15) are all felicitous with an *again* phrase.

2.5.1 Agent argument as subject

- (13) *Mwana wele dyaka kuzandu*

- *Mu-ana Ø-w-ele dyaka ku-Ø-zandu*
- 1a-child 1/AgrS-go-PST again 17-5-market
- ‘Child went to market again’ (Intd: the child went to the market again)

2.5.2 Goal/Locative argument as subject

- (14) *Kuzandu kwele dyaka mwana*
- *Ku-Ø-zandu ku-w-ele dyaka mu-ana*
 - 17-5-market 17-go-PST again 1-child
 - ‘To market went again child’ (Intd: the market is the place which the child went again)

2.5.3 Goal/Locative argument (without loc prefix) as subject

- (15) *Zandu dyele dyaka mwana*
- *Ø-zandu di-y-ele dyaka mu-ana*
 - 5-market 5/AgrS-go-PST again 1a-child
 - ‘Market went again child’ (Intd: the market is the place which the child went again)

In sentences (14) and (15), the *again* phrase has two possible interpretations: it may have a repetitive or a restitutive meaning. In (13), the *again* phrase can presuppose the existence of a previous time at which the child went *again* to the market (repetitive) or can presuppose that there is a previous time at which the child went to the market, but not that there was a previous event (restitutive). These two

interpretations are equally applicable to constructions in (14/15).

2.6 Reason Phrase Modification

As is the case with sentence (16) with the Agent/Theme argument as subject, the Goal/Locative argument is the subject with locative morphology in (17) or without locative morphology in (18) which is felicitous with a *reason* phrase modification.

2.6.1 Agent/Theme argument as subject

(16) *Mwana dikendele kuzandu ekuma kasumba kinkutu*

• *mu-ana di-ka-end-ele ku-Ø-zandu ekuma ka-sumba kinkutu*

• 1a-child Cp-1-go-PST 17-5-market because 1-buy 7-shirt

• Child went to market because s/he buys shirt (Intd: the child went to market because s/he buys a T-shirt)

2.6.2 Goal/Locative/Source argument as subject

(17) *Kuzandu dikuwendele mwana ekuma kasumba mbolo*

• *Ku-Ø-zandu di-ku-wend-ele mu-ana ekuma ka-sumba Ø-mbolo*

• 17-5-market Cp-17-go-PST 1a-child because 1-buy 9-bread

• ‘To market went child because s/he buys bread’ (Intd:

the market is the place which the child went because s/ he buys bread)

2.6.3 Goal/Locative/Source (without loc prefix) argument as subject

(18) *Zandu didyendele mwana ekuma kasumba mbolo*

• Ø-zandu *di-dy-end-ele mu-ana ekuma ka-sumba*
Ø-mbolo

• 5-market Cp-5/AgrS-go-PST 1a-child because 1-buy
9-bread

• ‘Market went child because s/he buys bread’ (Intd: the market is the place which the child went because s/he buys bread)

Sentences (16), (17) and (18) have similar interpretations: they mean that ‘the reason why the child went to the market is to buy bread’. Despite the arguments’ relation changing, these sentences have a similar, but not identical interpretation, since sentences (17) and (18) are used with inchoative reading. This means, they are used in the context of speakers giving focus to the location and not to the figure which moves.

2.7 Instrumental Phrase Modification

The sentences with the verb, *kwenda* in (19) are felicitous with the instrumental phrase modification. The same holds true for sentences (20) and (21), as opposed to sentences (21b) in which the speaker’s judgment wavers.

2.7.1 Agent/Theme argument as subject

(19) *Mwana/mwini wele kuzandu mukalu*

- *Mu-ana/#Ø-mwini Ø-w-ele ku-Ø-zandu **mu-Ø-kalu***
- 1a-child/3-sunshine 3/AgrS-go-PST17-5-market 18-5-car
- Child/sunshine went to market by car (Intd: the child/sunshine went to the market by car).

2.7.2 Goal/Locative argument as subject

(20) *Kuzandu kwele mwana mumakalu*

- *Ku-Ø-zandu ku-w-ele mu-ana **mu-ma-kalu***
- 17-5-market 17-go-PST 1a-child 18-6-car
- ‘To market went child by car’ (Intd: the market is the place which the child went by car)

2.7.3 Goal/Locative argument (without loc prefix) as subject

(21) a. *Zandu dyele mwana mukalu*

- *Ø-zandu di-y-ele mu-ana **mu-Ø-kalu***
- 5-market 5AgrS-go-PST 1a-child 18-5-car
- Market went child in car (Intd: the market is the place which the child went by car)

b. *?Suku dikotele mwana mumileta*

- *Ø-suku di-kot-ele mu-ana **mu-mi-leta***
- 5-room 5/AgrS-enter-PST 1a-child 18-4-crutch
- Room entered child in crutches (Intd: the bedroom is the place which the child entered with the help of crutches)

Sentence (19) with an Agent argument, has the interpretation of “the child went to the market through the help of a car.” Besides, sentences (20) and (21) with or without locative morphology are used with the same interpretation. With regard to the context, it was found that the *Kikongo* speakers use the sentences in (20) and (21) interchangeably; that is, there is no specific discourse context. The difference between these two constructions is that the sentence without locative prefix is used in its canonical form.

2.8 Temporal Phrase Modification

Two of the four sentences examined are infelicitous with a *durative* phrase and felicitous with a *time* frame adjunct, as shown in (22a), whereas the other two sentences with the verbs *-kota* and *-vaika* are felicitous with a *time* frame adjunct and infelicitous with *adurative* adjunct, as show in (22b). Members of this semantic class denote an activity event in their basic category in that they have an atelic interpretation. However, when a directional goal locative *ku-* combines with an activity verb, the resulting sentence shifts to a telic interpretation, but when a static goal locative combines with an activity verb, the resulting sentence remains with an atelic interpretation. VIDMs with the Goal/Locative argument as subject are acceptable with both *durative* and *time* frame adjuncts, except the example sentences in (23b) and (24b) on

which the speaker's judgment wavers.

2.8.1 Agent argument as subject

(22) a. *Mwana wele kuzandu (*kolo kya-)/(mu-)ngunga imosi*

• *Mu-ana Ø-w-ele ku-Ø-zandu (kolo kya-)/(mu-)ngunga imosi*

• 1a-child 1/Agrs-go-PST 17-5-river for/in an hour

• 'Child went market for/in hour (Intd: the child went to the market for/in an hour)

b. *Mwana wizidi kuvata (*kolo kya-)/(mu-)ngunga imosi*

• *Mu-ana u-iz-idi ku-Ø-vata (kolo kya-)/(mu-)ngunga imosi*

• 1a-child 1/AgrS-come-PST 17-5-village for/in an hour

• Child came village for/in hour (Intd: the child came to the village for/in an hour)

2.8.2 Goal/Source argument as subject

(23) a. *Kuzandu kwele mwana (kolo kya-)/(mu-)ngunga imosi*

• *Ku-Ø-zandu ku-w-ele mu-ana (kolo kya nda)/(mu-)ngunga imosi*

• 17-5-market 17-go-PST 1a-child for/in an hour

• To market went child for/in hour' (Intd: the market is the place which the child went for/in an hour)

b. *?Kuvata kwizidi mw-ana (kolo kya-)/(mu-)ngunga imosi*

• *Ku-Ø-vata ku-iz-idi mu-ana(kolo kya-)/(mu-)ngunga imosi*

- 17-5-village 17-come-PST 1a-child for/in an hour
- To village came child for/in hour (Intd: the village is the place which the child came for/in an hour)

2.8.3 Goal/Source argument (without loc prefix) as subject

(24) a. *Zandu dyele mwana (kolo kya-)/(mu-)ngunga imosi*
 • *Ø-zandu di-y-ele mu-ana (kolo kya-)/(mu-)ngunga imosi*

- 5-market 5/AgrS-go-PST 1a-child for/in an hour
- Market went child for/in hour' (Intd: the market is the place which the child went for/in an hour)

b. *?Vata diizidi mwana (kolo kya-)/(mu-)ngunga imosi*
 • *Ø-vata di-iz-idi mu-ana (kolo kya-)/(mu-)ngunga imosi*

- 5-village 5/AgrS-come-PST 1a-child for/in an hour
- Village come child for/in hour (Intd: the village is the place which the child came for/in an hour)

The sentence with the *durative* phrase has the interpretation of “it has been an hour since the child started going to the market”, whereas the sentence with the *time* frame adjunct has the interpretation of “the event of going to the market occurred in an hour”. The difference between (22) and (23) and (24) is that the latter has an inchoative reading, and is an event seen as a state (Smith, 1997). This explains that the example sentences in (23) and (24) are used in the context of presentational focus.

3. Discussion

The study of argument relation changing plays a central role in linguistic research, since it can offer vital information about the interface between the lexicon-semantic and the syntax. As it was stated in the introduction, the goal of this study was to identify (semantic) properties that allow the *Kizombo* VIDMs to occur in the locative-subject alternation and the relation between this construction and the notion of causation.

3.1 The Defining Criteria of the Kizombo VIDMs

The range of sample sentences with the *Kizombo* VIDMs occurs in the locative-subject alternation. Two types of alternations were identified: alternations with a locative morphology argument as subject and those without a locative morphology argument as subject. In the first alternation, the verb triggers subject-verb agreement with the locative prefix. In the second alternation, the verb agrees with the prefix of the referred noun class. Buell (2007: 150) defines the second alternation as “(agreeing) semantic locative inversion”, because the fronted expression does not appear with a locative prefix. However, these two alternations have similar, but not identical interpretations. With regard to the context in which constructions with or without locative morphology on

the subject argument occurs, it was found that speakers of *Kizombo* use the two variants interchangeably. In the context of presentational focus, a speaker of *Kizombo* can use both constructions. The difference is that the sentence without locative morphology is used in bear nominal form.

The flexibility with which the *Kizombo* VIDMs occur in the locative-subject alternation finds its explanation in the inherently lexical semantics of the verb root. This fact supports the Syntactic Decomposition approach (Alexiadou, 2010). In terms of this approach, verbs are derived from a category of mental roots via the addition of verbalizing heads. They are associated with the encyclopaedic or conceptual knowledge, which can restrict the syntactic frame, which a root can enter. The VIDMs roots examined above are categorized together with the node vCAUS and this generalization explains the reason why the four sentences examined (see Table 1) occur in the anticausative alternation.

Concerning derivational direction, the sentences with VIDMs examined above are morphologically unmarked. In analysing these sentences, I invoke the Syntactic Decomposition approach, which postulates that alternations, as discussed above, are base-generated, hence no alternation is derived from another (Alexiadou *et al.*, 2006). The sentences in uninverted and inverted variants are all constructed from a complex root [$\sqrt{\text{Root}} + \text{Theme}$], which expresses a resultant

state and an eventive verbal head CAUS, which takes the resultant state as its complement. The CAUS represents a *causal relation* between a causing event and the resultant state. On this basis, no possibility of directionality between the two alternants, because both alternants are based on the same verb root. For example the sentence with the Agent argument as subject in (1a), reproduced in (25) has a Voice projection. This voice node explains the presence of the external argument *mwana* ‘child’ (Alexiadou *et al.*, 2006; Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou, 2007; Alexiadou, 2010). Thus, the sentence with external argument in (25a) yields the structural representation, as in (25b).

(25) a. *Mwana wele kuzandu*

- *mu-ana Ø-w-ele ku-Ø-zandu*
- 1a-child1/AgrS-go-PST17-5-market
- Child went to market (Intd: the child went to the market)

b. [*Mwana* [*Voice* [*CAUS* [*wele kuzandu*]]]]

The event of the sentence in (25b) contains a *Voice* and a *vCAUS* component, which are the core structure for an Agent/Theme argument as a subject. The node *vCAUS* represents the bringing about of a *causal relation* between a causing event and the resultant state (i.e. a new location) denoted by the verb *-kwenda*. The *Voice* represents the external argument *mwana* ‘child’. Thus, the sentence in (25a) yields the abstract template

in (26), as proposed by Alexiadou (2010: 182) and represented in Figure 1.

(26) [Voice (+ext. arg. +AG) [vCAUS [$\sqrt{\text{Root}}$]]]

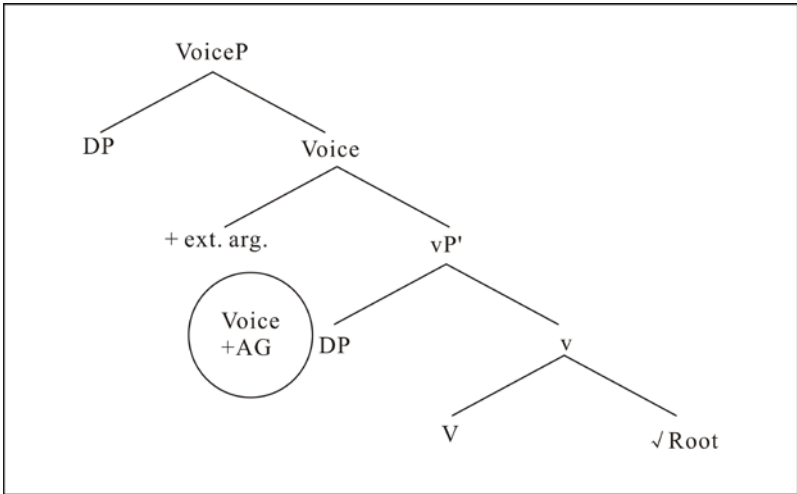


Figure 1. Decomposition of causative sentence with the verb *-kwenda* in Kizombo.

The template in (26) illustrates that the node *Voice* only establishes a relation between the Agent argument (*mwana*) and the event; hence the *Voice* bears the semantic feature related to [+AG] since the external argument denotes agentive feature. In the analysis of the sentences above, it was mentioned that sentences with the Goal/Locative/Source argument as subject hold a stative reading. This means, no external argument occurs, but the presence of vCAUS represents a relation between the causing event and the

resultant event. This fact allows agentive verbs, as the ones studied by Fernando (2013) to alternate.

Thus, the Agent argument as subject of the sentence in (25) and the Locative argument as subject of the sentence in (2), replicated in (27) for ease of reference, have the same event decomposition with a causative meaning component present even in the anticausative. Considering that the inverted/anticausative constructions examined in this study are morphologically unmarked, following the proposal by Alexiadou (2010), these constructions receive the abstract decomposition structure in (27b), represented in Figure 2.

(27) a. *Kuzandu kwele mwana*

- *Ku-Ø-zandu ku-w-ele mu-ana*
- 17-5-market 17/AgrS-go-PST 1a-child
- To market went child (Intd: the market is the place which the child went)

b. [vCAUS [Root]]

The anticausative sentence in (27), differ from the anticausatives with change of state verbs, as studied in Fernando (2013), in that in the anticausative sentences with VIDMs, the nominal predicate complement is obligatory while in the anticausative with the change of state verbs the Agent argument of the causative variant is optional. That is, it can only be projected as implicit argument. However, both constructions have the same underlying abstract structure.

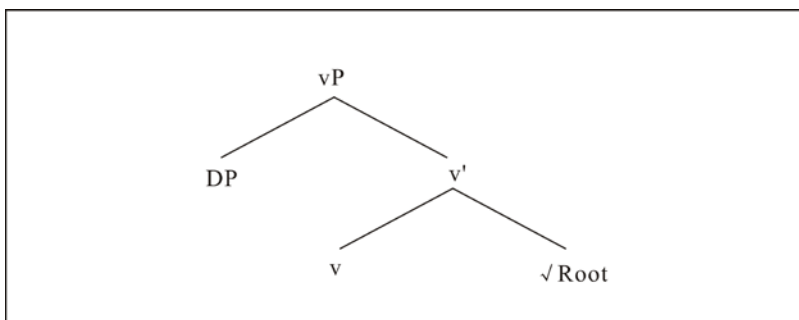


Figure 2. Decomposition of anticausative sentence with the the verb *-kuwenda* in *Kizombo*.

In fact, the anticausative sentences with the *Kizombo* VIDMs examined pose challenges to both the Intransitive and Transitive approaches. The Intransitive approach (Lakoff, 1965; McCawley, 1968; Dowty, 1979), takes the causative variant as derived from the anticausative via causativization process, whereas the Transitive approach (Grimshaw, 1982; Chierchia, 2004; Levin & Hovav, 1995; Reinhart, 2002), takes the opposite view by advocating that the causative is the basic structure and that the operation of detransitivization deletes the CAUSE predicated from the lexical conceptual representation. In other words, the Intransitive approach takes anticausatives as morphologically marked, whereas the Transitive approach takes the causative as morphologically marked. Data with the *Kizombo* VIDMs suggest that none of the variants is marked, which means none of the alternants can be assumed to derive from one another; hence they are base-generated.

3.4 Anticausativity and the Aspectual Verb Class

Research suggests that verbs can be divided into different aspectual classes on the basis of their relation to a time scale. The aspectual classes discussed in linguistic literature are Activity, State, Accomplishments and Achievements, and Semifaltives (Rothstein, 2004; Smith, 1997).

The range of these sentences with a *temporal* phrase modification examined suggest that when a verb that denotes an Activity combine with a directional goal locative, the resultant sentence has a telic interpretation, but when a verb combines with a stative goal locative, the resultant sentence has an atelic interpretation, as illustrated in (23) and (24), reproduced in (28) for ease of reference.

- (28) a. *Mwana welekuzandu(kolo kya-)/(#mu-)ngunga zizole*
• *mu-ana Ø-w-ele ku-zandu (kolo kya-)/(mu-)ngunga zizole*
• 1a-child 1/AgrSgo-PST 17-5-market for/in two hours
• ‘Child went market for/in two hours (Intd: the child went to the market for/in an hour)
- b. *Mwana wele kuzandu (#kolo kya-)/(mu-)ngunga zizole*
• *mu-ana Ø-w-ele ku-Ø-zandu (kolo kya-)/(mu-)ngunga zizole*
• 1a-child 1/AgrS-go-PST 17-5-market for/in two hours

- ‘Child went market for/in two hours (Intd: the child went to the market for/in an hour)

However, the sentence with the verb *-kota* ‘enter’ in (29) is infelicitous with *atime* frame adjunct, but felicitous with *adurative* frame adjunct.

(29) *Mwana kotele musuku(kolo kya-)/(#mu-)ngunga imosi*
 • *mu-ana kot-ele mu-Ø-suku (kolo kya-)/(mu-)ngunga imosi*

- 2a-child enter-PST 18-5-room for/in an hour
- People entered the room for/in an hour (Intd: the child entered the room for/in an hour)

Examining temporal phrase modification with the *Kizombo* VIDMs, one can also invoke the compositional rule principle, as proposed by (Smith, 1997). Features of the *Kizombo* locative prefixes, such as *ku-*, *mu-*, and *va-*, are informative with respect to telicity and atelicity. For instance, a verb with intrinsic features [-Telic] combines with the locative prefixes *ku-/mu-*, such a combination yields the following intrinsic features, as represented in (30b or 31b).

(30) a. *Mwana wele kuzandu mungunga imosi*
 • *mu-ana Ø-w-ele ku-Ø-zandu mu-ngunga imosi*
 • 1a-child 1/AgrS-go-PST 17-5-market 18-hour one
 • Child went to market in hour (Intd: the child went to the market in an hour)

b. $DP[+Count] + v[-Telic] + LOC[DGL] \rightarrow Vcon [+Telic]$

(31) a. *Mwana kotele musukukolo kya ngunga imosi*

- *mu-ana kot-ele mu-Ø-suku kolo kya ngunga imosi*
- 1a-child enter-PST 18-5-market for an hour one
- Child entered bedroom for hour (Intd: the child entered the bedroom for an hour)

b. $_{DP}[+Count] + v[-Telic] - _{LOC}[SGL] \rightarrow Vcon [-Telic]$

The sentence in (30a) bears -telic feature values and a +telic adverbial, whereas the one in (31a) bears -telic feature values and a -telic adverbial. When a -telic verb combines with a complement that bears a +telic interpretation, the verb constellation is -telic. Similar to the sentences with the verbs that denote Activity, the sentence with the verb that denotes State in (32), has a similar verb constellation to that discussed in (31). Sentence (32a), with an existence verb, bears telic feature values and has a telic adverbial.

(32) a. *Antu aziingilanga munzo (kolo kya-)/(#mu-) ngonde zizole*

- *a-ntu a-ziing-il-ang-a mu-Ø-nzo (kolo kya-)/(#mu-) ngonde zizole*
- 2-person 2/AgrS-live-APPL-HAB-FV 18-9-house for/in two months
- People live in the house for/in two months

b. $_{DP}[+Count] + v[-Telic] - _{LOC}[SGL] \rightarrow Vcon [-Telic]$

Sentence (32a) demonstrates that when a -telic verb combines with complement that bears -telic, the verb constellation is -telic. This explains that aspectual values of the basic-level

verb constellation are overridden by the complements.

Comparing the sentences as in (28a) and (29a), sentence (28a) denotes an unbounded time scale. Thus, the *time* frame adjunct is not acceptable. In (28b) after the inclusion of the directional goal locative *ku-*, the verb shifts from an Activity to an Accomplishment with an end goal; for that reason a *durative* phrase is unacceptable. Unlike the causative sentences, the anticausative sentences, without exception, are felicitous with both *durative* and *time* frame adjuncts. This is demonstrated by the fact that the anticausative sentences examined with the *kizombo* VIDMs are derived situation types which fall into the category of marked focus sentences, as discussed by (Smith, 1997). The Events in this type of sentences are seen as state; they, therefore, denote single state.

As pointed out in sub-section 2, *Kizombo* speakers make the choice of emphasizing the event's internal stage as continuous or homogeneous, which means they can use the sentence with two possible interpretations: "it has been an hour now since an event occurred" or "the given event occurred in an hour". The anticausative sentences examined denote a kind of stativity, as exemplified in the gloss in (33). The choice of either interpretation is made by the speakers in discourse context.

- (33) *Kuzandu kwele aana (kolo kya-/mu-)ngunga zizole*
• *ku-Ø-zandu ku-w-ele a-ana (kolo kya-/mu-)ngunga zizole*

- 17-5-market 7/AgrS-go-PST 2a-child for/in an hour
- To river went children for/in two hour' (Intd: the river is the place which the children went for/in two hours)

3.5 Anticausative and the Notion of Transitivity

Sentences with a change of state verbs, as studied by Fernando (2013), denote a degree of causation. The example sentences in (34), differ in that the event of the verb *-gula* in (34a) is introduced by an Agent (*n'tungi wa nzo* 'builder/bricklayer'), therefore, the sentence is in the transitive use whereas in the event of the verb *-gula* in (34b), the agent of the event is not projected syntactically; therefore, the verb illustrates an intransitive use. However, it is widely accepted that there is an understood instigator/causer, which caused such a change. This may be an Agent, an Instrument or a Natural force.

(34) a. *N'tungi'a nzo uwdidi gyaka*

- \emptyset -*n'tungi'a nzo uwd-idi* \emptyset -*gyaka*
- 1-builder of house break-PST 7-wall
- Builder of house crashed wall. (Intd: the bricklayer crashed the wall)

b. *Gyaka kiuwdikidi*

- \emptyset -*gyaka ki-uwd-ik-idi*
- 7-wall 7/AgrS-break-CI-PST

- Wall crashed (Intd: The wall crashed)

In the introduction, it was pointed out that Beavers *et al.* (2010) observed that the argument DPs that denote result and goal represent a single category that contributes to the aspectual properties of the predicate. The correspondence between goal and result verbs derives from argument realization of such verbs. That is, Themes of change of state verbs and Figures (Agent/Theme argument) of VIDMs tend to be realized syntactically as direct internal arguments of the anticausative sentences of these verbs. This explains that the *Kizombo* VIDMs that realize locative-subject alternation are comparable to the manner of result constructions of change of state verbs, hence that change of location/position realized in these are, indeed, similar to change of state verbs.

Syntactically, the anticausative sentences of change of state verbs display intransitive form whereby the sentence has only one argument, the subject DP. In locative-subject alternation, however, the Goal/Locative/Source argument as subject appears in front of the verb, a position in which they are regarded as the structural subject DP of the anticausative sentence. The Agent/Theme argument of the causative sentence appears in postverbal position in the anticausative sentence, a position in which it is regarded as a predicative nominal complement of the sentence. Structurally, the causative variant of the *Kizombo* VIDMs is an intransitive

construction whereas that of change of state is a transitive construction.

This fact calls into question the concept of transitivity/intransitivity, which has been associated with the concept of causative/anticausative as an analogous phenomenon. The sentences examined above suggest that the sentences that exemplify the causative variant of VIDMs are used in intransitive form. Thus, the concept of causative is related to cause and effect, and that there is no one-to-one correspondence between causative and transitive or vice-versa.

4. Conclusion

This article examined the *Kizombo* sentences with VIDMs that occur in the locative-subject alternation. In particular, the relationship between locative-subject alternation and properties exemplifying the causative and anticausative alternation were analyzed. The range of the sentences examined can alternate and two types of alternations were identified: **(i)** one with the subject argument with locative morphology and **(ii)** another with the subject argument without locative morphology. Despite the morphological difference, both alternants have the same thematic role and have a similar, but not identical interpretation. The difference between the causative (uninverted) and anticausative (inverted) variant is

that the latter is typically interpreted as a topic, and the Agent/Theme argument gives new information.

Although in terms of discourse both sentences with a subject Goal/Locative/Source argument, with or without locative morphology of the subject, are used interchangeably, they differ in that the subject argument in the sentence without locative is used in a bare form. The sentences with VIDMs examined suggest that the causative variant is used in intransitive form; thus, the concept of causative is related to cause and effect, and there is no one-to-one correspondence between causative and transitive or vice versa. The causative and anticausative alternations have an effect on the aspectual class of the verb since they shift from the situation types to the derived situation type. The analysis attests to the general theoretical view which postulates that the semantic representations of syntactic information are a relevant part of the lexical encoding of verbs.

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Terminologization in Yorùbá Terminology Development

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This paper describes terminologization in Yorùbá language, one of the three major languages in Nigeria. This method of term formation subsumes the strategies of extension of register, semantic extension, eponymy, semantic narrowing, conversion and revival of old words. Two kinds of examples are given: of words which are already in common use (referred to as existing words) and of proposed words (formed through the methods of term creation described in this paper). The proposed words are taken from ‘English-Yorùbá Vocabulary of Building Construction’ (Olúbòdé-Sàwẹ̀, 2010). Extension of register involves using

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words, usually of a non-technical nature, especially from cookery and traditional arts and crafts, to gloss foreign technical terms. Semantic extension involves deliberately extending the meaning of indigenous words to make them gloss foreign terms, so that one word now conveys the meaning of two or more entities with shared characteristics. The meaning of words referring to concepts in dressmaking, cookery, pottery fisheries mythology and agriculture are now used for concepts in building construction and estate management. In semantic narrowing, the scope of a word that ordinarily covered a wide range of referents is deliberately restricted. Examples include terms for measurements and types of structures. In eponymy, a personal name becomes a common noun. The methods, described in this work, with examples from Yorùbá and other African languages, show that expanding the technical vocabulary of a language need not involve the estrangement of many of its native speakers by depending solely on loan vocabulary.

1. Introduction

This paper describes terminologization in Yorùbá language, one of the three major languages in Nigeria. Terminology refers to “the set of special words belonging to a science, an art, an author, or a social entity,” as in “the terminology of medicine” or “the terminology used by computer specialists.” In a more restricted sense, terminology (also known as terminology work) may be defined as “the language discipline dedicated to the scientific study of the concepts and terms used

in specialized languages” (Pavel, Nolet & Leonhardt, 2001: 6). A specialized language or special purpose language (SPL) is used by subject-matter specialists to facilitate unambiguous communication in a particular area of knowledge, based on the terminology and phraseology specific to that area.

This chapter describes a method of term formation which is now referred to in the literature as terminologization. Two kinds of examples are given. These include words which are already in common use (here referred to as existing words) and proposed words (formed through the methods of term, creation described in this paper). The proposed words are taken from “English-Yorùbá Vocabulary of Building Construction” (Olúbòdé-Sàwẹ̀, 2010: 200-385). It is a terminological product that has English entry terms, Yorùbá equivalents and definitions in Yorùbá.

The purpose of terminology work is to increase people’s access to the resources that they need to improve their lives. One such resource is technical information, which is often locked away in languages which the neediest do not speak. People whose mother-tongue is not (or not sufficiently) developed from the point of view of terminology and special purpose languages or who are denied the use of their mother-tongue in education and training, for accessing information, or interacting in their work places, tend to be disadvantaged (UNESCO, 2005: v). Similarly, when a language lags behind in terminology for a given domain, its speakers are at risk of

losing the ability to communicate in that subject in their own language over time. There is, therefore, a need for (continuous) terminology planning in many language communities. One aspect of terminology planning is term creation.

2. Term Creation Methods

Krishnamurti (1976), cited by Thirumalai (2003), lists the principal methods of term creation as including “giving new meanings to old terms, using native descriptive expressions or derivatives, adopting foreign terms, modelling native descriptive expressions after convenient foreign models.” UNESCO (2005: 10) classifies these term formation methods into three major types: translingual borrowing; the creation of new forms; and the use of existing forms, with same or different meanings. While translingual borrowing refers to the use of a linguistic expression from a source language not closely related to the target language, creation of new forms (or composition) refers to the formation of new terms in a language by combining some of its morphemes, words or even phrases to create new expressions denoting foreign objects or concepts.

In employing these different term creation strategies, there are some semiotic principles or guidelines which are recommended. One principle is to exhaust the internal resources of a language before going outside it to borrow (UNESCO, 2005). One may follow this principle because

of the urge to maintain one's national identity, the need to meet the demands of education through the mother tongue or the national language, the existence of a long entrenched tradition of local and native scientific pursuits and the avowed conventions of linguistic usage of a society.

A related principle is that of external association. Owolabi (2004) defines external association as the ease of linkage (in the mind of speakers) of an indigenous term and its corresponding source term, obviating the creation of another term by borrowing or composition. This linkage is not under the control of the terminologist; suitable indigenous expressions either exist or they do not. She or he is required, however, to exploit such associations where possible. This requires that whenever an indigenous expression aptly expresses the concept designated by a foreign term, such terms should be used as equivalents.

3. Terminologization

This chapter now discusses one strategy of term formation where preference is given to the indigenous resources of the language. This process or act of using a word is "General Purpose Language (GPL), also called terminologization" (UNESCO, 2005: 45). In other words, a word in common usage becomes a term or part of a term for the expression of a technical concept. This does not usually involve any change to

the form of the GPL word, except in cases when the existing word becomes part of a term rather than the whole term.

Terminologization could result from any one of several processes. These are an extension of register, semantic extension, eponymy, semantic narrowing, and revival of old words.

3.1 Extension of Register

In extension of register, existing words, usually of a non-technical nature are made to gloss foreign technical terms, thereby extending ‘the range of registers in which such terms can occur’. Usually, the word GPL is made to gloss an SPL concept based on analogy or metaphorical transfer. The following examples, cited in Akintola-Arikawe, Ohiri-Aniche & Awobuluyi (1988), are from political discourse in Somali:

The examples in Table 2 show a similar instance of metaphorical transfer. As would also be noticed, there is no change in meaning involved. The word *adalu* normally refers to a dish of beans and maize cooked together. The idea of ‘mixture’ is retained when the term is applied in the physical sciences to denote a mixture containing two or more substances that are not chemically combined and which can be separated by non-chemical means, for example, a mixture of sand and iron fillings. Table 3 presents examples of indigenous Yorùbá terms for Building Construction proposed in Olúbòdé-Sàwẹ̀ (2010).

Table 1 Some Somali Words Created Through Extension of Register

Terminologized Word	GPL meaning	SPL meaning	Perceived similarity
afgambi	Turning a vessel upside down	Coup d'etat	Upturning a vessel or a government,
cunaqabatee	Seize by the throat, throttle	Blockade, impose economic sanctions	Prevent life, support from reaching an organism or a country
gumeysi	Treating a person as inferior	Colonialism	Treat person or citizens of a country as inferior

Table 2 Existing Yorùbá Words Created Through Extension of Register

Word	Referent	Traditional Register	New Register
àdálú	mixture	cookery	physical sciences
ebu	factory	iron smelting	engineering
ibò	vote	divination	politics

Table 3 Proposed Terms Created Through Extension of Register

Term	Referent	Traditional Register	New Register
1. èlò	material	cookery	Bldg Construction
2. agbègbè	area	general	Mathematics/Bldg Construction
3. àbùkù	defect	general	Bldg Construction

3.2 Semantic Extension

Semantic extension involves the deliberate extension of the meaning of indigenous words to make them gloss foreign terms, with the result that one word now conveys the meaning of two or more entities with shared characteristics (Awobuluyi, 1992, 1994). As can be seen from the examples from the Yorùbá language in Table 4, semantic extension usually entails extension of register. Table 5 presents some proposed

Yorùbá indigenous terms for Building Construction proposed in Olúbòdè-Sàwẹ̀ (2010).

Table 4 Existing Yorùbá Words Which Have Gained New Meanings Through Semantic Extension

Term	Traditional		Added	
	Referent	Register	Referent	Register
abẹ̀rẹ̀	Needle	dressmaking	injection/syringe	medicine
agbada	frying pan	cookery	accumulator	physics
àjà	whirlwind	mythology/ geography	eddy current	physics
ìkókóró	underdeveloped yam	agriculture	proton	physical sciences
ògógóró	name of brewery town	-----	alcohol	general
òjǿjǿ	electric fish	fisheries	electricity	physics
òpá-ẹ̀yín	vertebral column	anatomy	mid-rib	botany

Table 5 Proposed Terms Created Through Semantic Extension

Term	Older/Traditional		New		Conceptual similarity
	Referent	Register	Referent	Register	
ahéré	farm hut	Bldg	cabin	Bldg Construction	made of wood or plant material
adodo	conical roof	Bldg	cone	Math./Bldg Construction	conical shape
ìrògbòkú	bed	furniture	lounge	Bldg Construction	for relaxation
ògbón	ward	politics	estate	Estate Mgt	division of a town
àkúfò	broken pots	pottery	rubble	Bldg Construction	broken parts
àbùlà	type of soup	cookery	thinner	Bldg Construction	both are used to dilute
omolańke	push cart	general	wheel barrow	Bldg Construction	hand-pushed vehicle for goods
ògóóró	spine	anatomy	mullion	Bldg Construction	at the centre
ìgbòrò	abandoned farm	agriculture	slum	Bldg Construction	dilapidation

As earlier mentioned, terminologization does not usually entail a change of form. However, in the following Kiswahili examples from Bamgbose (1987), there is some modification of the existing words.

<i>ubeberu</i> ‘imperialism’	from <i>beberu</i> ‘he-goat, bully’
<i>ujamaa</i> ‘African socialism’	from <i>jamaa</i> ‘relation, kin’
<i>porojo</i> ‘propaganda’	from <i>porojo</i> ‘idle talk’

3.3 Eponymy

Eponymy refers to the widening of the use of a proper name as a common noun. Some eponyms commemorate the actions or attributes of ‘heroes’ and ‘villains’: boycott after Charles Boycott, cardigan after the Earl of Cardigan, quisling after Vidkun Quisling and sandwich after John Montagu, Earl of Sandwich. In Nigerian usage, the twenty naira note is usually called *múrí*, after General Muritala Muhammed whose portraiture appears on the note while a gossip is *ámẹ̀bọ*, from a character in NTA’s ‘Village Headmaster’ series, now rested.

One area in Yorùbá terminology where eponyms are common is in the naming of plants. Gbile’s (1984) compilation of Yorùbá plant nomenclature records several proper names that are still common in Yorùbáland, as Table 6 shows.

The reason why these people names have been ascribed to plants may seem not to be directly recoverable from the

context unless one realizes that names are not identity tags in Yorùbábut carry special meanings. While *Adégbilẹ̀* literally means ‘he who arriving, occupies all the space’, *Kẹ̀hìndé* is a reference to the Yoruba world view in which the first twin, *Táíwò* > *tó ayé wò* (taste the world) is merely the messenger of the second, sent as one who tastes the world, before the second, *Akẹ̀hìndé-gbẹ̀gbọ̀n* (he who comes later and yet claims the right of primogeniture). *Tridax* grows wild in Nigeria and can be found almost everywhere, in that sense it is *Adégbilẹ̀*; (it has indeed come to occupy all space) and *Kẹ̀hìndé* may be a reference to its versatility in domestic animal feed and medicine, despite the fact that it is not native to Yorùbáland.

Table 6 Yorùbá Proper Names in Plant Nomenclature

Botanical Name	Yorùbá Plant Name	Source
<i>Afrosersalisia afzelii</i>	Ajímókò	surname in farmer families
<i>Cissampelos owariensis</i>	Bámijókòó	given name
<i>Eupatorium odoratum</i>	Akíntólá-ta-kú, Akíntólá	Chief S L Akíntólá, once Premier of Western Nigeria
<i>Solanum mespliformis</i>	Kàrímù	common Muslim for boys
<i>Tridax procumbens</i>	Adégbilẹ̀	given name
	Kẹ̀hìndé	name for the second born of a set of twins
	Múwàgún	clip from a longer name (Ademúwàgún)

Another interesting example is that of the weed *Eupatorium odoratum*, called *Akíntólá-ta-kú* or simply *Akíntólá*. This plant was first noticed in Yorùbáland in 1965, during the struggle for political supremacy in Western

Nigeria between the Action Group, led by Chief Ọbáfẹmi Awólọwọ and the NCNC, led by Chief Samuel Ládòkè Akíntólá. This plant's cognomen may be a reference to its resilience; it is a weed that simply cannot be got rid of. That it is Akíntólá (rather than Awólọwọ) who is said to be adamant or recalcitrant, simply demonstrates that the political climate then was more favourable to the latter. Another example of the influx of political sensibilities into terminology is the Yorùbá designation for a type of black enamel-coated frying pan: '*agbári Ojúku*' 'Ojukwu's skull', preserving the ill-will that that sector of the country then bore Colonel Emeka Odumegwu Ojukwu who led the secessionist Biafran army against federal forces during the Nigerian Civil war of 1967.

3.4 Specialisation or Semantic Narrowing

Adegbija (1988) defines narrowing as the process by which a word which usually applied to a larger class of things is eventually tied down to a part of that class. He provides several examples from some word pairs in English: one of Norman origin; the other of indigenous origin. Deer and beast used to be synonyms but due to the prestige of the language of the Norman conquerors, **beast** almost led to the obsolescence of the indigenous English word **deer** until it was eventually confined in meaning to a particular kind of beast. Similarly,

a **stench** is a particular kind of **odour**, a **ghost** is a particular kind of **spirit** and a **hound** is just a kind of **dog**. In modern times, the word **pill** is becoming narrowed in its reference to an oral contraceptive.

Terminologization may require the specialisation of some terms for certain concepts. In GPL, there might be several referents for one word, or synonyms which are used interchangeably. For example, ‘measurement’ has been variously designated as *ìdíwòn*, *ìwòn* and *wíwòn*, ‘measure’ as *ìwòn* and *òṣùwòn* and ‘weight’ as *ìwúwo*, *wíwúwo*, *ìwòn*, and *òṣùwòn*. The need for exactness of reference means that the referents of these words be restricted, so that one term always means one thing only and the other always means another. This is what is referred to here as terminologization by specialisation or semantic narrowing.

There are several methods of restricting the meaning of a terminologized word. A suffix or a qualifier may be added, in which case the shape of the term will be slightly different from its GPL counterpart. An example is *òdà-epolè* (asphalt) which is different from the GPL counterpart, *òdà* (paint). When it is not expedient to alter the form of the GPL word, its meaning may be restricted by defining its usage, as in specifying what concept it is to be used for in a particular field of endeavour (Olúbòdé-Sàwè, 2010). Other words which are synonymous with the terminologized GPL word (which

now has a restricted or narrowed meaning) will either not be used in that field of endeavour or they will be given other meanings. For example, *idíwòn* and *iwòn* are not expected to be used as synonyms in Building Construction. *Ìdíwòn* is to be used only for ‘measurement’ while *iwòn* is a noun to be used only with the meaning of ‘measure’. Table 7 presents some examples of proposed indigenous Yorùbá terms to be used in building construction.

Table 7 Proposed Terms Formed Through Specialisation or Semantic Narrowing

Term	Referent (use only for)
1. díwòn	gauge (v)
2. wòn	measure (v)
3. iwòn	measure (n)
4. idíwòn	measurement
5. itóbisí	size
6. gígùnsí	length
7. gígásí	height
8. ibú	breadth
9. ojù-iwòn	standard (n)
10. òdà-epolẹ̀	asphalt
11. òdà-ilẹ̀	bitumen
12. òdà-èédú	tar
13. òdà	paint
14. òpó	post
15. arópòódògiri	pilaster
16. òpómúléro	pillar
17. ọ̀wòn	column
18. òpó-atérigbà	pier

The items numbered from 14-18 are types of ‘posts’. *Òpó* is the superordinate term for all kinds of structural hardwood or concrete support or ornamental upright in buildings. The item at number 18 is formed by adding a qualifier, *atérígbà*, to *òpó*, to signify that it is by definition ‘load bearing’.

Specialization of terms may also be called for in order to differentiate between members of a class, that is, to encapsulate the distinguishing characteristics of those members. In Yorùbá, many plants are named in a fashion similar to Linnaean binomial nomenclature, with a generic as well as a specific name. The generic names (in bold lettering in Table 8 below) may or may not have been formed by composition, and it may not be clear what they mean. In the first example, ***òronbó*** (< òro òyìnbó) is formed by adding a qualifier ***òyìnbó*** (European) to an existing word ***òro***, to get the Yoruba word for citrus fruit. Different species of citrus are then named by further qualifying the newly created term as seen in table 8. The other examples of some of the other generic names are not as readily analysable as ***òronbó***. The specific name (or specialization tag) is usually a qualifier that specifies the distinctive characteristic of the plant, such as how it differs from others in the same class. This might be in reference to its size, gender, colour, edibility or by ascribing it to an animal. The botanical and Yorùbá names exemplified in Table 8 are compiled from Gbile (1984).

Table 8 Differentiation of Plant Names Through Using Specialization Tags

Botanical Name	Yoruba Binomial Nomenclature	Specialization Tag (in Bold Italics)
Citrus aurantium	òronbó	(none)
	òronbó igún	<i>òronbóf vulture</i>
	òronbó -ńlá	<i>large</i> òronbó
Citrus aurantium var.acida	òronbó wẹwẹ	<i>small</i> òronbó
Citrus sinensis	òronbó dídùn	<i>sweet</i> òronbó
	òronbó mímu	<i>drinkable</i> òronbó
	òronbó -ńlá	<i>large</i> òronbó
Momordica chantria	Ejìnrin -ajá,	Ejìnrin <i>of dog</i>
	Ejìnrin -dúdú,	<i>black</i> Ejìnrin
	Ejìnrin wẹwẹ	<i>small</i> Ejìnrin
Momordica foetida	Ejìnrin lílá	<i>large</i> Ejìnrin
Momordica cissoides	Akọ- ejìnrin	<i>male</i> Ejìnrin
Musa nana	Ògèdẹ omìni,	<i>sweet</i> Ògèdẹ
	Ògèdẹ wẹwẹ	<i>small</i> Ògèdẹ
Musa sapientum	Ògèdẹ -abo	<i>female</i> Ògèdẹ
Musa sapientum var paradisiacal	Ògèdẹ -àgbagbà,	<i>large?</i> Ògèdẹ
	Ògèdẹ ńlá	<i>large</i> Ògèdẹ
Pausinystalia macroceras	Abo idágbón	<i>female</i> idágbón
Pausinystalia talbotii	Akọ- idágbón	<i>male</i> idágbón
Rothmania longiflora	Bùjé -dúdú	<i>black</i> Bùjé
Rothmania whitfieldii	Bùjé -ńlá	<i>large</i> Bùjé

3.5 Revival of Old Words

Another method of term creation is the revival of old words. The examples were sourced from older builders and definitions given by them checked in Abraham’s *Dictionary*

of *Modern Yorùbá*. In some cases they were reinterpreted to gloss some concepts. An example here is *àkòdì* which Abraham (1958: 43) defines as “rectangular building, with open space in the centre surrounded by a veranda off which open several rooms”. A ‘complex’ e.g. ‘a shopping complex’ is a building made of several parts (floors or wings) or several interconnected buildings functioning as a whole. *Àkòdì* is now revived as a term for a complex building. The basis of the choice of an older word as a term could be a similarity of technology (perhaps an older technology that has been replaced by a more modern one as is the case with *bóléboélé*, terminologized as equivalent for ‘screed’) or a restricted use that has become more generalised (as in *ojúpò*, terminologized as equivalent for ‘patio’).

Table 9 Some Older Words Revived as Proposed Terms

Term	Traditional Referent	Gloss	New referent
ilè	layer of mud in a building	course	continuous layer of blocks in building
àkòdì	rectangular house with many rooms	complex (n)	intricately designed building with many floors or wings
bóléboélé	implement for smoothing earthen floors	screed	tool for levelling or smoothing floor surfaces
arópòódògiri	unreinforced mud pillar	pilaster	unreinforced pillar built of blocks or bricks
bàmbàm	implement for beating earthen floor, to make it solid	tamper	implement for compacting and smoothing wet concrete
ìgbòrò	old, overgrown farm	slum	heavily populated urban area of dilapidated buildings
ojúpò	place where ruler takes recreation	patio	a flat area next to a house, used for sitting outside
gòbì	extension built out from a palace; may serve as a room	balcony	accessible platform projecting from window or wall

4. Conclusion

This paper has described and illustrated term creation through terminologization, the act or process of using existing GPL words to gloss some foreign or technical concepts. Terminologization subsumes many strategies: extension of register, semantic extension, eponymy, semantic narrowing, functional shift and revival of older words. The most productive methods are semantic extension and semantic narrowing. Eponymy may be seen as a special kind of extension of register while the revival of older words may involve extension of register (*bólégbólé* ‘screed’, *bàmbàm* ‘tamper’) or extension of meaning, for example, *ìgbòrò* ‘slum’, *àkòdì* ‘a complex’. All these processes—extension of register, semantic extension, eponymy, semantic narrowing and revival—also take place naturally in the course of language growth; a terminologist only artificially speeds up the processes in a particular register of the language.

Terminologization is a very important strategy in term formation because it employs the indigenous resources of the language. Primacy of indigenous resources is one of the important semiotic principles which serve as guidelines recommended to be followed while creating terms (UNESCO, 2005). It has the advantage of helping to maintain the national or linguistic identity of the speakers and satisfies the demands of education through the mother tongue or the national

language. For terms intended primarily for teaching, use of indigenous resources could aid semantic transparency.

Semantic transparency is a requirement that the structure or composition of words should give a clue to their meaning and there should be no special need for explanation. This is what Thirumalai (2003) refers to as ‘meaningfulness through structural composition’. This means that expanding the technical vocabulary of a language need not involve the estrangement of many of its native speakers. In addition, *The Pavel Terminology Tutorial* links semantic transparency to ease of acceptance: if its lexical components provide an idea of the concept itself, a term will be easily understood and used. This means that technical terms formed through the strategies of terminologization and composition are likely to be easily integrated into the language and be more acceptable to its speakers.

The interaction between domain or specialized languages and general language is very dynamic. There is a constant flux of lexical material in both directions. Just as GPL words may come to be used as terms (terminologization), specialized terms may also become generally known and used. This process is known as determinologization. Two common examples of determinologization are found in the popular discourse of crime. A fraudster is now commonly referred to as ‘419’ in Nigeria, after the section of the *Laws of the Federation of Nigeria* which deals with “Obtaining Property

by false pretences-Cheating” (the LFN Chap. 8, Section, 419). People who commit fraud on the internet are now known as ‘yahoo-yahoo boys’, from the name of the search engine ‘Yahoo!’

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Adpositions in Chi Shona

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We investigate the nature and characteristics of adpositions in chiShona, emphasizing on their defining and identifying characteristics. Although this study is not couched within a particular theoretical paradigm, it assesses the suitability of chiShona adpositions to the six defining characteristics proposed by Svenonius (2007). Such an assessment, coupled with a different and unique set of data, would contribute to the debate of whether or not adpositions are a universal category, particularly in relation to the aforementioned defining heuristics. We also explicate chiShona adpositions within the confines of the figure-ground phenomenon proposed by Talmy (1978, 2000)

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that represent the underlying semantic relations associated with adpositions. An analysis of chiShona data reveals that there are very few adpositions in the language, but those few are multi-purposeful both in literal and metaphorical terms, for example, *ne-* means ‘by’, ‘through’, ‘and’, ‘with’, ‘on’ and ‘along’. Adpositions in chiShona are all prepositional which uniquely manifest mostly as prefixes, owing to the morphologically agglutinative nature of the language. We argue for the inclusion of locatives in this class because they canonically capture the spatio-temporal relations between entities and events, which is a fundamental axiom of adpositions, though their classification is largely debatable in linguistic theory and Bantu morpho-syntax in particular. Our analysis will contribute to the general debate of whether adpositions are a functional or lexical category, deriving insights from their different prefixal forms and the host categories/stems.

1. Introduction

This paper investigates the nature and characteristics of adpositions in chiShona, an indigenous Zimbabwean language spoken as a first language by the majority of the population. We are going to establish whether or not adpositions, in any form that they can assume, exist in chiShona, and if they do, what would be their identifying and defining characteristics. This will contribute to an understanding of the universality of adpositions since some languages are claimed

to lack adpositions entirely and when they do occur, their characteristics are very unique. Hagege (2010: 1) defines adpositions as, “grammatical tools which mark the relationship between two parts of a sentence: one is the element which an adposition governs [...] traditionally called its complement and is mostly represented by a noun or noun-like word or phrase.” Adpositions are relations between objects in space, and any other associations between entities and events that many languages express by means of words that do not take case, tense or any morphological markers. They broadly fall into two categories, depending on whether they appear before the verb or after it, often referred to as prepositions or postpositions respectively. Generally, languages either have prepositional systems or postpositional systems, few languages have both.

Following Svenonius (2007), we commonly refer to adpositions and other interrelated particles that do not have complements as elements of the P category. We are going to look at the figure/ground relation that seems to be the underlying semantic relation of P. Category P is ordinarily considered to express a relation of figure vs. ground (figure/groundalignment), which shows the relation between two entities in which the ground is taken to have background-like qualities and the figure is regarded as the foreground entity.

2. Adpositions Cross-Linguistically

Whether or not categories like Noun, Verb, and Adjective are ‘universal’ has been the subject of much debate (Baker, 2003). Svenonius (2007) extended this debate to adpositions. Scholars have different views on whether to treat P as a functional or lexical category. The fact that the category is small might point towards the view that P is not a lexical category but rather a functional one. Such designation however depends immensely on theory internal suppositions in terms of what it means to be a lexical or a functional category. Since it is lexical categories which are associated with encyclopedic content, some scholars like Marantz (2007) and Borer (2004) advance a thesis that assumes that P must be lexical in a language like English due to the fact that certain P forms have rich and nuanced meanings. Baker (2003) alternatively argues for P as a functional category, partly based cross-linguistically on the nonexistence of derivational morphological mechanisms that derive adpositions from other categories, and partly on, *inter alia*, patterns of incorporation. This paper concurs with Baker’s argument that in spite of its connection with encyclopedic content, P is fundamentally a functional category.

According to Svenonius (2007: 66), “despite the existence of some adposition-poor languages, the degree to which

unrelated languages have similar-looking adpositional inventories is striking.” Consider, for example, the following samples of Lakota (Buechel & Manhart, 2002) and Chinese (Li & Thompson, 1981), both cited in Svenonius (2007).

(1) a. Lakota	b. Chinese
<i>óгна</i> ‘in’	<i>zài</i> ‘at’
<i>ektá</i> ‘at, in’	<i>yú</i> ‘to, for’
<i>el</i> ‘in, to, unto, on’	<i>wǎng</i> ‘toward’
<i>kici</i> ‘with’	<i>cóng</i> ‘from’
<i>ob</i> ‘with (many)’	<i>cháo</i> ‘facing’
<i>on</i> ‘of, with, by means of’	<i>chèn</i> ‘take advantage of’
<i>akánl</i> ‘on’	<i>jiù</i> ‘take advantage of’
<i>okó</i> ‘between’	<i>gēn</i> ‘with’
<i>ókšan</i> ‘about’	<i>hàn</i> ‘with’
<i>koáktan</i> ‘across, beyond’	<i>hé</i> ‘with’

Lakota is a Siouxan language with Subject-Object-Verb word order and the data above are postpositions whereas the Chinese data above are prepositions from the standard Mandarin variety that follows Subject-Verb-Object word order. There is a hazard when identifying P through a comparative approach of different languages because one ends up seeing the categories that one was expecting. For example, some of the Chinese words identified as prepositions in example (1) are really verbs. They have been classified as adpositions because they translate to English adpositions. Take, for instance, the

following example:

(2) Ta yong qianbi xie Hanzi.

He uses/with pencil write Chinese characters.

‘He uses a pencil to write Chinese characters.’/‘He writes Chinese characters with a pencil.’

In Chinese and other serial verb languages that do not normally mark tense, it is quite a challenge to differentiate between verbs and prepositions. The entity *yong* might be considered as heading a prepositional phrase where it translates to the preposition ‘with’ as in ‘with a brush’. It can also be concluded to be heading a VP in a serial verb construction where it translates to the verb ‘use’ as in ‘use a brush’.

In English, prepositions are different from verbs because they are not compatible with both tense and aspect morphology (such as **overing*, **overed*). However, there are some verbs that have been created from prepositions (*down*, *downed* ‘swallow/drink’) as in the sentence, ‘I downed some beers’, meaning ‘I drank beer’. They also do not appear with plural morphology (**intos*), thus they are different from nouns, though again it is possible to have nouns that have been coined from prepositions (e.g. an *outing* ‘date’, an *out* in baseball, an *over* in cricket). In English words may belong to several different categories. Such variations and anomalies can be accounted for by using language-internal diagnostics on a

case-by-case basis, thus this paper carries out an investigation of the chiShona case.

3. Identifying P in ChiShona

As Mugari (2013) noted, chiShona has complex systems of derivations and inflections that manifest agglutinative morphology that employs affixation as the chief apparatus for forming new words. The issue of adpositions is therefore by any means not an exception. ChiShona has a system where the adpositional meanings are expressed by prefixes on the noun; conceivably, these prefixes are phonologically reduced prepositions. Below is a list of words and/or morphemes that denote spatial relations between entities, and/events.

(3) Pa-	on
Ku-	at, to
Mu-	in, into
Ne-	with, on, by, and
Na-	with (human)
Pamusoro pe-	on top of
Pasi pe-	under
Pamberi pe-	in front of
Pasure pe-	behind
e/a-	of

ChiShona manifests rich locative morphology, both in nominal and verbal agreement preserving the three Proto-

Bantu classes 16 *pa-* for specific, 17 *ku-* for the general and 18 *mu-/m* for interior location as shown by the first three prefixes above and used below in sentences (cf. Mugari & Mukaro, 2014).

- (4) a. John a - is - a poto pa-moto
 1a-name 1SM-put-TV¹9pot 16LOC-fire
 ‘John has put the pot on fire’
- b. Mwana a-end-a ku - chi-toro
 1child 1SM-go-TV 17LOC-7-store
 ‘The child has gone to the store’
- c. Mi-chero i -no-teng-es-ew-a mu-marikete.
 4-fruit 4SM-PRS-buy-CAUS-PASS-TV 18LOC-
 market
 ‘Fruits are sold in the market.’

However, there are controversies regarding the treatment of locatives as P. Several analyses for the categorical status of locatives in chiShona have been proposed. Demuth (1990), basing on word order facts, concludes that locatives are adverbs since they pattern together with temporal adverbs. She is however neglectful of several facts which suggest a different analysis.

There are several facts suggesting that locatives are NPs in chiShona: First, locatives freely occur in subject and

1. AGR-Agreement marker, ASP-aspect marker, CAUS-causative affix, LOC-locative affix, NEG-negative affix, PASS-passive affix, PRS-present tense, SM-subject Marker, TSE-tense marker, TV-terminal vowel, 3sg-3rd person singular.

object positions; second, locatives in object position pass the classical object tests for Bantu like object marking on the verb and passivization; third, modifiers agree with them in noun class (Harford, 1983: 133):

- (5) a. Pa-chi-koro a-pa
16-7-school 16 -this
'At this school'
b. Mu-mu-nda u-mu
18-3-field 18 -that
'In that field'.

Though they portray adpositional meanings, the PPs fail all of these tests (Bresnan, 1994). The prefixes *na-/ne-* are not locatives but they encode a relationship of association, instrumentation and agentivity where the former is responsible for prefixing human nominals as shown in the sentences below:

- (6) a. Kim a -end-a ne-tsoka
1a-name 1SM-go-TV on-9foot
'Kim left on foot'
b. Nda-dy-a mu-punga ne-zvi-tanda
1sg-eat-TV 3-rice with-8-stick
'I ate rice with chopsticks.'

Pa-musoro pe- (on top of) contains a locative prefix and a noun translated to *head*, however, the combination of these two result in one spatial relation where the meaning

is to indicate that something is on top of something in the object of space. The controller for prepositional phrases, however, does not always have to be the subject. Seemingly, Prepositional Phrases are usually predicated of the event itself (cf. Davidson, 1967; Parsons, 1990). For example:

- (7) Taur -a *pa* - *musoro pe*-bhora
Talk-TV 16LOC-head 16AGR-soccer
'Talk about soccer'.

The italicized part in example (7) does not mean the original *on top of* relation previously described, but shows an event reading. Based on this observation, we can conclude that such words as *pa-musoro pe-* (in the sense of 'about') display prepositional syntax. This is also evident in English in words such as *regarding*, *owing*, *concerning*, *following* and also those in bold shown below:

- (8) a. **Across** the field, Natasha could see a band playing.
b. **With** the presence of the president, it was likely that there would be assassins.
c. **After** the ceremony, wine and cheese were served.

(Svenonius, 2004: 6).

4. Cross-Linguistic Generalizations

Svenonius (2007) argues that several distinct language structures comprise of a class of lexis or morphemes that represent spatial relations and they manifest diverse syntactic

property from those of canonical classes of nouns or verbs. He tentatively identified these words as belonging to a category P. This paper wishes to substantiate the claim that the category P has some cross-linguistic substance. We are going to show that some features that Svenonius claim to be shared across languages can also be found in chiShona. Six typical properties of these adpositions are listed below, and discussed in turn.

- (9) a. Express binary relations between entities (including events)
- b. Form a syntactic constituent with a DP complement
- c. C-select properties of the complement
- d. S-select properties of the complement
- e. Project XPs which function as predicate or sentential adjuncts
- f. Do not combine with tense or aspect morphology

(Svenonius, 2004: 12).

Quality (9a) can be referred back to sentences in example (4) in the section of adpositions from chiShona given previously, which are all basically spatial. Non-spatial instances can be traced back to spatial ones. In actual fact, they are often considered to be metaphorical extensions of corresponding spatial meanings, as exhibited by example (7) above. In English, as Svenonius (2004: 12) noted, ‘non-spatial adpositions express causal or topical relations, for example

regarding, despite, and so on, in which the complement is often a reason, topic, or other cognitively prominent factor for which P expresses a relation to the event or proposition.'

In chiShona, P forms a constituent with its DP complement, thus satisfying quality (9b) which is independent of (9a). The morphemes *ne-* and *na-* in examples below attach to the nominal host and there is nothing that can be added in between the two attaching entities. Furthermore, to prove that P forms a constituent with DP, the resulting PP or locative phrase can be moved as an entity to the subject position (locative inversion) as shown in example (11).

- (10) a. A -end -a *ne*-chi-tima
2sg-go-TV by-7-train
'He went by train'
- b. A -end-a *na-* Timmy
2sg-go-TV with-1a-name
'He went with Timmy'
- (11) a. Mai va -end-a *ku*-tsime
2a-mother 2SM-go-TV 17LOC-well
'Mother went to the well'
- b. *Ku*-tsime kwa -end-a mai
17LOC-well 17SM-go-TV 2a-mother
'To the well went mother'.

According to Svenonius (2007), C-selection holds exclusively between the head and its corresponding complement,

but does not obtain between a head and its specifiers or adjuncts. For example, it is the determination of the verb, through subcategorization requirements to require particular prepositions for its respective internal arguments. The verb can also determine that its clausal complements are finite or non-finite. C-selection is thus the determination of syntactic conditions on a dependent. Similarly, adpositions can determine the category of a complement as shown in the chiShona examples in (10). The adpositions *ne-* and *na-* require their complements' category to be nonhuman and human respectively. Thus, chiShona satisfies quality (9c) since P typically c-selects its complement. Since languages differ, this can only be demonstrated using language-specific diagnostics of c-selection.

S-selection represents semantic selection, which is ordinarily expected to hold all the head's arguments, not just its complements. In other words, a verb may determine, through s-selection, that the subject be animate, but may not determine through c-selection, the category of its subject. Quality (9d) is the s-selection by P for its complement. Like in other languages, s-selection by P in chiShona frequently surfaces in the form of presuppositions. For example, the prefix *pa-* requires the complement that is/has a surface whereas *ku-* presupposes a complement that is a place at a distance from the speaker. *Mu-* presupposes a complement

that has the form of a container or an inside place whereas *ne-* would presume an inanimate complement.

The projection of a prepositional phrase, an XP constituent which functions as a predicate adjunct, is captured by quality (9e). PPs are crosslinguistically typical for forming adjuncts, and also complements, to both verbal and nominal projections. This paper notes that chiShona is no exception, because the constituent formed by P may not be subcategorized by the verb, that is, may not be in the verb's argument structure list.

Adpositions in chiShona do not combine with tense or aspect morphology, as quality (9f) requires. Let us consider the following examples;

- (12) a. Ku -bv - a pa -no u - no - to - shing-a
15-leave-TV 16-here 2sg-TSE ASP-brave TV
'To leave this place you ought to be brave.'
- b. *Kubva* pa-no *kuenda* Harare ne-tsoka ha-zvi-it-e
From 16-here to 17-place on-foot NEG-do-TV
'Travelling from here to Harare on foot is impossible.'

In Example (12a), the word *ku-bv-a* is a verb which can be inflected with tense and aspect, forming *ku-zo-bv-a*, *ku-chi-zo-bv-a*, *ku-wanzo-bv-a*, where the bolded morphemes mark aspect and auxiliary respectively. In (12b), the word *kubva* has an adpositional meaning, in which adding aspectual and auxiliary markers would result in a verbal reading of the

sentence, losing the spatial adpositional relation originally intended.

5. The Semantic Structure of P

We have argued that chiShona has adpositions which are prepositional, whose syntactic structure we have already characterized. This paper analyzes the thematic structure of these prepositional phrases, particularly the thematic character of the complement. This is made possible by first understanding the concept of *foregrounding*. In cognitive linguistics, the phenomenon of foregrounding is described in terms of *figure* and *ground* relationships. Most prepositional meanings are reducible to *image-schemas* involving the movement of a trajectory against a landmark (figure and ground, respectively). The terms Figure and Ground have been taken from Gestalt psychology, whose linguistic usage has the following specific characterizations.

(13) The Figure is a moving or conceptually movable entity whose path, site, or orientation is conceived as a variable, the particular value of which is the relevant issue.

The Ground is a reference entity, one that has a stationary setting relative to a reference frame, with respect to which the Figure's path, site, or orientation is characterized. (Talmy, 2000: 312).

Following Talmy (2000), spatial adpositions are described

in terms of the relationship between a Figure and a Ground that can be considered as asymmetric. The Figure stands for an entity, object, or substance which is in motion or occupies a certain location, whilst the Ground takes the form of a location in terms of space, object, or substance in/on which the Figure is positioned as shown in the sentences below:

- (14) a. A - gar -is - a mu-ana_{figure} *Ku-sure kwe-* mota_{ground}
 3sg-sit-CAUS-TV 1-child 17-back 17AGR-9-car
 ‘He sat the child at the back of the car’
- b. Is -a mu-cheka_{figure} *pa -mu-soro pe* -tafura_{ground}
 Put-TV 3-cloth 16LOC-3-top 16AGR - 9-table
 ‘Put the cloth on top of the table’
- c. *Pasi pe* -tsoka_{ground}
 16-under 16AGR-9-foot
 ‘Under the foot’
- d. A_{figure} -pind-a *mu-mba*_{ground}
 3sg-enter-TV18LOC-9-house
 ‘He went into the house’.

In the above chiShona data, the Ground is always the complement of the preposition, while on the other hand the Figure is conveyed by either the subject or the direct object of the verb. This paper, following proof from chiShona data, adopts Svenonius’ (2004: 16, 18) proposals of two constraints on the structure of P.

- (15) a. P never introduces a Figure complement.

b. The complement of (spatial) P is a Ground.

Basically, prepositions and postpositions have in common the fact that they relate a DP interpreted as the Ground to some other structure, be it DP, NP, or VP. Certainly however, there can be instances where either of the two entities can reflect in each of the roles. This easily obtains from a situation where both entities are viewed as providing a location for each other.

- (16) a. Ma-dhayimonzi_{figure} a-ri *pa-si pe* -chi-koro_{ground}
6-diamonds 6SM-be 16-under 16AGR-7-school
'The diamonds are located under the school'
- b. Chi-koro_{figure} chi-ri *pa-mu-soro pe*-ma-dhayimonzi_{ground}
7-school 7SM-be 16- 3-top 16AGR 6-diamonds
'The school is located on top of a diamond (deposit)'.

However, the two sentences mean different things. Sentence (16a) entails that, of the two objects namely *chikoro* and *ma-dhayimonzi*, the former has a set location within a reference frame and is the reference object that is used to characterize the location of the latter. Correlatively, the other nominal object's spatial position is stated as a variable whose particular value is a relevant issue. Example (16b) makes all the reverse specifications. The non-synonymy of sentences (16a & b) is premised upon how the nominals involved spell out the semantic functions of the Figure and the Ground, in other words, of the variable and reference points.

be accepted as basic metaphorical extensions of spatial P, hence it becomes uncomplicated to apply the Figure-Ground description.

- (19) a. Ndi-na[-ye_{figure}] **mu**-[ku-namat-a_{ground}]
‘I am with him **in** prayer.’
b. **Ku**-[ru-zhinji_{ground}], [ndi-ye mu-rume kwaye_{figure}]
‘**To** everybody, He is a good husband.’
c. [Va-end-a ku-mba_{figure}] **va-bva** [ku-dy-a chi-ngwa_{ground}]
‘They went home **after** eating bread.’

Conceptually, every predication comprises an asymmetric relationship between the external argument and an entity that is created from a head and its internal argument (Williams, 1994). The generalizations made in (15) can then strengthen to the effect that the internal argument of category P is a Ground while the external argument of category P is a Figure. This applies to both spatial and non-spatial P.

7. Conclusion

We established that adpositions exist in chiShona in the form of prepositions; however, the data inventory shows that chiShona may be adpositionally stingy, as it exhibits so many limited options in terms of quantity and limitations on vertical and horizontal positioning. We illustrated with cross-linguistic data from Lakota and Chinese how diversified the identification of P is. Though chiShona conforms to the defining

characteristics presented in Svenonius (2007), it identifies P in a unique way which is prefixal. We have concluded chiShona conforms to the generally held view that P expresses the figure/ground relation. We have also argued that chiShona has occurrences of non-spatial P that is metaphorically extended versions of spatial P. Our discussion of chiShona data reveals the solution to the long held uncertainty as to the existence of adpositions in the language, especially prepositions.

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Ndebelisation of Shona: The Case of Ndebele Speakers Pronouncing Shona Complex Consonant Phonemes

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This investigation is within the broader field of language contact of two national languages of Zimbabwe, Shona and Ndebele. Specifically it is an exploration of the phonological/phonetic strategies native isiNdebele speakers utilize to produce Shona

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complex consonant segments that are not available in the Ndebele phonological system. The researchers collected data from the spontaneous speech of Ndebele speakers at the University of Zimbabwe when they were in conversation with their Shona friends or lecturers. The findings show that Ndebele L1 speakers employ deletion and substitution as the major strategies when they encounter a complex segment that is not found in their native language. The data also show that Ndebele L1 speakers change the air stream mechanism, that is, pulmonic egressive to glottalic egressive air stream mechanism during the production of post velarized segments as a speech strategy. Deletion was most evident in the initial consonants and final consonants of the complex segments. As such, this resulted in the complex segments being realised as simple sounds and at times as plain segments for those that were produced through double complexity.

1. Introduction

Although the degree of influence of a speaker's first language (L1) on his/her production and perception in a second language (L2) is debatable, it is generally accepted that foreign accented speech productions reflect the differences between an individual's native and target language in the areas of phonemic inventories, allophonic variations and phonotactic constraints.

This study seeks to explore the production of Shona¹ complex
¹Mudzingwa (2010: 38) notes that Shona is a Central Bantu language, spoken in Zimbabwe by about 9 million people. It belongs to the Southern Bantu cluster, and is classified as S.10 in Guthrie's classification (Guthrie 1948). Shona comprises of four dialects: Karanga, Zezuru, Manyika and Korekore. Karanga and Zezuru being the principal dialects

segments by Ndebele² first language speakers at the University of Zimbabwe. Complex segments can be viewed as the production of single segments which in some way have two distinguishable articulations (Gussenhoven & Jacobs, 1998). This study, therefore, examines the production of the following Shona complex segments; affricates, pre-nasalized segments and some of the post-velarized consonants. The complex segments above are chosen because most Ndebele L1 speakers face challenges in producing these sounds. The present research therefore, aims to provide a description of the production of Shona complex segments by Ndebele L1 speakers. This helps the researcher to come up with the strategies that Ndebele-Shona bilinguals employ when they face Shona complex sounds which they are not able to produce.

This study falls under the broad area of contact phonology. Contact phonology refers to the sub-discipline of phonology that is concerned with the phonological phenomena resulting from language or dialect contact (Smith, 2007). Hence, contact phonology is also viewed as an aspect of phonology in context that is related to bilingualism and multilingualism and to the history and development of languages and dialects. Bilingualism is referred to as the alternate use of two or more languages (Weinreich, 1963). Whereas phonology is viewed

² Ndebele is a Bantu language spoken mostly in the Matabeleland region of Zimbabwe.

as an aspect of language concerned with how speech sounds structure and function in a particular language (Hyman, 1975). Contact phonology is of particular interest to the researcher in that the researcher focuses on the contact that exists between Ndebele and Shona at the University of Zimbabwe. Hence phonological effects induced by contact of one language with another are very pervasive phenomena. This study looks at the Ndebele phonological features that are transferred when Ndebele L1 speakers produce Shona complex segments. In order to do this, this study seeks to answer the following research questions:

(1) Are the Ndebele L1 speakers able to produce Shona complex segments just as Shona L1 speakers?

(2) What are the strategies or mechanisms that are used by Ndebele speakers in order for them to produce these complex segments?

The context of this article is therefore within the long-debated and, to a certain extent, controversial issue of whether the native language interferes in the phonological acquisition of a second language. Within Contrastive Analysis (tenets) Fries (1945) and Lado (1957), the native language interference is considered as an obstacle to the acquisition of a second language. A comparison of the two language systems shows that the mistakes made by learners can be traced to the native language. However, from an Error Analysis (henceforth EA)

perspective, native language interference is not an important factor in the acquisition of a second language but actually highlights the stages of language learning and acquisition. Kadenge *et al.* (2009) note that error making provides evidence for the strategies that are used by learners to acquire a second language, and it is a creative systematic process for building competence in a second language.

The University of Zimbabwe community was chosen as the place for conducting the research due to the fact that quite a number of students that come from the Matabeleland region tend to learn a new language which is Shona in order for them to be able to converse and be part and parcel of a community which is predominantly Shona speaking. Such a linguistic phenomenon motivated the researchers to conduct a study, paying particular focus on these individuals. Hence the University provides the researchers with a platform for investigating how Ndebele L1 speakers who have been introduced to Shona as a second language after puberty are able to acquire Shona complex sounds.

2. Literature Review

Utilizing elements of behavior psychology and structural linguistics, Fries (1945) and Lado (1957) postulated the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (CAH) by comparing similarities and differences between the learner's native

language and the target language. Fries (1945) and Lado (1957) held the view that positive transference will occur and second language learning will be facilitated if the native language system/rule is similar to that of a target language. However, if the systems are different, that is, there are features that exist in the target language and are not found in the native language, and then negative transference occurs, resulting in the impediment of a second language. For example, as predicted by CAH, Shona learners/speakers will struggle with clicks in Ndebele since this is a feature that is not found in the consonantal phoneme inventory of Shona.

On the contrary, Corder (1967) from a cognitive language learning perspective, acknowledge that emphasis should be on learning rather than teaching. Errors can be used as evidence to the nature of linguistic strategies that a learner utilizes in learning a foreign language. These errors are not random but are systematic and they are of two types; interlingual and intralingual. Interlingual errors relate to the native language, Shona in our case and intralingual relate to the structure of the second language, Shona in this study (Gass & Selinker, 1994). Given the wide array of errors, one can conclude that EA accounts for more errors than CAH. It does not only classify errors systematically but also emphasizes the learners' recognition of language systems.

There has been a lot of research within CAH and EA studies

related to native language phonology influence on the target language. There have been direct and indirect studies. Direct studies include Moulton (1962) who did a contrastive study of English students learning German. Moulton classified the range of L2 segmental errors into four categories, namely, phonetic errors, phonemic errors, allophonic errors and distributional errors. Such a taxonomic error analysis made German teachers to be sensitive to how these pronunciations errors were made and also as to why they were made. As forwarded by Moulton (1962) it is only when the 'why' question has been realized that corrective measures can be exercised. Suter (1976) showed in his investigation of Arabic and Persian learners of English that because of their languages' similarities with the English phonological system, it was easier for them to acquire English than Japanese and Thai learners of English. The variable of native language was utilized in this analysis. In his conclusion, it was the variable of native language that was related to pronunciation accuracy. From prosodic literature, Adams (1979: 4) concluded that, "...the speaker's first language habits can be remarkably tenacious and in certain systems-particularly the early acquired prosodic system-L1 interference can be a major obstacle to proficiency."

Within the Zimbabwean situation, similar studies are prevalent. Literature available basically focuses on Shona and

English bilinguals (Ngara, 1992; Chikanza, 1986; Thondhlana, 2000; Kadenge, 2003; Mabugu, 2008; Kadenge *et al.*, 2009; Kadenge, 2010a). The latter study is within the context of a variety of English found in Zimbabwe. Also significant is that language contact studies in Zimbabwe have primarily focused on English and Shona and not on other languages. Students who come from the Matabeleland region learn Shona in order for them to be able to converse and be part and parcel of the predominantly Shona speaking community. The task of this article is therefore to discuss this contact phenomenon from a phonological perspective and establish its characteristics.

3. Comparison of the Ndebele and Shona Complex Consonant Systems

Literature on Shona complex segments is extensive. Scholars such as Fortune (1980), Mudzingwa (2001), (2010), Kadenge (2010b) and Mutonga (2010) have discussed Shona complex segments. This study, however, differs from the previous studies in that it focuses on the differences between Ndebele and Shona's complex segment. This analysis brings into focus an insight into issues such as phonological transference, whenever speakers of Ndebele attempt to produce Shona complex segments. However, it is noteworthy that while literature on Shona complex segments may be

extensive, little work has been done on Ndebele complex segments with a pioneering study conducted by Dube (2006). Sommerstein's (1977: 104) defines complexity as, "A complex segment as a segment which, for at least one feature [type], has two or more specifications." In Shona, affricates, nasal-oral stop combinations (which are realized as prenasalized stops), and nasal-fricative combinations (prenasalized fricatives) are considered unitary segments (Mkanganwi, 1995). These segments are complex at the phonetic level but not at the phonological level, where they are treated as single segments or simple onsets.

However, it is noteworthy to state that whilst Ndebele like Shona may have complex segments available, there are differences that exist between these two languages. Ndebele and Shona vary in the production of affricates. Ndebele produces affricates at the following places of articulation, that is, alveolar /ts/, /dz/, /ts^h/, and post alveolar /tʃ^h/, /dʒ/, /tʃ^ʰ/. Shona on the other hand has affricates that are produced in the following places of articulation which are labial /pf/ and /bv/, alveolar /ts/ and /dz/ and palatal //tʃ/ and /dʒ/. This variation in place of articulation results in L2 speakers of either language producing complex segments differently from the native Shona or Ndebele production simply because their language does not have affricates that are produced in the same place of articulation.

4. Methodology

This study is an empirical investigation of a language contact phenomena which we hope to account for systematically. This will provide a methodological conceptual framework which will be used to analyze the research questions raised so far. It is hoped that we will be able through such an empirical investigation to account for the native language interference in a systematic manner.

Data in this paper were collected mainly through observation and interaction with Ndebele language speakers who are second language speakers of Shona. In light of this, the data were mainly collected during group discussion times and interaction times around the University of Zimbabwe campus where Ndebele first language speakers were bound to be conversing with Shona speakers. This was the most suitable time for data collection because they were most likely to produce some of the Shona complex segments. The data were recorded through a high quality audio recorder when participants were in their day to day discourse settings. The captured data were subjected to further analysis and transcription. This was essential in that many insights were gained from naturalistic data rather than in controlled settings (Kadenge *et al.*, 2009).

5. Data Presentation and Analysis

The data is discussed through the use of the phonological processes observed in the production of Shona complex segments. As such, the data is presented in a tabular form where the Shona L1 complex sound production is compared against the production of the Ndebele-Shona bilinguals. The research has found out that Ndebele L1 speakers utilize three strategies to deal with Shona complex segments that are not found in Ndebele. These processes are deletion, substitution and a change in the air stream mechanism. The data is presented in a tabular form where the Shona L1 complex phoneme production is compared with the Ndebele L1 speakers who are learning Shona.

6. Deletion

Deletion is one of the several phonological processes employed by the Ndebele-Shona bilinguals in the production of Shona complex segments that are not found in Ndebele. Davenport and Hannahs (1998) define deletion as a phonological process that allows for the elimination of a segment. In this study deletion is used by the Ndebele L1 speakers in the production of affricates that are not found in Ndebele phonology.

6.1 Deletion in the Labio-Dental Affricates /pf/ and /bv/

From the data, it is observed that the Ndebele-Shona bilinguals employ deletion as a phonological process in the production of the labial affricates /bv/ and /pf/. Labial affricates are considered as complex segments in this study mainly because they are characterized by two oral articulator features which are [-continuant] and [+continuant]. The feature [-continuant] is for the voiceless and voiced labial plosives /p/ and /b/ whereas the feature [+continuant] is for the voiceless and voiced fricatives /f/ and /v/ respectively. Table 1 below presents the production of the labial affricates /pf/ and /bv/ by Ndebele—Shona bilinguals against the native Shona production.

Table 1 The Production of Labio-Dental Affricates

L1 Production	Target segment	L2 Production	English gloss
/pfira/	/pf/	/fira/	Spit
/mupfuri/	/pf/	/mufuri/	Shooter
/mupfupi/	/pf/	/mufupi/	Short
/bvisa/	/bv/	/visa/	Remove
/bvuma/	/bv/	/vuma/	Agree
/mubvunzo	/bv/	muvunzo/	Question

The data above shows the production of the voiceless and voiced labio-dental affricates /pf/ and /bv/. It can be observed from the table that there is a difference in the production of

the labio- dental affricates between the native Shona speakers and Ndebele-Shona bilinguals. This difference is observed through the deletion of the initial stops /p/ and /b/ which have the articulator feature [-cont] with the remaining sounds characterized by one articulator feature which is [+cont]. In this instance, the remaining sounds are the voiceless and voiced fricatives /f/ and /v/ respectively. Deleting the first consonant of an affricate by the Ndebele-Shona bilinguals is a way of facilitating an easy production thus resulting in the reduction of a complex segment /pf/ to a simple segment /f/.

6.2 Deletion in Labialized Affricates

In the production of labialized alveolar affricates, Ndebele L1 speakers use deletion as a strategy that reduces the complexity involved in the production of labialized affricates into plain alveolar affricates. In other words, Ndebele L1 speakers delete the place feature [labial] found in the labialized alveolar affricates. Labialized affricates are treated as double complex³ segments because they are characterized by two place features, that is [labial] and [coronal] and [-continuant] and [+continuant] respectively (Kadenge, 2008). The table below presents the production of the labialized alveolar affricates /tʃ/ and /dz/.

³ Kadenge (2008: 335) notes, “double complex segments have different realization of the manner feature and are characterized by two places of articulation.”

Table 2 The Production of the Labialized Alveolar Affricates

L1 Production	Target segment	L2 Production	English gloss
/tʃuku/	/tʃ/	/tsuku/	Red
/Kutʃa/	/tʃ/	/kutsa/	To be burnt
/Kutʃvedza/	/tʃ/	/kutsedza/	To slip
/dzokora/	/dz/	/dzokora/	Stare
/dzaɲa/	/dz/	/dzaɲa/	Press hard
/dziti/	/dz/	/dziti/	Invader

Table 2 above shows the production of the voiceless and voiced labialized alveolar affricates by Ndebele-Shona bilinguals. It can be observed that there is a difference in the production of the labialized alveolar affricates between the Ndebele-Shona bilinguals and the Shona L1 speakers. This difference is noticed by the deletion of the articulator feature [+labial] with the remaining place feature for the segments being [+coronal]. Deletion could be attributed to the fact that Ndebele does not have double complex segments resulting in the plain affricate remaining with one place feature [coronal]. In this instance, deletion is viewed as a phonological process developed by L2 Shona speakers to enable them to produce Shona complex segments.

6.3 Substitution

Hock (1991) defines substitution as a replacement of one item by another in a particular structure. Kadenge and Mabugu (2009) note that substitution is employed in order to substitute

segments that are found in the donor language but do not exist in the recipient language. The observations made in this research reveal that during the production of Shona labialized prenasalized fricatives, Ndebele L1 speakers substitute these complex sounds with native Ndebele complex consonant segments. Consider the following table:

Table 3 The Production of the Labialized Fricatives

I1 Production	Target segment	L2 Production	English gloss
/magoʃoŋgwe/	/ʃ/	/magos ^w oŋg ^w e/	Name
/ʃika/	/ʃ/	/s ^w ika/	Arrive
/ʃetuka/	/ʃ/	/s ^w etuka/	Jump
/z _ɛ edu/	/z/	/z ^w edu/	Ours
/muz _ɛ are/	/z/	/muz ^w are/	Mrs
/muz _ɛ ere/	/z/	/muz ^w ere/	A woman who have just given birth

From the table above, it can be observed that there is a difference in the production of the labialized fricative /ʃ/ and /z/ between Ndebele-Shona bilinguals and Shona native speakers. This difference is noticed by the substitution of a labialized fricative by a post velarized fricative. In the above case, it can be noted that the post velarized fricative /z^w/ and the labialized fricative /z/ all share the same feature [labial]. This is observed by the labio-velar glide /w/ which has two place features [labial] and [dorsal], whereas the labialized fricative has the feature [coronal] and [labial]. In this regard, substitution occurs from a complex segment structure to

another complex segment despite the sounds being different from the donor and the recipient language. An analysis of the above shows that the use of substitution as a strategy of acquiring Shona complex segments results in the differences in the production of labialized fricative consonants between Ndebele L1 speakers learning Shona and Shona L1 speakers.

6.4 Substitution of the Labialized Prenasalized Fricatives

In the production of labialized prenasalized fricative /nz/, the segment is substituted by a prenasalised post velar segment /nz^w/. Labialized prenasalised fricatives are considered as double complex segment in this study mainly because they consists of two manner features and two places of articulation features. Therefore, the manner features for this segment are [+nasal] and [-nasal], whereas the place of articulation feature for the complex segment is [labial] and [coronal]. The table below presents the production of the labialized prenasalised fricative /nz/ by the native speakers of Shona and the L2 speakers of Shona.

Table 4 The Production of the Labialized Prenasalised Fricatives

L1 Production	Target segment	L2 Production	English gloss
/nzimbo/	/nz/	/nz ^w imbo/	Place
/nanz ^a /	/nz/	/nanz ^w a/	Lick
/nzenga/	/nz/	/nz ^w enga/	Hide
/nziru/	/nz/	/nz ^w iru/	Wild fruit

The table above shows the production of labialized prenasalized segments /nz_l/ which is substituted by a phonetically similar sound which is a prenasalized post velar segment /nz^w/. These two sounds are similar in that they are produced with some degree of lip rounding and are observed to be sharing the feature [labial]. This is observed by the fact that the labialized prenasalized segment has the features [+nasal] [-nasal] plus the addition of the place feature [labial] for labialization. The prenasalized post velarised segment also has the place features, which are [labial] and [dorsal]. Given such an explanation, Ndebele-Shona bilinguals tend to produce the labialized prenasalized segment based on the sound structures of their language resulting in the substitution of the sounds.

6.5 Change in Air Stream Mechanism

In the production of post velarized segments, the observations made from the data reveal that there is a change in the air stream mechanism, that is, from pulmonic egressive air stream mechanism to glottalic egressive air stream mechanism. In this study, the Ndebele-Shona bilinguals produce all post velarized segments using the glottalic air stream mechanism which is different from the Shona native speakers. This change in air stream mechanisms shows the development of phonological processes in the production of

Shona post velarized segments.

6.6 Pulmonic Egressive to Glottalic Egressive in the Production of Post Velarized Labial Plosives

Post velarized labial plosives are considered as complex segments in this study because they are characterized by two oral articulator features which are [labial] and [labial]. The first oral articulator feature is for the bilabial stop /p/ whereas the other feature [labial] is for the labio velar glide /w/. Hence in the production of post velarised labial plosives by Ndebele-Shona bilinguals the observation made from the findings show that there are differences in production between the Ndebele-Shona bilinguals and the Shona native speakers. The difference is observed in the post velarised labial plosive being produced with ejection. Consider the table below:

Table 5 The Production of the Post Velarised Labial Plosives

L1 Production	Target segment	L2 Production	English Gloss
/ip ^w a/	/p ^w /	/ip ^w ˀa/	Sugar cane
/p ^w anya/	/p ^w /	/p ^w ˀaŋa/	Destroy
/p ^w ere/	/p ^w /	/p ^w ˀere/	Children
/ib ^w e/	/b ^w /	/ib ^w ˀe/	Stone
/b ^w ereket/	/b ^w /	/b ^w ˀereketa/	Talk

The data above show the production of the post velarized labial plosives by Shona native speakers and Ndebele-

Shona bilinguals. It can be noted that even if the segment is realized as a post velarised labial plosive /p^w/ in its production, the sound however is produced with ejection. Ejection in this instance shows that there is a change in the air stream mechanisms responsible for sound production, that is, from pulmonic egressive to glottalic egressive air stream mechanism. This difference therefore changes the post velarized labial plosive into a post velarized labial ejected segment. The motivation behind this is that Ndebele produces some of the complex sounds through ejection. Hence a change in the air stream mechanism shows some of the strategies that are employed by Ndebele-Shona bilinguals when producing L2 Shona complex segments.

7. Conclusion

This study shows that most Ndebele L1 speakers have difficulties in producing Shona complex segments, thus they use deletion, substitution and a change of the airstream mechanism when producing segments that are not found in Ndebele phonology. It can be concluded that the challenges faced by the Ndebele-Shona bilinguals in the production of Shona complex segments are as a result of the fact that; there are consonantal differences between Shona and Ndebele and also the challenges can be attributed to the participants' learning Shona complex segments way after the critical age. It

is recommended that further studies are to be conducted in this area where a deeper understanding of the field can be achieved through extensive research on Bantu language combinations like Nambya-Tonga, Venda-Kalanga among other language combinations. On this note further research can also be conducted on the production of Ndebele complex segments like clicks by Shona-Ndebele bilinguals.

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Context and Meaning: Interjections as Discourse Markers in Tonga

Mildred Nkolola Wakumelo

Interjections are one of the word classes that have generally not been accorded much attention in linguistic analysis in most Bantu languages. Their characterisation and definition is still vague, and usually they have been perceived as being peripheral to language and as an unproductive word class (Crystal, 1995; Bloomfield, 1984; Quirk et al., 1985). The paper attempts to provide some form of linguistic analysis of interjections in Tonga. In doing so, the paper presents a case that based on their context of use

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interjections are very productive discourse markers in Tonga which perform various distinct functions in the conversational structure.

1. Introduction

This paper discusses the discourse functions of interjections in Tonga, a language spoken in Zambia and Zimbabwe. In Zambia, Tonga is spoken in the Southern and some parts of the Central provinces. In Zimbabwe, it is spoken in seven districts namely, Binga, Hwange, Nyaminyami, Nkayi, Gokwe North, Gokwe South and Victoria Falls. In his classification of Bantu languages Guthrie (1948) classifies Tonga under Zone M64 in the Lenje-Tonga group. Tonga has two major dialects in Zambia: Valley Tonga and Plateau Tonga. This paper is based on the Plateau Tonga dialect spoken around the Monze district of Zambia (Thompson, 1989; Hopgood, 1992; Carter, 2002).

The data that is used in the discussion of interjections was obtained from various sources. Primary data was obtained from recorded conversations of native speakers of Tonga, while secondary data was obtained from various written sources of the language such as novels, grammars, readers, dictionaries, school textbooks, etc. It should also be pointed out that the writer of this article is a native speaker of Tonga and was therefore able to provide very useful insights on

the validity of the data collected and its analysis through introspection. Asher (1994) indicates that introspective reports and linguistic intuition have a special status in linguistics because they are regarded as reflections of the native speaker's internalised grammar and can therefore be used as primary data for theory construction (Chomsky, 2005).

Interjections have traditionally been considered to be at the periphery of language and have primarily been associated with the expression of various emotions. For example, Padley (1976), Ameka (1992), Hişmanoğlu (2010), Wharton (2003) and Tayebi and Parvaresh (2011) note that Latin grammarians regarded interjections as non-words that were independent of syntax. They postulated that their only function was to signify feelings or states of mind. Other scholars such as Crystal (1995) and Quirk *et al.* (1985) equally do not associate interjections with any syntactic function and do not see them as productive words. In this respect, Quirk *et al.* (1985: 853) define interjections as “purely emotive words which do not enter into syntactic relations” while Crystal (1995: 180) points out that the term interjection refers “to a class of words which are unproductive, do not enter into syntactic relationships with other classes and whose function is purely emotive”.

Some scholars such as Ameka (1992) have recognised the pragmatic function of interjections. In this respect Ameka (1992: 106) indicates that “interjections are relatively

conventionalised vocal gestures (or more generally, linguistic gestures) which express a speaker's mental state, action or attitude or reaction to a situation". In terms of classification Jovanovič (2004: 18) indicated that interjections "are most often classified with other classes of uninflected words considered to be exclamatory sounds or outcries of pain, surprise, anger or pleasure which are uttered to express strong emotion or feeling". Some scholars simply regard interjections as a category of exclamations (Romero-Trillo, 2007; Norrick, 2007). While interjections and exclamations share some characteristics, they also manifest some differences. For instance, in terms of similarities, both interjections and exclamations are more frequent with the spoken form of language. In written texts they are only manifested in dialogues or spoken language within the written texts. On other similarities between interjections and exclamations, Ameka (1992: 108) asserts that "they are all produced in reaction to a linguistic or extra-linguistic context and can only be interpreted relative to the context in which they are produced". Some of their differences include the fact that interjections are inherent to language; they can be "produced almost involuntarily, without making an attempt at producing any value judgement" (Jovanovič, 2004: 19). Another notable difference between interjections and exclamations is that interjections may be structured as one-word utterances while

exclamations could comprise several words making up a whole sentence with an overt meaning. This can be seen in the following examples:

(1) What a big mistake! (exclamation)

(2) Oh! No! (interjection).

The exclamation in (1) has an overt meaning, the expression of anger or disgust at someone who has made a mistake. On the other hand, the interjection in (2) can only be covertly interpreted as showing anger or disgust. At face value it is difficult to determine the interpretation of this interjection as its interpretation has to be contextualised within what has been uttered before or the circumstances in which it has been uttered.

There are some scholars that have recognised interjections as having semantic content and internal conceptual structure. These include Wierzbicka (1991), Ehlich (1986) and Wilkins (1992). These scholars have repudiated the view of interjections as being peripheral to linguistics and have among others shown that interjections do have grammatical form.

2. Approaches to the Analysis of Interjections

Different scholars have used different approaches to the analysis of interjections. Nenova *et al.* (2001: 1) have

analysed interjections based on the approach of phonology as human behaviour (PHB). They postulate that “this is a cognitive approach to phonology whose aim is not simply to describe the systematic distributions in the sound structure of a language, but also to explain these patterns”. In this approach there is the belief in non-randomness of sounds in most languages. The assumption is that speakers tend to use certain sounds in some contexts so as to ‘minimising articulatory effort while maximising communication’ (Nenova *et al.*, 2001: 2). In relation to this Nenova *et al.* (2001) make the observation that most pause fillers (which in their view include interjections) comprise mainly vowels because these demand less articulatory effort in comparison with consonants. Our analysis of Tonga interjections has also revealed that a number of interjections in Tonga are made up of strings of vowels such as the following:

(3) *ee, ii, oo, uuu, aa.*

Romero-Trillo (2006) adopts the discourse-cognitive model to the analysis of interjections. In this model, discourse markers are perceived as “elements that fill the discursual and cognitive slots that spoken language needs in order to weave the net of interaction (Romero-Trillo, 2006 as quoted in Norrick, 2007). In this model discourse markers are perceived as the elements that guarantee the ‘adaptive management’ of the message to a discourse situation (Norrick, 2007: 161-2).

Romero-Trillo (2007: 228), cited in Norrick (2007), defines adaptive management in discourse as the speakers' capacity "to adapt the grammatical, lexical and pragmatic parameters of discourse through a series of remedial elements and through a principled process, in order to comply with the demands of a new cognitive stage in a conversation via a cognitive standardized process". In this process, interjections as discourse markers play the role of self-regulating elements that are employed in the conversation structure to help avoid pragmatic misunderstanding and to maintain the smooth flow of the conversation. For instance, the interjection '*alimwi obo!*' (again that!) in Tonga signals that the listener is following the conversation in disbelief, but at the same time urging the speaker to continue with the conversation and provide more details to substantiate what he or she is saying. On the other hand, the interjection '*kasimpe*' (truly) implies that the listener is following the conversation, but with some element of doubt as to whether what is being said is actually true. On the other hand, an interjection like '*ncobeni*' (really) in Tonga guides the speaker into realising that the listener may have some doubts on what he or she is saying and hence may be demanding that the speaker substantiates his facts. In our analysis we have considered interjections as contextual discourse markers that both the speaker and the listener may continuously use in their conversation for various discourse

functions as will be discussed below.

The semantic approach has also been used in the analysis of interjections. According to Hişmanoğlu (2010), “interjections are semantically rich and have a definite conceptual structure which can be explicated” (Wilkins, 1992: 120). The approach stresses that interjections do have semantic value and that they communicate complex conceptual structures. For instance the English interjection ‘whaah’ could mean:

- (4) a. That’s interesting!
- b. That’s strange!
- c. How nice!

However, it has been noted that one of the weaknesses of the semantic approach is that it does not take into account the natural composition and paralinguistic characteristic of interjections. As noted by Hişmanoğlu (2010: 21), “interjections fall somewhere between the natural and the linguistic. They share the feature of being partly coded and partly natural with tone of voice, facial expressions and even gestures”. In some instances facial expressions, gestures, tone and context have to be taken into consideration in order to arrive at the correct interpretation of interjections. For instance, taking into account these different parameters, the Tonga interjection ‘*ee*’ may have different interpretations. A woman who is trying to pick up a hot pot from the stove and suddenly yells ‘*ee*’ could be expressing the fact that the pot

is hot and that it has burnt her, hence expressing her feelings. On the other hand, if the same woman is in the kitchen standing next to a stove with a boiling pot of water holding her baby and the baby reaches out to pull the pot from the stove, she may shout ‘*ee*’ out of fear and caution to the child that they could get burnt if they touch the pot. Or again, if the woman drops a hot china plate and it breaks to pieces, she could still utter the interjection ‘*ee*’ as a sign of disgust at having broken what could be her prized possession. In the last instance, the intensity of her disgust could further be emphasised by lengthening the duration of the interjection, for it to be manifested as ‘*eee*’ for example. Each of these instances could be accompanied by different non-linguistic elements such as gestures that could provide further input to the correct interpretation of the interjection. As a result, the communicative effects of an interjection cannot be discerned just from its semantic structure as the arrival at the correct interpretation of an interjection may need to integrate the context of communication with facial expressions, gestures and nature of participants in the communicative event.

To accommodate the various features essential in the interpretation of interjections, some scholars have proposed the use of a pragmatic approach to their analysis. Such scholars include Ameka (1992). Ameka (1992: 107) adopts a pragmatic analysis, considering interjections “as a subset

of items that encode speaker attitudes and communicative intentions and are context-bound”. Ameka (1992) considers interjections as a subclass of pragmatic markers and states that they are “produced in reaction to a linguistic or extra-linguistic context, and can only be interpreted relative to the context in which they are produced” (Ameka, 1992: 108). In our discussion of the functions of interjections in Tonga, we have employed some tenets from Romero-Trillo’s (2006), Romero-Trillo (2007) and Ameka (1992). Incorporating tenets from these scholars we have considered interjections as discourse markers inserted into conversation by the speakers or listeners in the course of the conversation to ensure the smooth flow of the communicative event and to ensure that there is no communication breakdown among others. In the sections that will follow we will provide more details on some of the possible discourse functions of interjections in Tonga.

3. Phonological and Syntactic Analysis

On the basis of form, interjections can be divided into two broad categories. These are primary and secondary interjections. Ameka (1992: 105) states that “primary interjections are little words or non-words which in terms of their distribution can constitute an utterance by themselves and do not normally enter into construction with other words”.

They are simple and fixed units which can only be used as interjections and are also capable of occurring on their own as stand-alone utterances. Primary interjections can encompass a wide variety of sounds such as inhalations, exhalations and clicks accompanied by various facial expressions, head movements and gestures that can be used to signal various meanings such as surprise, anger, disgust or disagreement in a communicative event. In Tonga, these include the following:

(5) *we, ma, hi, ne, nee, pe, ee, oo, ta, ha, sss, shi, tee, nee, aa, sa, cu, accu, maccu, kaka, i, eh, kwe, syo, ce, ba, ehe, he, hwe, kwi, ya, wi, hye, hu, hau, ehe, ea, mavwe, mawe, mm, etc.*

These interjections have no lexical meaning and are very dependent on their context of use for their semantic content and interpretation, as they can have various interpretations depending on the context. For instance, the interjection ‘*ee*’ may have different interpretations depending on the social context and the participants in the conversation. A woman who is trying to pick up a hot pot from the stove and suddenly yells ‘*ee*’ could be expressing the fact that the pot is hot and that it has burnt her, hence expressing her feelings. On the other hand, if the same woman is in the kitchen standing next to a stove with a boiling pot of water holding her baby and the baby reaches out to pull the pot from the stove, she may shout ‘*ee*’ out of fear and caution to the child that they could get burnt if they touch the pot. Or again, if the woman drops

a hot china plate and it breaks to pieces, she could still utter the interjection ‘*ee*’ as a sign of disgust at having broken what could be her prized possession. In the last instance, the intensity of her disgust could further be emphasised by lengthening the duration of the interjection, for it to be manifested as ‘*eeee*’, for example.

Secondary interjections are units coming from other grammatical classes which can be used interjectionally due to a process of lexical extension. These are words which have an independent semantic value but which can be conventionally used as utterances by themselves to express a mental attitude or state” (Ameka, 1992: 111). Interjections such *ncobeni* (really) and *pepe* (no) in Tonga fall under this category.

Some scholars, such as Ameka (1992: 105), have related interjections “to connectors which always occur with another utterance, hence their discourse marking functions”. He notes that they however exhibit some differences with other connectors in that connectors cannot stand alone as utterances unless they are used elliptically, as can be seen in this English example:

- (6) a. Speaker 1: **Oh**, I have I bought another car
Speaker 2: **Oh!**
b. Speaker 1: **And**, I bought another car
Speaker 2: **And!**

In the sentences above, while ‘*oh*’ used by Speaker 2 as an

interjection expressing surprise at the news he/she has heard from Speaker 1 in 6(a) can stand alone as an utterance, *and* used as a connector in 6(b) cannot stand as an utterance alone as used by Speaker 2. In fact its use seems inappropriate in this context.

4. Discourse and Pragmatic Functions of Interjections

The determination of the discourse and pragmatic functions of interjections may demand a distinction between the kernel meaning and the context-dependent interpretations or meanings of interjections. Kernel's meanings tend to generalise the meanings of interjections, while context-dependent interpretations are more precise and specific. For instance, focussing on the kernel meaning, linguists have generally characterised interjections as non-words, independent of syntax, signifying only feelings or states of mind (Padley, 1976; Ameka, 1992; Hişmanoğlu, (2010; Wharton, 2003; Tayebi & Parvaresh, 2011).

In this paper we adopt a context dependent analysis of the discourse function of interjections in which we posit that knowledge about the speaker, situation and context of communication all play a distinctive role in the interpretation of the interjections and the utterances they occur with (Fischer,

1998). The other thing we note in our analysis is that the communicative effects of interjections are enriched and can alter when combined with different paralinguistic phenomena, such as tone of voice, facial expressions, gestures and body movements (Wharton, 2003). These may be lost when the utterances with the interjections are reduced to written form. Their full meaning and purpose is achieved in real observable speech.

In the treatment of the discourse functions of interjections here proposed, we argue that interjections fulfill certain functions with respect to the speaker-hearer-interaction system (Ehlich, 1986). In this regard, they provide the first and most immediate indications of the emotional response and cognitive reorientation to new information, and allow participants a window into the on-going success or non-success of the speech process (Schiffrin, 1987). Using interjections, participants are accorded a chance to monitor, signal and indicate an interaction breakdown and conversational repair processes. The interjection ‘*oho*’ in the sentence below overtly informs the speaker that the listener is following the conversation:

(7) *Oho! Mbwaabele makani.*

‘*Oho!* That is how the news is.’

Following Cuenca (2004) and Ameka (1992, 2006), we categorise the functions and meanings of interjections into the

three broad categories of expressive interjections, conative interjections, and phatic interjections (Jakobson, 1960; Lyons, 1977).

4.1 Expressive Interjections

According to Ameka (1992: 113) “expressive interjections can be characterised as the vocal gestures which are symptoms of among others the speaker’s mental state”. They may also designate the attitude and views of the speaker (Jakobson, 1960; Halliday, 1975). These can be divided into cognitive, representative and emotive interjections. Ameka (1992) indicates that emotive interjections are indicative of the speaker’s sensations and emotions while the cognitive ones reveal the thoughts and knowledge of the speaker. For example, in (8) the interjections ‘*cee*’ and ‘*nee*’ have an expressive function where they signal disgust.

(8) a. ***Cee!*** *wabanzi?*

‘***Cee!*** What is wrong with you?’

b. ***Nee!*** *Notaunka!*

‘***Nee!*** You shouldn’t have gone there!’

On the other hand, interjections such as ‘*ena*’ and ‘*pe*’ in the sentences in (9) play a cognitive function.

(9) a. ***Ena,*** *ulicizyi ani.*

‘***Ena,*** you know it.’

b. ***Pe,*** *hena mbubo ono.*

‘*Pe*, it is okay then now.’

4.2 *Cognitive Expressive Interjections*

Cognitive expressive interjections may, among other things, signal repair making, back-channelling, feed-back signalling, and take-up. We discuss these four types of cognitive expressive interjections below with Tonga examples.

4.2.1 **Repair making cognitive interjections**

Repair making interjections assist in making the discourse more coherent. They could be used when the speaker realises that the listeners are not getting his or her message, or when the speaker may just be interested in clarifying the message. The speaker may notice some cues (or lack of certain cues) in a conversation, which may lead him or her to the realisation that the other participants have failed to achieve uptake of the intended message, and that remedial steps are needed. Consider the sentence below:

(10) *Ee, atwaambe kuti mvula yawa kabotu mwaka uno inga twabona mbomunga mwagwasyigwa.*

‘*Ee*, let’s say if the rains will be good this year we will see how you can be helped.’

In this sentence ‘*ee*’ used at the head of a spoken sequence, turn-initial position, functions as an interaction marker, serving to reformulate something in the foregoing discourse. As such, it would count as an elaborative discourse marker

to what precedes. In this position one would also use the discourse markers ‘*aha*’ and ‘*aaa*’ as can be seen in the following examples.

(11) a. *Aha!* *Atwaambe bobuya, kuti mvula yawa kabotu mwaka uno inga*

twabona mbomunga mwagwasigwa.

‘*Aha*, let’s put it this way, if the rains will be good this year we will see how you can be helped.’

b. *Atwambe bobuya, aaa, nakuti mvula yawa kabotu mwaka uno inga*

twabona mbomunga mwangwasigwa.

‘Let’s put it this way, *aaa*, if the rains will be good this year we will see how you can be helped.’

In these examples ‘*aha*’ and ‘*aaa*’ can function as discourse markers of contrast or elaboration. These interjections also function as self-realization markers, which the speaker uses to indicate a change in the course of the conversation in order to make his or her contribution to the conversation more comprehensible.

Some repair making interjections may be used to signal that the course of the information being communicated has changed. As noted by Nenova *et al.* (2001), this change could be necessitated by “an update of the knowledge, or change in the current state of the world or of the current topic in the communication”. Syntactically these interjections tend to

appear in the turn-medial position. This can be seen in the use of ‘*pee*’, ‘*cee*’ and ‘*we*’ in the examples below:

- (12) a. *Alimwi webo musa, pee, inga wandicenga buti.*
‘And you my friend, *pee*, how can you cheat me?’
- b. *Inga waamba boobo, cee, kunyina ncozyi pee.*
‘How can you say that, *cee*, there is nothing that you know.’
- c. *Twakalizyalila, we, mwaneesu.*
‘We produced her, *we*, she is our child.’

Some interjections in this category signal a change in cognitive state. This could indicate a situation in which a speaker perceives the content of the communicative event or action being referred to from a different angle. Note the following examples.

- (13) a. *Cee, ani, ncali kuyanda nasikile.*
‘*Cee*, so, that is what he or she wanted when he or she came.’
- b. *Macu! Eena mbocibele oobu.*
‘*Maccu!* So that’s how it is.’
- c. *Eeana! Sena ulainda lyaonse cifumofumo ano?*
‘*Eaana!* Does he or she pass through here every morning?’
- d. *We! Eena wazikuswaya ndime mwanakasuwa.*
‘*We*, so you have come to visit me my friend.’

Interjections in this category may serve as self-expansion

interjections, where “they show that the current speaker intends to further expand the utterance by contributing more information (Nenova *et al.*, 2001: 3) consider the following:

(14) a. **Uuu!** *Ino nkooko tubone ngambe bobuya azyina.*

‘**Uuu!** Now let’s see let me say this first of all.’

b. **Ce,** *sena kulasiswa, syoo, tamuyi kucintoolo.*

‘**Ce,** do you have to hide, **syoo,** aren’t you going to the shop.’

c. **Hee!** *Ani nduwe musa, pee, kasimpe, konjila njanda.*

‘**Hee!** So it’s you my friend, **pee,** really, come into the house.’

Sometimes repair making may be signalled by repetition, which may be used by the speaker to restructure his or her speech. These tend to be in the form of disfluencies used by the speaker to restructure his or her conversation, for example:

(15) *Ono, aa, atwaambe, aa, naa bana bapasa kabotu mumisunko yabo...*

‘Now **aa,** let’s say, **aa,** if the children pass their examinations very well...’

Here the speaker could be indicating that they know what they want to say, but could be looking for the best way to put it.

4.2.2 Back-channelling cognitive Interjections

Back-channeling interjections are used by a listener to indicate that he or she is paying attention to a speaker. They

are produced in response to the speaker's previous utterance. Hence they may be more prominent amongst listeners. The interjections 'uu' and 'owo' in the below are illustrative:

(16) Speaker 1: *Bamba kuti balaboola sunu mbubona mbuli mbubakaamba.*

'They said they would come today as they had said.'

Speaker 2: *Uu.*

'Uu.'

Speaker 1: *Pesi baamba kuti bayakupiluka cifumo.*

But they said they will come back tomorrow.'

Speaker 2: *Owo.*

'Owo.'

In these contexts, the interjections serve as registeratives in which Speaker 2 is not questioning the statements by Speaker 1, but is merely acknowledging that he or she is following the conversation and understands what Speaker 1 is saying. Hence the utterances of Speaker 2 simply serve as back-channel cues, indicating that he or she is following the conversation but has no intention of contributing new information to the current discussion. The listener could also be urging the speaker to go on with the conversation. These interjections are used as responses to previous utterances, and they only make sense relative to the context of usage and the addresser's preceding

utterances. If they were to be removed from their context, their interpretation would be difficult to discern.

Feedback signalling cognitive interjections

Feedback signalling interjections are used when the listener may be indicating to the speaker that he or she is following the conversation. They also signal that the listener has no objection to the speaker continuing with the conversation. They may also designate some form of doubt on the part of the listener. In this respect, the interjection can be source-directed, signalling doubt on the part of the listener, and may be an attempt to motivate the speaker to give more details or to substantiate what he or she is saying. The following sentences can be considered.

(17) a. Speaker 1: *Imvula yakawa kapati kuli ndiswe jilo.*

‘It rained a lot at our place yesterday.’

Speaker 2: ***Ncobeni!***

‘**Really!**’

b. Speaker 1: *Njanda kuula moota uno mwaka.*

‘I want to buy a car this year.’

Speaker 2: ***Kaleza!***

‘**Really**’ (literally ‘of God’!)’

c. Speaker 1: *Ndakamubona Monde jilo.*

‘I saw Monde yesterday.’

Speaker 2: ***Koti, Leza. Wakamubona ameso ako aayo?***

‘**Really**, (literally ‘say God’). You saw her with your own eyes?’

Speaker 1: *Leza buya! Ndakamubona.*

‘**I swear by God!** I saw her.’

Speaker 2: *Macu, macu, Maambo, ulayanda kubeja maningi yebo.*

‘*Macu, macu*, Maambo, you like telling lies.’

In these examples, *ncobeni*, *kaleza*, *koti Leza* and *macu macu*, when used after certain utterances, serve to question the previous utterances, more or less like saying ‘Is it true?’ or ‘If it is true then provide more details to substantiate what you are saying!’ Hence the reference to them serves as feedback signalling interjections.

In other instances they may just serve the purpose of the listener giving an indication to the speaker that he or she is listening, and therefore that the speaker can go on and provide more information. This can be seen in the following example.

(18) Speaker 1: *Twelede kuunka kumuswangano wa balimi sunu kumazuba.*

‘We are supposed to go for a meeting for farmers this afternoon.’

Speaker 2: *Ihi, ino umana ciindi nzi?*

‘*Ihi*, what time is it finishing?’

Speaker 1: *Ulamana mpolilombela moombe.*

‘It will finish at sunset.’

Speaker 2: *Eena, nkokuti mweende kabotu mulatujana.*

‘*Eena*, then go well you will find us.’

In the instances (18) above, the listener is not a passive participant as is the case with ‘back-channelling’ because in this case Speaker 2 is acknowledging comprehension of immediate past utterance but is at the same time also making a contribution to the communicative event by soliciting further information from Speaker 1.

Take-up or turn-taking cognitive interjections

Take-up or turn-taking interjections may be used when the listener wants to interject in the conversation. In take-up or turn-taking, the listener may realise that he or she needs to contribute to the conversation, and hence may use an interjection to signal this desire to assume their turn in the conversation. The following examples illustrate.

(19) a. *Ino, nkooko, ambeyo ngambe.*

‘*Ino*, there, let me also say something.’

b. *Ino, nkooko atubone.*

‘*Ino*, there, let’s see.’

c. *Yaa, nguwakubisya nguwena oyo mweenzinyoko ooyo.*

‘*Yaa*, it is that same friend of yours that has spoiled you.’

In some take-up interjections, the other person could be

interpreted as saying “I have heard what you have said, I want to say something now, I want to say more about it or I want to disagree with you” (Fischer, 1998: 123). This is evident from the following example.

(20) a. *Wee, ino nkooko tubone ngambe ambebo azyina.*

‘*Wee, ino* there let’s see let me say something also as well.’

b. *Cee, tee mbufubafuba buyo bwakwe oyu Musilekwa.*

‘*Cee*, that is the foolishness of Musilekwa.’

In take-up, some interjections may also express the recognition of something one did not think of before, either because it is a new good idea or because the speaker thinks that it will contribute to the current discourse. Note the following examples.

(21) a. *Ii! aa mbu Kristo nzi oobu bubukila mwana aciswa.*

‘*Ii*, what kind of Christianity is this which starts when the child is sick.’

b. *Nee kaka caindilila.*

‘*Nee, kaka*, it is too much.’

c. *Ehe! Ngonguwe Mumbe ngotwali kwaamba ooyu.*

‘*Ehe!* This is the Mumbe we were talking about.’

4. 3 Representative Expressive Interjections

These are interjections that the speaker uses for the

expression of the state of affairs, to convey facts and information or to describe a situation. The speaker may not expect a reaction from the listeners, but hopes that they will have accepted his or her message. Other interjections can be used as follows.

(22) *Pe, kocaala mulongwaangu.*

‘*Pe*, stay behind my friend.’

Ee! Ono kwali bosegwa-bosegwa kakutegwa mpaali bantu ani kuti pe.

‘*Ee!* Now he is trying to make himself look good as if he is a good person.’

Ma! Cita-cita syizyi oko.

‘*Ma!* I don’t know about that there.’

Ma! Ino cita swe twakomena kale twacaazyu buyo kuya mumavu tutobele bakatusiya.

‘*Ma!* I don’t know some of us are already old we are only waiting to die and to follow others that have gone before us.’

The interjections in this category tend to display a dismissive attitude on the part of the speaker. Consider the following.

(23) ‘*Maa! Inga ati kaciba buyo.*’

‘*Maa!* Let it just be.’

‘*Ii, nkutole kuli?*’

‘*Ii*, where would I take you?’

‘Ccee! Kaya buyo, mulandu tauligwi cucu uya kuujana’.

‘Ccee! Let him go a case never gets rotten he will find it.’

4.4 Emotive Expressive Interjections

Emotive expressive interjections indicate various states of mind and emotions of the speaker (Ameka, 1992, 2006). These could be in reaction to different situations. ‘*Mawe*’, as an emotive expressive interjection in Tonga, may signal painful or potentially painful objects and events. It may be used in a situation where, for example, someone quickly retracts his or her hand after attempting to lift a hot pot. In other situations such usage may also be inverted to signal a hearer’s reaction to shocking news or shocking event. For example, when listening to a narration on an event that involved a painful experience for the subject, one may interject the conversation with ‘*mawe!*’ This can be seen in the usage of this interjection in the following examples.

(24) a. *‘Mawe! Ndapya.’*

‘Mawe! I have been burnt.’ (reaction to pain)

b. *‘Mawe! Ani mbwakafwa oobo!’*

‘Mawe! Is that how he died!’ (reaction to shocking event)

c. *‘Mawe! Yandiluma nzoka!’*

‘*Mawe!* I have been bitten by a snake!’ (reaction to pain)

‘*Hwe*’ and ‘*mawe*’ may also signal an unexpected situation. In such contexts it could signal surprise on the part of the speaker, as used in the following contexts.

- (25) a. ‘*Mawe, mbwacembaaala ubuya!*’
‘*Mawe*, that’s how old he/she has become!’
b. ‘*Mawe, wakabanzi ncakacita boobo!*’
‘*Mawe*, what was wrong with him to do that!’
c. ‘*Hwe, ani nduwe Mwaka.*’
‘*Hwe*, so it is you Mwaka.’
d. ‘*Hwe, wacita kabotu.*’
‘*Hwe*, he has done well.’

‘*Eena*’, ‘*maccu*’, ‘*we*’ and ‘*accu*’ are interjections used as an expression of puzzlement and surprise. This could be positive or negative puzzlement and surprise, as exemplified in the following sentences.

- (26) a. ‘*Macu! Kasimpe, wandicenga.*’
‘*Macu! Really*, you have cheated me.’ (negative puzzlement)
b. ‘*Acu, ino wakayiiya lili kweenzya mooto?*’
‘*Acu*, when did you learn to drive a car?’ (positive puzzlement)
c. ‘*We, wandiyoosya.*’

‘*We*, you have scared me.’ (negative puzzlement)

The determination of the puzzlement as being positive or negative depends on the meaning of the sentence with which the interjection occurs. For instance, in (26a) the puzzlement is negative as cheating is perceived negatively. On the other hand, the puzzlement in (26b) is positive because learning how to drive is a positive act. The puzzlement and surprise may be amplified by the use of a question mark, as can be seen in (26b). In such a case the speaker could also be seeking a response from the listener. In (26b) the speaker expects the listener to indicate when he or she learnt how to drive a car! Sometimes pitch and duration may also provide important clues in distinguishing and in disambiguating these two uses; puzzlement and surprise. When the interjection extends over a longer duration, then the speaker could be expressing puzzlement upon receiving new information. This can be seen in the example below.

(27) a. ‘*Maccuu*, *alimwi mbwaamba oobo*.’

‘*Maccuu*, now that is what he or she has said?’

b. ‘*Enaa*, *mbomukkala mung’anda omuno*?’

‘*Enaa*, this is how you leave in this house?’

High pitch is associated with a greater degree of emotional intensity and a higher level of surprise. A low pitch may be used to show puzzlement or sometimes matter-of-fact reaction to new and unexpected information as in the following

examples.

- (28) a. ‘*Maccúú, mbucakacitika oobo?*’
‘*Maccúú*, that is how it happened?’ (surprise)
- b. ‘*Maccùù, mbucakacitika oobo?*’
‘*Maccùù*, that is how it happened?’ (puzzlement)
- c. ‘*Eená, mbwaamba ono obo?*’
‘*Eená*, that is what he/she has now said?’ (surprise)
- d. ‘*Eenà, mbaamba ono obo?*’
‘*Eenà*, that is what he/she has now said?’
(puzzlement)

‘*Kaleza*’ and ‘*ncobeni*’ can be immediate responses to new information where they usually add an emotional component to the utterer’s reaction to new information. This reaction could be positive or negative. They could signal strong surprise or questioning of the new information by the listener. They are usually uttered with a high pitch. Consider the following examples.

- (29) a. Speaker 1: *Monde waamba kuti wapasa maningi mumisunko.*
‘Monde has said she passed very well in her examinations.’
- Speaker 2: *Ncobeni?*
‘*Ncobeni?*’
- b. Speaker 1: *Mvwiki iboola njanda kuti nkakutole kumavumina aku Victoria ku Libingi.*’

‘Next week I want to take you to the Victoria Falls in Livingstone.’

Speaker 2: ‘*Koti kaleza?*’

‘*Say kaleza?*’ (lit. Say God?)

In these examples the speaker may also want some re-affirmation from the previous speaker on the issue at hand, to satisfy or confirm their emotional surprise. When the interjection is targeted at the speaker’s emotional focus is on the information expected to follow the length of the interjection may be very short and high pitched.

‘*Akaka*’ (or sometimes ‘*kaka*’) may be used to show strong disapproval of an action that may have just taken place or has been mentioned by the speaker. The cases in point are as follows.

(30) a. *Pepe, kaka, mwana mwati inga waakusika nkondipa moombe biya?*

‘No, *kaka*, my friend it has not reached the level where you have to give me a calf?’

b. *Akaka, ino wabanzi ncanywa boobu bukoko?*

‘*Akaka*, what is wrong with him to drink beer in this manner?’

‘*Cee*’ and ‘*hii*’ may be used not only to show disapproval but also to dismiss some actions. This is reflected in their usage in the following sentences.

(31) a. ‘*Cee, kamumuleka buyo uya kuboola wapenga.*’

‘*Cee*, just leave him he will come when he will be in trouble.’

b. ‘*Hii*, ani unyina maanu.’

‘*Hii*, then he has no brains.’

A distinction in meaning may occur when the interjections are said with a longer duration. A longer duration signals a dismissive action, while a short duration may simply denote disapproval.

‘*Aa*’ may have various interpretations. When uttered with a low tone it may index frustration arising from a mistake that someone has made. This mistake could be as a result of, for instance a poorly performed activity or an action that has gone wrong. The following sentence could be said by someone attempting to throw away an object into a bin, but misses and it lands just next to the bin.

(32) ‘*Aa*, ndalubizya.’

‘*Aa*, I have missed.’

Another example would be the following sentence, which could be uttered out of frustration about an action that is difficult to perform.

(33) ‘*Aa*, casyupa sunu eeci sunu.’

‘*Aa*, this is very difficult today.’

The interjection ‘*cuuu*’, uttered as an inhalation, may index a loathsome object or situation that also indicates disgust on the part of the speaker. This interjection may be uttered in the

context of a preceding statement or a situation. For example, a woman engaged in cooking who briefly goes away from the kitchen, only to return and find that the pot has boiled over and messed up the stove, may use this interjection to express her extreme disgust at the mess. This interjection may also be directed in response to disgusting actions of others, especially at those that are one's juniors. For instance, a mother may use this interjection in reference to a child's action that she strongly disapproves of. The other interjection that may be used in this context is 'cee' as in the following example.

(34) '*Cee, ino wabanzi ncoocita boobu.*'

'*Cee*, what is wrong with you to do this.'

It should be noted that for all the emotive interjections, the intensity of the speaker's emotions can be varied by lengthening the duration of the last vowel of the interjection or by use of a rising tone. In a situation where the interjection is polysyllabic the tone peaks on the last syllable. Hence the longer the duration and the higher the tone of the last syllable, the higher the intensity of the emotion (and vice versa). The intensity of emotional expression may also be aided by the use of some gestures by the speaker.

4.5 Conative Interjections

Conative interjections have the pragmatic function of being a means to achieve certain ends. This would correspond to

what Halliday (1975) referred to as the regulatory function of language, where language is used to tell others what to do. Ameka (1992: 113) views the aim of a conative interjection “[a]s to provoke a reaction on the part of the listener”. These interjections are directed at others and demand an action or response from the hearer in response to or as a reaction to the speaker’s utterance. For example, the interjection ‘*shiii*’ can be used as an imperative aimed at getting someone’s attention as in the following sentence.

(35) ‘*Shiii, mwatusabila.*’

‘*Shiii*, you are making noise for us.’

In this context the interjection is not only used to draw the attention of the addressee but to also get the listener to do something such as ceasing to make noise so that the speaker can communicate subsequent information. In this context it is meant to get the listeners to stop making noise so as to establish and maintain contact with the listeners. This is because if the listeners are making noise, there could be communication breakdown. As Kockelmon (2003) observed, these interjections can be used as an attention-getting device or channel-opener in a communicative event.

In (35) above, the interjection ‘*shiii*’ may also be said to serve a phatic function as it aids in the establishment of social contact between the speaker and the listener. When one is making noise when another is speaking, social contact is

lost. The social contact is partly established by drawing the attention of the listener to the communicative event taking place. To further emphasise the need to draw the speaker to the communicative event, such interjections may be accompanied by commands or statements to that effect as can be seen in the example below.

(36) ‘**Shiii**, *kamuswiilila caambwa wano!*’

‘**Shiii**, you listen to what is being said here!’

When *shiii* is lengthened and strongly accented as a single utterance it could signal disapproval and serve as a remonstrative in which case the speaker could be telling the listeners that what they are doing (e.g. making noise) is unacceptable in that context. In this case it could be expressed in a longer version as the following.

(37) ‘*Shiiiiiii.*’

‘*Heyi*’ may signal a command to non-response, for instance between a child and a parent. In a context where a mother has been telling the son to go and take a bath but the child continues watching television, she may go to him and say ‘*heyi*’ with a strong accent indicating her disgust at his non-compliance to her command, while at the same time also further commanding him to stop what he is doing so that he goes for the bath. The meaning of the interjection in this case is contextualised and its full meaning would be recoverable from the conversation that has gone on before. The interjection

can also be used as an attention seeker. In this case someone may use this interjection to draw the attention of someone who is not listening to what they are trying to say as in the following sentence.

(38) ‘*Heyi, ulimvide nceamba.*’

‘*Heyi*, are you listening to what I am saying?’

4.6 Phatic INTERJECTIONS

According to Ameka (1992: 114), “phatic interjections are used in the establishment and maintenance of communicative contact”. Ameka (1992) notes that there are a lot of vocalisations that are indicative of the speaker’s mental attitude in relation to the on-going conversations that could be categorised as phatic interjections. These may include back-channelling or feedback seeking interjections such as ‘*mmm*’, ‘*uuu*’ and ‘*uhu*’, which are uttered when the listener may be indicating that he or she is following the conversation or may be indicating minimal disbelief to an utterance for which they may be needing further clarification, feedback or evidence to back up what is being said. Consider the following examples:

(39) Speaker 1: ‘*Monde walilekelela kumakani akacitika jilo.*’

‘Monde has apologised for what happened yesterday.’

Speaker 2: ‘*Uuu!*’

‘*Uuu!*’

Speaker 1: *Inzya. Waamba kuti tanakali kuyeeya kabotu nakaamba bobuya.*

‘Yes. She has said that she was not thinking properly when she said that.’

Speaker 2: ‘*Mmm.*’

‘*Mmm.*’

In example (39), the utterances of Speaker 2 could be categorised as interjections functioning in the phatic category. In both instances Speaker 2 uses the interjections to maintain the communicative event, but at the same time the interjections also have a back-channelling and feedback signalling function. Speaker 2 also seems to be indicating disbelief, hence requiring Speaker 1 to give more information. Speaker 1 seems to have realised this, and hence the elaboration on Monde’s action in his or her second contribution.

In this category of interjections some scholars such as Ameka (1992) have also included phatic expressions such as greetings, presence signalling devices and welcoming devices. These would, for example, apply if there was some on-going conversation and someone comes in and briefly interrupts this process. In Tonga the expression ‘*hodi*’ could be used as a presence signalling device in such instances. The listener could then make an utterance like ‘*wabonwa*’ (literally ‘you have been seen’) and then the on-going conversation may continue for a while.

5. Multiple Functions of Interjections

From the examples provided above, it can be seen that interjections may have multiple functions and hence multiple categorisations. It can also be noticed that the same interjection can play different discourse functions in different contexts. These multiple functions can be disambiguated by means of the context of usage as in the interjection 'ee'. In a context in which a child is about to lift some very expensive ornament, the mother notices this and says 'ee'. In this context the interjection can serve two functions. It can be a command to the child to stop the action, or it could signal her fear of the consequences of the action if the child succeeds in getting the ornament and then drops it on a concrete floor. Hence the interjection in this case can have both the emotive expressive function and a conative function. The conative function is intentionally produced by the mother, whose intention would be to make the child refrain from touching the ornament. In this situation, it could be admitted that the mother is not simply expressing a feeling or emotion, for she does not want the child to do something. The mother can be said to have a very precise informative intention, which she does not manifest by means of an utterance in the form of a sentence, but by means of the interjectional utterance. For the child to understand the informative intention he/she must make some inference about the mother's informative intention. This

will help him/her recover the proposition of her interjection. The following are some of the possible propositions to the interjections.

- (40) a. 'Don't touch that ornament.'
b. 'Leave that ornament where it is.'
c. 'What are you doing?'
d. 'Stop what you are doing.'

When interjections have multiple semantic interpretations, their classification could be based on the context and participants of the communicative event.

Emotive interjections may pose problems of interpretation in instances when the interjections stand alone as full utterances, since no attitude can be projected toward any adjacent propositional content. This situation is worsened if an interjection is heard without knowledge of the context of its utterance. For instance, an inhalation functioning as an interjection such as '*ssh*', heard without a context could signal pleasure or pain. Equally, an interjection such as *akaka* could signal disgust, disapproval, or puzzlement if it is not disambiguated by a context of communication. This underscores the significance of the pragmatic and contextual orientation in the interpretation of interjections. The tendency that has been adopted by some scholars to allocate general labels of meaning to individual interjections out of their context of usage is erroneous and leads to wrong or over-

generalised interpretations of functions of interjections.

6. Conclusion

From the discussion above, it has been shown that interjections in Tonga, like in many other languages, fall into two main categories: primary and secondary interjections. Primary interjections have a purely interjectional function and may not be used for any other purposes. On the other hand, secondary interjections can be words from other word classes which assume an interjectional function by lexical extension in the various contexts in which they used.

Our analysis of the discourse functions of interjections has established that interjections in Tonga fulfil various functions. We have sub-categorised these into expressive, conative and phatic functions. The expressive function presents the largest category. Another important argument presented in the paper is that the interpretation of the function of the interjection is dependent on the context of communication. Hence, depending on the context, the same interjection may assume different discourse functions. Equally important to the interpretation of interjections are duration and accent. In this respect, the intensity of an interjection is increased with a longer duration and a higher accent. In face-to-face communication, gestures may also aid in the interpretation of interjections.

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Vowel-Vowel and Vowel-Glide-Vowel Variation in Sesotho

Maleshoane Rapeane-Mathonsi, Nhlanhla Mathonsi

The issue of language variation has been the subject of discussion for many linguists, especially sociolinguists and historical linguists. Phonological variation, in particular, has dominated sociolinguistic circles for many years, even before the term ‘sociolinguistics’ was coined. Sesotho, like other languages, displays variation at all levels, but our main focus in this paper is on phonological variation evident when

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some Basotho insert glides where they originally do not exist, while others stick to the ‘standard’ forms. The purpose of this chapter, then, is to examine variation involving the insertion of glides between vowels in Sesotho, resulting in the non-standard vowel-glide-vowel versus the standard vowel-vowel structure. The chapter further provides phonological rules which result from this type of variation.

1. Introduction

Many scholars have written about language change for centuries now. Before the birth of sociolinguistics as an independent branch of linguistics, both language variation and change were studied mainly by historical linguists and anthropologists. Although Foulkes (2010: 1) observes that “Interest in linguistic variation is probably as old as interest in language itself”, it was Labov’s 1960s works which changed the face of sociolinguistic research. Linguistic variation and change go hand-in-hand; hence Deumert and Mesthrie (2000) observe that all language change is preceded by variation.

Though for a long time, research concentrated on variation observed in oral languages, recent works indicate that linguistic variation is part and parcel of both sign and oral languages. Examples of research on phonological variation in sign languages include Apurado and Agravante’s (2006)

work on Filipino Sign Language and Bayley *et al.*'s (2002) study of American Sign Language. On the other hand, many works on oral languages are descendants of Labov's outline of phonological variation in English, (cf. Milroy & Gordon, 2001; Deumert & Mesthrie, 2000).

Like all types of linguistic variation, phonological variations result from, among other factors, differences in age, region and social class. In this chapter, our main factor is age as we observe that there are differences in the phonological rules used by older and younger speakers of Sesotho in Lesotho. Generally, the former sticks to the use of standard rules while the latter have coined new and non-standard rules in relation to the insertion or non-insertion of glides between two vowels.

The chapter is based on the Variationist model which assumes that language accommodates and generates language variations (Cornips, 2009). According to this model, it is structured variation which results in orderly language change (Milroy, 2001). As data analysed in this paper is derived from speakers' consistent use of the new rules postulated here, we take this type of variation to be structured and existing in almost all similar linguistic contexts.

2. Data Collection

According to Ulin *et al.* (2002) there are three primary

methods which form the bedrock of qualitative data collection: participant observation, in depth interview and focus group discussions. This chapter mainly used the qualitative approach located in the interpretative paradigm to collect data. According to Seale (1998) interpretivists tend to favour qualitative rather than quantitative methods. This is because, on the whole, researchers find that people's words provide greater access to their subjective meaning than do statistical trends.

Babbie (2001: 78) points out that:

Certain research questions can be more fully answered and explored with certain qualitative methods. Qualitative research allows participants to express their feelings and offer perspectives in their own words.

Hence, data used in this chapter was gathered through informal interviews (to get the informants talking as freely as they would do in their normal settings) and questionnaires.

As speech is vital in studies of this nature, we used 40 students from eight high schools in Lesotho, covering the central, southern and northern parts of Lesotho. The study employed the random sampling technique which was later followed by the snowball form of sampling; whereby the selected participants identify more people who are willing to participate and who meet the requirements of the study. We, therefore, also listened to students and staff of the National University of Lesotho, in order to confirm that our

observations are not peculiar to high schools only.

3. Data Analysis and Discussion

Data was analysed qualitatively using interpretive analysis. According to Cohen *et al.* (2001: 285), “data analysis involves the researcher taking a large amount of data collected and reducing it to certain patterns, categories, or themes, and then interpreting it.”

In this section we examine variation between Vowel-Vowel (VV) and Vowel-Glide-Vowel (VGV) found in Sesotho today. From a diachronic viewpoint, the variation has differing explanations. In some cases the semi-vowel or glide is a lenited reflex of a stronger Proto-Bantu consonant, while variants without the semi-vowel represent the ultimate in lenition, that is, $C > \emptyset$. For example:

(1) *phigo > phiyo > phio [i.e. *phiô*] ‘kidney’ (Guthrie, 1971: 19).

Thus, Proto-Bantu *g > y/∅ in Sesotho. In some instances, however, it would appear that the occurrence of a glide in various items represents the *reintroduction* of a glide that had previously gone to ∅. In Sesotho, this appears to be the case particularly with root-initial glides.

(2) * kugend-a > *huyet-a > huet-a > huyet-a [i.e. *hoyêt-a*] ‘travel’

(Guthrie, 1971: 18).

This exercise is perhaps necessitated by the observation made by Kotzé and Zerbian (2008: 14) that:

*Many Southern Bantu languages disallow adjacent vowels...
When vowels are juxtaposed within words, they either remain
unchanged and belong to different syllables...or the first vowel
changes into a glide.*

Though there is no certainty that **yet-a* (stage 2 of the above derivation) had universally changed to *êt-a*, evidence in the form of early written Sesotho records, suggests that this was probably the case (cf. *The Leselinyana la Lesotho*, 1894; 1947). The variant *yet-a* emerged subsequently by a process of generalising glides between vowels.

From a synchronic point of view, the source of the variance is irrelevant. The fact is that the current tendency is that young Sesotho-speakers seem to use the VGV structure even where the prescribed form does not, while older speakers stick to the standard variant, which may, or may not include a glide. This means that young Sesotho-speakers have a more consistent phonological pattern than older Sesotho-speakers as discussed below.

V (y) V

We adopt Demuth and Machobane's (2001) classification of Sesotho vowels and use the South African orthography in this paper. Being a front glide, /y/ [j], normally occurs in an environment before or after a front vowel (We classify the

Low, Front-of-Centre vowel, /a/, as a front vowel, though it is excluded in Rule 2). Thus, we can posit the following optional rules:

Optional Glide-insertion Rule 1: V V → V y V

[- bk] [± bk]

(3) diaba / diyaba	‘wonders’
sediadia / sediyadiya	‘type of Sesotho game’
diila / diyila	‘wander’
fafiêlla / fafiyêlla	‘patch up’
masadiô / masadiyô	‘cattle given to boy’s uncle when he starts work’
seithati / seyithati	‘egotist’
mapheô / mapheyô	‘wings’
haila / hayila	‘crush’
maeba / mayeba	‘pigeons’
maëlë / mayëlë	‘proverbs’
belaêla / belayêla	‘complain’

Optional Glide-insertion Rule 2: V V → V y V

[+ bk] [- bk]

[- Low]

(4) ruisa / ruyisa	‘enrich’
boëki / boyëki	‘treachery’
moëng / moyëng	‘man’s relative’
hoêla / hoyêla	‘go for’

The above rules are an explanation for the intervocalic

insertion, or *reinsertion*, of glides. There are also clear cases, where an optional, probably lexically-determined, glide-deletion rule results in synchronic variation. This rule takes the following form:

Optional Glide-deletion Rule 1: $y \rightarrow \emptyset / V_V$

Since the semi-vowel *y* is a rare phoneme in standard Sesotho, the application of this rule is highly limited. We have found it to apply essentially to the verb stem *y-a* ‘go to’, and the tense prefixes derived from it. The verbal radical *y-* already has, in certain environments, the surface realisation \emptyset -, even in standard Sesotho. It is a phonological rule of standard Sesotho that $y \rightarrow \emptyset / _ \{i, u\}$. Thus, this radical is manifest as \emptyset in the Perfective and before the Causative and Passive extensions:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| (5) Ba ya tēng | ‘They are going there’ |
| Ba [\emptyset]ile tēng | ‘They have gone there’ |
| Ke ba [\emptyset]isa tēng | ‘I am taking them there’ |
| Ho [\emptyset]uwa tēng | ‘People are going there, <i>lit.</i> It is being gone here’ |

In addition, *y-* is realised as \emptyset , before the Applied extension *-êl-*:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------|
| (6) Ke tla o [\emptyset]êla | ‘I shall go for you’ |
|---------------------------------|----------------------|

Note that it is not a phonological rule that $y \rightarrow \emptyset / _ \{e, ê\}$ since *y-* does occur before these vowels, as evident in the following examples:

- (7) Ha ke ye ‘I am not going’
 Ha ke yê ‘Let me go’

In certain non-standard varieties of Sesotho *y-* of the verb meaning ‘go to’ is replaced by \emptyset throughout.

- (8) *S*: Ba ya têng ‘They are going there’
 NS: Ba a têng
 S: Ha ke ye ‘I am not going’
 NS: Ha ke e
 S: Seyalemôya ‘radio; *lit.* It goes with the air/wind’
 NS: Sealemôya

By contrast, in the case of the marker of the Present Tense, long form, it is the standard variety that applies the glide-deletion rule, while at least some non-standard varieties do not.

- (9) *S*: O a ya ‘She is going’
 NS: O ya y
 S: Ba a ja ‘They are eating’
 NS: Ba ya ja
 V (w) V

Variation between VV and VwV is found when the first vowel is [+ back], with the second vowel being [± back]. Even from a diachronic view point, it is often impossible to determine whether the above variation is the result of glide-insertion or glide-deletion. In other words, of the two possible rules set out below, it is frequently not clear which one has

been applied. The Proto-Bantu formula for Sesotho is given by Guthrie (1971: 62) thus:

$$* p > f [\dots * \mu (a) > tshw]$$

This formula is verified by example 10 below:

(10) * puan-a > * tshuana > tshwana ‘to resemble each other’

Guthrie (1971: 19)

Optional Glide-insertion Rule 3: V V → V w V

[+ bk] [± bk]

[+ Low]

Optional Glide-deletion Rule 2: w → Ø/VV

(11) Sekgoa / Sekgowa	‘English’
moqhoa / moqhowa	‘pile’
bohlo-a / bohlow-a	‘explode’
bu-a / buw-a	‘speak’

As indicated earlier, young Basotho tend to choose the variant with the glide, irrespective of whether it is the standard form or not, harmonizing their choice in almost all similar linguistic contexts.

4. Conclusion

In this chapter, phonological variation involving the insertion or non-insertion of glides between two vowels in Sesotho has been discussed. The paper has shown that this variation is generally caused by differences in speaker ages and that the new variants are so systematic that they have

resulted in the postulation of several optional glide-insertion rules.

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***Negative Linguistic
Knowledge Transfer
From L1 to L2 in
Academic Writing: The
Case of NUL First Year
Students***

Bertha Muringani

This is an error analysis study that addresses the question of how first language (L1) affects first year students' ability to express themselves in English, which is their second language (L2). It

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looks at how first year students at the National University of Lesotho transfer their first language knowledge into English, the language used as the medium of instruction. Specifically, the study looks at semantic errors resulting from literal translation of ideas from Sesotho into English; how they occur in the essays; and how meaning is affected by such translations. The study also investigates possible causes of such transfers. It further establishes whether the translated expressions would be understood by someone whose first language is not Sesotho. Data for the research were collected from argumentative essays written by first year students at NUL as part of their 2009/2010 Communication and Study Skills examination. The population consisted of 100 essays written by students from the Faculties of Education and Humanities. Overall, it was found that the majority of students translated words, phrases and even figurative expressions from Sesotho into English. The translations were necessitated either by language incompetence or the topic of debate. This shows that students sometimes resort to their L1 resources when they fail to express their ideas in English, hence translating from L1 to L2. The translated expressions can be understood, but in some cases become difficult especially to non-Sesotho speakers.

Key words: linguistic knowledge transfer, L1 Sesotho, L2 English, literal translation, semantic errors

1. Introduction

Earlier studies such as Cummins and Swain (1986) have

revealed that transfer of linguistic knowledge from one language to the other is possible. However, it is not all skills from first language that will promote learning in second language. Some knowledge or skills will actually impede second language learning (Honberger, 1989, in Bell, 1995).

A significant number of researches have looked at the relationship between L1 and L2 literacy from different perspectives. For example, Llach (2010) did a review of some of the main variables influencing the process of cross-linguistic influence in lexis. The study addressed the following factors: L2 proficiency, L1 background, gender, motivation, and learning context. It was observed that in general terms, as learners' L2 proficiency increases, the influence of the L1 decreases, and learners from different linguistic backgrounds seem to undergo the same lexical transfer processes (Llach, 2010: 1).

This study seeks to add knowledge to this area by looking at how first year students at the National University of Lesotho transfer linguistic knowledge from their first language, Sesotho, into English, their second language which is used as the medium of instruction. The study takes a closer look at how expressions with semantic errors occur in argumentative essays and how they affect the intended meanings. It also investigates possible causes of such transfer and establishes whether the transfer products such as direct translations would

be easily understood by someone whose first language is not Sesotho.

In order to achieve this, the following research questions are addressed:

(1) How do first year students transfer their L1 Sesotho knowledge into L2 English academic writing?

(2) Are the outcome products of the linguistic transfers comprehensive to readers, both Sesotho speakers and non-Sesotho ones?

(3) What are the possible causes of that linguistic knowledge transfer?

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Transferability of L1 Linguistic Knowledge to L2

Although the use of mother-tongue was discouraged by the supporters of the Direct Method at the end of the nineteenth century, the positive role of the mother-tongue has recurrently been acknowledged as a rich resource which, if used appropriately, can assist second language teaching and learning (Cook, 2001). The Direct Method proponents believe that the first language interferes with the second language, thus impeding the learning of the latter. However, later researches indicate that transferring L1 knowledge to L2

can have both positive and negative outcomes, and most of these studies have been focusing on primary and secondary levels of learning. For example, Hao and Chi (2013: 45) agree with this line of argument. They state that L1 does not only play a negative role in second language acquisition, but also a positive one. In their own words, “the influence of L1 in SLA is not only ‘interfering’, but also ‘helpful’ to a large extent”. They cite examples of positive transfer from L1 Chinese to L2 English such as syntax, where the similarities between the two languages enhance L2 acquisition.

Following the above stated debates, several studies have been conducted looking at transferability of L1 linguistic knowledge to L2. One such study is by Honberger (1989, cited in Bell, 1995: 668), which focuses on the extent to which knowledge of one language transfers to the other (and aids learning) and the extent to which knowledge of one interferes with the other (and impedes learning). It is interesting to note how Honberger selects the verbs to talk about the positive and negative effects of L1 on L2: ‘transfers’ for the positive effect, and ‘interferes’ for the negative effect. However, the same verb ‘transfer’ is used by other authors to refer to both positive and negative effects. For example, a similar work on linguistic interdependence by Cummins and Swain (1986), suggests that language skills developed in one language can be transferred to another. Here the verb ‘transferred’ is not restricted to

positive effects only.

Other studies examine bilingual children in a variety of minority language situations and most of them suggest that transfer of linguistic and literacy knowledge between languages is possible. In answer to the question what is transferred between languages, Edelsky (1982, in Bell 1995: 690) responds that “everything is applied from local hypotheses regarding spelling to... abstract processes for producing texts.”

2.2 Semantic Errors Resulting From L1 to L2 Literal Translation

Literal translation of expressions from L1 into English L2 is a common semantic error in essays written by second language users of English. Mahommed (2010: 1) observes that semantic errors have been tackled in a narrower way compared to other related areas such as phonological and syntactic errors. He cites Obeidat (1986) who holds the same view saying, “This neglect has been due to the fact that more interesting problems do not emerge until relatively late in L2 development, whereas many studies on L2 acquisition have been concerned with beginners and intermediate learners”. Mahommed (2010: 2) concurs with this observation and adds that another reason for this scenario, according to some researchers such as James (1998), “is that semantic errors present the greatest difficulty for descriptive analysis.” Overall, these writers agree that

there is not much research done in this area of semantic error analysis, especially for advanced learners, hence the need to conduct more research.

The present study aims at filling the gap that seems to exist in semantic error analysis. The study's contribution is significant since it looks at semantic errors in undergraduate argumentative essay writing, an area that has not been dealt with much by my predecessors. I have chosen argumentative essay writing because this is the kind of writing where students have to clearly express their points of view in their own words to convince the reader. Therefore, they have to construct original thoughts.

Corder (1973) defines errors as rule-governed deviations from the grammar of a target language that may result from deficient competence. On the other hand, Mahommed (2010: 2) defines semantic error as "...a violation of the rules of meaning system particular to the language in question." He goes on to classify semantic errors into three broad categories namely: lexical, collocation and lexicogrammatical. This work shall focus on lexical and collocation semantic errors. According to Baker (1992: 12) "The lexical meaning of a word or lexical unit may be thought of as the specific value it has in a particular linguistic system and the 'personality' it acquires through usage within that system." In his approach, Baker (1992: 12) uses a model largely derived from Cruse

(1986) who distinguishes four main types of meaning in words and utterances: viz propositional meaning, expressive meaning, presupposed meaning, and evoked meaning. However, the focus of this research is on these two types; propositional meaning and presupposed meaning.

Baker (1992: 13) explains that the propositional meaning of a word arises from the relation between it and what it refers to or describes in a real or imaginary world, as conceived by the speakers of the particular language to which the word or utterance belongs. He says it is this type of meaning which provides the basis on which we can judge an utterance as true or false. On the other hand, presupposed meaning arises from co-occurrence restrictions, that is, restrictions on what other words or expressions we expect to see before or after a particular lexical unit. These restrictions are of two types which are; selectional restrictions and collocational restrictions.

At this point, the discussion turns to collocational restrictions since the study has identified some collocational semantic errors. Collocational restrictions are semantically arbitrary restrictions which do not follow logically from the propositional meaning of a word. In other words, collocational aspects of usage deal with the ways in which words ‘keep company with each other’ (Singleton, 1999: 20). Baker (1992: 14) cites the following examples to illustrate collocational restrictions: “Laws are broken in English, but in Arabic they

are ‘contradicted’. In English teeth are brushed, but in German and Italian they are ‘polished’...”. Another way of looking at collocation would be to think of it in terms of the tendency of certain words to co-occur regularly in a given language.

Collocational restrictions are arbitrary; hence they tend to show more variation across languages. Baker (1992) also specifies that some collocations reflect the cultural setting in which they occur. If the cultural setting of the source and target languages are significantly different, there will be instances when the source text will contain collocations which convey what to the target reader would be unfamiliar association of ideas. This observation is alluded to by sociolinguists such as Wardhaugh (1986), who states that language is an instrument of culture; as such it reflects its speakers’ environment, beliefs and practices.

Writing on language and culture in translation, Bassnett-MacGuire (1988: 14) cites the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis which states that “No language can exist unless it is steeped in the context of culture; and no culture can exist which does not have at its centre, the structure of natural language”. She comments that language, therefore, is the heart within the body of culture, and it is the interaction between the two that results in the continuation of life-energy. This shows an important relationship between language and culture; implying to some extent that thought is influenced by those two aspects.

Applied to the context of this study, there is a tendency in some students to think in their L1 and then translate the ideas into L2 as they write.

2.3 Factors That Influence L1 Negative Transfer to L2 Writing

There are many factors that can contribute towards L1 negative transfer of linguistic knowledge to L2 writing. Among them are the following three major ones to be considered in this study: language proficiency, topic and mode (Hussein, 2011). The writer's proficiency is one factor that determines the extent to which a writer can transfer linguistic knowledge from L1 to L2. A significant number of researches have shown that at lower levels of proficiency students tend to use L1 during L2 writing more than intermediate or advanced levels of proficiency students. For example, Hussein (2011: 185) cites Sasaki and Hirose (1996) who indicated that weak writers reported translating more from L1 to L2 while writing than good writers; and Sasaki (2002, 2004) who found that novice writers translated more often from L1 to L2 than expert writers.

It has come to the attention of researchers that the topic being written on can also influence students to transfer knowledge from their L1, for example, when they write on topics that do not fit in their cultural background. In fact,

knowledge of the topic and awareness of cultural factors have a considerable effect on L1 use during L2 writing and text quality (Hussein, 2011: 186).

Modes of writing are sometimes called forms of writing or types of writing. These are different categories for writing such as the narrative mode, the descriptive mode and the argumentative mode. These modes seem to have an impact on L1 use in L2 writing. This work studies writing in the argumentative mode where students are required to clearly show their line of argument and raise points to support it.

3. Methodology

Data were collected from a corpus of 100 essays written by 2009/2010 Communication and Study Skills students whom I taught from the faculties of Education and Humanities. The essays were arguing for or against compulsory HIV/AIDS testing. An argumentative essay was selected because it requires students to establish their position and defend it throughout the essay, and I believe such a task can prompt novice writers to resort to their L1 linguistic resources. These essays were read and grammatical constructions with semantic errors were extracted from them manually. A qualitative analysis of the extracted constructions was done to see the kind of errors and how they affected meanings of the whole statements. The sources of the errors were traced

using three factors which can influence negative transfer, namely language proficiency, topic and mode (Hussein, 2011). In addition, I tried to comprehend those constructions with semantic errors, with the help of Basotho colleagues where I could not understand. It is these colleagues who provided the Sesotho translations of the expressions that I felt were literally translated.

4. Data Presentation and Analysis

In this section, data are analysed qualitatively to see how semantic errors occur at different grammatical levels. In the process comments are made on students' levels of English language proficiency and how the topic of debate influences the expressions. The analysed data have revealed some lexical, collocational and lexico-grammatical meaning errors which resulted from some literal translations by the writers under study. What is presented in the sections below is a sample of some of the outstanding semantic errors committed by the student writers.

4.1 Semantic Errors Resulting From Literal Translation at Lexical and Phrase Levels

4.1.1 Words and phrases related to human rights and law

The researcher noticed that a number of students had

problems in selecting appropriate verbs when talking about human rights and law. They used various verbs in trying to express ideas to do with law and human rights. This is probably because of the topic debated on which brought in the concept of ‘human rights’, a relatively new concept to our African culture. The concept, which was introduced to us by foreign cultures from developed countries, was originally not part of our African cultures. Below are some examples to illustrate the point.

(1) To begin with, not all people feel free to take an HIV/AIDS test, so forcing someone would **harass** their rights... (*violate*)

(2) Enforcement of HIV/AIDS testing will **interact with** this right as many people are not testing for HIV/AIDS because they are not willing... (*interfere with/violate*)

(3) Every person has to control what happens to their body as long as it does not **cross** the law. (*break*)

(4) ...so their right to privacy would be **distorted**. (*violated*)

(5) Some may argue that it should not be compulsory as it takes other people’s rights away. (**takes away**) (*violates*)

(6) The first reason why people should not be compelled to test for HIV/AIDS is the **distraction** of their privacy. (*intrusion into*)

(7) ...**stepping on** people’s rights. (*violating*)

(8) People are **in the dark** about their status... (*ignorant*)

In five of the eight examples cited above, the students failed to select the verb '*violate*' and instead, used various verbs and phrases that seem to be resulting from direct translation from their L1. For instance, in example 1 the student uses the verb **harass** which seems to be taken from the Sesotho word '*hlekefetsa*'. Example 2 uses the verb phrase **will interact with** translated from '*kena-kenana*'. In example 4 the student uses the expression **stepping on people's rights**, a clear direct translation from Sesotho '*hatikela litokelo tsa batho*.'

An analysis of these examples also shows that there is direct translation which leads to wrong choice of words and collocational restriction semantic errors. The collocational semantic error is committed when the student directly translates a word, phrase or sentence from Sesotho into English as in example 3 where the student talks about **crossing** the law (*tlola molao*). Baker (1992: 14) observes that "collocational restrictions are semantically arbitrary restrictions which do not follow logically from the propositional meaning of a word." In this case we are looking at the tendency of certain words to co-occur regularly in a given language. One example cited by Baker is this: in English laws are broken, but in Arabic they are 'contradicted'. This is evident in the above cited example which reveals that in Sesotho laws are crossed.

The majority of examples cited above are taken from contexts where students were talking about rights. Example

2, for instance, seems to exhibit a combination of direct translation and wrong word choice—‘**interact with** (lit: *kenakenana*) this right’ instead of ‘**interfer** with this right’. There is also wrong choice of words in examples 1, 4 and 5. In 1 the student says “...someone would **harass** (*hlekefetsa*) their rights...” and in example 5 there is “...**takes** other people’s rights **away** (*amoha*).” In example 4 the right to privacy “would be **distorted**” (lit: *hleka-hlekana*), instead of interfered with. Example 7 seems to have both direct translation and collocational restriction errors; the student talks of ...**stepping on** people’s rights.

Example 6 talks about privacy and the student, running short of vocabulary, uses the expression... “**distraction** of their privacy.” Such instances may also be a result of the level of the student’s English language proficiency. Although as teachers we expect our first year students to have some reasonably good command of the language, this has not been the case with most of them.

The examples discussed above thus show negative transfer of L1 knowledge to L2 resulting from cultural differences prompted by the nature of the topic. The topic brings in the issue of human rights which I believe is a foreign concept which was introduced by Western cultures to Basotho. As a result direct translation and collocational restriction semantic errors are committed.

4.1.2 Other words expressing different ideas

It was also observed that some students had challenges in selecting appropriate verbs, nouns and adjectives to express different ideas in sentences. Examples below show different ideas students were trying to put across, but did not do so well because of poor choice of words.

(9) Another reason is to create awareness to people, who are **committing** sex behaviours, that they are **hunting** for HIV/AIDS (lit: *tsomana leHIV/AIDS*).

(10) If everybody is to test, the government has to buy **tools**, build many testing **units** in the country...

(11) ...he or she is given tips on how to live a healthier life with ways ensuring that they do not **catch** the virus.

(12) However, there are **effective** reasons why everybody should test for HIV/AIDS.

(13) ...it can easily be identified who and how many people are living with HIV/AIDS and the spread of the virus can be **isolated**.

(14) On the other side knowing the status leads how to **use** a medication if one tested positive.

These examples show deficiency in the area of students' proficiency as demonstrated by their poor choice of words. For instance, example 9 has the expression **committing sex behaviours**, of which the verb is inappropriate. In example 10, the student uses the nouns **tools** and **units** instead of

equipment and *centres*. Example 12 uses a wrong adjective in the noun phrase **effective reasons**; instead of ‘effective’, ‘good’ would have been appropriate.

The same examples also demonstrate literal translation of words from Sesotho into English language, hence semantic errors. James (1998, in Mahommed, 2010) calls such errors interlingual errors which result from literal translation. He says, “...the student does not have that rich repertoire of L2 lexis and what he/she does is just translate from his/her L1 what he/she thinks will express him/her through”. The same applies to the students who produced the examples above; they translated from their L1 which is Sesotho due to low levels of English proficiency. However, this had an effect of distorting the meaning of some of the expressions such as in example 13 where the student talks about **isolating** the spread of the virus. Such expressions are difficult to comprehend, especially for non-Sesotho speakers.

4.2 Semantic Errors Resulting From Literally Translated Ideas and Figurative Expressions

There were more instances of semantic errors at sentence level than words and phrases which resulted from literal translation. Data from this category reveal that figurative expressions and ideas were literally translated in sentences.

The practice of literally translating figurative expressions results from what Catford (1965, in Bassnett-Macguire, 1988: 32) classifies as ‘cultural untranslatability’. Bassnet-Macguire says that untranslatability occurs when there is no lexical or syntactical substitute in the target language for a source language item. In the case of the students under study the source language is their L1 Sesotho and the target language is their L2 English. When the students failed to express themselves or to find English equivalents, they literally translated ideas and even figurative expressions from Sesotho. This practice impacted negatively on the students’ intended meanings. Some examples to illustrate this scenario are given below:

(15) People are **in the dark** about their status... (Figurative: *ba lefifing*)

(16) A very few number of people **with hardened hearts** and lack of understanding... (Figurative: *ba khopo/ pelo lithata*).

(17) Compulsory HIV/AIDS testing is a good idea because children grow knowing their HIV status and develop fruitful future results in future generations. (Literally translated idea)

(18) This shows that when a person knows his status he will be tough on how to prevent getting infected... (Literally translated idea)

(19) So people might test negative and **stay in the shadow**

of thinking they are negative whereas they are positive (figurative: *ho ba lefifing/o lula muriting oa libalo*).

(20) Mandatory testing will create a **bad shadow** or fear to people about HIV (figurative: *seriti se sebe*).

(21) Even if they would try to go to such places by their feet... (Literally translated idea)

(22) Some people must be bound feet and hands to undergo compulsory testing. (Literally translated idea)

(23) Sometimes it even helps people to take more care of their lives prior to the disease itself showing itself out... (Literally translated idea)

(24) The word on many people's and governments of the world's mouths is that HIV/AIDS prevention is better than treatment. (Figurative)

(25) ...testing to know if that person who raped her did not give her the disease. (Literally translated idea)

(26) Firstly, HIV/AIDS test should be made because most people are unaware that HIV/AIDS is really there and living among people. (Literally translated idea)

This group of examples demonstrates another L1 linguistic resource from where students could draw expressions to explain and support their arguments. The student who produced the statement in example 15, for instance, literally translated a figurative expression (probably a metaphor) "...**in the dark** about their status..." (ignorant).

Examples 16, 19 and 20 further illustrate how students translated Sesotho figurative expressions into English as a way of expressing themselves in their arguments. Whilst the expressions **in the dark** in sentence 15 and **stay in the shadow** in sentence 19 may be comprehensive to Basotho readers, their meanings are vague to non-Basotho readers who do not have Sesotho language background. I faced this comprehension problem as I was reading the students' essays. The meanings only became clear when I consulted Basotho colleagues as I was conducting this study. The rest of the examples, such as 17 and 21, illustrate how students literally translated ideas from Sesotho into English. As a result, the sentences sound incorrect. This practice might have been caused by low English proficiency of the students as well.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

It was found that the majority of the students studied used words, phrases and sentences that were translated from Sesotho in their essays. Hence it can be concluded that students sometimes transfer their L1 linguistic knowledge into L2 which may result in semantic errors of different types. Some of them seem to think and organize their ideas in their L1 and when they fail to express them in English, they translate the ideas using strategies and resources from L1. The translated expressions, to a greater extent, reflect

the intended meanings. However, in some cases it becomes difficult for non-Sesotho readers to comprehend them. This becomes a problem to those readers, such as lecturers, who are supposed to assess the students' work. This practice will also disadvantage students who will later on enroll in international universities.

Students must be encouraged to read English texts in wider contexts, not just restricting themselves to academic texts. Reading such texts as newspapers, magazines and novels will expose them to the practical use and usage of the language. This enhances acquisition of such complex language aspects as collocation, resulting in better levels of proficiency.

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Aspects of Error Analysis in Some Nigerian Jokes

Fúnmi O. Olúbòdé-Sàwẹ̀

Jokes are funny stories or anecdotes that get passed round, often exposing the incongruous, ridiculous, or grotesque aspects of human nature. They can be useful in the ESL/EFL classroom to teach culture, grammar and vocabulary. This paper presents an analysis of some language misuse jokes from Nigeria, which seem not only to have a purpose of making people to laugh but also highlighting the errors that people make in their use of a second language. Three criteria were deemed necessary to categorise a joke as utilising error analysis: presentation of an erroneous utterance; provision of a reconstruction of the utterance or at least, an indication of the

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intended meaning, to enable the hearer to craft a reconstruction; and an account for the source of the error. The data comprise five ‘language misuse’ jokes sent to me by friends and harvested from my cell phone in June, 2013. A preliminary analysis showed four types of errors: A: phonological errors, B: vocabulary errors involving phonological re-interpretation, C: misuse of idioms and D: spelling errors. These errors were either presented plain or underscored through capitalization, punctuation or emoticons. The methods used in presenting information to aid reconstruction include translation, annotation and commentary. The sources of errors codified by the jokes include mother tongue interference manifesting in literal translation as well as phoneme substitution; and imperfect mastery of the grammar of the second language, manifesting in misanalysis, incomplete rule application, hypercorrection, and overgeneralization. This kind of analysis can provide valuable input into a needs analysis in some classes or be used in awareness raising sessions in classes in phonology, grammar and writing.

1. Introduction

Jokes are funny stories or anecdotes that get passed round, often exposing the incongruous, ridiculous, or grotesque aspects of human nature (Berger, 1993: 15). They are a subset of the funny, to which also belong wit and satire (Lippitt, 1994: 147). Oring (2008: 96) considers them to be meaningful and on occasion, significant communications, a literary genre capable of modelling the world: defining, ordering and commenting on it. According to *The Internet TESL Journal*

(<http://iteslj.org>) which has a project on ‘Jokes in English for the ESL/EFL Class’, teachers use jokes in the ESL/EFL classroom to teach culture, grammar and vocabulary. Jokes can contribute to awareness-raising for students, highlighting typical errors made by speakers like them, or pointing out to teachers possible areas of need for students. The focus of this paper is to show that some jokes are not only funny but seem to be intended to highlight deviations from grammatical well-formedness, i.e., jokes contain aspects of error analysis.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Error Analysis

Within the Behaviourist theories, all learning, including language learning was regarded as habit formation, with old habits hindering or facilitating the formation of new habits. Errors were unwanted, regarded as the result of non-learning rather than wrong learning; flaws that needed to be eradicated (Şanal, 2008: 597; Shekhzadeh & Gheichi, 2011: 159). With the publication in 1967 of Pit Corder’s ‘The Significance of Learner Errors’, attitudes to the imperfections in learner language changed. Corder proposed that errors are important in three respects: telling the teacher how much the learner has learnt and what remains for him to learn, thus determining the priorities for future effort; providing evidence of how

language learning proceeds and what strategies the learner employs in his discovery of a language; and serving as a language learning device to the learner (James, 2013: 12).

Corder (1967: 166) defines errors as rule-governed deviations from the grammar of a target language. Being due to deficient competence, they tend to be systematic and not self-correctable. Error Analysis involves comparing synonymous utterances in the learner's interlanguage and the target language (Şanal, 2008: 599). The teacher compares an "erroneous utterance" with a "reconstructed utterance", that is, his or her interpretation of what the learner intended to say. A distinction is made between overt and covert errors. While overtly erroneous utterances are ungrammatical at the sentence level, covertly erroneous utterances are grammatically well-formed at the sentence level, but are not interpretable within the context (Corder, 1973: 272-273; Brown, 2000: 220). In both cases, the teacher needs first to find a plausible interpretation of the erroneous sentence; reconstruct the sentence in the target language; compare the reconstruction with original idiosyncratic sentence made by the learner; and then describe the differences.

2.2 Sources of Errors

Errors in learner interlanguage are typically traced to a minimum of three, and a maximum of seven sources. Corder

(1974: 130) identifies three sources of errors: language transfer, overgeneralization or analogy, and teaching-induced error (from methods or materials used in the teaching). Other classifications expand Corder's. James (2013: 179) terms his diagnosis-based categories as 'interlingual', 'intralingual' and 'induced' errors. James's intralingual category includes learning strategy-based errors of false analogy, misanalysis, incomplete rule application, exploiting redundancy, ignoring co-occurrence restrictions, hypercorrection, and overgeneralization; and communication strategy-based errors such as code-mixing and circumlocution. His third category, 'induced errors' include material induced errors, teacher-talk induced errors, errors induced by pedagogical priorities and look-up errors.

Dulay and Burt (1972: 32) refer to errors as "goofs", and identify four types: interference-like goofs, L1 developmental goofs, ambiguous goofs (either interference-like or L1 developmental goofs), and unique goofs (neither interference-like nor L1 developmental goofs). Selinker (1974: 35-41) recognises five sources of errors: language transfer, transfer of training, strategies of second language learning, strategies of second language communication, and overgeneralization of TL linguistic material.

2.3 Jokes About Language Misuse

There are different criteria for categorising jokes. The

commonest, used by joke websites such as aJokeADay (www.ajokeaday.com) or Comedy Central (www.jokes.cc.com) is by content. The ‘Jokes in English for the ESL/EFL Classroom’ site has the following categories: Newest Jokes, Short Jokes, Riddles, Puns, Long Jokes, and Misuse of English. The last category shows that some jokes highlight deviant language use, and that is the focus of this paper.

At least two of three criteria must be satisfied for a joke to be categorised as utilising error analysis. First, it must present an erroneous utterance. Then it must provide a reconstruction of the utterance or at least give some indication of the intended meaning, so as to enable the hearer craft a reconstruction. Finally, but optionally, it must account for the source of the error. Two jokes from the ‘Jokes in English for the ESL/EFL Classroom’ website (<http://iteslj.org/c/jokes.html>) can serve to exemplify this.

(1) My student who did not speak much English wanted to impress me one day. She had to walk past me while I was talking to someone. She said, “Excuse me, can I pass away?”

Submitted by Amelia

(2) These are true stories.

Emiko shared a house with an American guy and his dog. Every month, he puts some flea medicine on his dog. One day, when he was putting the medicine, he told Emiko, “This flea medicine is expensive.” She was confused and asked him,

“Expensive? Didn’t you just say it was FREE?”

In the joke submitted by Amelia, the learner’s erroneous utterance is quoted. The reconstruction is not given but is recoverable from Sentence 2: ‘she had to walk past me’. To account for the error, we are informed that the learner’s facility in English is limited. The Emiko story is straightforward. She is unable to distinguish between ‘flea’ and ‘free’, suggesting that /l/ and /r/ are in free distribution in her first language. The language is not specified, but we know she is not American. It may be that American readers would be able to determine Emiko’s first language from her name.

3. Methodology

3.1 Data Collection and Analysis

The data comprise five ‘language misuse’ jokes sent to me by friends: two SMS text messages, two WhatsApp text messages and one short YouTube video, also on WhatsApp and harvested from my cell phone in June, 2013. The texts contain non-standard spelling (dat for that) and abbreviations common on digital social media (such as ‘coz’ for ‘because’ and ‘ur’ for ‘your’), but these in no way affect the presentation or comprehension of the language misuse highlighted, which are presented in standard spelling. Where the language misuse consists of spelling errors, they have also been retained. The

YouTube video, titled, *Gorvernor's Daughter* is a skit written and produced by Ayo Makun, who also featured in it as AY.

The preliminary analysis involves treating the joke as if they were learners' utterances, and comparing each "erroneous utterance" with a "reconstructed utterance", that is, my interpretation of what the learner, if there was a learner, would have intended to say. The errors identified are then classified by level of analysis as follows: A: phonological errors, B: vocabulary errors involving phonological re-interpretation, C: misuse of idioms and D: spelling errors. This preliminary analysis was to establish the kinds of errors highlighted by the jokes.

3.2 Presentation of Erroneous Utterances

Each joke contains a presentation of an erroneous utterance. A clear example is presented at serial number 3 below.

(3) EU Sample I

Ask an Ibadan babe for her phone number you will hear: "sero hate sero, sis hate sis, tiri hate sefun, noi noi, (08068638799) das my hen ti hen nober".

In the sample above, the erroneous utterance ascribed to 'an Ibadan babe' is shown in quotation marks.

EU Sample II titled, 'MADE IN NIGERIA ENGLISH' is followed by a list of seventeen badly formed sentences, a few of which are presented in serial number 4 below. Some words

have been highlighted by capitalization in the original text, to draw attention to the goof.

(4) EU Sample II

MADE IN NIGERIA ENGLISH

- Have they BROUGHT light?
- The FILM is SWEET
- See how her eye is entering my food
- Mummy HAVE come
- I know you have come since beoz I hear your perfume.
- Have you paid your school fees money?
- Shebi you have BB charger
- Put the bread inside LYLON.
- Pls help me SLOW that fan

In EU Sample III presented in number 5 below, exclamation marks rather than capitalization are used to indicate each error.

(5) EU Sample III

U CAN'T BUT JUST CHANGE UR MOOD WHEN U SEE SMS LIKE:

- Thank God for a brown new day!
- My God is upsome!
- Why are pple so weekend?
- Not all dat glitters re goats!
- I need to change my worldrope!
- May ur Name be highly exhausted!

- My waste is painig me!
- I hate girl with slow sef of steam!
- No curse for Alarm!
- Thank God 4 spearing my life! ==))

The *Governor's Daughter* presents a young fashionably-dressed and made-up female making a fool of herself. Her speech while she is posturing constitutes the erroneous utterances. A sample of her erroneous pronunciation is shown at serial number 6 below.

(6) From *Gorvornor's Daughter*

phoneme substitution	f = v: (governor [gɔfnɔ], love [lɔf]) ʃ = ʒ: (child [ʃaid], watching [wɔʃɪ]) s = ʃ: (emotionally [imosānali] United Nations [junaited nesā]) ɔ = ʌ/ə: (love [lɔf]), governor [gɔfnɔ]) e=ɜ: (excuse[ɜskjus] yes [jɜrks])
epenthesis (k-insertion)	sir [ksa] yes [jɜrks] alright [ɔɔraɪst] mast [makst]
nasalization	fine [faɪ̃], watching [wɔʃɪ̃] [brokū] broken
n or ŋ-deletion	every time [efɹɪtai], fine [faɪ̃], watching [wɔʃɪ̃]

3.3 Reconstruction of Erroneous Utterances

As earlier mentioned, for a joke to be an exercise in error analysis, it must either provide a reconstruction of the utterance or at least give some indication of the intended meaning, so as to enable the hearer craft a reconstruction. For jokes that highlight wrong word choice, vocabulary errors

involving phonological re-interpretation or errors highlighting spelling problems, reconstruction depends on the reader's knowledge of the English language. Since the EUs are presented as written text, error identification is often enough for reconstruction.

In EU Sample III (**U CAN'T BUT JUST CHANGE UR MOOD WHEN U SEE SMS LIKE...**), shown in serial number 5 above, the sender assumes that the recipient will recover the intended meaning without further help.

In some other cases, other strategies are employed. It was quite easy to reconstruct the intended meaning of '[sero het sero sis het sis tiri het sefũ nõĩ nõĩ daas mai hen ti hen nɔba] as /zi:rəv eit zi:rəv sɪks eit sɪks θri: eit sevn nain nain ðæts mai em ti: en ʌmbə/. This is because the phone number was also given in figures, as extra information to provide the intended meaning (See example 3 above). This method may be classified as 'translation', as it involves correctly re-presenting the information in the erroneous utterance.

Yet another strategy is 'annotation', the addition of explanatory or critical comments to a text in order to highlight the central error. In (7) below, the joker provides a commentary (in parenthesis) on some of the EUs to draw attention to the inappropriateness of some words, as shown below.

(7) EU Sample IV: IBADAN BABES DON COME AGAIN
ooo

a.	Primary EU	Commentary
b.	Why are people so weekend?	(coz they are Friday)
c.	Not all dat glitters are goats!	(goatn't it!?!?)
d.	Majority carries the volt	(volt ko!? Transformer ni?)
e.	Thank god for spearing my life	(with arrow abi with dagger?)
f.	What is strong with you?	(strong kor.. Decoder ni)
g.	Lord! You are the killer dat holds my life!	(GBOOOOOOOOMMM!!)
h.	Pls, how much is ur age?	(na 22naira o!)
i.	Look to the window, the principal just passed away	(na you kill am abi?)
j.	Lord let ur wheel be done	(God' wheelbarrow spoil b4?)

The recipient's attention is drawn to 'weekend' instead of 'wicked' (7a), by the comment 'coz they are Friday' (the start of the weekend). 'Majority carries the vote' (7c) is a common saying in Nigeria. The comment translates to 'not the volt, it is the transformer', again, highlighting that 'volt' was the problematic word. EU (7h) turns on the same error in Amelia's story, 'pass away' instead of 'pass', but in the version above, the annotation '*na you kill am abi?*' (a Nigerian Pidgin sentence that translates to 'was it you that killed him?'), reinforces the unintended meaning of 'pass away'.

As may have been noticed, some of the comments are not helpful in highlighting the error. '*goatn't it!?!?' (7b) and 'strong ko, Decoder ni' (7e) do not provide any clue at all about the intended meaning of the EUs they accompany.

In Governor's Daughter, some of the reconstruction is provided by AY, the male companion of the lady. When the

lady says, ‘/dat wɔs mai dadi his e ɡɔfnɔ/,’ (that was my daddy; he’s a governor), AY asks, ‘/jɔ dæd iz ə ɡɔvənə/’ (Your dad is a governor?) Similarly, in response to the lady’s ‘/dis is kamera ɔl dis tɔl tɔl kamera de a wɔʃɪŋ mi mai fada is wɔʃɪŋ mai bak efrɪtai/, (This is camera, all this tall-tall camera, they are watching me, my father is watching me. My father is watching my back every time.) AY says, /bʌt ðæt izemast/ (But that is a mast), contrasting with the lady’s later ‘/in di makst di makst dia is kamera/ (In the mast, the mast, there is camera. AY’s standard pronunciation of ‘that’, ‘governor’ and ‘mast’ is set off against the lady’s.

4. Explanation of Errors

4.1 Mother Tongue Interference

Apart from describing errors in jokes as shown above, jokers may attempt to explain the source of the errors in the erroneous utterances that constitute language misuse jokes. Many of the EUs in the jokes analysed are ascribed to mother tongue interference through the strategy of identifying the birth place of the supposed speaker. In EU Samples 1 and IV, the speaker is supposedly an ‘Ibadan babe’. Folk linguists have typically ascribed some characteristics to ESL speakers from Ibadan, as can be seen from this old language misuse joke about a hypothetical speaker asking an Ibadan indigene:

‘Omo Ibàdàn, kìnì show?’; to which the Ibadan person would supposedly reply, ‘/sòòò sùc/’ for ‘show sure’, substituting /s/ for /ʃ/.

EU Sample III is not ascribed to a particular people group in Nigeria, but some of the sentences are obviously literal translations from a Nigerian language, possibly Yoruba.

EU	Yoruba equivalent, with morpheme by morpheme gloss	Reconstruction
Have they BROUGHT light?	Ṣé wón ti mú iná de ? they have bring light come	Has power been restored?
The FILM is SWEET	Fíimu náà dun Film the be-sweet	The movie is interesting
Mummy HAVE come	Àwọn mama ti de Plural mummy have come	Mummy has arrived
Have you paid your school fees money?	Se o ti san owo ilé-iwé rẹ ? you have paid money school your	Have you paid your school fees?

4.2 Imperfect Learning

However, many of the errors highlighted cannot be ascribed to mother tongue interference. There is nothing in any Yoruba variety that can account for the following:

Thank god for a brown new day!	Thank god for a bright new day!
My god is upsome!	My god is awesome!
Why are people so weekend? (coz they are friday)	Why are people so wicked?
Not all dat glitters are goats! (goatn't it!??)	Not all dat glitters is gold

To account for these errors, another characteristic is invoked. Apart from being said to be of Ibadan origin, the

imaginary speaker is also assigned to a social class by being called a 'babe'. EU Sample I: 'ASK AN IBADAN BABE' and EU Sample IV: 'IBADAN BABES DON COME AGAIN ooo'. In Nigerian colloquial usage, a (big) 'babe' is a fashion conscious girl, who might be of limited education but trades off her looks to break into a higher social class. The young woman in *Governor's Daughter* (acted by Funke Akindele) is also a 'babe': with very short, tight clothes, uncomfortably high-heeled shoes and loud make-up. Many movie goers in Nigeria would identify her with Jenifa, a character in a movie of the same title. In the said movie, Jenifa, also acted by Funke Akindele, is a village girl from the Ibadan area who goes up to university, only to make a fool of herself in her efforts to conform to city life. In other words, the short video is another 'babe' joke.

This is a way of explaining the errors in the utterances as intralingual errors; arising from an imperfect mastery of the target language. James (2013: 185) subdivides intralingual errors into learning strategy-based and communication strategy-based errors. The first kind include errors of false analogy, misanalysis, incomplete rule application, exploiting redundancy, ignoring co-occurrence restrictions, hypercorrection or monitor overuse, and overgeneralization or system simplification. The governor's daughter, for example, consistently inserts /k/ before /s/ in such words as 'yes' [jɛrks],

‘sir’ [ksa], ‘passing’ [paksin] and ‘mast’ [makst].

Similarly, EU Sample III which contains many of the errors in EU Sample IV, is titled, ‘MADE IN NIGERIA ENGLISH’. The errors in that sample are by this title ascribed to the imperfect mastery of the grammar of the English language by some Nigerians. Many of the sentences attest errors of phonological production or recognition. Baugh and Cable (2002: 305) trace this tendency to the smaller number of vowel contrasts in the African languages which is carried over into English and produces a large number of homophones such as leave—live, seen—sin in Nigerian English. In EU Sample III, there are such examples as ‘curse’ for ‘cause’ (both pronounced as /kɔs/) and ‘spear’ for ‘spare’, both pronounced as /spia/. Ultimately, these errors which manifest in the use of wrong words or in spelling errors are traceable to imperfect mastery of the target language.

Some of the EUs seem to be words incorrectly learned, like ‘upsome’ (=awesome) or ‘exhausted’ (=exalted). Others are incorrectly learnt idioms, e.g., ‘majority carries the vote’, which is the commonest version of ‘majority carries the day.’

5. Conclusion

This paper analysed some language misuse jokes sent to the present author by SMS text or on WhatsApp, in order to demonstrate that the jokers were involved in an exercise

of error analysis. In compiling these jokes, the jokers either compiled erroneous utterances that they had heard or read, or composed sentences and interspersed them with plausible errors. They then presented the errors plainly or underscored them through capitalization, punctuation or emoticons. In order to ensure that the ‘consumers’ understood the jokes and are able to reconstruct them to get the intended meaning, some of the jokes contain translation, annotation and commentary. The sources of errors codified by the jokes include mother tongue interference manifesting in literal translation as well as phoneme substitution; and imperfect mastery of the grammar of the second language, manifesting in misanalysis, incomplete rule application, hypercorrection, and overgeneralization.

This kind of analysis can be used in awareness-raising sessions in classes in phonology, grammar and writing. Students can be guided to identify the errors as a way of raising their awareness of the kinds of errors that can be found in their speech and writing. The context of inviting them to laugh at imaginary learners can help be a way of breaking the ice, before getting them to speak and write and produce authentic texts.

Nevertheless, the real error analyst is the original compiler of the jokes, and the subsequent sharers may or may not appreciate the extent of the language misuse being highlighted in the jokes. It would therefore be necessary, when using these

jokes in a classroom situation, for the teacher to give guidance to students in the reconstruction of the erroneous utterances and the source of errors.

One interesting area of further research would be to see how learners in an EAP environment (as distinct from English majors) reconstruct the erroneous utterances in these jokes, what new errors they make in trying to correct these errors, and whether the exercise would reduce the incidence of the kinds of errors they have laughed at in their own writing.

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***Exploring the Impact
of Linguistic Errors
Committed by Ad Hoc
Interpreters on Meaning
Negotiation and Medical
Outcomes in Lesotho
Hospitals: A Discourse
Analytic Study¹***

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Human communication, including meaning exchanges about health and illness, is at the core of everyday life. The study was primarily influenced by the fact that medical interpreting is not yet regarded as a profession in Lesotho. The study, on which this chapter is based, aims to fill that gap. This chapter argues that in cross-linguistic medical settings in which the primary participants (viz. doctors and patients) do not share a common language, potential linguistic errors resulting from poor interpretation. This chapter shows that misunderstandings and conflicts between doctors and their patients may occur. It presents the impact of linguistic errors committed by ad hoc interpreters in the healthcare settings on negotiation of meaning and medical outcomes (Flores et al., 2003). It classifies such linguistic errors into five categories. These include omission, addition, editorialization, substitution, and distortion of meaning committed by ad hoc interpreters. The inextricable link between linguistic errors and negotiation of meaning as well as their potential impact on medical outcomes will be thoroughly examined.

Key Words: Ad Hoc Interpreting, Cross-linguistic Doctor-Patient Communication, Linguistic Errors

1. Introduction and Background

Clear and effective communication is the key component of patient health care treatment in any cross-linguistic and intercultural medical setting. Doctors' effective communication with patients is a significant factor (Ainsworth-Vaughn, 1998;

Robinson, 1999), especially in the latter's trust, belief in the overall health care plan, perceptions of overall quality of service, as well as satisfaction. Good doctor-patient communication involves much more than the ability of doctors to convey verbal messages to their patients clearly. Over and above this, generally it comprises doctors' ability to listen and understand their patients. In other words, successful communication within the medical consultation includes the participants' non-verbal cues as well as their tone of voice (Heath, 1986).

Researchers such as Ainsworth-Vaughn (1998), West (1990), Fisher and Todd (1983), Baker *et al.* (1996) have indicated serious concerns which are precisely associated with poor communication between doctors and patients. This is especially true of the relation between health professionals and their patients. But what are we to do when the other person does not speak our language?

Angelelli's (2003, 2004) and Davidson's (2001) studies propose that medical interpreters are a solution when the doctor and the patient do not share a language. However, interpreters need professional training which should focus on improving their skills. They emphasize that interpreter training should pay specific attention to cognitive processing of linguistic forms and their accompanying functions, especially when used by the primary interlocutors identify interpersonal

factors, which include the interpreter's role, impartiality and neutrality during cross-linguistic medical interactions. Overall, they emphasize the need for medical interpreters to learn the linguistic aspects of both the source language and the target language.

Bolden (2000) also shows that the role of the medical interpreter is indispensable. Various studies have further shown that the facilitating role of the medical interpreter is crucial for creating some shared understanding of the illness and treatment plans between doctors and patients (Downing & Swabey, 1992; Bolden, 2000; Davidson, 2000; Sainath, 2011; Hsieh, 2006).

Another study by Flores *et al.* (2003) has documented a number of linguistic errors made by ad hoc interpreters. Such errors range from distortion of meaning, omission, substitution, editorialization to addition of information. This study also found that ad hoc interpreters frequently distort the original meaning of the primary interlocutors' utterances by using an incorrect word or phrase. Additionally, their study shows that ad hoc interpreters' linguistic errors are likely to impact negatively on medical outcomes which include misinformation, diagnosis, medical prescriptions, as well as follow-up visits.

The therapeutic relationship between doctors and patients relies primarily on effective doctor-patient communication

(according to Steward, 1995). On the one hand, effective verbal and non-verbal communication is necessary and crucial for patients to be able to narrate their illness symptoms and to make the necessary enquiries about diagnoses, treatment plans and adherence (Steward, 1995). On the other hand, successful verbal and non-verbal communication places doctors in a unique position to obtain information regarding the patient's chief illness concerns. Thus, a successful verbal and non-verbal exchange of information between doctors and patients involves a give-and-take, reciprocal, dynamic and collaborative interactional partnership between doctors and patients (*ibid.*, 1423-1433).

Most importantly, effective communication between doctors and patients is fundamental to building a positive doctor-patient rapport, which is, in turn, a necessary foundation for a successful doctor-patient relationship and health care (Roter, 1983). It is argued that successful clinical practice is a function of good verbal and non-verbal communication between doctors and their patients (Harmon *et al.*, 2006). That is, communication is a critical component of any medical consultation. The reason is that information exchange principally lies at the centre of doctor-patient consultation (Cohen-Cole, 1991).

Blanchard's (2007) and Flores *et al.*'s (2003) studies have documented a number of linguistic errors made by

ad hoc interpreters such as family members, non-medical staff, and friends. Her study found that patients, who use ad hoc interpreters, are frequently faced with serious medical challenges. For example, a study by Blanchard (2007) reports that patients often do not understand their diagnosis and treatment plans due to linguistic barriers and poor interpretation.

Schapira *et al.* (2008: 588) show that accurate and complete interpretation is indispensable to both patients and doctors. They state that,

... interpreters allow patients and physicians to understand and exchange vital information about the experience of illness, characteristics of the disease, and personal beliefs and values. Armed with an accurate understanding of facts as well as preferences, a doctor can formulate a diagnosis, provide a prognosis, and, after deliberating with the patient, propose an appropriate plan for treatment.... [P]hysicians need to be able to trust that the interpreter will deliver a precise rendition of the physician's assessment and plan for treatment, clarify possible misunderstandings, and facilitate rapport among all participants in a meeting or conference.

From the foregoing argument, it is realized that the most critical duty of a medical interpreter is to facilitate communication between doctors and patients who do not share a common language. According to Schapira *et al.*, medical interpreters also have a duty to resolve potential misunderstandings between doctors and patients.

According to the Lesotho Medical, Dental, and Pharmacy Council's Report, (2008), over eighty percent of doctors who work in Lesotho's hospitals do not share a common language with their monolingual-Basotho patients (The Lesotho Medical, Dental, and Pharmacy Council's Report, 2008). This presents medico-linguistic challenges during the cross-linguistic medical interactions. The findings reported in this chapter were observed in a research study conducted in two out-patient departments of the St. Joseph's and Quthing hospitals in Lesotho.

2. Methodology

The study adopted a mixed-qualitative method of discourse and conversation analysis to examine the ways in which the direct participation of ad hoc medical interpreters including family members, nurses, and assistant nurses, influenced the cross-linguistic communication between doctors and patients who did not share a common language. It adopted five linguistic categories used by Flores *et al.* (2003) to analyze specific areas within the medical interaction in which linguistic errors were committed. The study observed ethical research issues. The participants in this study granted their expressed permission to participate in the study in writing. Permission from the hospitals was secured after the research proposal was accepted by the Institutional Review Boards of

the participating medical institutions. Their permission was secured through separate forms, which were uniquely designed according to each category, such as doctors, nurses, and family members. Audio-recordings and direct observations of verbal exchanges among the participants were made after permission was secured. The audio-recorded data were transcribed following the Gail Jefferson Transcription System (1984). Thirty-two cross-linguistic medical interactions were observed and audio-recorded in the out-patient departments of the two participating hospitals. The data were collected over a period of nine months. The five linguistic errors (omission, addition, editorialization, substitution and distortion of meaning) were then classified according to the linguistic categories identified in the study by Flores *et al.* (2003).

3. The Findings

The extract that follows below demonstrates linguistic errors of omission, addition, editorialization, substitution, and distortion of meaning were committed by the ad hoc medical interpreter during the cross-linguistic medical consultation. Additionally, the extract demonstrates how these linguistic errors negatively impact on the medical interaction as well as on the negotiation of medical outcomes by doctors and patients. Additionally, the linguistic errors of substitution, addition, and omission were analyzed within a single stretch

of medical interaction among the participants-at-talk.

Extract 1: Substitution, Addition, and Omission of Information

- (1) **D:** (Reads and gazes at the medical interpreter) Her blood sugar level is 12.3 (.)
- (2) **I:** Is that fasting blood sugar? (.)
- (3) **D:** Oh yes! (Nods) It's fasting blood sugar (.) Did she eat anything today? (.) Let's confirm (.)
- (4) **I:** (To the patient) 'U n'o s'o jele pele u khuoa mali?'
"Did you eat in the morning before they took your blood sample?" (.)
- (5) **P:** (Shakes her head) 'Ae!' (.)
"No!"
- (6) **D:** (Whose gaze is fixed on the medical interpreter) Mm? (.) She did eat? (.) She did not drink anything? (.)
- (7) **I:** No (Shakes her head and looks at the patient) 'Joale tsatsing lee u n'o s'o tlike chekapong?' (.)
"And today you have come for a medical check-up?" (.)
- (8) **P:** (Nods) 'Ee' (.)
"Yeah" (.)
- (9) **I:** 'Feela mathata a hao a mang ke afe?' (.)
"But what are your other problems?" (.)
- (10) **P:** 'Mathata ona ha ana ho tlohela ho ba teng ka ha re ntse re le batho ba mangole (.) (Feela tsatsing lena

ke tlile chekaping' (.)

“Health problems will not cease to exist because I suffer from painful knees (.) But today I’ve only come for a check-up” (.)

(11) **I:** (Looks at the doctor) She’s come for the check-up (.)

(12) **D:** Okay! (Nods and writes) The diagnosis is (reads) diabetes mellitus and ((inaudible))

Analysis of Extract 1

Drawing from the analysis of Extract 1, it can be realized that the interpreter takes control of the medical interaction by substituting the doctor’s questions with her own. For example, she replaces the doctor’s questions “*Did she eat anything today? (.) Let’s confirm (.)*” in turn 3 with her own before interpreting the patient’s response in turn 5. In turn 6, the doctor has to repeat his initial questions because the medical interpreter has failed to interpret the patient’s response for him in turn 5. Immediately after she has interpreted the patient’s response to the doctor in turn 7, the medical interpreter begins to ask the patient questions of her own, which include *And today you have come for a medical check-up? (.)* in the same turn-at-talk. This question is an addition made by the ad hoc medical interpreter to the doctor’s initial elicitation in turn 3. Additionally, the medical interpreter further asks a different question in turn 9, whose primary semantic function is to solicit additional illness problems from the patient, namely,

But what are your other problems? (.). In turn 10, the patient responds that she also has some problems with her knees, which are painful.

However, the patient's additional illness problems, which emerge from the discourse in turn 10, are omitted in the interpreter's subsequent rendition in turn 11. In turn 10, the patient states that

“Mathata ona ha ana ho tlohela ho ba teng ka ha re ntse re le batho ba mangole (.) (Feela tsatsing lena ke tlile chekaping)” (.)

“Health problems will not cease to exist because I suffer from painful knees (.) But today I've only come for a check-up” (.)

In other words, although the response has been provided by the patient in turn 10, the ad hoc interpreter has omitted the patient's verbal contribution in turn 11. The interpreter's rendition only includes the medical check-up as the principal reason for the patient's medical consultation. This linguistic error of omission committed by the ad hoc medical interpreter in her rendition in turn 11 has left out crucial information provided by the patient in turn 10. But, because of a language barrier, the doctor accepts the interpreter's rendition as it is and writes it down into the patient's medical history records in turn 12. In other words, the patient's response regarding her additional illness problems are omitted by the medical interpreter's verbal translation in turn 11.

This extract shows that the medical interpreter departs from

the linguistic conduit role by linguistic substitution, addition and omission of information, which is evidenced in the emerging discourse by primary participants, namely, doctors and patients. Secondly, the omissions and substitutions of the doctors' and patients' verbal inputs negatively affect the negotiation of meaning and medical outcomes by the primary participants to the medical encounter. For instance, the ad hoc interpreter's verbal translation in turn 11 has omitted potentially crucial information from the patient which she has verbally contributed in turn 10.

Lastly, it is also evident that an exchange of roles between the doctor and the medical interpreter occurs whenever the latter takes control of the distribution of turns-at-talk during the cross-linguistic medical interactions. The linguistic errors reflect the communicative conduct of the ad hoc medical interpreter. The negotiations of meaning and medical outcomes through the interpreter negatively affect the flow of the medical interaction and its primary goals (Stivers, 2000).

In Extract 2, examples of substitution errors are provided. According to Flores *et al.* (2003), a linguistic error of substitution occurs whenever the medical interpreter replaces the primary speaker's word or phrase or even the whole verbal utterance with his or her own (Flores, 2005).

Extract 2: Substitution

(1) **D:** (To the patient) Okay! What else? (.) How do you

- feel? (.)
- (2) **I:** ‘Hape?’ (.)
“What else?” (.)
- (3) **P:** ‘Molala oa ka!’ (.)
“**My neck!**” (.)
- (4) **I:** (To the doctor) Neck pain
- (5) **D:** (Nods and writes) Okay! What else? (.)
- (6) **I:** (To the patient) ‘O batla ho tseba hore na hape u ikutloa joang?’ (.)
“**He also wants to know how you feel?**” (.)
- (7) **P:** ‘Hape maoto a na a ka a ruruhile!’ (.)
“**And also my feet are swollen!**” (.)
- (8) **N:** (To the doctor) Swollen feet (.)
- (9) **D:** (Nods and writes) Okay! (.) Let’s give her Bruffen and one injection (Long pause as the doctor continues to write).

Analysis of Extract 2

In this discourse fragment, the doctor wants to know the patient’s additional chief illness concerns with his “*Okay! What else?*” (.) in turn 1. Nevertheless, this question is only partially reciprocated in the ad hoc medical interpreter’s rendition in turn 2, which successfully elicits the patient’s response ‘*Molala oa ka!*’ (.) “*My neck*” (.) in turn 3. This is a partial elicitation because the interpreter has substituted the doctor’s last interrogative utterance, namely, “*How do you*

feel?” (.) in turn 1.

The results in Extract 2 show that the medical interpreter has changed the doctor’s initial question from the second to the third person ‘*O batla ho tseba hore na hape u ikutloa joang?*’ (.) “*He also wants to know how you feel?*” (.) in turn 6, thereby substituting the doctor’s use of the second person singular into the third person singular number. This linguistic substitution by the medical interpreter in this turn-at-talk serves to create a distance between the doctor and his question. Additionally, by substituting the doctor’s “*you*” with the third person “*He*”, the interpreter replaced the doctor’s direct question with an indirect elicitation.

This observation supports the fact that although the medical interpreters’ primary role is to facilitate communication between doctors and patients, their interpreting conduct is problematic. Additionally, these findings support those illustrated in the study by Flores *et al.* (2003). In the next discourse fragment in Extract 3, further linguistic errors committed by the ad hoc medical interpreters are presented. They are classified as editorialization.

Extract 3: Editorialization

(1) **D:** (Looks up at the patient) Pain is sharp and acute on the onset (Writes) (.) This could be angina (.) Tell her to go to the Counseling Unit (.) They give her advice on how to control her anger (.)

(2) **I:** (To the patient) ‘Ngaka o re mokhoa oo u hlalolang bohloko boo ka oona hona le lefu la pelo mono’ (.)

“The doctor says the way you describe your pain relates to angina” (.)

(3) **P:** (Nods) ‘Oo!’ (.)

“Yeah!” (.)

(4) **I:** (Nods) ‘Mm!’ (.) ‘U tsebe hore pain eno haele joalo e bontša hore e ka ’na ea ba pelo ea hao ha e fumane mali hantle (.) Joale ntho e etsahalang ke hore u leke ho loantšana le khalefo ea hao (.) Ha u utloa e ka u tl’o halefa kapa motho enoa oa halefisa u suthe sebakeng seno!’ (.)

“Mm!” (.) You should know that when you experience the pain like that it could be that your heart is not getting enough supply of blood (.) Now what is happening is that you should try to control your anger your anger (.) If you feel that you’re getting angry or that someone is going to make you feel angry, you must get out!” (Fixes her gaze on the patient) (.)

(5) **P:** (Nods) ‘Mhm!’

(6) **I:** ‘Ee! (Nods) Ha u halefile u heme kapele kapa u noe metsi a foofo!’

“Yeah! You should breathe faster and take lukewarm water!” (.)

(7) P: (Nods) ‘Oo!’ (.)

“Okay!”

[

(8) I: ‘Kapa u suthe sebakeng seno!’

“Or you should move away from that place!” (.)

(9) P: Mhm! (Nods, her face downwards)

[

(10) I: ‘Hobane lefu lena la pelo le u tšoereng le kotsi haholo ‘me lea bolaea!’ (.)

“Because angina is a very dangerous and deadly disease!” (.)

(11) P: ‘Ee!’ (Nods) (.)

“Yeah!”

[

(12) I: ‘Ee!’ (Nods) ‘Joale hee u tla lokela ho ea ka Thusong ho Mok’hanselara (.) Ke motho e mong eo u ka buang mathata a hao le eena (.) U tla u thusa ho u qobisa khalefo eno e ngata’ (.)

“Yeah!” (Nods) “Now, you will have to go to the Counseling Unit to see a Counsellor (.) A Counsellor is someone with whom you can discuss your problems (.) And he or she will help you find ways of controlling your anger” (.)

(13) P: ‘Oo!’ (Nods, stands up and goes out) (.)

“Okay!” (.)

(14) **D:** (Nods and smiles at the patient and waves) Okay! (.)

Analysis of Extract 3

As can be realized from the medical exchange above, the doctor's original message in turn 1 has been substantially editorialized by the ad hoc interpreter throughout his verbal interaction with the patient. For example, the medical interpreter's first utterance in turn 2 represents only a partial version of what the doctor was saying in English. Additionally, Extract 3 shows that from the second utterance up to turn 10, the ad hoc interpreter has substantially editorialized the doctor's initial utterance. Over and above informing the patient that she has angina, the interpreting nurse has now decided to include the following, which are her own personal views, namely:

- a. that she should try to control her anger (in turn 4);
- b. that she should go away from any situation that may hurt her feelings (in turn 4);
- c. how dangerous the angina is (in turn 10);
- d. that it is deadly (turn 10);
- e. that she should take some lukewarm water whenever she feels the chest pain (turn 6);
- f. That she should breathe faster (turn 6).

Except in her first utterance in turn 1 and her last utterance in turn 10, the ad hoc interpreter's verbal exchange with the patient is full of a series of utterances which express her

own views on how dangerous and deadly angina is and how to control it. Extract 3 further illustrates how the interpreter expresses her own views on how the patient should conduct herself. This editorialization also includes the interpreter's personal advice on how the patient should conduct herself, especially in an emotionally stressful situation. For example, she advises the patient to move away from any situation that is potentially and emotionally stressful in turn 8.

Although there may be “nothing wrong” with the pieces of advice in the nurse's rendition, it can be argued that the medico-professional advice on how the patient should try to control her emotions of anger should have been provided by the doctor and the counselor(s) or expert(s) in the Counseling Unit. This has already been suggested, in the first place, by the doctor in turn 1.

Furthermore, the ad hoc interpreter's encouragement that the patient should take some lukewarm water to neutralize her chest pain or angina is not a sound and realistic piece of advice. Such piece of advice ought to have come from the doctor's instruction(s). If lukewarm water can cure or neutralize chest pain or angina (as the interpreter's rendition in turn 8 suggests), then there would be no need for the patient (and other angina patients) to consult a doctor about this deadly disease. This is in stark contrast to the interpreting nurse's own observation in turn 6 that angina is (1) dangerous,

and (2) deadly. That is, if angina is considered to be *dangerous* and *deadly*, as suggested by in Extract 3, then taking lukewarm water should, of necessity, have been included as part of the treatment recommendation by the doctor himself instead of the ad hoc medical interpreter.

Additionally, the chapter finds that, by editorializing the doctors' original utterances, the ad hoc interpreters' erroneous renditions could also pre-empt the advice that the professional counselors could give to the patient. These personal views provided as pieces of advice to the patients by the ad hoc interpreters were probably materially based on their lay experiences rather than on their professional or clinical expertise (Davidson, 2000; Elderkin-Thompson & Waizkin, 2001; Bolden, 2000; Hsieh, 2006; Angelelli, 2004). It is also further argued that ignoring the doctor's medical prescription written in the patient's medical history booklet, and editorializing the medical prescription in the form of lukewarm water instead, might in itself be potentially dangerous to the patient.

Editorialization is one of the linguistic errors committed by ad hoc medical interpreters during the cross-linguistic medical consultations. The study found that editorialization is evidenced in the interpreter's rendition, especially in turn 6 of Extract 3. The doctor's initial message is found to be substantially editorialized in the ad hoc interpreter's

rendition from turn 2 to turn 10. Additionally, based on the close analysis of Extract 3, editorialization by the ad hoc interpreter largely includes her own personal views in contrast to the doctor's initial treatment recommendations in turn 1. Thus, this chapter argues that the linguistic errors such as editorialization may negatively impact on the primary participants' (viz. doctors' and patients') negotiation of meaning and their negotiation of treatment outcomes (Flores *et al.*, 2003; Angelelli, 2004).

In the discourse fragment that follows in Extract 4, the ad hoc medical interpreter uses an incorrect word/phrase during her verbal translation of the primary participants' original messages. She includes a complete statement that does not exist in the particular target language into which they are verbally translating on behalf of the doctor and patients. Extract 4 illustrates the fact that linguistic errors, which include words or phrases or even whole statements in the interpreter's renditions are distortions of meaning that may adversely affect the negotiation of meaning and medical outcomes by the primary interlocutors.

Extract 4: Distortion of Meaning

- (1) **D:** What did they say at the Carewell (CW) and Queen II (QII)?
- (2) **I:** (To the patient) 'Ngaka o re na ho ile ha thoe'ng ha u n'o ile sepetle?' (.)

“The doctor wants to know what they said when you were at the hospital?” (.)

(3) **P:** ‘Ho ile ha thoe ke na le serame sa masapo’ (.)

“The doctor said that I had arthritis” (.)

(4) **I:** (To the doctor) She says they told her that she has coldness of the bones

=

(5) **D:** (Angrily) The what?!!! (.) Which doctor was that?!

(Takes the patient’s medical history booklet and reads again) No-o-no-oo! (.) Yaah!! I see!! (Nods and continues reading) I think I know what they told her, not this! (.) There is the correct medical term for it!! (.)

Analysis of Extract 4: Distortion of Meaning

In Extract 4, the doctor in turn 1 wants to know what the doctors at both (Carewell and the Queen II, hereafter referred to as **CW** and the Queen II **QII**) hospitals said. This question follows the patient’s claim that she had visited the two hospitals about the same problem regarding her endless pain in the legs and her backache. Had the doctor not consulted the patient’s medical history records and read (in turn 5), this overt distortion of the patient’s meaning from the source language (Sesotho) into the target language (English), the crucial meaning intended by the patient in turn 3 would have been lost in the ad hoc interpreter’s verbal translation in the next turn-at-talk. There are distortions of the primary

participants' original meaning, which could seriously and negatively affect clinical diagnosis by doctors.

In addition, following the doctor's question, a glaring linguistic error of distortion occurs in the ad hoc interpreter's rendition in turn 4. The interpreter's verbal translation as ***"She says they told her that she had coldness in her bones (.)"*** evidently distorts the patient's original meaning in her response in turn 4. This results in evoking the doctor's anger ***"The what?!?! (.) Which doctor was that?!"***, which is evident in his first two utterances in turn 5.

Furthermore, the fragment also shows that although the doctor does not share the patient's native language, he suspects that the medical interpreter's rendition is erroneous in turn 4. For example, the interpreter's literal translation in turn 4 arouses the doctor's suspicion. This forces the doctor to cast doubt on the accuracy of the interpreter's verbal translation of the patient's initial message in turn 3. The inaccurate and evidently anomalous rendition by the ad hoc interpreter in turn 4 has further necessitated the need for the doctor to re-read the patient's medical history record in order to find out what was actually said by previous doctors.

It is through the reading of the patient's medical history records that the doctor was able to remedy the miscommunication that emerged from the ad hoc interpreter's rendition in turn 4. For example, the doctor's suspicion of

the accuracy of the interpreter's rendition has enabled him to determine what was actually said and what the patient's chief illness complaint initially was in turn 5. The correct medical term for "*coldness of the bones*" is arthritis.

The ad hoc interpreter's linguistic distortion of the patient's original message previously in turn 2 not only impacts negatively on the primary participants' negotiation of meaning but is also one which could seriously and negatively affect the understanding of the patient's real illness. Furthermore, this distortion of meaning by the ad hoc interpreter has the potential to result in misdiagnosis by the doctor had he not been suspicious of the accuracy of the interpreter's rendition and felt a strong obligation to re-read the patient's medical history record. Thus, the study finds that linguistic distortions of one of the primary participants' original meaning can negatively affect diagnosis, thereby leading to incorrect diagnosis and incorrect treatment outcomes, which could potentially be medically harmful to the patient (cf. Flores *et al.*, 2003; Blanchard, 2007).

4. Discussion

The chapter has demonstrated that linguistic errors can seriously affect key areas of the medical consultation between doctors and patients. This observation has previously been made by Downing and Swabey, (1992) and Davidson (2001).

Additionally, the analyses based on the five linguistic errors such as omission, addition, editorialization, substitution and distortion show that linguistic errors found in the ad hoc interpreter's renditions can directly and negatively affect the negotiation of meaning as well as medical outcomes by the primary participants within the cross-linguistic medical encounter.

Editorializing, omission, substitution, addition, and distortion of meaning have the potential to influence the flow of verbal exchanges between the non-Sesotho-speaking doctors and their monolingual patients. They further affect the negotiation of the outcomes by the primary participants in their cross-linguistic medical interactions negatively (Flores *et al.*, 2003; Blanchard, 2007). For instance, Excerpt 3 demonstrates that editorialization could potentially change the treatment recommendation prescribed by the doctor. According to the report on good professional conduct for medical interpreters, medical interpreters are neither allowed to discuss nor offer their own opinion concerning a matter in which they have been engaged, particularly when that message is categorized as privileged information (Roy, 2000).

The chapter has also shown that there may be a miscommunication between doctors and patients who do not share a common language makes it impossible for doctors to give their patients appropriate advice regarding their diagnosis and treatment instructions and recommendations. With regard

to one of the first linguistic categories discussed in Extract 1, omission occurs whenever the ad hoc medical interpreter fails to ask for repetition or clarification even when the doctor's or patient's original utterance is not fully understood or heard (Angelelli, 2003; Pöchhacker & Schlesinger, 2001; Cokely, 1988; De Jongh, 1992). The ad hoc medical interpreter tends to ignore and omit the original messages which one of the participants did not entirely hear or understand. Omission committed by the ad hoc medical interpreters can cause serious problems in the ways in which the listeners can make it difficult, if not entirely impossible, for doctors and patients to decode and interpret each other's utterances emerging from the interpreted discourse (cf. Metzger, *et al.*, 2003 study on the relationship between medical topics and omission). The distortion of the primary participants' original meaning as illustrated in Extract 3, could seriously and adversely affect the ways in which treatment outcomes are interactionally negotiated by the primary participants (cf. Jacobs *et al.*, 2001). Two studies by Jacobs *et al.* (2001) and Flores *et al.* (2003) support this finding. For example, these authors find that many linguistic barriers including, *inter alia*, the distortions of meaning by the medical ad hoc interpreters frequently occur in situations in which doctors and patients do not share a common language. This includes, *inter alia*, the frequent distortions of meaning by the medical ad hoc interpreters.

5. Conclusions

Ad hoc interpreters are often called in to facilitate communicative interaction between doctors and patients (Platt & Keating, 2007). Interpreting in healthcare is fundamentally conducted on an ad hoc basis since there are no laws that regulate the practice and conduct of interpreters in hospitals (The Lesotho Medical, Dental, & Pharmacy Council, 2008).

On the basis of the findings of the present study, it can be concluded that whereas ad hoc medical interpreters are an indispensable element of successful communication between doctors and patients who do not share a common language, the linguistic errors they routinely committed during the cross-linguistic medical interactions can have serious negative implications and consequences on the negotiation of meaning as well as medical outcomes.

6. Recommendations

From the foregoing discussion, it is recommended that the government promulgate a legislation to provide acceptable standards of conduct and practice by medical interpreters. It is further recommended that a law requiring accreditation and certification of medical interpreting be promulgated with a view to professionalizing interpreting services in the Lesotho's healthcare system. It is further recommended that interpreter

certification and training be made a sine qua non for entry into the Lesotho's medical interpreting profession. Additionally, it is recommended that non-Sesotho-speaking doctors should be required by law to attend some elementary courses in Sesotho before they start to interact with their monolingual-Basotho patients. Introducing such a crash program for doctors may potentially bring forth immediate benefits such as minimizing communicative problems between the primary interlocutors as well as reducing possible unforeseen medical problems resulting from poor interpreting, leading to communication breakdowns between doctors and patients.

Note¹:

This chapter is based on the author's PhD thesis submitted to the National University of Lesotho.

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Appendix: Transcription Conventions
Adopted by This Study

D: - Stands for **Doctor**

I: - Stands for **Interpreter**

P: - Stands for **Patient**

(.) - Represents a brief pause of less than five seconds

[- Represents turns-at-talk that almost latch

= Represents overlapping talk

Pronunciation Matters: Errors in the Pronunciation of English as a Second Language

Julia Chere-Masopha

Factors such as ineffective teaching strategies, limited support from teachers and school environment, as well as limited exposure to English, are responsible for pronunciation errors in the learning of a second language (Ali, 2013). They create conditions which predispose learners to transfer sounds from their first language in to the pronunciation of second language morphemes. This chapter explores some of the common errors in the pronunciation of English sounds made by learners whose

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first language is Sesotho. The discussion in this chapter may be of benefit particularly to people who teach English as a second language to Sesotho speakers and those who are involved in formulating education policies and in the planning of English language education.

1. Introduction

In the contemporary world, English language has become very important, being the preferred language of international trade and politics. Also, it is widely used for information and communication technology (ICT) resources available in modern communities. For example, the instructions which are packaged with these resources, and explanations of how to use and care for digital resources, are often communicated in English language. The interfaces of online social media such as *Facebook* and *Twitter* use English language as a default language. Job markets too require a workforce which is knowledgeable and competent in the use of this language. Consequently, to be relevant, functional and productive citizens, members of modern communities need to have a good knowledge of spoken and written English language. This is why the teaching of this language has become even more important in schools. Hence schools are now under pressure to equip learners with functional and effective English communication skills. However, there are

many challenges encountered by those learning English as a second language. One such challenge is pronunciation. This chapter discusses some of the common errors made in the pronunciation of English sounds by learners whose first language is Sesotho. The rest of this chapter is as follows: section 2 is an overview which positions Sesotho speakers in the modern communities. The focus of Section 3 is on the need for Sesotho speakers, particularly those in Lesotho, to learn English language. Thereafter, Section 4 discusses the importance of pronunciation in learning to speak English as second language (ESL). Subsequently, Section 5 reviews causes of pronunciation errors in the learning of ESL. Then Section 6 focuses on language transfer as one of the factors influencing language errors in ESL. Section 7 explores how learners transfer some of the Sesotho sounds into English language pronunciation and Section 8 concludes this chapter. It highlights the importance of teaching pronunciation in ESL classes.

2. Sesotho Speakers

People who speak Sesotho (Southern Sotho) as their first language are called Basotho. Most Basotho live in Lesotho and in some parts of South Africa. Basotho emerged as a nation around 1700s-1800s during Lifaqane (also known as Mfecane) wars (Matlosa, 2001). Prior to these wars, many

Sotho and Nguni speaking clans and tribes had settled in the region now known as Southern Africa. Lifaqane wars destroyed and destabilized many of these tribes. It is believed that it was around this time that Moshoesheoel provided asylum and brought together the remnants of the tribes destroyed by Lifaqane. These were mainly from Sotho and Nguni groups. Under his leadership, Basotho settled in the Drakensburg Mountains where they sheltered from the attacks of other tribes. In addition to security, this place had rich pastures for their livestock (Smit, 1967). Post Lifaqane wars (in the 1800s), this place sheltered Basotho from territorial conflicts which they encountered with the Europeans who had settled in the modern South Africa. From these conflicts, Basotho lost most of their land to South Africa (Eldredge, 1993).

The missionaries of Paris Evangelical Missionary Society arrived in Lesotho in 1833 in response to Moshoesheoel's invitation (Masia, 1985). Moshoesheoel aspired for peace and protection for his nation. The invitation was extended because Moshoesheoel had heard about the missionaries and their mission to promote peace in Africa. On the advice of these missionaries, Moshoesheoel sought for protection from Britain. Lesotho therefore became a British Protectorate from 1868 to September 1966 when it gained its independence (Hassan, 2002).

Initially, Basotho emerged as a nation which spoke various Sotho and Nguni languages such as Ndebele, Setlokoa and Sephuthi. However, as Basotho grew and stabilized as a nation, Sesotho dominated other languages. Today most of these languages have disappeared and only few Sotho and Nguni dialects and languages are still spoken by minority groups in some parts of Lesotho. Therefore, Sesotho is now widely recognized as the language of Basotho.

3. English in the Educational System in Lesotho

English language was first introduced in Lesotho by the missionaries. Its use became significant during the British rule, resulting in both Sesotho and English being recognized as official languages. Even though there are other foreign languages in Lesotho, such as French and Italian, they are not as widely used as English. In schools, Sesotho and English are used as media of instruction. The educational policy states that in schools, the medium of instruction up to the 5th Grade of primary education should be Sesotho and thereafter, the instruction should be in English language (Curriculum and Assessment Policy, 2009). Therefore, Sesotho is used as a medium of instruction only in the lower grades. In the middle and higher grades, and post school education, the medium

of instruction is English, with the exception of language specific classes such as French and Sesotho. Using English as a medium of instruction in schools is a strategy aimed at facilitating the learning of this language and ensuring that learners develop and acquire the mastery of communication skills.

English is also taught as a subject at the lower level of education, a combination of language and literature. At the higher level of education, the study of English is separated into two specific subjects, English language and literature in English. Literature in English includes English literature and other types of literature such as African literature.

The reasons why English language is taught in schools in Lesotho today are different from those given earlier when it was first introduced in the schools. This language was introduced as a teaching and learning subject for reasons aiming to benefit the European missionaries and British colonial government (see Muzvidziwa & Seotsanyana, 2002). Basotho who mastered written and spoken English assisted the missionaries to interpret and translate sermons and the Bible. They were also helpful in the translation and interpretation of official procedures and documents of colonial British governments (Muzvidziwa & Seotsanyana, 2002). At that time, using English language as a medium of instruction in schools was a deliberate strategy used to facilitate the learning

of English as a subject.

Today's reasons for learning English as a second language in Lesotho schools are more far-reaching than just producing interpreters, teachers and clergymen. English has become a preferred language in global trade and economics, international politics, and other global and international affairs (Al-Saidat, 2010). In Lesotho particularly, English language is often linked to better job opportunities and career development and therefore, perceived by many as a key to a successful career.

Both English and Sesotho are taught and learnt as core subjects, in addition to Mathematics and Science, in primary and secondary schools in Lesotho. In secondary education, students' performance in English language examinations is very important for their progression to the next level of education. The main skills which are tested in these examinations are often comprehension (listening and reading) and writing. Oral skills are never tested. Students who demonstrate poor performance in the subject of English language are often forced to repeat classes or are discontinued. Admission into tertiary institutions requires that the applicants have at least a pass in English Language (about 50%). However, the practice of placing the importance of English Language over other subjects is being faced out by in changes in the policies for primary and secondary education.

4. Pronunciation in the Learning of English as Second Language (ESL)

For mastery of any second language (L2), learners need to acquire effective and functional communication skills which include grammar, vocabulary, and other segments of the language learnt (Gilakjani, 2011; Rutherford, 1987). The mastery of pronunciation of L2 sounds is also very important. It is one of the aspects of the language often used to determine how well L2 speakers manage L2. Yet, pronunciation in the teaching and examining of English as a second language is not emphasized in the educational system in Lesotho. It is therefore, not surprising that many ESL learners in Lesotho leave school with poor pronunciation of English. This situation is not unique to Lesotho. Gilakjani and Ahmadi (2011) observed that even in other countries, ESL learners often graduate from school with “major difficulties” of pronunciation, and that these problems continue even after years of schooling.

The importance of good and accurate pronunciation is that it facilitates communication intelligibility and spontaneity (Reed & Michaud, 2010) When pronunciation of phonemes is inaccurate and many errors are made in a single communication, spontaneity is interrupted and communication becomes unintelligible. In such situations, L2 speakers with

poor pronunciation are often forced to repeat their messages several times before they can be interpreted accurately by those who are listening. Sometimes even after several repetitions, their messages may still be misinterpreted and sound unintelligible to those being spoken to.

Pronunciation errors in L2 are often a result of failing to produce L2 sounds appropriately. Errors are viewed by Ellis (1997) different from mistakes. Errors occur as a result of knowledge gaps or lack of appropriate skills to execute a desired task or activity competently. In contrast to errors, mistakes happen when those who are involved in a task, and have knowledge or skill relating to the task, occasionally lapse in their performance. Thus, in view of this distinction by Ellis (1997), in this chapter, errors in pronunciation are taken to mean that L2 speakers lack knowledge or do not have a skill to produce L2 sounds appropriately.

There is an on-going debate in the field of language learning about pronunciation errors made in L2 learners. There are those who argue that if errors do not affect communication, they should be disregarded while others view proper pronunciation important and that it should be emphasized. Morley (1991) argues that if the errors made by L2 learners do not hinder language intelligibility, the mastery pronunciation should not be viewed as important. Others such as Gimson (1970) and Kashiwagi and Snyder (Undated) suggest that

a focus should be more on the pronunciation of consonants because if mispronounced, they could be more problematic to the language intelligibility than vowel pronunciation errors. They argue that correct pronunciation of consonants should be emphasised, particularly regarding consonants such as /r/, /l/, /ð/, /θ/, /f/ and /v/ which affect intelligibility when they are mispronounced. Even though, Jenkins (2000) has a different view on these listed consonants, that /θ/ and /ð/ are not problematic when they are substituted with alternatives such as /f/ and /v/. Jenkins claims they still make communication intelligible.

Others such as Gimson and Cruttenden (1994) value the mastery of proper pronunciation. They argue that proper pronunciation of a language should not be compromised for minimal language intelligibility. This is because, whether they are minimal or insignificant, pronunciation errors could pose annoyances to those involved in a communication. When pronunciation errors are made, even if they do not affect the intelligibility, those who are involved in a communication, particularly those with a good command of the language spoken often feel the urge of correcting such errors in the middle of communication. This results in making the communication difficult and lacking fluidity. Further, even though an error or two in a communication may not initially affect communication negatively, accumulation of such errors

in one communication can become a problem. They put a strain on those being spoken to as they have to predict the intended messages.

The fact that effective communication has become very important in the modern business world, poor pronunciation could be costly for both employment and business life. L2 speakers who make many pronunciation errors in their communication could be discriminated against. Good communication and negotiation skills and being able to team work with the counterparts across the continents have become very important in the modern business world. These skills rely heavily on speaking and writing, and therefore, speaking and writing are often used to judge the competence and mastery of any language (Rutherford, 1987). For example, a job applicant's mastery of the language of an employer is often observed during job interviews. The job applicants with poor or limited pronunciation are often viewed and judged lacking effective communication skills. Their poor performance in pronunciation often influences the prospective employers to doubt their credibility and abilities (Morley, 1998). On this basis, proper pronunciation is very important for job opportunities and promotions in the contemporary job markets. Therefore, it is imperative that ESL learners acquire good pronunciation skill even long before they graduate or leave school.

5. Factors Influencing Poor Pronunciation

There are many factors which are influential on how L2 learners acquire appropriate pronunciation. These factors could be physiological, environmental, psychological, or academic. Physiological factors are observed when learners are not able to manage or organize their oral physical parts to produce a required sound. This could happen as a result of the disability a learner has, such as stammering and lisping. Mild hearing impairment can impinge on learner's ability to distinguish some L2 sounds and result in the learners' mispronunciation of such sounds (Frazer, 1999). The environmental factors relate to the learner's exposure to the language learnt, the extent to which the L2 learner hears and uses the language. For example, if L2 learners live in the area where the language is frequently spoken with proper pronunciation, they are likely to develop and acquire this skill. This is the same even with the learners who live in the environment in which L2 is not frequently spoken with mispronunciation of some sounds. Learners are likely to inherit such pronunciation. The psychological factors relate to among others, learners' perceptions, attitudes and motivation towards acquiring proper pronunciation. If L2 learners are connected to their learning, and they are motivated and personally value proper pronunciation, they are likely to put a lot of effort in the learning of this skill. Contrary to this,

where learners are not motivated and have negative attitude towards the learning of L2, they can put a very little effort towards acquiring this appropriate pronunciation. How L2 learners are taught is also important. Using effective skills to teach L2 pronunciation can benefit learners. However, as others have observed, L2 pronunciation is often neglected or not given enough classroom time. Even, where this aspect of L2 is taught, ineffective methods such as drill, exercise and correctional teaching strategies are commonly used (Gilakjani, 2011). Drill and exercise is a learning strategy in which learners are asked to recite or repeat the information presented to them by a teacher until such information registers in their brains. Correctional teaching approach happens when a teacher only teaches pronunciation by correcting errors in the learner's speech or reading. These strategies are ineffective because they target only errors heard by a teacher. They do not assist and empower other learners with strategies to use when they come across new words. They also discriminate against other learners who do not have a chance to interact with or be heard by their teacher when they make pronunciation errors.

6. Teaching of Pronunciation in Schools in Lesotho

English teaching in the schools in Lesotho is guided by the national curriculum. Teachers use the recommended

syllabus and prescribed textbooks as their teaching resources. These textbooks often include a novel, a drama, short stories, poems, and grammar. Teachers practice direct teaching which focuses on the rules of English as a language. Learners' activities include reading and answering questions asked by the teacher. These activities focus on language aspects such as spelling, grammar and vocabulary. There is a very limited focus on the teaching of pronunciation (Molapo, 2002). If taught, pronunciation is often taught through reading, drill and exercise. This teaching approach is teacher-centred and learners participate in the activities only if a teacher is also involved (ibid). During this teaching approach, learners are treated as a group rather than as individuals. The only time a teacher focuses on a learner as an individual is when the learner is singled out to read, recite or answer a question. As the learner reads, speaks or recites, the teacher corrects his or her pronunciation. This teaching strategy is not unique to the teaching and learning of English as a second language in Lesotho. It has also been observed elsewhere in Africa by Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000) who asserts that this is a general trend in the teaching of L2 in African countries, that even though such teaching aims primarily at "correctness" in language use, it mostly focuses on the language rules rather than developing learners' communicative abilities. Not only does this kind of teaching fail to develop learners' abilities to communicate but it also puts learners under pressure

and counteracts their ability to perform well. For example, Enchevarra and Bear (2013, online) are of the view that “[this teaching strategy] often threatens learners and inhibit[s] their wanting to improve their pronunciation”.

The challenges of learning and acquiring accurate English language pronunciation in Lesotho schools have been noted by many such as Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) who observed that teachers use ineffective teaching strategies and fail to communicate effectively with learners to promote and to encourage learning. The other factor which has also been noted is inappropriate teachers’ attitudes towards those who delay to achieve desired outcomes (Pilling and Pringle1978). They often leave behind those struggling and move ahead with learners who do not pose problems. For example, in this extract, Molapo (2002, p.40) demonstrates how a learner who was having problems of pronunciation in a reading session could not be allowed to finish the given reading task by his or her teacher.

... the last pupil could not finish reading the passage because of pronunciation problems, the teacher had to choose another pupil to complete the oral session.

As also indicated in this extract, instead of assisting learners experiencing problems to finish their tasks, the teacher becomes impatient and chooses another student to finish the task. Molapo’s (2002) findings are in line with Pilling

and Pringle (1978) observations that, learners who need special attention with pronunciation are often neglected by their teachers who move ahead with those who do not need or need very little assistance. Those in need are left feeling incompetent and not supported. Accordingly, these learners withdraw from participation to avoid embarrassment. This is supported by another extract which quotes one of the learners who were interviewed by Molapo (2002: 40):

Because the teacher thinks of us as slow learners she does not choose us to read because she says we waste time. Only what she calls good readers always read for us in class. I don't think it is good.

This demonstrates how teachers' attitudes and practices deny learners opportunities to learn. Learners exposed to this kind of teaching are likely to leave school or graduate lacking effective pronunciation learning strategies. As a result, when encountering pronunciation challenges, these learners are likely to use ineffective strategies such as transferring sounds from Sesotho into English language for pronunciation compensation.

7. Sesotho Speakers and Language Transfer

Language transfer, which is sometimes referred to as language interference, is a concept which refers to the transference of L1 structures to address issues of the second

language (L2). To explain how language transfer occurs, Selinker (1971), Seliger (1988) and Ellis (1997) point out that in the process, L2 learners use their L1 knowledge to construct their own rules which they use to solve L2 problems such as grammar, tense and pronunciation. Language transfer can hinder L2 learners from acquiring appropriate pronunciation skills and therefore held responsible for their pronunciation errors (Ellis, 1997). Language transfer also causes errors in the phonology and vocabulary of L2 (Beardsmore, 1982).

With regard to pronunciation, Echevarria and Bear (2013) indicate that in some cases, language transfer may appear to be effective for facilitation of proper pronunciation, but most of the time it is ineffective and results in errors. Where a sound exists in both L1 and the L2, pronunciation becomes easy because L2 learner uses the knowledge of L1 sound to pronounce L2 sound. For example, Echevarria and Bear (2013) point out that it is easy for ESL learners whose first language is Spanish to pronounce the /r/ because this sound also exists in their L1. However, sometimes this strategy is not effective and causes errors. For example, L2 learners sometimes lack the acuity to distinguish their uniqueness. Hence, they use sound from the L1 which sound closest and use them to substitute L2 sounds. Sometimes this strategy results in pronunciation errors. For example, sounds such as /v/, and /θ/ and /z/ are absent in the Sesotho language, ESL learners who

speak Sesotho as their first language may lack acuity to hear the difference among sounds such as /v/, /θ/ and /f/. Therefore, these learners are likely to use /f/ to represent these other two sounds. This is the same with /z/ sound which Basotho ESL learners often substitute with /s/ sound. In reading too, learners could also be confused by how L2 sounds are represented in writing. In such cases, they have the habit of applying the rules of L1 pronunciation to pronounce L2 sounds. For example, English speakers are likely to pronounce the aspirated /tʰ/ in ‘Mathabo (Sesotho name) as /θ/ or /ð/ because this is how these sounds are represented in the English writing.

Similar to other languages, Sesotho has sounds which may be transferable into the pronunciation of English language and result in undetectable errors. Transferable sounds produce positive results in the pronunciation of L2. Language transfer is positive when the sounds transferred from L2 into the pronunciation of L1 accurately match with L1 sounds and do not cause or create detectable pronunciation errors. Table 1 demonstrates some of the sounds which exist both in Sesotho and English languages and which result in undetectable pronunciation errors when ESL learners transfer from Sesotho into English pronunciation.

Other Sesotho sounds are not transferable into the pronunciation of English sounds and can cause detectable errors. For example, even though /r/ sound exists in both

Sesotho and English language structures, its pronunciation in Sesotho language is unstable and sometimes causes detectable errors if transferred into English pronunciation. For example, some people pronounce /r/ as an alveolar rolled lingual which if transferred causes a minimal impact in the pronunciation of English sounds. When others pronounce this sound, even in Sesotho, in words such as rena, rona, they produce this trill sound at the back of the tongue, as a retroflex flap [ɽ] which does not sound accurate when used in English pronunciation.

Table 1 Consonants Sounds Found in Both Sesotho and English Language

Consonant sounds	Sesotho sounds	English sounds
/tʃ/	chelete	cheap
/f/	fata	fat
/s/	sala	sap
/ʃ/	shoela	she
/l/	lefa	left
*/r/	rasa	run
/h/	hema	ham
/b/	bina	bin
/dʒ/	jesa	jeep
/m/	mela	map
/n/	nepa	nap
/ŋ/	ngela	bang

The /d/ sound also causes pronunciation problems for Sesotho speakers if it is not followed by a closed vowel sound. This sound does not exist in Sesotho language except in the

case where /l/ is used as an allophone of /d/. In this case /l/ is followed by close vowels /i/ and /u/ as in lila (smear) and lula (sit). Therefore, pronouncing /d/ in English words where it is followed by a closed vowel such as in ‘doom’ and ‘dim’ is easy for Sesotho speakers because they are familiar with such sounds in their L1. However, where /d/ is not followed by a closed vowel, as in ‘good’ or ‘bold’ learners tend to encounter a challenge and have a habit of substituting /d/ with a soft /t/. As a result, such words as ‘good’ and ‘bold’ are pronounced by beginning ESL learners as ‘goot’, ‘bolt’ and ‘extent’ for ‘extend’.

There is also another set of errors made by Sesotho speakers and which result in a difficult and unintelligible communication. These errors are made when the consonants /v/, and /θ/ and /z/ are pronounced. Because these sounds do not exist in Sesotho language learners often lack acuity to detect the difference between /v/ and /f/, and /θ/ and /f/ and therefore, use substitute /f/ to substitute these other two sounds. Therefore, words such as ‘vat’ and ‘thought’ are often pronounced as ‘fat’ and ‘fought’.

Another sound which is also problematic to ESL learners whose first language is Sesotho is /z/. This sound does not exist in Sesotho. Therefore, learners substitute it with /s/, resulting in words such as ‘sip’ for ‘zip’.

An English /g/, as in God, goat and girl, does not exist in

the Sesotho Language. As a result, learners fail to distinguish it from /k/ sound which they often use as a substitute in the words which contain this sound. From this substitution, God becomes Kod, goat becomes koat, and girl becomes kirl.

The examples given in this section indicate that some sound substitution may not cause a serious harm to language intelligibility, particularly if there is only one sound which is substituted. However, if there is one or more substitution in one word, there could be a serious damage on the language intelligibility. This is likely to happen to words which contain /d/ and /k/ sounds. For example, in the preceding discussions in this chapter it has been indicated that sometimes Basotho learners substitute /d/ as /t'/ if /d/ is not followed by a closed vowel, pronouncing words such as good, gold and God as goot, golt and Got respectively. It has also been demonstrated that that they also tend to substitute /g/ with /k/. Then, this means these words (good, gold and God) can undergo double sound substitution, replacing /d/ with /t'/ and /g/ with /k/. The result of this substitution is that good becomes koot, Gold becomes kolt and God becomes Got. This double substitution in one word results in unintelligible language.

The results of the discussion in this chapter demonstrate the importance of ESL learners acquiring and mastering appropriate pronunciation. Even though there are views that mastering pronunciation is not necessary as long as language

intelligibility is maintained, the discussion demonstrated that one error in pronunciation may not affect language intelligibility. However, as these errors compound, they have a negative impact on the intelligibility of the spoken language.

8. Conclusion

The discussion in this chapter explored the importance of acquiring good pronunciation skills in the learning of English as a second language. Pronunciation errors could be costly to those seeking employment. Even if they possess the skills and knowledge required by the prospective employers, poor pronunciation may act against their employment opportunities. Factors influencing poor pronunciation, which included physiological, psychological, environmental, and academic, have also been explored. However, the main focus of this chapter was on the common errors made by Basotho ESL learners and their impact on language intelligibility. It has been demonstrated that errors made by Basotho ESL learners often result from language transfer. Sometimes the sounds transferred by these learners do not cause any pronunciation problems, while others are not transferable and cause errors. From these discussions, it could be learnt that teaching and learning pronunciation of ESL sounds is important. It may also be wise when teaching to focus on sharpening learners' acuity to distinguish sounds which may sound similar to ESL

learners of a language group. Teaching learners strategies to use when they are confronted with new or unfamiliar sounds could also be beneficial.

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Language Policy From the Grassroots¹

Francina L. Moloji

In most cases, a language policy is dictated by the government to indicate language use in a country that has several languages. However, there are instances where the people themselves directly or indirectly determine language use. The chapter presents the case of Lesotho. Data collected through interviews and personal observations suggest that there is an unexpressed dissatisfaction with the current language policy and that its defiance is gradual but definite among the rank and file. A new language policy is slowly being dictated from the grassroots level. The chapter gives examples of grassroots' efforts to use other indigenous languages, directly against the national language policy.

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1. Introduction

Sociolinguists define language policy as a document or a statement that overtly specifies the policy of the state concerning the use and standards for use of languages in a multilingual country. Typically, one discusses language policy in terms of governments and polities. Mapara (2012: 150) refers to it as

the steps that a government takes on matters that relate to language use in its given territory. It is a legislative and guiding principle or instrument that gives direction to all significant players in areas such as education, government, national and local business and other areas.

The norm or the standard practice is for the government to prepare a language policy document for the country to follow (thus making the nation or the language users passive recipients of the policy (Bryant, 2009). Makoni *et al.* (2008) observe that arguments have been made for a language policy originating from the grassroots, although support for such arguments is rarely provided. The present chapter provides such evidence from the point of view of Lesotho.

People often refer to Lesotho as a country where people speak one language, Sesotho. This statement does not reflect an accurate picture about the language situation in Lesotho. Lynn (1994) reminds us that besides these two, there are other indigenous languages spoken in Lesotho. The speakers

of these languages are made up of the remnants of people that were fleeing from King Tshaka's Infecane two centuries ago. There are also people who came to Lesotho for different political, economic or social reasons. In the North of Lesotho, there are people who speak Ndebele (as well as those who use individual lexical items from 'languages' which they refer to as Sekholokoe and Setlokoa but who otherwise speak Sesotho). In the South, there is a large community that speaks Xhosa and/or Sephuthi, sometimes exclusively.

The Language policy of Lesotho, as expressed in the Constitution, is that English and Sesotho are the official languages. Of the two official languages, English is the more prestigious and the one used for international purposes. Most official documents are written in English. In addition, English is the language of law, commerce and trade. In the education sector, Sesotho is the language of instruction in the lowest classes and English takes over from Standard 4 onwards. Sesotho is only taught as a subject from Standard Four.

Countries of the world have language policies overtly or covertly expressed. For example, South Africa is a country with several languages and has a language policy "embodied in the Constitution and other documents" such as The Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB, 1998: 1). The language policy of South Africa overtly stipulates that eleven of those languages are official. It tolerates others such as

Hebrew and the Indian languages for religious purposes and works towards preservation of endangered ones such as the Khoi-san languages. It is in the process of vernacularizing others. This language policy is stated in a formal document and has formal structures to implement it. For example, PANSALB was established through the PANSALB Act. It views language “as both a *right* and a *resource*” (PANSALB, 1998: 1) for South Africans.

The Lesotho language “policy” is scattered in various document which are concerned with other businesses. For example, one finds a section in the Constitution which says that Sesotho is the national language and that Sesotho and English are the two official languages. There is no specific language policy document in the technical sense of the phrase.

Language policies are based on certain factors. It is possible that Lesotho’s ‘language policy’ which was made at Independence in 1966 was based on the fact that

(1) Historically, Lesotho had been a protectorate of Britain and it was easy to continue to use English from there.

(2) Most official documents (including the constitution itself) were already written in English

(3) Politically, Lesotho is landlocked and the main means of communication with other countries is English

(4) Economically, Lesotho depends on other countries and to make Sesotho or any other indigenous language the

language of trade and commerce would have been detrimental to Basotho.

This policy has been in effect since before independence. It has not changed. Does this indicate that it is embraced by everybody? It may be, it may not be. What is clearly observable is that there are indications of uneasiness at grassroots level, particularly among the tribes that do not speak Sesotho as mother tongue as well as among academics and others who are concerned or who see disadvantages and injustices in the policy. Some people such as Awonusi (2003, 2004) have criticised the hegemonic function of English whereby people in a particular country or situation take English as the supreme language, even if it jeopardises the economic, social, political and educational status of those who do not speak it. This is the situation in which those indigenous Lesotho citizens who do not speak either English or Sesotho find themselves. In the non-formal literacy classes, non-Sesotho-speaking adults prefer to learn to read and write Sesotho, although it is not their mother tongue. They see the opportunity to learn to read and write the language that is nationally functional because it is used at the passport offices, at the banks, at the post office and elsewhere. The dilemma is that their progress is very slow because many of them do not speak Sesotho at all.

According to the language Policy of Lesotho, Sesotho is

hegemonic. The language policy denies non-Sesotho-speaking children of Lesotho the right to education and contravenes the second Millennium Goal which aims at helping people “*achieve universal primary education*” and which encourages the use of the learners’ mother tongue in the earliest years of school. Boonroj (2010: 1) observes that in Thailand:

the use of mother tongue native languages in early childhood education has boosted youngsters’ confidence and academic performance. ... It has also helped conserve ethnic languages, and restored pride and identity for minority people, while helping to boost their access to the fruits of development

He further points out that:

The importance of mother tongues was emphasized at a forum on language, education and the Millenium Development Goals (MDGs), as they are the key factors for education and the success of other development efforts.

The observation of Boonroj is reiterated by Ball (in Boonroj, 2010: 1) who says that

One way to achieve equity in education, opportunities and [the goal of] Education for All, as well as to counter the linguistic and cultural loss is to deliver early childhood education and Primary education through mother tongue.

Sesotho is not the mother tongue of all the indigenous Basotho. Therefore, the policy condemns the non-Sesotho-speaking Basotho to doom. My informant (personal communication) gave the following examples of the effects

of this policy on individuals. One boy in his age group left school because his language was not spoken at all at school and so he was forced to speak either Sesotho or English, the two hegemonic languages which he hated. He left school at standard four level because in his own words he said, “*’Na nke ke be ka bua Sesotho ke se Mosotho*” “I will not speak Sesotho because I am not a Mosotho.” That was the end of his education ladder. It is possible that he would not have reacted that way if other children were sensitive to his language, if teachers seemed eager to learn or speak his language and if he felt that his language was viewed as being just as valuable as Sesotho and English.

In some schools, pupils are punished if they speak Sesotho instead of English. This decision is taken in order to help the pupils improve their proficiency in English. The informant’s brother refused to be punished for speaking Sesotho. He emphasized that he did not speak Sesotho, the language that the teachers said should not be spoken at school. His response was, “I did not speak Sesotho. I only spoke Sephuthi and you said you would punish those who speak Sesotho. I do not speak Sesotho at all.”

In another incident, the informant says that a Sephuthi-speaking man was given a sentence in a court of law and was highly disgruntled because he did not understand the proceedings that were conducted in Sesotho. He said that all

he could hear from the court proceedings was “kirr-kirr” “*ke re, ke re*” “I say”).

Along with English, Sesotho is the language used in government offices. It is the language used in parliament and on state occasions to address the nation that is made up of both Sesotho- and non-Sesotho-speaking Basotho. Some communities succumb to this scenario but others do not. For example, whereas the Ndebele people in the north of the country hardly ever spoke Sesotho in their homesteads in the Mamazibuko area in the 1960s, the situation now is that children and adults born into Ndebele homes neither speak Ndebele nor understand it (informant, personal communication). They are now losing touch with their language.

2. Language Policy Development From the Grassroots

Some people like Dike (2008) have suggested that promotion of multilingualism undermines loyalty to and stability in the nation (promoting division instead). However, countries such as South Africa see language “as a [natural] right and a resource,” and they emphasize multilingualism. To some Lesotho nationals, the home language is neither a right nor a resource if it is not Sesotho or English. It is not related

to either tangible or intangible benefits. The culture embodied in a non-English and non-Sesotho language is not viewed as an asset economically, socially, politically and educationally. It is something to be ashamed of. It is something to be hidden.

The injustice rendered the minority groups whose languages are disregarded nationally needs to be addressed. The possibility is that the literacy rate is lower among the non-Sesotho speaking communities than it is among the Sesotho-speaking communities. (This should be an interesting topic for sociolinguists and educationists). One can just imagine the number and amount of ills associated with illiteracy. In these days when AIDS is spreading fast because of ignorance, among other factors, how much damage is the Lesotho language “policy” causing among the non-English/Sesotho speaking communities? Some pilot studies have been done elsewhere and Lesotho could probably learn something from them. Lessons from other countries are appropriate here too.

Boonroj (2010) reports on success brought about by the teaching and promotion of Mother tongue and mother-tongue based education in Asia. He points out that children whose mother tongue is Yunnanese-Chinese changed their behaviour for the better when they began to be taught in their mother tongue. Their foundation for reading and writing in their own language was so good that they became eager to learn Thai, the language of upper primary education.

Litteral (2000: 1) explains that in Papua New Guinea (PNG) there was initially a top-down central language policy, through which English was the language of education. It was the language that enshrined and entrenched PNG's "philosophy of education that focused on western values." PNG was a colony of Australia; therefore English was the language of Education and everything followed a top-down policy. Then the winds of change began to blow for language use and teaching on the islands. The language of education policy began to shake from the grassroots from 1970 when PNG became independent. The University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG) introduced the teaching of Tok Pisin (the local pidgin) and Hiri Motu as subjects. Other local languages soon followed and a lot of interest began to emerge among both students and parents. As a result of this institutional innovation, some provincial governments began to plan for the introduction of the vernacular in the beginners' education in informal village vernacular schools. That is, language education took place outside the formal education system, as a grassroots innovation. Children were introduced to education through their vernacular and the community was both responsible and accountable for that kind of education.

This grassroots, bottom-up, effort to introduce the children to literacy and general education in their languages spread to several parts of PNG and was adopted by the formal schools

by the end of the 1980s. As a result, by the beginning of the 1990s a change was realized in the formal education sector policy. The vernacular became the medium of instruction for teaching Mathematics, Science and other subjects in the first three years of school. English was only introduced (as a subject) in the third year of school. As Litteral (2000: 2) comments:

this was the beginning of the decentralized, bottom up process in language policy decision making that would change the national [language] policy in less than a decade ... it side-stepped the national policy on language in formal education by developing initial vernacular education in a non-formal system.

In the 30 years from 1960 to 1990, Papua New Guinea (PNG) changed its language policy 180 degrees. Up to now, the community continues to control education and the local community culture in the vernacular before children go to formal schools where they are introduced to both local and national culture and life (Litteral, 2000).

In the Philippines, the policy was that English and Filipino were the languages of education until 2009. The new policy that came into effect in 2009 opened the doors for many people. The results were positive in terms of children's performance and attitude (Boonroj, 2010). In Lesotho, the feeling of dissatisfaction seems to be dictating changes from below too. This move can be seen in the following activities.

(1) Families Send Children to Schools in the Xhosa-speaking Areas of South Africa

Among the Xhosa-speaking community in the south (Tele, Dilli-Dilli, Mjanyana, & Sixondo), some families find the Lesotho language policy unsatisfactory. They go to the extent of sending their children to schools in the Herschel District of the Eastern Cape in South Africa, where they do not only speak Xhosa but also learn how to read and write in Xhosa from age six (Moloi & Matsau, 2011). These children cross the Tele River or go through the official border on a daily basis and in all types of weather conditions to keep in touch with their language and ethnic culture.

(2) Children Speak Xhosa at Home

Children are not allowed to speak Sesotho at all at home. They can only do that at school or somewhere outside the homestead. They are told, “*Sesotho seo sa hao se hle se felle sekolong koana*” “Your Sesotho should end at school.” Parents are determined to have the children speak Xhosa.

(3) The College of Education Trains Xhosa Teachers

The Xhosa-speaking communities are not the only ones who view the policy as being unsatisfactory. The recent move by the Lesotho College of Education is another grassroots effort to address the situation. In 2008 the first cohort of teacher trainees to do curriculum studies in Xhosa began training. To overcome the problem of unavailability of resources, a

specialist was recruited from RSA. Books were also imported from RSA. That group of teacher trainees and the subsequent ones are now teaching Xhosa and the primary schools and the college continues to train new teachers of Xhosa.

These steps by the Lesotho College of Education may dictate bottom-up changes, if what has taken place in countries such as Papua New Guinea is anything to go by. We are likely to see Ndebele-speaking nationals of Lesotho also introducing the teaching of Ndebele in their community informally, at least. That is, we are likely to see more grassroots initiatives in the promotion and preservation of neglected local languages and cultures.

(4) The Media

Another grassroots initiative is observed in the media. Harvest FM and Moafrika radio stations have slots where they read the news in Xhosa or allow people to air their views in Xhosa. In addition, Moafrika radio station broadcasts the news in Xhosa every evening at 6:15. Once more, this shows the Xhosa-speaking community as being positive (depending on which side of the coin one looks at it), aggressive and passionate about its language. The accent is not quite the same as that of Xhosa spoken in RSA, but it is Xhosa all the same and it is useful to the Xhosa-speaking Lesotho nationals. (This disparity supports the ACALAN's proposal for standardization). I have heard Radio Lesotho also make

advertisements for 'Mmotlatsi chemist in Xhosa. The fire is catching and the policy is changing from below.

(5) The Efforts of Libandla le Baphuthi

Among the Sephuthi-speaking people, the members of Libandla le Baphuthi have asked for a slot on Radio Lesotho to present some social issues in Sephuthi and to sensitize Basotho to the Sephuthi as one of the languages of Lesotho. Initially this idea was viewed positively and a few broadcasts were made but later the Libandla was told that it is not important to do so because Sephuthi-speaking people are very few in number. This information was based on unavailable statistics. As Adekoju (2008: 23) observes:

The efficacy of the media in the dissemination of information to the people at the grassroots in order to mobilize them to participate in local and national affairs [and possibly also in national concerns] is largely dependent on the intensive use of local languages.

And, Adekoju further notes, Bamgbose's (2003: 84) warning that:

The test of the efficacy of the media for empowerment should be how far they can reach the widest audience possible, and obviously, this must involve the intensive use of African Languages.

This warning is appropriate here and would have been taken care of had the request of the Libandla le Baphuthi been heeded. The Sephuthi-speaking people's cultural groups have

performed their cultural dances at the National University of Lesotho (through the efforts of Sephuthi-speaking lecturers) to demonstrate their unique identity and diversity. The language policy of Lesotho does not recognize and indirectly discourages these benefits to the nation.

(6) The Church

Another avenue for the use of the indigenous languages is the church. On a very small, but deliberate, scale, the church sometimes uses Xhosa and Sephuthi in the South of the country where these languages are widely spoken. This trend has been observed, especially in the Methodist church where members of the congregation (women in particular) speak and preach in Xhosa or Sephuthi, the languages that they are comfortable to use. Kamwendo shows that in Malawi it was the church, particularly through the Livingstonia Missionaries, which saved Chitumbuka from marginalization by the colonial government attempts. In like manner, therefore, the church is making attempts to make people feel at home in church.

(7) Political Rallies

In political rallies (especially during political campaigns for elections), the politicians deliberately use Xhosa and Sephuthi as opposed to the dictates of the Language policy of Lesotho. No doubt, the audience feels appreciated and may want to identify with and elect someone who speaks their language.

Although the Department of African Languages and Literature at the National University of Lesotho teaches in

Sesotho, it does not teach other local languages (Ndebele, Sephuthi, Xhosa) of Lesotho even though one of the staff members is a native speaker of Sephuthi. Instead, the Department opts for teaching Zulu or even ki-Swahili over any of the above languages. The excuse, especially for Sephuthi, is that it is not yet reduced to writing. However, a few written texts are available in this language of the Tekela group of languages here and there. Ambrose (2011) displayed some of them (from his personal collection) at the **Eugene Casalis Conference** held in Morija in 2011. Unless deliberate efforts are made to develop the written form further, Sephuthi cannot develop to the vernacular level. It will only remain a tolerated language. Grassroots efforts may be the quickest way of tackling this shortage. Resources (both human and material) for the teaching of Xhosa and Ndebele are abundant in South Africa.

3. Conclusion

To advocate the abandoning of English as a language taught in the school and as a medium of instruction would be to deny students and others the opportunity to compete on the job market. English is, without doubt, the language of power here, in the rest of Africa and internationally. It is a language through which people can compete with the rest of the world. To completely deny it the role that it plays at present would

be detrimental. However, this does not mean that we should deny children and adults their language rights. The Millenium Development Goals show that it is the right of every child to be introduced to schools through his own mother tongue, as I have mentioned before. Shopen (1979) quotes Saint Constantine-Cyril (in the ninth century” as saying: “Do you not feel shame at authorizing only three languages and condemning other peoples to blindness and deafness?” Saint Constantine said these angry words when he wanted the government to see Slavic as a language like any other. The grassroots seem to be addressing this issue through their efforts to bring the indigenous languages of Lesotho to the surface.

This paper ends with a few questions which it is hoped are not rhetorical. The first one is: How effective is the current Language policy of Lesotho in empowering the people of Lesotho and in improving their lives?

The second one is: Do the language policy makers hope that by ignoring the minority languages (Lesotho’s wealth), these languages will eventually die a natural death? If these languages die, the language policy makers will have dictated their loss. However, the curiosity to speak and to learn them is alive and is steadily being fuelled. This is why there are utterances such as “*Batho bana bare’ng? Ba bua puo e monate, empa ha ke utloe hore na ba reng*” “These people

speak a beautiful language although I do not understand what they are saying”.

Why do the language policy makers not give speakers of Sesotho the opportunity to learn other languages of Lesotho naturally from interaction with speakers of these other languages, rather than discourage them and the speakers of those languages from using them? The long and the short of it is that if policy makers are ashamed of Lesotho’s linguistic as well as cultural diversity and multilingualism, then the grassroots will dictate the direction and the pace.

Note¹

The original paper was presented by the author in her inaugural lecture at the National University of Lesotho. The author is appreciative of the comments given at the lecture.

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The Predicament of Cross-Border Languages Shared by Zimbabwe and Neighbouring Countries

Esau Mangoya

A lot of effort has been put in the documentation of indigenous languages and their varieties in and across the countries sharing borders with Zimbabwe. While there has been a common understanding and will-power to document these languages, challenges have arisen with regard to these cross-border

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languages. Cross-border languages are here taken to be languages whose speakers are found across country boundaries. From the Zimbabwean point of view, cross-border languages are those that Zimbabwe shares with neighbouring countries such as Mozambique, South Africa, Botswana and Zambia. Some of the languages Zimbabwe shares with the afore-mentioned countries are as follows: Mozambique: Hwesa, Barwe and Changana; South Africa: Changana, Venda and Sotho; Botswana: Kalanga, Sotho; Zambia: Tonga, Nyanja/Chewa and Chikunda. The status of each of these languages is discussed in order to establish the actual meaning of the concepts of a language and a dialect respectively. This paper examines the challenges facing the common documentation and development of these languages shared across the borders.

1. Introduction

The issue of cross-border languages denotes a group of people sharing a common language though they may be based in or living across internationally recognised borders which leaving such a language group geographically positioned in two countries. Speakers of the languages and interested linguists have had interest in having the languages developed and documented for purposes of having them studied and for preservation. This is mainly more from a protest point as these cross-border languages are lagging behind having been neglected for a long time when other languages

within Zimbabwe and the neighbouring countries have to varying extends worked on. Until in recent years Zulu and Xhosa were considered to be some of the main indigenous languages taught in South Africa. Shona and Ndebele are the main languages taught in Zimbabwean schools and tertiary institutions. In Botswana it is mainly Tswana while in Mozambique some of the prominent languages are Changana, Sena, Makonde, e-Makhuwa, Ciyao, and Nyungwe. In Zambia some of the prominent languages are Bemba, Nyanja, Tonga, Lozi, Kaonde, Luvale and Luva. To some extend these have been documented in the countries they are spoken.

However, there are these cross-border languages which cannot be said to belong to one country alone. Talking about language identification dilemma in Mozambique, Gadelii (2001: 3) argues, “We run two risks, to regard regionally big languages which are extremely small in Mozambique as Mozambican languages egIsiswati and Isizulu.” Although the writer is particularly concerned with the regional ‘huge’ languages, the issue of language belonging dilemma has lingered as a major impediment to many languages with cross-border statuses. Thus the present paper explores some of the factors that are at stake and stand in the way of language development and documentation of the so called cross-border languages.

2. Cross-Border Languages Known by Different Names

Cross-border languages like any languages have dialects that constitute them. However the dialect labelling has mainly been summarised as varieties that belong to this side of the border or that side of the border. Thus we have Zimbabwean Barwe and Mozambican Barwe. Similarly there is South African Venda and Zimbabwean Venda, and Zimbabwean Kalanga versus Botswana Kalanga. In some instances these are recognised by different names across the borders as in the case of the language known as Shangana in Zimbabwe and ChiChangana in Mozambique which is Tsonga in South Africa. In the same manner we have Barwe though known by the name in both Zimbabwe and Mozambique is also known by other names such as Balke and Rue in Mozambique, names that are not used in Zimbabwe.

Already by using different names we insinuate that we are dealing with different language entities. Once a language operates under a different name we face a momentous task to convince the common user that they are one people speaking the same language across the political boundaries. The names have been used in the documentation of these languages. In a way it becomes difficult to name these languages by any other name without taking up a war with

the speakers who have traditionally over decades known it by a particular name and from which they also proudly take identity name.

In that view, the Barwe of Zimbabwe have never recognized themselves as the Balke or Rue people. On the contrary on the Zimbabwean side there is a cultural group known as the Hwesa people and in Zimbabwe we have the Hwesa-Barwe people a double barrelled name that does not occur in Mozambique. We see that the names given to the languages separate the people speaking the same language. The people across the borders are separated by name in addition to the political boundary.

As such, this gives the leeway for the languages to be developed independently with all the researches evolving around the traditional name. The name leads to the marooning of the language in particular geographical locations which in most cases are demarcated by or within particular boundaries. In such scenarios, the cross-border language is considered as a language spoken in a particular country whose other speakers are also located on the other side of the border. Implicitly, these on the other side are not really serious speakers of the language.

Taking the developments of Shona in Zimbabwe, it can be noted that the non-cross-border varieties: Zezuru, Karanga, Korekore, and Manyika are dialects of the same language

whose differences have been noted but whose similarities have also been detailed making them entities belonging to the same language. As such, cross-border languages remain islands separated by the border whose differences are exacerbated by difference in name in addition to separation by border. In part these are factors that perpetuate cross-border languages' demise. In that vein, differences by name and by country variety become more pronounced at the expense of commonality and harmonisation.

3. The Power of the Border

The partition of Africa took place in the 19th century. As given by Ndhlovu (2013), because the process of carving boundaries for different countries was motivated to serve the interests of diverse groups of African people, it was arbitrary and insensitive to local and cultural and linguistic realities. That was the first hindrance to the development of the languages as the demarcation interrupted the homogenous linguistic and cultural setting of the people. All of a sudden ethnic groups that were once monolithic got separated as they both now belonged to the other side of the border of countries known by different names. This was the first break of the once wholesome linguistic and cultural whole as the new form of governance did not have consideration and jurisdiction across the border as they began consolidating what was on their side

of the border.

The borderline really plays a great role in literally confining the speakers on either side of the border living the people with limited interaction. In the Zimbabwean situation, it is few of the people who often cross the border and interact. There is limited natural interaction as such their languages develop as individual blocks which slowly separate. It should be noted that the current political boundaries were a later development as most of the groups that now speak cross-border languages belonged to.

Colonisation created rivalry between the created empires. There was political and economic rivalry between colonial empires. This created political hegemonies within the boundaries resulting in restricted interaction across the borders. Under a colonial rule there tends to be linguistic and cultural simulation by the people under one rule. With coming of the British to Zimbabwe in 1890 to the present day we see that there has been a period of about a century and two decades of linguistic and cultural isolation with neighbouring countries.

As such there is some cultural difference by cross-border languages speakers. These people are not exactly the same as what people would want to believe. As a result there were no events or political and economic activities across the borders that kept them interacting leading to common identity and

circulation of vocabulary. As such we see that these varieties now stand as peak dialects.

It is important that the languages be documented by way of dictionaries and the descriptive grammar books. The existence of the border limits coordination of such programmes as interaction across the borders is also limited. Differences are mechanically allowed to develop and grow as language is literally sliced into two.

As such, we see that the same language has labels across the borders as we tend to put to prominence the peak characters that tend to characterise and identify the language across the border. At the same time false illusions are created as a feeling of over calming the so perceived differences are made huge and this has seen scholars shunning developing such languages or feeling energised to look at issues concerning ‘the variety on our side of the border and neglect the other side of the border.

4. Geographical Positioning to the Capital

It can also be noted that languages need to be of political, economic and administrative use if their relevance is to be counted. Most of the African languages that have been documented to a great extent are identified around particular cities which become a hub where they are put into application and they develop sophistication as they are applied to new

and modern scientific concepts. Thus they remain vibrant as they catch up with the existing and upcoming concepts in specialised and scientific domains.

However, we see that the cross-border languages exist in areas where there are no cities and industrial activities that can help motivate and promote their growth and use on a daily basis. Whilst Venda is spoken in Beitbridge, the town is only a crossing point for people crossing into and from South Africa. So the activities at the border do not involve the Venda people as such other languages such as English Shona and Ndebele are used dominating Venda. The capital of Barwe in Mozambique is Catandica which is mainly a settlement as Industrial activities are in places such as Beira and Maputo which are several kilometres from Catandica. In Zimbabwe, the nearest town for the Barwe is Mutare where Barwe is hardly heard of. In Zimbabwe Kalanga is spoken around Plum tree which is a crossing point between Zimbabwe and Botswana. Again there is no industrial development in the town as people move to other places such as Bulawayo city and South Africa to seek for jobs as speakers are uprooted from their home areas to fit in into other communities that speak other languages. As such these languages would appear less diluted and pure reservoirs of culture.

As a result, they become tourist attraction areas. A case in

point is Tonga spoken in Zimbabwe and Zambia. Binga city in Zimbabwe is popular for its fishing and cultural activities and artefacts. We however see that most of the tourists are foreigners to whom we sing and dance in local languages for entertainment. These are temporary visitors as the locals do not afford visiting those areas for tourist purposes. Again the language and rich culture is more attractive to foreign visitors leading to isolation of the language from the rest of the country.

That way, languages become assigned to particular activities and practices but they do not get expanded and get promoted for use in other sophisticated domains within the rest of the country. As a result, speakers do not contribute to the national discourse using these cross-border languages. These home-based languages are viewed with lower esteem. They are not big enough, nor are they an influential industrial hub for language use and its application.

In Zimbabwe, a number of institutions that include universities and teacher training colleges have been established. The catchment areas for students and staff for these institutions are mainly the districts and provinces in which they are located. It has been shown that students in those universities and colleges have tackled studies of these languages. As such, there have been several dissertations and paper presentations in and on the languages around

those places of higher learning. In Zimbabwe, we have these institutions in provinces such as Harare and Bulawayo. In Mutare and Masvingo where Shona and Ndebele are predominantly spoken, several studies have been carried out on these languages with newer studies examining aspects raised in earlier studies.

There are no such institutions in the Barwe speaking areas on either side of the border. There is none in the Venda speaking area in Zimbabwe. Venda is taught at Venda University in South Africa, but the punitive role of the border does not allow shared or joint research. Without securing scholarships the Venda from Zimbabwe cannot cross for studies in South Africa. In Kalanga speaking areas, Zimbabwe, no institutions in which Kalanga is taught and that even the University of Botswana is far away from the Kalanga speaking communities. Chikunda has none in both Zimbabwe and Zambia. Similarly, there is none for Changana in Zimbabwe with efforts being made for it to be taught at Great Zimbabwe University in Masvingo city as they also seek to collaborate with Maputo's Eduardo Mondlane University of Mozambique. This is not to say that there have been no attempts to study these cross-border languages. Although with less degree of intensity, studies have been done on these cross-border languages so as to follow up on the study continuum and motivate application and use.

5. The Colonialism Language Policy and Nationhood

The boundary creation set new forms of nationalisation enforcing national identity by its people. So any development of any indigenous language naturally shuts out the inclusion of other nationals across the border. Consequently, documentation and development of the indigenous languages took place independently across the boundaries with varying consequences to broken languages. Firstly, as noted earlier, these became languages in other countries. In Mozambique Barwe is distinctively realised as a language (Ngunga & Siteo, 2000). On the Zimbabwean it is slowly being smothered into being one with Manyika Dialect of Shona. According to Hachipola (1998: 68), “Over the years, the Barwe have tended to adopt the languages of the communities into which they moved.” Consequently Barwe is not given different statuses across the border.

Secondly, the nation or the state takes custodian of the linguistic and cultural heritage in its territorial domain in a way that it deems suitable. As a result no consultation was done on dealing with the languages that got split by the boundaries.

The case of who worked on the language first counts, as that historical background in most cases has become the stepping

stone for the subsequent developments of the languages. Looking at the internal situation of language developments in Zimbabwe, Doke (1931: 4) points out that, “Since each Missionary society has been following its own method of writing, in many cases, individual writers have indulged in their own fancies in varying the orthography.” In the same manner, it has been a prerogative of the respective authorities across the borders to develop the languages in their territorial domain. They have done the work without consulting across the border employing their own preferred orthographies which do not match orthographic developments on the other side of the border further increasing the divergence. A case in point is that for the prefix of noun class 7 /ci, tʃi/ where it is orthographically presented as *xi-* in Mozambique as in XiBarwe ‘Barwe language’ XiTsonga ‘the Tsonga language’ whilst it is presented as *chi-* in Zimbabwe as in ChiBarwe ‘the Barwe language’ and ChiTsonga ‘the Tsonga language’.

Naturally, the colonisers imposed orthographies of their own languages leading to artificial orthographic differences. These differences may have been inherited with some harmonisation efforts carefully made to allay people’s fear of losing or having to modify their languages with which they identify across the border. Besides, languages have also been seen to develop at different stages in different periods of time, usually around the capital cities. According to Hachipola

(1998: 61) “.... Barwe have tended to adopt the language of the community into which they moved.... However, the language that all the Barwe are more functional in is Manyika.” This development points to the fact that any efforts made by Zimbabwe are inclined towards being similar to the previous efforts on other languages.

As a result, all the efforts made by Zimbabwe are intended to conform to the previous works on other languages around with an adoption Barwe Chi-prefix and the xi- prefix on either side of the border. In the same manner, Zimbabwean Kalanga which is more inclined towards Ndebele orthography /tʃi/ is orthographically written as *ci-* while Botswana Kalanga has *tji-*. So different materials have been produced in both countries and harmonization efforts are sometimes met with resistance from either side of the borders as some changes might imply losing out on inheritance. These are some of the orthographic highlights developed separately.

On the other hand, the Zimbabwean Tonga, that has been left out, benefited by adopting the Zambian Tonga. Since Zimbabwean Tonga had no orthography, it just adopted the orthography from Zambia. Consequently, no major discrepancies have been observed as the two sides currently represent some common sounds of varieties used in both countries.

6. Conclusion

Cross-border languages face some challenges in their documentation and development. Part of it is just negligence as focus is put on major languages located within the boundaries of the countries. Cross-border languages' differences have also been blown out of proportion due to difference in naming by the countries that share them leading to them being viewed as separate languages discouraging joint projects by countries to document and develop them as a single language entity. These languages have also attracted little interest as they have remained in the periphery in both geographical positioning and use in national discourse. We also see differences in language policies by the countries that share them also affecting joint efforts to document them. Besides the border, other factors contribute towards breaking these translingual boundaries which, in this case, result in separate language entities.

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Acquisition and Use of English L2 Mood¹

Taelo D. Qhala

Grammatical knowledge of a language forms the base upon the linguistic competence is built on. That is, even before we look at whether a person is able to vary their register depending on various forms of context, we look at their knowledge of the structure of the language in question. Children acquiring English as their L2 are faced with a situation in which they have to learn the different sentence structures: mood. This chapter explores children's acquisition and use of mood in the context of English L2. It seeks to find the order in which children acquire and use the indicative mood, the imperative mood and the subjunctive mood.

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1. Introduction

The English verb phrase (VP), the only obligatory element of the clause structure, is more complex and complicated than it appears to be. Apart from being the only obligatory component of the clause structure and the link between the Subject (S) and any other part of the clause, the VP is marked for other grammatical features such as tense, aspect, voice, mood and modality. The chapter focuses on mood.

Different linguists hold different views about the distinction between mood and modality.

Older linguists did not see any distinction between the two (Watkins, Martin, & Dillingham, 1965). As a result, they opted for the term *modal*. Later linguists contest that there is a distinction between mood and modality (Butler, 1985). For example, Butler says that modality is closely related to mood and is concerned with the expressions of degree of probability while the mood system is inherently a clause type marker. The latter is the point of view adopted by the present study. It takes the stance that there is a useful distinction between mood and modality. Mood refers to syntax and modality to semantics. There are different syntactic structures through which various moods are realized in English. These structures differ syntactically and semantically.

The study and discussion of mood as an independent

syntactic feature in English dates as far back as the 16th century. For example, Michael (1970) studied the works of 258 grammarians who wrote between the years 1586 and 1801. He observes that 204 of them classified mood into some or, in some cases, all of the following: indicative, imperative, infinitive, optative, potential, subjunctive, interrogative, precative, participle, elective, determinative, obligative and compulsive moods. Michael (1970) observes that nineteen grammarians objected to the existence of mood in English while 35 were silent on the topic. He posits that this confusion was brought about by the fact that early English grammarians associated the English grammar with that of Latin. He quotes Greenwood (1711) as saying that English (unlike Latin) has no mood because the English verb has no diversity of endings. Fenning (1771, in Michael, 1970) seems to be even more confused because although he says that properly speaking there is no mood in English, he discusses five types of mood.

In most recent English grammar books there are three moods, namely the indicative, subjunctive, and imperative moods. The various moods that are categorized as independent by the early grammarians have been grouped mostly on semantic bases. In the indicative mood, the verb is used to state a fact, ask a question and to make an exclamation; the verb in the imperative mood expresses a command, a prayer or desire in the present tense and second person. The

subjunctive mood helps the speaker to express a supposition, a purpose, a wish, a condition and uncertainty or doubt (Watkins *et al.*, 1965; Michael, 1970; Butler, 1985; Greenbaum, 1991). Greenbaum further proposes that the verb in the indicative mood is just named or referred to. The infinitive mood is used with 'to', introducing the verb. In this study, however, the infinitive is not regarded as mood for reasons that will become clear after the three moods, the indicative, the imperative and the subjunctive, have been discussed further below.

The verb behaves differently in the three moods. In the indicative mood it takes and indicates tense and number. That is, there must be subject-verb agreement (concord), according to Watkins *et al.* (1965). Butler (1985) adds that the presence of the subject and the fact that it precedes the finite verb indicates that the indicative clause is declarative rather than interrogative. The clause in the indicative mood may either be a statement or a question. The latter may either be a polar (yes/no) or a wh- type interrogative. Thus, although the clauses designate the indicative mood of the speaker/writer, each one has a unique structure, as can be seen in examples (1) and (2).

(1) Declarative

- a. *He gave his mother a present.*
- b. *They have not done their duty today.*

(2) Interrogative

- a. Polar Interrogative

- Has she been to town lately?
 - *Can't it be done now?*
- b. Wh-Interrogative
- How do we identify the house?
 - *Why can't they stop the war?*

In the imperative mood, the verb does not indicate concord. It is like the indicative present tense without /-s/ (Watkins *et al.*, 1965). In this case the subject may be omitted when it is understood (it is said to be implied), especially if it is the second person pronoun *you*. It is usually included only when the addressee is called by name, as in (3).

(3) Imperative

- a. *(You) come here.*
- b. *Lebohang, take that telescope out of its case.*

The verb in the subjunctive mood also behaves in a unique way. Watkins *et al.*, propose that the subjunctive forms *were* and *be* are the most common while the rest are like the present tense form without /-s/. They further write that the subjunctive form, *be*, is used in *that-clauses* after verbs and other verbal expressions such as *insist*, *urge*, *require*, *request*, *ask*, *demand*, *beg*, *is necessary*, and *is important*. The subjunctive mood is used in clauses expressing wishes and conditions that are improbable or contrary to fact, but the indicative is used in *if* clauses expressing ordinary wishes. Where the subjunctive mood is used after *if* in a counterfactual

condition, the same effect can be achieved by omitting *if* and inverting the verb and the subject. In fact, as Watkins *et al.* (1965) posit, the subjunctive mood is used only in a few situations. Bynon (1977) also holds the same opinion that in certain modern Indo-European languages such as English and German, as opposed to the classical Indo-European languages such as Latin, Greek and Sanskrit, the inflectionally marked subjunctive is becoming increasingly rare, often being replaced by indicative or by periphrastic constructions. The instances of subjunctive clauses are given in example (4).

(4) Subjunctive

- a. I wish *that I were rich instead of beautiful.*
- b. We demand *that this building be removed.*
- c. *If I were to die now*, he would be rich.
- d. *Were I the US President*, I would do the same.

2. Background to the Study

One of the tasks that learners acquiring English as a second language L2 are confronted with is to acquire and use mood appropriately in their daily interaction with other people. That is, the child has to acquire the grammatical structure of the various moods as well as the meaning attached to each one of them. He/she is expected to express this array of linguistic tools when the need arises. He/she has to learn to switch appropriately from one mood to another. A further problem

is posed by the fact that when children start learning English, they have generally not yet fully mastered their L1, and its mood specifically. It is against this background that this study is carried out. The study is an endeavour to find how children acquire and use mood. It tries to find the order in which the three moods, subjunctive, indicative and imperative, are acquired and used.

3. Previous Related Studies

Youssef (1991) observed acquisition of semi-modals: *want/want to*, and modals *may*, *can* and *could* in requests and demands in a case study of two Trinidadian children. Each child was audio-recorded in a naturalistic setting for two to four hours a month. The recording setting and/or addressee were varied as much as possible. Recordings were made in the home setting in conversation with either their mother, the domestic helper or with each other in a variety of activities. Later on they were taken to the researcher's home where they were recorded in conversation with the researcher and the researcher's family. They were further recorded with an elderly person in her working environment. Although the children were aware of the tape-recording in all cases, that did not inhibit them markedly as they quickly became sufficiently accustomed to it. Only a variation in the setting and the children's own personalities may have influenced the data that

they provided (Youssef, 1991).

Youssef found that in the early stages of development, some requests were expressed by intonation alone. The study also showed that input is very important in determining the order of acquisition of particular forms and their use. One child displayed the understanding that “*I need*” was the most commonly used request form among her peers and her wider external environment, but that it was not appropriate for use in addressing her mother because she corrected her whenever she used it. However, Youssef observed that the verb forms that her mother modelled were not immediately repeated and that children develop different codes for peers and adults in the cases where addressees typically use different forms.

Leow (1995) undertook a study on the interaction between modality and intake in L2 acquisition. What Leow refers to as modality is regarded as mood in this chapter, based on the observation that what he terms types of linguistic item which he used as input, are present perfect (indicative mood) and present subjunctive form. Intake in Leow’s paper is defined as part of the input that the L2 learner attends to while processing the input. He further contests that intake represents the stored linguistic data that may be used for immediate recognition, which, however, does not necessarily imply language acquisition (Leow, 1995).

In Leow’s (1995) study aural simplified/unsimplified input, with either the present perfect or present subjunctive form,

was made available to university undergraduate learners at two levels of language experience, namely the first and the fourth semesters students. This was guided by the following hypotheses, which Leow says to have adopted from an earlier study (Leow, 1993).

Hypothesis 1. Learners exposed to simplified aural input will take in significantly more linguistic items contained in the input than those not exposed to simplified aural input.

Hypothesis 2. Learners will take in significantly more present perfect forms than present subjunctive forms in the input.

Hypothesis 3. Learners with more language experience will take in significantly more linguistic items in the input than learners with less language experience exposed to the same input.

The first hypothesis was not relevant to the research study on which this current chapter is based because this study did not classify the input that the learners get as either simplified or unsimplified. The subsequent hypotheses were inspiring. For example, hypothesis 2 predicts that indicative mood is more easily taken in than the subjunctive mood. Logically this implies that it is easier to acquire the indicative mood than the subjunctive. This is one of the things which the study endeavoured to find out. Hypothesis 3 was interesting because it predicts that the length of time of exposure to L2 has a

direct bearing on L2 intake, and logically on L2 acquisition. Those learners with more L2 experience were expected to exhibit more language skills than those with less experience. For the study the subjects were not only grouped by age but by their time of exposure to English L2 as well.

Leow (1993, 1995) proposes that a researcher has to bear in mind the environment of L2 acquisition, cognitive development and length of time of exposure of subjects to L2, structural and semantic transparency of the input that the subjects get, their learning strategies the setting and the addressees. Leow's (1995) findings were exciting because they supported hypothesis 2, as the subjects' intake of present perfect form was significantly greater than that of the subjunctive form. Leow contests that this might be because the present perfect tense form carries higher communicative value than the subjunctive form and also because the present perfect form may be more salient due to its two-structure elements, the auxiliary verb ("to have") and the past participle form the ending for regular verbs. The findings of the study also supported the third hypothesis. Those learners with more L2 experience performed better than those with less experience, and Leow (1995) suggests that this shows that analysis of the input for the two groups may be regulated by different cognitive processes.

Other studies have been done to find out factors that

influence the rate of second language acquisition. For example, Slavoff and Johnson (1995) undertook a study to evaluate the role of age on the rate of English L2 acquisition in an immersion setting. Among the theories are those that support the role of the sensitive age (or the critical age) period and the older learner advantage hypothesis. In a summary form, those advocating for the sensitive age-period contest that when they attain asymptote (which Slavoff and Johnson (1995) claim is reached when the learning curve has reached its final plateau) young learners consistently outperform older learners on measures of grammatical and phonological competence. On the other hand, studies evaluating proficiency in grammar in the earliest stages of learning a language have found an older learner advantage as a result of these age effects. One of the effects is that the older learners' superiority (in the early stages) is accounted for by their superior cognitive skills, whereas younger learners' superiority (in the end) is a result of greater and longer lasting motivation and a lower affective filter (Krashen, 1982; O'Grady *et al.*, 1995). Paradoxically, Newport (1991) proposes that the young learners' restricted perceptual and memory capabilities are very helpful to them at asymptote in that they feed effectively into the language learning mechanism and change the input received by the learning mechanisms. She goes on to say that the young learners' restricted capacities sift the input into smaller and

more appropriate units for future learning.

Slavoff and Johnson (1995) challenge the group advocating for the existence of older learner advantage because of several reasons, emanating mainly from the methodologies employed in carrying out research studies. Firstly, they contest that earlier studies demonstrating an older learner advantage did not always measure natural language acquisition. Rather, children and adults were taken into laboratories and were taught some feature of a second language after which they were immediately tested on what they had learned. Due to the artificiality of the task and a very limited learning period, logically adults (who are generally more sophisticated in laboratory tasks) as research subjects outperformed children. Secondly, they contest that those studies that used children (not children versus adults) in evaluating natural language acquisition, have often compared younger and older children's performance directly without taking into account the fact that, despite their underlying competence, younger children tend to perform more poorly than their older counterparts on psycholinguistic tests. Slavoff and Johnson (1995) further propose that studies evaluating age differences in competence among non-native speakers "*must*", compare their performance to that of L1 speaking children of the same age, otherwise researchers are unable to claim that any observed age differences were not the result of differences in

metalinguistic or test taking skills as opposed to differences in underlying competence.

Finally, another restrictive factor to the generalizing of research findings is the similarity between L1 and L2. In this regard, Slavoff and Johnson (1995) allude to Snow and Hoefnagel-Höhle (1978) (whose study is commonly cited in supporting the older learner advantage) where L1 and L2, Dutch and English respectively, are not only similar in that both have plural and agentive markings, but also in the form of those markings. In both languages plural morphology primarily requires the addition of /s/ morpheme while agentive morphology requires the addition of /er/. The argument here is that because of the similarities, it is premature to generalize the results of such studies to learners whose L1 and L2 are distantly related, or completely unrelated.

The methodology of Slavoff and Johnson (1995) was appealing to the present researcher. First, the subjects were children of different ages (not children and adults). Further the L1s of the subjects (Chinese, Japanese, Korean and Vietnamese) are historically and typologically different from English, which they were acquiring as L2. In its proceedings the study included the L1 speakers of English of the same age as a control group. The procedure was such that children were divided into two groups of 7-9 year olds and 10-12 year olds and their task was to decide whether sentences were grammatically correct or not.

Slavoff and Johnson's findings were also captivating. The measured performance of the two groups was very similar throughout the three years, only improving with increasing lengths of time of stay in the USA. As in previous studies, females outperformed males at all intervals. Slavoff's study seems not to support the old learner advantage hypothesis. Further, the 7-9 year olds did not out-perform the 10-12 year olds within the time intervals tested. This is in contrast to the claims made in the studies that Slavoff and Johnson (1995) reviewed. However, Slavoff and Johnson propose that this was because both groups of children had not yet begun to attain their expected asymptote.

4. Methodology

This study uses a cross-sectional design. Although Cho and O'Grady (1995) point out that a cross-sectional study design is typical of experimental studies, in this study the design is fitted into a naturalistic setting in which learners' spontaneous verbal behaviour is observed and recorded. The cross-sectional study design (in language acquisition) is one in which the researcher investigates and compares the linguistic knowledge of learners at a particular point in development. The study reported here investigated and compared naturalistic acquisition of mood by different groups of young English L2 learners, preschool and Grade 1 children. These age groups

were studied at the same time and the findings were compared. The design was purposeful. As Cho and O'Grady (1995) point out, language acquisition and development is an ongoing process. Learners pass certain stages in their development. The phases that learners go through are usually captured in longitudinal study designs in which data are collected over a long period of time. The advantage of using the cross-sections is that each of the study groups represents a stage in children's development and in that way time is cut off.

The data were collected from three groups: 1) those who were about to leave preschool, ranging from 4;0 to 4;6 years; 2) those who had graduated from preschool and were in the reception class in primary school (ranging from 4;2 years to 6;3); and 3) those in Grade 1, ranging from 5;2 to 7;10. Five children were randomly selected from each group and the researcher tape-recorded the children's naturalistic speech. The recordings were made when the children were interacting with each other and with the teachers during activities that were learner-directed. A small tape-recorder was put in a cloth bag secured with a zip and hung around one child's neck using straps. Straps at the bottom of the bag were tied around the child's waist at the bottom of the bag. This is the technique used by Moloji (1998).

The utterances produced by the learners were divided into clauses which were subsequently grouped according to use of

the indicative, imperative or subjunctive mood. Some of the learners' utterances could not be broken down into clauses, either because they were phrases or one word utterances. These were not coded for mood or modality. The rhymes and recitations, which are not children's spontaneous speech and, therefore, did not necessarily mirror the learners' linguistic repertoire, were not included for analysis. Finally, the children's Sesotho utterances were not included for purposes of the analysis.

5. Findings and Conclusions

Table 1 quantifies the children's use of mood and compares the frequency of clauses that the children used. The numbers have also been converted to percentages for ease of comparison.

Table 1 The Use of Mood by the Three Groups

Group	Mood			Totals
	Indicative	Imperative	Subjunctive	
Preschool (Age 4;0 to 4;6)	341 (60.2%)	225 (39.8%)	0 (0.0%)	566 (100%)
Reception (Age 4;2 to 6;3)	88 (65.7%)	46 (34.3%)	0 (0.0%)	134 (100%)
Grade 1 (Age 5;2 to 7;10)	447 (92.0%)	39 (8.0%)	0 (0.0%)	486 (100%)

It is observed that none of the three groups of learners used the subjunctive mood. Of the 556 clauses recorded from the

Preschool children, 60.2 per cent was in the indicative mood while those in the imperative mood constitute 39.8 per cent. The Reception class used the indicative clauses 65.75 per cent of the time while the imperatives made 34.3 per cent. From Grade 1 data, at 8.0 per cent, the imperatives were significantly lower than the indicatives.

The data further illustrate that all the three groups used the indicative mood more than they used the imperative mood, suggesting that the indicative mood emerges and is acquired before the imperative mood. The findings further show that the learners' use of the indicative mood increases with time while their use of the imperative mood decreases, suggesting that, adult speech is characterised by less use of the imperative mood.

Based on the findings of this study, the conclusion is, therefore, that children acquiring English as L2 use and acquire the indicative mood before the imperative mood. The study further concludes that young L2 learners do not use the subjunctive mood at all, until they have probably been exposed to English L2 for a longer period. Perhaps, this is because, as Watkins *et al.* (1965) and Bynon (1977) propose, the subjunctive mood is lately rare.

Perhaps, it would even be more interesting to find out what the children use the indicative and the imperative mood for. This suggests a need for further studies which explore

acquisition of modality in children's English L2.

Note¹

1. This chapter is based on the author's BA (Hons) Dissertation entitled: ACQUISITION OF MOOD AND MODALITY BY YOUNG LEARNERS OF ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE, available in the Thomas Mofolo Library, National University of Lesotho.

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***Fighting War With
Words: A Lexico-
semantic Analysis of
Dasylva's Songs of
Odamolugbe***

Blessing Titilayo Inya

In the wake of post-colonialism and the resultant neo-colonialism in some African countries, some wars are not fought with guns but words; one of these is war against corruption: corrupt leaders and corrupt practices. Some of these warriors are journalists, writers, poets, etc. one of whom is Ademola Dasylva in Songs

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of Odamulogbe. Songs of Odamulogbe is a collection of poems that is preoccupied with combating corrupt leaders and corrupt practices, and inciting other compatriots to arise to the challenges facing the poet's country, Nigeria. There have been both literary and linguistic-based studies on Ademola Dasylva's Songs of Odamulogbe; but worthy of note is Dasylva's use of language, particularly, lexico-semantic features embedded in the text. However, no attention has been paid to this aspect of language use in the text. Therefore, drawing on the resources of Systemic Functional Grammar, this study attempts a lexico-semantic analysis of select poems in Dasylva's Songs of Odamulogbe. The poems are selected based on their political themes. The lexico-semantic features are identified and discussed. The study reveals that language use in the text is not arbitrary; rather, it is for specific purposes like correcting, criticizing, inciting, eulogising in nostalgia a once good country etc.

1. Introduction

Language is a “strategic meaning-making resource”, defined as “a semiotic system, a conventionalised coding system; organised as sets of choices” (Eggs, 2004: 2-3). The distinctive feature of this semiotic system, which is that of *opportunity cost* where each choice of word in the system acquires its meaning against the background of the other choices forgone and the interpretation of the system opens up the chance for the consideration of the importance and appropriacy of the different linguistic choices placed against

the background. Therefore, the language user chooses to make meaning in context and in making meaning, choices of what is appropriate and what is not are made. These choices involve the kind of words to use or the creation of other words or neo-collocation. In making these choices, the language user creates or represents an aspect of the world. This makes language use an integral part of social action (Schiffrin, 1994). Word formation is one of the ways in which linguistic forms are selected or created for strategic meaning making. Occasionally, a single word or phrase may be all we need to identify a genre or text type, in the same way the meanings of words are not restricted to the dictionary entries. Sometimes, the meanings can be retrieved from the context of use (Stubbs, 2002).

As found in Ademola Dasylva's (2006) collection of poems, *Songs of Odamolugbe*, language is used to pass information to the reader, dominantly political information, and these pieces of information are strategically presented through the lexical semantic processes in the text. Some of the words have to be placed in their context of use to get their intended meaning. *Songs of Odamolugbe* exists in the literary period of post colonialism and the issues that are dominant in the literary texts of this period are corruption, political crisis, unemployment etc. This is the phase of poetry that is referred to as the third generation modern Nigerian poetry.

The poets in the phase include poets such as Chinweizu, Niyi Osundare, Funso Aiyejina, Odia Ofeimun, Joe Ushie, Ismail B Garba, Remi Raji etc. (Emezue, 2005; Aboh, 2012.) The poetry of this generation has been ‘furnished by poverty and political instability resultant from the black man’s betrayal of motherland’ and ‘self-inflicted reversals’ (Emezue, 2005: 37). The Nigerian poets in this generation are preoccupied with “expressing their despair, gloom, hopelessness, melancholy, despondency, discouragement, bitterness, desperation and shock... the hallmark of this brand of poetry, as opposed to those of earlier generations, is militancy of spirit” (Emezue, 2005: 38, 40); this time not only in threnody of voice and mood as Emezue (2005) claims but also in words and semantic approach. Dasyilva’s folkloric and forceful approach to the same topics that have been treated by other texts of the same tradition, his manipulation of registers and creation of fresh ones, his importation of linguistic items into another domain of use to suit his intention and project his attitude to his indigenous context are what we set out to study in this research.

2. Theoretical Foundation

2.1 Systemic Functional Grammar

Systemic Functional Grammar (henceforth, SFG) is a

systemic approach to language and it enables scholars to analyse and explain how meanings are made or can be realised in either everyday linguistic usage or in particular texts. This is a theory that has its foundation in the social semiotic works of Halliday and his associates. There has been an increased recognition of SFG, described as a very useful descriptive and interpretive framework for viewing language as a strategic meaning making resource (Eggins, 2004: 3).

In SFG, language or any other semiotic system can be interpreted based on the network of the interlocking options, the possibility of being one or the other. It starts from the general form and narrows into specifics and “whatever is chosen in one system becomes the way into a set of choices in another” (Halliday, 1994: x). Thus, the process of using language is a semiotic process, a process of making meaning by choosing. This has implications for the current paper, as the poet makes deliberate choices of words to fulfil his intention.

The focus of SFG is the analysis of authentic products of social interaction (texts), considered in relation to the cultural and social context in which they are negotiated. Its interest has always been with the meanings of language in use in the textual processes of social life, or the socio-semantics of text. According to Halliday, the aim of systemic functional grammar has been to “construct a grammar for the purpose of text analysis: one that would make it possible to say sensible

and useful things about any text, spoken or written, in modern English” (Halliday, 1994: xv). Here, the meaning, which is usually influenced by the social and cultural context in which they are exchanged, and quality of the text is considered. Drawing from Eggins (2004), language use in a particular socio-cultural situation is functional, semantic, contextual and semiotic. This is summarised as a functional-semantic approach to language. It stipulates that people negotiate texts in order to make meanings with each other, as such, the general function of language is semantic-to make meaning. Therefore, whatever use language is put to, the general purpose, if not ultimate, is to make meaning. This makes language use a purposeful behaviour in that people do not just write or talk; they use language because they want to achieve a purpose, which usually is to make meaning.

According to Halliday (1994), there are two purposes or ‘levels’ of achievement when doing a linguistic analysis of text. The first and lower one is a contribution to the understanding of the text: here, the analysis shows how and why the text means what it does. In doing this, we may find multiple meanings, alternatives, ambiguity, metaphors etc. as long as the analysis relates the text to the general features of the language. The second is the higher level and it considers the contribution to the evaluation of a text where the linguistic analysis may enable one to say why the text is or is not an

effective text for its own purpose. In this paper, the first and lower level of analysis which is the contribution to the understanding of a text where the analysis shows how and why the text means what it does will be attended to.

2.2 Meaning and Lexical Relations

The study of meaning necessitates the study of the way our behaviour is influenced by the words and the other symbols we use in communication. Meaning can be considered from the perspective of the speaker; the message (words and utterance); how this message is encoded and decoded, and whether or not it has conveyed the intention of the speaker placed in the various background of the experience that has been related in the utterance. In this paper, we look at meaning as the manifestation of words as they occur in a given language and their interrelatedness to form a system when placed against the background (context) in which the language event occurs (socio-economic, socio-political, socio-cultural, historical and ideological).

In meaning relation, each word/lexical unit consists of an indefinite number of contextual relations but at the same time constitutes a unified whole: text. It is therefore, natural to speak of a lexical unit in a particular meaning relation to other lexical units in such a way that no meaning relation is without significance, that is, all conceivable relations are

of equal general semantics (Cruse, 1986). This relationship can be pairing of words with others as opposite in meaning-antonyms; equivalent words can be substituted in certain contexts-synonymy; the association of an individual lexical item with another as being included in the meaning of another word, belonging with another word in the same field-hyponymy or sharing the same phonic or written form though with unrelated meanings- homonymy (Akwanya, 2007). These are seemingly formalistic way of looking at meaning relations.

Our knowledge of language is not only about individual words, but about their combination with other words, and of the cultural knowledge which these combinations often encapsulate- collocations (Stubbs, 2002). Sometimes, these resources are drawn on to create particular effect when using language to achieve particular meaning. Here, we speak of *miscollocation*. One question is pertinent here: how does the meaning(s) of words or lexical units depend on their uses? This poses the assumption that words are used or allowed to co-occur for particular meaning and intention. Sometimes, these words may define the text-type or genre, just as we cannot say that all there is to meanings of words are the dictionary entries. These words/lexical units acquire their meanings or change these meanings according to the social and linguistic contexts in which they are used (Stubbs, 2002).

With this claim from Stubbs as with the claim from so many other scholars, context assists in identifying the meaning of words used in texts or real life situation, and this makes it possible for words from one field to be imported into another field.

2.3 Modern Nigerian Poetry

Modern Nigerian Poetry (henceforth, MNP) is a form of poetry that shows the absence of ideological commitment of prevailing socio-political leaders while it proclaims its support for the masses. It gives the Nigerian poet a peculiar attitude to their subject matter and the role of that poet as a prophet, a protester and a social reformer, and these they achieve by combining insight and foresight (Jegade & Dasylya, 2005). This tradition of poetry parades the modern Nigerian poet as culture standard bearer and nationalist. It thrives on the extension of communal solidarity, creates space for private experience and with their indigenous audience in mind, it condemns the negative forces in the African/Nigerian society in order to bring about improvement in the indigenous environment. Finally, it is a tradition where poets assume the role of spokespersons for their people (Jegade & Dasylya, 2005). Armed with the socio-political situation in their country, these poets' focus is to decry the political betrayal of their political leaders and to sanitise their country

of the decadence and corruption that have ensued since independence. Ademola Dasylva falls into the category of these modern Nigerian poets.

3. Research Design

The data for this study are got from a Nigerian collection of poems, *Songs of Odamolugbe*, written by Ademola Dasylva in 2006. The collection exists in the third phase of the Modern Nigerian Poetry (MNP). The linguistic items that are suspected to be lexico-semantic oriented are marked out and analysed in line with the theoretical orientation of the paper. Poems from the collection that are more relevant to the present study are directly drawn upon in the analysis. The lexico-semantic features considered are paradigmatic, syntagmatic, morphological features.

4. Data Analysis

4.1 Paradigmatic Features

This feature deals with the meaning of a word in relation to other words in the text. Under this heading, we have synonymy, antonyms and hyponymy.

4.1.1 Hyponymy

This refers to a relation of inclusion holding between words

(Odebunmi, 2006). Instances of this feature are found in *Ira*:

Weapons of war

neutralising rocket of verses,
detonating offering,
armoured tanks of ironies,
missiles of metaphor,
similes of scud missile

Each of the items in the example above is in an inclusive relationship with ‘weapons of war’. These weapons of war are launched at the several people with whom the poet is engaged in battle or war. His opponent are the ‘political mercenaries’ and ‘home grown tyrants’. Metaphors and similes, verses, ironies and offerings are words which naturally are not weapons of war. However, the poet’s use of them as rockets, neutralising and detonating as it is done with bombs; armoured tanks and missiles are indication that they form part of the weapons used to fight war. The war that is being fought here is no more with physical weapons but with words.

4.1.2 Synonymy

This is a concept denoting similarity in the meaning of lexical items. It deals with equivalence of meaning of words or expressions. In this analysis, synonymy is expanded beyond the equivalence of meaning into the rhetoric in the expressions as long as they are similar in meaning. In *Ira*,

Home-grown tyrants, scandals, murderers, compradors, political mercenaries, agents causative, scumbag are synonymous. They present negative pictures and characters that are anti-social. These set of people present the reason for war and those to be fought against; they are at the receiving end of the poet's weapons: the home-grown tyrants are the indigenous power abusers; political mercenaries are only interested in their own benefits. They all point to the same end of unpleasantness and strongly disapproved characters and actions. These items are chosen by the poet over other items he could have chosen to paint the pictures of post-colonial disillusionment and the pervading negative situation in Africa and Nigeria.

4.1.3 Antonym

Antonym is a relationship of expression of words held between a proposition and its negation. It is the principle of contrast. Instances of this feature are found in the poem *The gun and the pen*. In this poem, the poet contrasts the weapons of war employed by the two belligerent parties. It is a poem that depicts the military reign and the effort of writers to stop them, hence, the war. We have the following instances:

Word	Contrast
<i>Writers</i>	<i>soldiers</i>
<i>Pen</i>	<i>guns</i>

<i>Books</i>	<i>tanks</i>
<i>Letters of pen</i>	<i>lethal thunder of the gun</i>
<i>Living pen</i>	<i>passing bells</i>
<i>Chilly scold</i>	<i>tango fury</i>
<i>Talking pen</i>	<i>thunderous gun</i>
<i>Passion</i>	<i>tension</i>
<i>Inspired fingers</i>	<i>drunken fingers</i>

The first part of the list (word) represents journalists, poets, dramatists, writers and scholars who use their words to fight against the level of corruption at that time. This they did with inspired fingers, pen and books, letters, chilly scold, and passion. The contrast to this is what is described by the second list. This represents the soldiers, the military rulers and power-drunk political leaders. Here, we have guns, tanks, lethal thunder of the gun, tango of fury, thunderous gun, tension, and drunken fingers. The *drunken fingers* are not fingers whose owners are intoxicated with wine but with power, intoxicated to pull the trigger to kill the world and tension is born, while the *inspired fingers* of the writers are filled with *passion* to form the word and save the world making passion and tension another set of contrast.

4.2 Syntagmatic Features

The items under this heading are collocation and lexical import.

4.2.1 Collocation

Collocation deals with the company word(s) keep, that is, words that co-occur. However, when such words occur with other words as against norm, they give distinct and mediated meaning. We have instances of such collocation in *Ira*.

In the phrase, *Home grown tyrants*, the adjective *home grown* gives *tyrants* an indigenous, home-bred outlook. The tyrants are not foreigners who come to dominate the indigenous people; it is a forceful rule of some people by their own kinsmen, tyrants who are nurtured in their own country. Therefore, collocating *home grown* with *tyrant* denotes the particular type of domination encountered by the poet. It becomes meaning specific. *Political mercenaries* is another example of collocation. *Mercenaries* are people who are hired to carry out a work, a hired soldier or a greedy person. In this case, political mercenaries are the greedy politicians who are the helms of affairs in the poet's country and those who are into politics for their godfathers. Therefore, collocating political with mercenaries could mean hired soldiers who run the politics of the country, a greedy political leader and a politician who work for a godfather. All these shades of meaning and representation are the situation in the poet's country. Another example is *their crude politics of oil pricing*. This could have been rendered as *their political pricing of*

crude oil. Here, the poet uses crude politics and oil pricing instead of crude oil and politics pricing. This collocation shows an action, a state of being: crude politics. It represents raw, base, unrefined politics applied to one of the major sources of foreign exchange in the country.

Delinquent adults (My hoe nips at mother earth) referring to adults who break the law and fail to perform their duty as expected.

Pull the trigger, kill the world

Form the word, weave the world...

Talking pen....living pen

Passing bells....fallen hero

The examples above are taken from *The gun and the pen*. The collocations reveal two situations and these are found in the verbs, nouns and adjectives that collocate to form each line of the poem. *Pull the trigger, kill the world* is destructive while *form the word, weave the world* is creative, productive and saving. *Talking* and *living* are adjectives used with pen to show the positive activity of the pen. Other examples here are *...inflated budgets, inflated contracts (Ira), bloody oil, wailing widows, hungered orphanages, fiery sword, oil washed bare shanties, shelled ruins (A waking dream), reign of rogues, wig dethroned, chaos and carnage, divorce the carrion (The carrion)*. In all, some of these collocations represent the negative situation in the country. These negatives are revealed

in the poet's use of nouns, verb and adjectives, just as some of these classes of words reveal some positive aspect of the country. The positives are pitched against the negatives in a constant war and struggle.

4.2.2 Lexical Import

This deals with the lexical items that are used in other fields but are brought into a different domain of discourse. These items are used to paint a vivid picture and the intensity of the poet's experience and intention. Instances are *missiles*, *rocket*, *neutralizing* in *Ira*.

4.3 Morphological Features

These are features that are found in a word formation process. They are usually achieved through affixation and compounding. Under affixation, two items are considered simultaneously in the table below:

The few prefixes in the select poems are *co* in *Ira*, *com* and *de* in *The carrion*. Two of the three prefixes reveal comradeship. These are *co-* in *co-pilgrims* and *com-* in *compatriots*. They show inclusion, that is, the poet and the other citizens with like minds are on a journey, **on the reason of their country**. *Com-* shows that the poet is a fellow patriot with other patriots in the country. These categories of people are united by one purpose: to fight with the only

weapon they have, words, and save their dear country from the hands of those who are bent on running her down. *De-* is used with throne to make dethroned. *De-* represents a reverse in something that has been done earlier. To dethrone is to take away from the throne, the position of authority. Here, there is a reversal of the authority given to justice (wig) and the correctness of law. In the suffix column, there are more plural markers than any other form of suffix. 51 suffixes are identified; there are 38 plural suffixes -s and they all show plurality. It shows the multiplicity of each of the base morpheme of these suffixes. There are 8 perfective markers -en. Three of them are used by the poet to show passivisation. This means that the actions in the verbs are carried out by someone or should be carried out by someone. Therefore, it is either to decry a practice or to incite others to do something about a negative situation. The other 5 -en suffix-added words are used as adjectives. These adjectives are used to achieve two things: a.) to show specificity; and b.) to show the inherent quality of what is being modified by the adjectives. The last four suffixes are -ing and three of them represent continuity. The verbs *killing*, *looting* and *writhing* in pain are not actions that start and end just like that, they are continuous. The -ing shows that the process is still on; the activity has not ended yet. The other -ing is an adjective that represents specificity. The only -er suffix transfers an action to be the actor.

Table 1 Morphological Features

Poem	Word	Prefix	Suffix	Implication
Ira	Co-pilgrims	Co-	-s	Inclusiveness/ multiplicity
	Rocket of <i>verses</i>	-	-s	Plurality
	Launched	-	-en	Passivisation
	<i>Similes</i> of scud <i>missiles</i> / <i>missiles</i> of metaphor	-	-s/ -s	Plurality
	Home-grown <i>tyrants</i>	-	-s	Plurality
	Political <i>mercenaries</i>	-	-s	Plurality
	<i>Murderers</i> of our motherland	-	-er/-s	Agent, actor/ plurality
	<i>Agents</i> causative	-	-s	Plurality
	<i>Suffocating children</i>	-	-ing/ -s	State/ plurality
	Armoured <i>tanks</i> of <i>ironies</i>	-	-s/-s	Plurality
	<i>Inflated budgets</i>	-	-en/ -s	Plurality
	<i>Inflated contracts</i>	-	-en/ -s	Plurality
	<i>Mangled bodies</i>	-	-en/ -s	Plurality
	Ghastly <i>victims</i> of daily carnage	-	-s	Plurality
Avalanche of <i>invectives</i>	-	-s	Plurality	
The carrion	<i>Compatriots</i>	Com-	-s	Comradeship/ plurality
	The wig <i>depraved</i>	-	-en	Passivisation
	Resist the <i>hounds</i> ...	-	-s	Plurality
	The wig <i>dethroned</i>	De-	-en	Passivisation
The gun and the pen	Boom, <i>guns</i> and <i>tanks</i>	-	-s/ -s	Plurality
	Boom, <i>pens</i> and <i>books</i>	-	-s/ -s	Plurality
	Blossom, bright <i>flowers</i>	-	-s	Plurality
	Learnt the <i>letters</i> of the pen	-	-s	Plurality
	Lethal <i>thunders</i> of the gun	-	-s	Plurality
	Hearse <i>horses</i> draw <i>wreaths</i>	-	-s/ -s	Plurality
	<i>Soldiers</i> and <i>writers</i> boom	-	-s/ -s	Plurality
	<i>Drunken fingers</i> pull ...	-	-en/ -s	Plurality
	<i>Inspired fingers</i> form	-	-en/ -s	Plurality
	Night's <i>props</i> must scurry	-	-s	Plurality
The babel is here	Rifles of strife	-	-s	Plurality
	The arrows, the spears, the smoky guns!	-	-s/-s/-s	Plurality
	Rapid runs of wailing rifles	-	-s/-s	Plurality
	Killing, looting, writhing in pain	-	-ing	Continuity

5. Conclusion

From the analysis, the select poems treat the issues that are politically, socially and economically paramount to the welfare of Nigerians. In the paradigmatic features, we have similarities, contrasts and co-hyponyms. One unique thing about the poet is the way he does not use the same word twice, rather, he uses similar words to state similar yet unique situation, contrasting words to show the contrast between the good and the bad, what is and what should be, the bad soldiers and the good ones. Also, the preponderance of weapons of word as weapon of war, the dominance of -s morphemes and the collocations, and lexical import all point to the situation of the country. The poet is found either criticizing and combating the terrible socio-political and economic situation of the country or inciting other patriots to join in the combat against corruption and the dehumanising situation in the country. Lexico-semantics is used to derive meaning in texts done through wording, and according to Halliday (1994), one of the levels of analysis of SFG is to interpret the text and confirm if the text is meaningful. This is the level of analysis that has been achieved here. Further works can be carried out in the application of other linguistic study to the text as it is one that would be relevant for a long time, considering the political and economic state of most African countries.

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Hegemony and Conflict in Wole Soyinka's Death and the King's Horseman

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Language and culture are two fundamental elements of the human society. While culture determines people's way of and disposition to life, language reflects the disposition and views about life. To understand a group of people, it is necessary to understand their culture which can be achieved through the study of their language and language use. However, when cultures come in contact, there is bound to be culture clash which can result in greater conflict

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and ideological display. This study examines hegemony and conflict in Wole Soyinka's *Death and the King's Horseman* using Scollon's Nexus analysis. The aim of the study is to examine the roles of culture differences in the conflict portrayed in the play. This is with the view of emphasising that culture differences breed hegemony and dominance which can result in conflict of various forms. The study concludes that peaceful co-existence can be achieved if culture differences and idiosyncrasies are recognised and appreciated by individuals in a multi-cultural and multi-lingual society.

1. Introduction

Language is a human distinctive tool for socialisation. Hence, people use language to respond to what is happening around them during communication. This suggests that language is connected to culture in some ways. Halliday and Hassan (1989: 4) assert that language is synonymous to culture. Apart from the fact that language is a part of culture, it expresses culture and just as Akindele and Adegbite (1999: 7) puts it, language does not solely determine the way we structure our social reality, it affects the way we also think. Because language is thus involved in human life and culture, it becomes a tool for ideological formation and reproduction. Therefore, when cultures come in contact, there is a contact between different ideologies which can either result in a hegemonic society or a society marked by resistance. These

facts are captured in Wole Soyinka's *Death and the King's Horseman* and analysing the actions that portray resistance and hegemony in the play is the concern of this paper.

Social practices alongside language use have been discovered to be important modes through which naturalised ideologies are presented. This study adopts Mediated Discourse Analysis (MDA) as a tool for analysis. In MDA, action is the unit of analysis and discourse is viewed as a form of action. Hence, 'saying something or writing something is a form of doing something' (Jones and Norris, 2005: 6) and the things that are done are called social practices. These practices become the nexus for the display of ideology and cultural representations. According to Wortham (2006: 130), Scollon and Scollon give several examples of Nexus and cycles implicated in them ranging from biological ecosystems, events of intercultural communication to genres of computer mediated discourse. Events of intercultural communication which are also nexus of social practices, abound in Soyinka's *Death and the King's Horseman*

The play, *Death and the King's Horseman* has enjoyed the attention of scholars from the time of its writing until now. Studies such as Jain (1986), Gilbertova (1995), Soyoye and Banigo (2010), Ahuama, (2011), McNulty (2011) and many others have investigated the themes, style, translation theory, cultural practices and so on in the play. One of the reasons

why the book has continued to be a relevant text for analysis is the richness of the language and entrenchment of the practices of the Yoruba culture in the text. The aspects of the text that can be subjected to analysis seem inexhaustive. This is why the study at hand still has a gap to fill in the body of literature on the play despite its many years of existence.

Although the conflict between the traditional and Western culture in the text has been investigated by researchers such as Singh-Juash, (2013), none of the existing works has investigated the conflict from an MDA perspective. Therefore, this study examines the creation of social practices that presents cultural conflict in the play with the aim of explicating how cultural awareness can produce positive social change.

2. Theoretical Orientation and Methodology

The theoretical framework adopted for this analysis is Mediated Discourse Analysis (MDA). MDA is ‘an action-oriented approach to Critical Discourse Analysis that takes sociocultural activity as its primary focus, looking closely at a physical action as the unit of analysis rather than an ethnographic event or a strip of language’ (Wohlwend, 2013: 2). The major tenet of this theory is that social practices help to define societies and to some extent, exert control over the people in those societies. This suggests that the actions of

members of a society represent and present the structure and system of the society. So, for MDA, the concern is practice (social action). ‘It defines practices as actions or chains of actions which are recognised by a group of people as doing a certain kind of thing...’ (Jones, 2012: 1) Action forms the unit of analysis in MDA.

The approach was introduced into discourse studies by Scollon and Scollon (2001). They view discourse as mediated at various levels by different mediational means. Norris and Jones (2005: 5) emphasize

that all actions are mediated through ‘cultural tools’ (Wertsch, 1998): objects, technologies, practices, identities, social institutions, communities, and also language and other semiotic systems’. All of these tools come with histories that have shaped the kinds of things that can be done with them and the kinds of things that cannot: that is, they embody certain affordances and constraints.

According to Ervin-Tripp (2003: 1), the goal of Scollon in developing MDA is to show the interaction involving mediational means or cultural tools such as language, gestures, material objects and institutions. This explicates the fact that MDA is a form of semiotic study where signs are studied in their various forms to describe the society: the forms of social relationships, the values and the norms in the society. In MDA, the focus is on interpreting actions and utterances and bringing them into correspondence with different goals.

The methodology for MDA is nexus analysis. Wortham, (2006: 129) avers that Nexus Analysis maps the intersection of these on-going trajections as they collectively facilitate actions and ‘a nexus is defined by him as a repeated site of engagement where some type of social action is facilitated by a relatively consistent set of social processes’. The crux of Nexus analysis is the analysis of the different types of cycles that can be relevant to explaining social actions. It takes into consideration discourses, material objects, non-verbal signs, bodily habits and other resources that contribute to the relevant cycles. According to Jones and Norris (2004: 4),

it provides a way of understanding how all of the objects and all of the language and all of the actions taken with these various mediational means intersect at a nexus of multiple social practices and the trajectories of multiple histories and storylines that reproduce social identities and social groups.

It is evident from the assertions of the scholars above that MDA is an approach that aims to explicate how societal issues are produced as common moments of everyday lives. It is also concerned about the ontogenies of the modes involved in constructing social practices. Such modes include social actors, mediational means etc. Although, Nexus Analysis seems to involve a participatory research, restricting the use to spoken and interactive discourse (Scollon & Scollon, 2001; Norris & Jones, 2005), this study finds the concepts and methodologies developed in MDA very useful for the analysis

in the study. This is based on the assumption that both spoken and written texts are sites for mediated discourse and since written texts especially dramatic ones are presented as written-spoken discourse, it becomes easy to apply MDA principles to such texts.

The analysis of text as presented in this study is not just identifying the semiotic modes and mediational means, but interpreting them in relation to broader social processes of dominance and resistance and conflict. While the identification of modes and their descriptions are done using MDA concepts, the interpretation is done using principles found in Critical Discourse Analysis.

3. Hegemony and Conflict

The concept ‘hegemony’ was introduced by Gramsci in 1971. It refers to the process through which dominant culture maintains its dominant position in a society. According to Mayr (2008), ‘hegemony highlights the mechanism through groups to accept their own moral, political and cultural values and their institutions through ideological means’ (Mayr, 2008: 13). Unequal power relation and domination are accepted as the norm because the dominating group presents them as natural. Therefore, in a hegemonic society, ‘power is not exercised coercively but routinely’ (Mayr, 2008: 13).

Hegemony is central to ideological investigations which can

be found in virtually all domains of human activities especially where there are differing opinions and value systems. It is important to note that differences in human values at various levels stimulate ideology which produces either a hegemonic society or a society in conflict. Eoin Devereux (2007) represents the position of Thomson (1990) that ideology is manifested in some ways among cultural groups. Three of these explicate the shapes of ideology in a hegemonic society. The first is unification which brings together members of a society with the intention of putting them in opposition to a real or imagined enemy. The second is fragmentation. This is a form of divide and rule governance where hegemony is achieved and maintained through dividing groups of people who may challenge the status quo in the society. The third is reification, which presents all forms of inequality as natural and unimportant to the benefit of the dominant group.

According to Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 30), subjects give their consent to particular formations of power because the dominant culture group generating the discourse persuades them of their essential ‘truth’, desirability and naturalness’. From this view, it is established that the ideology of dominance is pervasive in hegemonic society because the cognitive orientation of the subjects has been tailored towards the acceptance of the status quo.

In as much as ideology is naturalised in hegemonic

societies, there are bound to be conflicts when treasured culture comes in contact with dominant ideologies. In such cases, resistance is manifested either subtly or overtly. Such manifestations can be mediated through actions, dispositions, discourse and so on. Omoniyi, (2010: 6) describes conflicts as the counter-positioning of social groups (identities) or their beliefs both of which are discernible from language behaviour. Culture conflict is engendered at the nexus between cultures. This is because at that point, values, ideas, religious practices, and so on clash and where there is a clash, the ideology of superiority and domination comes into play. These are manifested through actions and discourse produced during the clash.

The introduction of western culture (language, education, dressing, etc.) into the Yoruba society as represented in *Death and the Kings Horseman* is an attempt at restructuring the society into a hegemonic one. This is done by entrenching every aspect of the western culture as superior to that which has been in place in the Yoruba society. From the representations in the novel, it can be said that this is achieved in some aspect of the Yoruba life especially the education system. This is evident in the way the market women applauded their children when they displayed the knowledge they have acquired through formal education. However, there are areas of culture conflict in the play and this is most evident

in religious and cultural practices. In these areas, resistance is displayed through different means and this indicates that the Yoruba people as represented in the play refuse the entrenchment of culture dominance in their society.

4. Synopsis of *Death and the King's Horseman*

The play was written in 1975 by Wole Soyinka. The story is based on real events that took place in Oyo, the ancient Yoruba city of Nigeria, in 1946. It is a representation of the world view of the Yoruba people and the presentation of their values and cultural practices. It tells the story of the clash between the District officer and the members of the Yoruba community and the conflict that arises between members of the Yoruba community as a result of failure of Elesin, an important chief in the community to commit ritual suicide as culture demands. In the attempt to prevent the ritual suicide, Simon Pilkings disrupts the activities that accompany the burial of the king. This brings about confrontations and conflicts between the whites and the indigenous community members.

The play opened in the market place where Elesin Oba (King's Horseman), accompanied by his praise singer, receives encomium and gorgeous adornment. Even though he is prepared for his death, he chooses a new bride who happens to

have been betrothed to Iyaloja's son. Despite this fact, Iyaloja (Mother of the market) considers it inappropriate to deny the dying man his wishes in his last days on earth. Therefore, a marriage ceremony is organised for Elesin Oba.

The intended suicide gets to the notice of the British colonial district officer, Pilkings, and he decides to prevent it at all cost. The consequences of the interruption are conflicts that ensue at different scenes in the play. Olunde, Elesin's son who has been outside the country also comes around with the intention of burying his dead father. He is however shocked to discover that his father is still alive. Since Elesin has been held hostage by Pilkings, Olunde commits the sacrificial suicide which upon discovery causes the death of Elesin himself.

5. Analysis

The nexus of practice is represented by actions at the intersection of the historical bodies of the participants in the social practices, the interaction order which they mutually produce among themselves and the discourse in place. The social issues concentrated on in the study are practices that encode hegemony and resistance engendered by culture clash.

5.1 Social Actors and Their Roles

Across the pages of *Death and the King's Horseman*, there

are various forms of conflict engendered by clash of cultural values. The first noticeable conflict occurs when The Pilkings, Simon and his wife, Jane decide to wear the confiscated ancestral mask of Egungun referring to them as fancy dress. For the Pilkings, the costume is a way for them to appear uniquely different at the ball dance but Amusa, a native sergeant upon entering the house expresses astonishment at the guts of the white people. He is afraid that the desecration of the ancestral mask will lead to their death. Therefore, he decides not to say what he has to say as long as the Pilkings were wearing what he calls the garment of death. Despite the threat by Pilkings, Amusa is not persuaded that it is appropriate to talk to a man in the garment of death. The cultural clash is evident in the different reactions of the social actors to the same event.

Amusa believes and hold in esteem the beliefs of his people about Egungun and the ancestral mask and he shows this by expressing shock at the desecration by the Pilkings. The Pilkings on the other hand believe that the fear is ‘all nonsense’ and expresses it by wearing the costume as fancy dress. It is important to note that the differing opinions of the social actors primarily are the function of their different cultural backgrounds. Amusa has been a part of the Yoruba culture from birth and has learnt to respect social practices in the culture while the Pilkings are strangers who believe that

everything indigenous is nonsense. However, Amusa displays resistance by refusing to relay his message to the master while in the dress despite the threat of disciplinary action given by Mr Pilkings.

The critical assessment of the interaction order reveals that there are two social actors against one social actor at the site of engagement and the relationship between the two sides is that of the boss and his worker. Despite this fact, the Pilkings could not prevail over Amusa to believe that the cultural practices in his community are not important. This entrenches the fact that it is difficult to separate a people from their culture. The practices in a society are part of the make-up of its people and those practices give ideas and values that form the member resources of the social actors which in turn becomes the basis on which further social actions are taken.

Another site of engagement is the interaction between the Pilkings and their servant Joseph. Despite the fact that he has been converted to the Christian faith, he still believes in the culture and practices of his people. Although he has asserted with his words that the Egungun costume has no power, it seems he only did because of the reference to him as a Christian. He however expresses displeasure when Pilkings refers to his people as sly, devious, bastards. His stiffness and request to leave the scene attests to this. That

is a subtle way of withdrawing from the conversation which is intended to insult his people. Jane, Simon's wife seems to understand the meaning of Joseph's reaction. This is evident in her comment that her husband needs to be careful how he uses language with the indigenes. Joseph accentuates the meaning of his reaction when Pilkings asks him what the drumming he hears mean. Joseph simply replies that he doesn't know.

Another instance of resistance engendered by culture or ideological conflict is represented in the market scene where Amusa tries to no avail to arrest Elesin who is in one of the cloth stalls with his new bride. Although all the social actors here are members of the Yoruba community, Amusa and his two constables are representative of the white man's believe while the others hold firm the traditional belief. The conflict represented is obviously not a personal clash but a conflict of ideology which the two groups represent. Despite the fact that Amusa believes strongly that, traditional religious materials such as the Egungun ancestral mask should not be desecrated, he seems to have given away the part that insists that a dead king should be accompanied by his Elesin. The clash is represented in the actions at the site of engagement. Amusa and his colleagues want to arrest Elesin at all cost while the market women prevent them by all means possible including teasing and insulting the constables.

The confused identity of the white man's servant is referred to by the women. The exposure of the servants to two world views has given birth to another worldview which is the hybrid of the traditional and western cultures. The people who are exposed to the two cultures seem to decide on their own what content of the two cultures should form part of the emergent culture. Those who are not well grounded in the two like the servants and petty workers have confused identity while people represented by Olunde who is grounded in his indigenous culture being the son of Elesin and the whiteman's culture having travelled to study in the white man's land, can separate the content of the two cultures intelligently and come up with clear conclusions about the two cultures.

Olunde with his exposure to the white man's culture has been able to discover that no culture is better than the other and in fact, the western culture is not as good as the white people presents it. Therefore he is able to resist the cultural domination intended by Jane when she sees him at the ball dance. The woman brings up the discussion about the Yoruba culture as barbaric and the people as salvages. Through Olunde's informed argument, he is able to resist the domination that Jane intended.

5.2 Discourse and Mediational Means

Excerpt 1

Amusa (stammers badly and points a shaky finger at his dress): Mista Pirinkin... Mista Pirinkin...

Pilkings: What is the matter with you?

Jane: (emerging) Who is it dear? oh Amusa...

Pilkings: Yes it's Amusa, and acting most strangely.

Amusa (his attention now transferred to Mrs Pilkings) mammadam... you too!

Pilkings: What the hell is the matter with you?

Jane: your costume darling. Our fancy dress

This excerpt is taken from the scene in Mr Pilkings' house where Amusa goes to report about the sacrificial suicide that should take place later that day. He is stunned at the costume he sees Mr Pilkings and his wife in. They are dressed in the ancestral mask of the Egungun masquerade that has been confiscated during the festival. The ancestral mask is a mediational means in the discourse because it is a determinant of the order of the interaction at the nexus of practice. He expresses shock through his language use. He uses repetition, pauses and exclamation. These express Amusa's level of surprise. The astonishment is in the fact that he could not believe that there are people who do not understand the sacredness of the ancestral mask and as his believe dictates, he is certain that if the couple do not remove the mask, they will surely die. The Pilkings do not share the same opinion.

As far as they are concerned, it is an ordinary costume, and as a matter of fact, a fancy dress. This is expressed in their lexical choice of ‘costume’ and ‘fancy dress’ to describe what the natives regard as sacred. Also, their nonchalant attitude to the worries of Amusa is revealed in the mood of their expressions. They use more of interrogative mood which establishes unequal power relation and the fact that they cannot understand Amusa’s point of view.

The difference in the cultural orientation of the social actors leads to the complications in the discursive event. Amusa refuses to talk to his boss because he regards him as someone who is doomed to die. Mr. Pilkings uses threat to get Amusa to report to him as his boss but this is to no avail. This is captured in the discourse in excerpt 2 below.

Excerpt 2

Amusa: Sir, I cannot talk this matter to you in that dress. I no fit

Pilkings: What is that rubbish again

Jane: He is dead earnest too Simon. I think you’ll have to handle this delicately.

Pilkings: Delicately my...! Look here Amusa, I think this little joke has gone far enough hm? Let’s have some sense. You seem to forget that you are a police officer in the service of his Majesty’s Government. I order you to report your

business at once or face disciplinary action.

Amusa: Sir, it's a matter of death. How can man talk against death to person in uniform of death? ...

Pilkings: (roars) Now! (Amusa switches his gaze to the ceiling suddenly, remains mute).

This excerpt illustrates the display of hegemony and resistance. Despite the fact that Amusa accepts the political and economic domination which has been accepted as normal in the society, he finds it difficult to accept cultural domination. There is a conflict in the belief of the social actors: Amusa and the Pilkings but instead of the acceptance of domination by Amusa, he displays resistance. This is seen in his choice of words and mood. The first and second utterances by Amusa are declarative statements which are assertions. The use of the modal auxiliary 'can' reveals the extent of Amusa's determination to resist the power domination. When Mr Pilkings decides to use reification by trying to subsume the attempt at cultural domination in the already established political domination, Amusa simply refuses to talk. This is the confirmation that no matter how hard the Pilkings try, it is impossible to undo his cultural orientation. The frustration of Mr Pilkings is revealed in the act of 'roaring' as represented in the discourse. This action reveals that the society is supposed to be a hegemonic society where domination is seen as

natural, but Amusa's action cum utterances has revealed that the society has values that cannot be trashed so easily.

The resistance put up by Amusa seems to be a representation of the intention of the society at large from the very educated to the non-educated. Joseph, the servant in the Pilkings house also displays resistance when Pilkings refers to the natives as sly, devious bastards. Joseph's reaction is that he stiffens and asks for the permission to leave the site of engagement. Even though he cannot talk back at his master because of the already established power relation, he expresses his displeasure by his actions. Jane discovers the resistance put up by Joseph and warns her husband not to use such words as bastards on natives because it is not a simple swear word. This reveals another point of cultural clash. For the Whites, such words mean nothing other than a way of expressing annoyance but in the Yoruba society, such words mean more than that. It is the height of contempt for a person and it usually leads to physical conflict. This is seen in the excerpt below

Excerpt 3

Jane: ye-e-es, I suppose you're right there. sly, devious bastards

Joseph (stiffly): can I go now master? I have to clean the kitchen.

Pilkings: What? oh, you can go. Forgot you were still her

(Joseph goes,)

Jane: Simon, you really must watch your language. Bastard isn't just a simple swear-word in these parts, you know.

Joseph's body language serves as a tool to communicate his feelings to his boss. He uses the stiffening of his body to entrench his resistance. He further establishes this by refusing to answer Pilkings on time when he called for him and refusing to part with the information that his boss needs about the ritual. This is seen below:

Excerpt 4

Pilkings: You didn't hear me! How come you are here?

Joseph: (stubbornly) I didn't hear master.

Olunde, who represents the learned among the natives, also expresses his resistance to cultural domination during his encounter with the Pilkings. He meets Jane at the ball when searching for Mr Pilkings. His intention is to stop Pilkings from interfering in the customs of the people. Despite the fact that the White attempts to fragment the society so as to pitch the indigenes against themselves, they seem not to have succeeded with Olunde. He registers his resistance by altering the power relation that exists between the white men and the Yoruba people. The reversal of role is seen in the choice of

language and mood in the utterances of the social actors. Jane tries to explain to Olunde why she is dressed in the ancestral mask and Olunde uses the interrogative mood to show that he is not pleased with the action of Jane. When Jane attempts to mock Olunde on his annoyance over such trivial matter, Olunde tells her how ignorant the white people are about other people's culture and how they are disrespectful of what they don't understand. The statement is a challenge to the whites on their insistence to change the cultural orientation of the people. For an educated member of the society as Olunde, the attempt at domination is simply a display of ignorance of ignorance about other people's culture. The excerpt below illustrates this.

Excerpt 5

Jane: All this. The ball. And His Highness being here in person and all that.

Olunde: (mildly) And that is the good cause for which you desecrate an ancestral mask?

Jane: Oh, so you are shocked after all. How disappointing.

Olunde: No I am not shocked Mrs Pilkings. You forget that I have now spent four years among your people. I discovered that you have no respect for what you do not understand.

Jane: Oh, so you've returned with a chip on your shoulder.

(An uncomfortable silence follows.) I take it then that you did not find your stay in England altogether edifying.

The excerpt reveals a conflict of values and interest. While Jane who represents the interest of the white feels that it is nothing to see a fancy dress such as the ancestral mask and wear it, Olunde, who represents the interest of the Yoruba sees it as an insult on the culture of his people. The conflict is further reinforced by the differing opinion of the two social actors on the intended suicide of Elesin. For Jane it is barbaric and the people are salvages but as far as Olunde is concerned, it is a transition that is necessary for the continuity of the life after. The death is a link between the living, the dead and the cosmos and that link should not be broken no matter what. The cultural differences are products of different cultural orientation and the attempt to dominate and the resistance that follows are products of discrimination: Us versus Them. This is evident in the excerpt below:

Excerpt 6

Olunde: Yes Mrs Pilkings, my father is dead. His will-power has always been enormous; I know he is dead

Jane: (screams) How can you be so callous! So unfeeling! You announce your father's own death like a surgeon looking down on some strange... stranger's body! You're just a savage like all the rest.

It is also important to note that internal conflict among the indigenes also result from the culture conflict. This is the effect of the divide and rule, hence fragmentation used by the whites to establish a hegemonic society. Elesin Oba is pitched against every other member of the society including his son because he is unable to carry out the ritual suicide expected of him. It is believed that he has hindered the spirit of the late king from joining his ancestors and also putting the entire community in trouble. Elesin loses the respect and honour he has enjoyed all his life and his eventual death is regarded as late and vain. This is captured in the excerpt below:

Excerpt 7

Praise singer: Elesin, we placed the reins of the world in your hands yet you watched it plunge over the edge of the bitter precipice. you sat with folded hands while evil strangers tilted the world from its course....

This excerpt from the words of the praise singer reveals that one of the greatest effect of the culture conflict is that it divides the indigenes against themselves and brought about a change in the order of life among the Yoruba. The blame of the effects is placed on Elesin who is expected to have found a way to commit the ritual suicide despite the intervention of the whites.

5.3 Motives

This refers to the examination of how the forces for action are distributed among social actors, cultural tools and discourses over time and space. In the text been analysed, there are two motives that are prevalent. It can be said that the conflict between the western and the Yoruba culture in the text is engendered by two motives from the people representing the two cultures. These are hegemony and resistance. Hegemony is the major driving force on the part of the whites while resistance is the driving force for the Yoruba. These two forces come together on the same site of engagement and the result is the cultural clash represented in the discourse and action of the social actors.

5.3.1 Hegemony

From the definition of hegemony by Mayr (2008), it is described as highlighting the mechanism through groups to accept their own moral, political and cultural values and their institutions through ideological means' (Mayr, 2008: 13). Therefore, in a hegemonic society, a group attempts to entrench its moral, political and cultural values through ideological means. As far as this analysis is concerned, it is evident that the whites attempt to entrench every aspect of their culture in the society of those they are governing. Their success in the political, economic and educational sector has

given the confidence that they can succeed in the other aspects of their subject's social life. The tools used by them as seen in the analysis above are: unequal power relation, subjugation, threat and discrimination, fragmentation, force and reification. The fact that the whites are political leaders in the colonial Yoruba society gives them the opportunity to use their political power to force the subjects to accept their values. The use of verbal weapons is seen in the text. Also, there is the ideology of 'the powerful versus the powerless and the better US versus the weak and bad THEM. The whites see and present everything indigenous as bad and as to be discarded while they present everything western as good and acceptable. These tools are used to disarm the Yoruba people and make them succumb to the all-round domination intended by the whites.

5.3.2 Resistance

The driving force for indigenous social actors in the play is resistance. Although they have accepted domination in many areas of their lives, it is difficult for the people to accept it in their social and religious practices. This is because religious practices and customs are directly connected to culture and culture informs the worldview of a people. The resistance to this domination is expressed through informed argument as seen in the case of Olunde and Jane, insubordinate acts as seen in the case of Joseph and Amusa and cultural education as

seen in the case of Pilkings and Iyaloja. These tools are used by the natives to show that not all that is black is bad and the colonial masters do not have the right to dictate to them what to believe and what to practice. Even in the case of Amusa and Joseph who are Muslim and Christian converts respectively, there is the display resistance to desecration of the culture and practices. Resistance to domination is the major reason for conflict in the play. Where domination is accepted as natural and neutral, conflict does not ensue. This suggests that a totally hegemonic society is rid of ideological conflict while a society which has not been totally captured always have culture conflict which manifests in other forms of conflict.

6. Conclusion

Changing the Nexus of Practice

The analysis above reveals that when culture comes in contact, the social actors take up certain social roles which reflect their stance on the cultures in contact. Discourse and language has also been discovered to be useful mediational means capable of reflecting hegemony, forceful dominance and resistance. Also, it is discovered from the analysis that where there is culture contact, there is the tendency for hegemony and resistance to come into play and these usually serve as the propelling force for the actions and practices in such societies.

As seen in the actions analysed, culture is part of the life of a people and it informs people's worldview and disposition to life. Any aspect of the life of a people that is directly rooted in their culture is usually difficult to change. This is because just as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis states; the culture of a people is integrated with their worldview such that it is difficult for a people to conceive anything not present in their language. Therefore, attempting to substitute the belief and customs of a group of people with another using ideological tool will always result in culture conflict which can degenerate into other forms of conflict. To ensure peaceful co-existence especially in a multi-cultural environment, it is important to attempt to understand a group of people and their customs and respect their values and ways of life. Just like Vastano said, 'While our problems are man-made, they cannot be resolved unless the individuals and groups that comprise the world are able to know and understand each other's ways of thinking and doing things' (Vastano, N.D.).

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Artistic Shattering of the Myth of Ogbanje in Two Igbo Novels

Iwu Ikwubuzo

The dreaded ogbanje phenomenon and its socio-cultural problems make the Igbo view it with trepidation as efforts to free the victim often prove elusive. Like other societal human problems that capture the attention of Igbo literary artists, the myth of ogbanje features in two Igbo novels, namely, Ogbalu's *Obiefuna* (1974) and Maduekwe's *Dinta* (1975) where the novelists attempt to solve the ogbanje problem, using their creative works. From psychoanalytic standpoint, this paper views ogbanje myth as a projection of some sort of human fears, a sense of psychological

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insecurity or perceived threat to the continuity of human life which unconsciously engenders fear and internal conflicts. The paper has argued that the two Igbo novelists have deployed their creative skills to douse the tension, the psychological trauma and fear occasioned by the belief that *ogbanje* syndrome has no easy solution. They have demonstrated through their works that rather than resign oneself to fate in the face of opposing forces or situation inimical to one's survival, it is possible for a person to take his/her destiny in his/her own hand with a view to overcoming the challenges. The texts are also given a deconstructive interpretation. The two Igbo novelists, therefore, have by the way they handled the issue of *ogbanje*, de-mythicized what is generally believed to be elusive, and achieved what we describe as "artistic deconstruction" of *ogbanje* myth.

1. Introduction

The myth of *ogbanje*, strongly held among the Igbo¹ of Nigeria, is not peculiar to them as it also exists in other cultures, and perhaps, poses similar socio-cultural problems. It is referred to as *abiku* among the Yoruba of Nigeria and Republic of Benin, as *wabi* in Hausa, as *Mili* in Susu of Guinea and *Yamakoror* in Mandingo (see Daramola, 2006: 482). It is a fearsome phenomenon that commands so much belief among the people that even a number of modern creative writers across cultures make it the main thrust of their literary works. Soyinka, for instance, has a poem,

“abiku (1967: 62), in which the character, *abiku*, is depicted as active, elusive and mischievous. In the poem, it is the *abiku* itself that addresses its listeners and boasts that there is nothing anyone can do to keep it away from its spirit-world. It sees all the efforts being made to make it stay and live normal life as an effort in futility. J. P. Clark’s poem, “Abiku” (1967: 61), depicts a speaker addressing the spirit-child asking it, among other pleas, to consider the sufferings of its mother and stay; while Ben Okri’s novel, *The Famished Road* (1991) utilizes the myth of abiku as a metaphor for some socio-political ills in the society. The *ogbanje* motif also span Akoma’s poem, “Ogbanje” (Ekechukwu, 1975: 8-9) Chukuezi’s (1988: 28-9) poem, “Ogbanje”, Ogbalu’s (1974: 45-51) novel, *Obiefuna*, and Maduekwe’s (1975: 1-94) novel, *Dinta* - all of which are written in Igbo language - portraying the primordial image of *ogbanje* as something that reverberates in the Igbo soul. The presence of the *ogbanje* myth in these Igbo works of art bespeaks of the writers’ natural participation in the ‘collective unconscious’ of the Igbo. The myth could be seen as something that lives in the soul of every Igbo which literary artists awaken in their works of art. It evokes in the reader the image of mysterious rebirth that suggests the control or influence of some external supernatural/invisible force about which human can do nothing, revealing a sort of helplessness. As a consequence,

the idea of *ogbanje* heightens uncertainty and apprehensions in the minds of parents as portrayed in the characters examined in this study. The scope of this paper, however, is the examination of the two novels, and the aim to see how the novelists—Ogbalu and Maduekwe—have utilized the myth of *ogbanje*, and what their artistic purpose is. In other words, the attitude of these writers to the myth is critically examined in this paper.

The paper is in four parts. Part one is the introduction, which gives insight to the direction of the paper. Part two provides the theoretical foundation for the study by reviewing some studies on the concept of *ogbanje*, its myth, manifestation and the socio-cultural problem it poses. It also indicates the paper's theoretical framework. Part three examines its incorporation in Igbo literary works by two Igbo novelists and reveals that though the novelists attempted to re-create and re-affirm the reality of *ogbanje* phenomenon through the experiences of some fictitious characters in their works, their artistic vision are to destroy its myth, the psychological trauma it engenders—its agonizing impact on the affected parents, and to establish a new intellectual culture in the handling of *ogbanje* problem. Part four, the conclusion, stresses that the two novelists in their works proffered a solution to a problem that appears elusive in practical context.

2. Theoretical Studies

2.1 *The Ogbanje Phenomenon, Its Myth & Manifestation*

Ogbanje is a form of reincarnation, among the Igbo, which assumes that some children are capable of making various life-journeys which last for a short time during each trip. Any child that fits into this category is called an *ogbanje* (repeater). According to the *ogbanje* myth, the same child is believed to be born each time it returns to the spirit world at death and comes back.

Chinwe Achebe (1986: 21) who has done a detailed study of the *Ogbanje* phenomenon gives the following insight about the subject:

'*Ogbanjes*' are ... part human and part spirit beings whose lives are confounded by added loyalty which they owe to spirit deities. A normal individual is born owing his loyalty to his *chi*. But an *Ogbanje's* life is complicated by being mixed up with the demands of paranormal deities. The most notable of these demands is that the *Ogbanje* will not be allowed to enjoy a full life cycle ... if a given *Ogbanje* chooses to reveal his identity early in life, then such an *Ogbanje* begins to manifest the characteristics quite early. On the other hand, if the decision is to delay manifestation until adulthood, then that is what happens. The result is that for the better part of

one *Ogbanje's* life, people around may not be aware that the individual is a spirit being. But as soon as the contracted time arises, then the manifestations begin to be evident. But for another "*Ogbanje*" who opted for early manifestation, his characteristics are noticed almost immediately. Thus, the *Ogbanje*-syndrome manifests either early or late. However, unlike the normal individual, their life span is short.

As noted earlier, the *Ogbanje* syndrome is a common phenomenon as it also exists in other cultures. Oluwole (1990: 19) identifies the similarity of the concept of *abiku* among the Yoruba and that of *ogbanje* among the Igbo, pointing out that both share the basic claim of the existence of migrant souls who constitute a cult of "born to die" children whose joy is to migrate from womb to womb and to die at birth, as children, or on important occasion in their life like marriage. Daramola (2006: 469) agrees that *abiku*, "as a traditional Yoruba and perhaps in various terminologies an African concept, is a word for spirit children who are born only to die very young and return to be born again by the same mother." The spirit child is believed to "operate in collaboration with several other impudent kindred spirits" and "finds its cyclic processes of birth, death and rebirth a joyous and entertaining adventure." The aim of the *ogbanje* children is to torture and cause untold agony to their mothers. In system of thought, as seen in the works of Soyinka's and Igbo writers, *abiku* or *ogbanje* evokes

similar human reaction.

To illustrate the reality of *ogbanje*, stories are sometimes told of a child whose body is marked or mutilated at death and the same scar appears on the next to be born. About this observation, Oluwole (1990: 20) again writes that “a belief in reincarnation is very often justified on the claim that such children are reborn earless, fingerless or as black as jet. The belief is that deformities inflicted on the bodies of *abiku* children appear on them when they are born again.” All this points to the fact that *ogbanje* myth explains the mystery of birth where there is a succession of babies dying at birth or after some period of time.

Because of its disturbing and destructive nature, the *ogbanje* phenomenon has become a social and cultural problem in the societies where it exists. Achebe (1986: 1) acknowledges this fact when she describes it as a “difficult and complex problem which, as a result of Western education has been pushed into the realm of superstitious belief”. The educated, she observes, “try to ignore it and to discourage belief in it without success.”

In Igbo society where procreation is cherished to ensure the perpetuation of lineage name, an incessant death of new born babies is considered a threat to the desired family continuity. In the case where the *ogbanje* individual does not die at birth, the spiritual force may disrupt the academic pursuit of such individual, block her marriage opportunities

as prospective suitors may be scared (in the case of a girl), or debar the individual from having a meaningful and fulfilling career in life. An *ogbanje* - possessed individual may cause embarrassment to his/her relations and friends. In short, the spirit has a dreaded influence on the life of its victim. As Achebe (1986: 1) rightly observes further, “any problem that causes distress to the human conditions and impedes the maximum development of the individual, especially the young, surely needs attention.” The problem has led some parents or the “possessed” themselves to seek solution from different sources: traditional healers, prayer houses, psychiatric hospitals, counseling offices, etc.

Whereas it is the desire of the Igbo man to join the company of his ancestors at death, and to reincarnate afterwards, the *ogbanje* form of reincarnation is not culturally desired. This is why in the traditional approach to its cure, sacrifices are often performed to ward its spirit off and defy its attempt at reappearance. Sometimes, the problem may abate and sometimes it remains resistant to any curative measure. It all depends on the co-operation of the *ogbanje* individual. Achebe (1986: 57) reports that “the goal of treatment is never complete”, for after some or all of the most perturbing symptoms may have ceased to manifest, “there still remain, glimpses, residues albeit trace ones, which clearly differentiate the client from other normal beings especially in behaviour”.

In some cases the *ogbanje* spirit remains undauntedly defiant and persists, thereby remaining a socio-cultural problem.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

The explication given above will help us to understand the myth of *ogbanje* and appreciate its incorporation in the two novels under consideration. A psychoanalytic reading of the two novels will further enrich our understanding of the behavior of the literary characters with the experience of having *ogbanje* children. Some characters in literary works represent psychological experience of human beings in general. Sigmund Freud, one of the earliest proponents of psychological theory, advanced theories about the workings of human psyche, its formation, its organizations and its maladies. He divides the human psyche into three parts: the *id*, the *superego* and the *ego*, all of which, according to him, mostly play out unconsciously. He also describes the attributes of each of the tripartite structure of the psyche. The *id*, which is completely unconscious, always tries to satisfy its hunger for pleasure and operates without any thought for the consequences, precaution or morality; it can be self-destructive in its drive to have what it wants as it aggressively seeks to gratify its desires without any concern for law, custom or values. The *ego* checks the excesses of the *id*; it is a regulating agency whose “function is to make the *id*’s

energies nondestructive by postponing them or diverting them into socially acceptable actions, sometimes by finding an appropriate time for gratifying them” (Dobie, 2012: 57). It mediates between one’s inner self and the outer world. The superego, like the ego, provides additional balance to the id, and a sense of ethical and moral wrongdoing. It operates in a similar way with one’s conscience. The Freudian ideas of probing the operations of the human psyche to understand why people act as they do later provided a springboard for his students and followers like Otto Rank, Alfred Adler and Carl Jung to develop their own concepts. Jung, for instance, came up with the theory of the collective unconscious, myths and archetypes, all of which have helped to explain literature as expression of universal experience (Dobie, 2012: 54). The myth of *ogbanje* is held deep in the collective unconscious of the Igbo, and parts of what the unconscious consists of are fear, psychological wound and internal conflicts. The two novels under study, Ogbalu’s *Obiefuna* and Maduekwe’s *Dinta*, explore some areas of human behavior that have some implications for psychoanalytic criticism. It is argued that “if psychoanalysis can help us better understand human behavior, then it must certainly be able to help us understand literary texts, which are about human behavior” (Tyson, 1999: 14). The concepts of id, ego and superego will be useful in or examination of the literary characters. A deconstructive

reading of the texts will further enhance our understanding of them. Deconstruction assumes that language is inherently ambiguous, unclear with unfixed meaning; it recognizes that any human utterance or language has a myriad of meaning possibilities and a tendency of undermining itself by refuting what it appears to be saying, or of contradicting itself as it moves from one meaning to another (Dobie, 2012: 159). As Tyson (1999: 25) puts it, "...a deconstructive critic looks for meanings in the text that conflict with its main theme, focusing on self-contradictions of which the text seems unaware". Use of language in Maduekwe's *Dinta* illustrates some of these assumptions of deconstruction. Our analysis, therefore, not only explores the motivations of the characters the discussion focuses on, and partly the use of language, but also our appraisal of the novelists' artistic vision in their use of the *ogbanje* myth.

3. Analysis

3.1 The Use of Ogbanje Motif in Ogbalu's Obiefuna

In Ogbalu (1974: 45-57), *ogbanje* myth is incorporated. The novelist highlights its characteristic features and manifestations. Also highlighted are the agreements or pact the *ogbanje* spirits enter into with other spirits and these

include: dying prematurely, dying when they are about to marry or after they have married and got their own children. Such other features as consorting in groups, having the ability to identify fellow members, and the fact that a new born *ogbanje* child, because of its regenerative ability, resembles the previous babies of its mother, are all highlighted in the novelist's presentation of this mythic phenomenon.

The following except brings out not only some of the traits of *ogbanje* spirit but also the kind of language used to describe the phenomenon, as the novelist reveals it:

They display their wicked acts in many ways. Sometimes, if an *ogbanje* sees a woman in the market place or in the river or in the woods, it follows her. Then when she conceives, she delivers it (*ogbanje* baby). Some follow a woman either because they admire her or they want to torment her. An *ogbanje* does not go alone. They consort in groups, take an oath and agree on the kind of life they will lead. Their oath is not nullifiable. It stands firm. They show no mercy when one of them contravenes their laws. Anyone that shows mercy because its mother, or father, or relations is/are involved, or because it is held up in the house of a woman, or it is lucky to have entered a good home, they (*ogbanje* spirits) mobilize themselves and kill such a one. Some desire to 'go home' but when their time is due, they must die as their oath demands. Each group agrees on the time all the members will leave their

mother; they launch an attack on anyone that does not die at the contracted time, till they get him killed (Ogbalu, 1974: 46-7; Translation mine).

The incidence of the regeneration of *ogbanje* spirit is illustrated by the novelist with the experience of the characters, Obidigbo and wife. The couple has recurrently lost their children under similar circumstances. Any child that is born to them has always died - lending credence to the statement in the excerpt above that "...when their [the spirit-beings] time is due, they must die as their oath demands" - and for six consecutive times the couple have had this ugly experience. At first, they blame their misfortune on everything imaginable. Obiefula's mother and her husband, after hearing about the actions and manifestations of *ogbanje* spirits, become strongly suspicious that they must have, without knowing it, been victims of an *ogbanje* syndrome, having lost six children in similar circumstances. The internalized myth of *ogbanje* and its intractable problem result in psychological trauma and insecurity in the lives of these characters in the novels. It is this fear and unresolved internal conflicts that drive them examine the body of their son, Obiefula, and notice in him identical traits with their deceased children. This means that the same spirit child has had a series of rebirth in their home. This discovery makes their fear intensified. So they make frantic efforts to counter any recurrence of their past

traumatic experiences. They arrange to procure an antidote to *ogbanje*, a charm against any possible ties Obiefula may have had with *ogbanje* spirit's world. For them, whether or not Obiefula is an *ogbanje*, what is of paramount importance is to identify a medicine man that would prepare an anti- *ogbanje* charm for him. They vow to do everything humanly possible to ensure that their previous loss does not recur.

The novelist reaffirms the traditional notion that the spirit beings (*umu ogbanje*) make a pact among themselves in the spirit world, before their advent, as to the type of life they will lead and when they will return. The affirmation of the regenerative capacity of *ogbanje* is implied in the observation Obiefula's mother makes of him that he shares some identical traits with her previous dead babies. With this kind of portrayal, the novelist, Ogbalu, validates the myth of *ogbanje* as an archetype of rebirth. However, he believes that an *ogbanje* child's life can be saved through some precautionary measures. But more importantly, Ogbalu has through the application of this myth illustrated some facts about human psychic behavior, particularly their vulnerability to fear. Sometimes, a human being is seen to be a mere pawn in the chessboard of fate; a being that is often controlled or manipulated by forces stronger than him. Sometimes these forces are so mysterious that they defy human explication. And their menace could instill a strong sense of uncertainty

and apprehension in human. But in the face of seeming annihilation, human being struggles to conquer all odds and liberate him/herself. The novelist through the exposition of problems associated with *ogbanje*, presents a picture of an individual who grapples with forces perceived to be inimical to his/her survival, someone who does not want to have repeated experiences of failure, someone who does not want to remain in perpetual agony and therefore takes steps to arrest the ugly situation. The character, Obidigbo, epitomizes this type of individual.

Obidigbo's responses and reactions to the life-threatening situation that confronts him reveal a typical attitude in the traditional Igbo society. A traditional Igbo man or woman does not take anything for granted when it comes to handling certain problems of life—when his/her life is threatened by unseen forces. He/she believes very much in the efficacy of charms and often takes recourse to the procurement of charms to ward off suspected enemies, evils and misfortunes. For the Igbo person, that spiritual protection is very important. Obidigbo procures charms for the protection of his son from the spiritual attack of *amusu* (witchcraft) and *ogbanje*. This step resolves Obidigbo and his wife's psychological conflicts because Obiefula is not shown to have died after he is administered with some charms against *ogbanje*, thus demonstrating that an individual can take certain steps to

solve his/her problems rather than resign to fate. Such action is sometimes not informed by any empirical verification or evidence but by the psychological problem of fear as we notice in the case of Obidigbo and wife. To that extent, it may be regarded as mere protection against the unknown. But the psychological security such exercise gives the undertaker is what, we think, removes all fear and negative thought from the individual and makes him/her live on. Through the couple's effective protective strategy eventuating in the saving of their son's life and resolution of their psychological conflicts and fear, the negative language that describes *ogbanje* as a phenomenon no one can do anything to stop its regenerative processes of birth, death and rebirth is deconstructed in the novel.

3.2 The Use of Ogbanje Motif in Maduekwe's Dinta

Maduekwe's (1975:1-94) novel has *ogbanje* myth as its main thrust. Through his ability to perceive what can be known only to those who are supernaturally endowed with senses of sight and auditory, Ntinuru, the hunter and the hero of the novel, is able to discover that the children that will be born to him will possess *ogbanje* spirit. The revelation is contained in the character's following account:

Then I saw what resembled children as they were running

about in that direction. I looked up and saw what looked like an animal burrow from which they were coming out and entering into....

One of them then came out from the burrow, ran around, ran around and said that he would go. That he would go! That he would go as quickly as required and return. The one that is on an elevated wall there then asked him, "Where would you go?" He thought, thought, thought, and said, "Yes, I would go to the house of the man named Ntınurı". The hunter who comes to the forest regularly to disturb our peace with the barrages of his gun. I would go to his house. The one on the wall quizzed again, "How would you come back?" He answered, "If I get there, I shall strive quickly and marry; the day I shall go to join my husband a leopard will come out on the road and devour me, I would die and come back"....

After a short time, one of them again ran out, jumped about, jumped about and about. He was asked what the matter was. He said, "I would go! I would! I would go! He was asked where he wanted to go to. That one without thinking answered, "To the house of the hunter that hunts here every day. I would go to his house". He was asked how he would return; he said, "I would grow up quickly and build a house. The day I would put roof on my house, a farm snake will emerge from the top of the house and bite me. I would die and come back. The one on the wall shook hands with two of them and asked them to

go, to be careful not to be trapped in the world by mundane things (Madukwe, 1975:90-91; Translation mine).

As we noted in Ogbalu's representation of the *ogbanje* myth, its manifestation and associated language, *ogbanje* spirits live in the spirit world from where they decide whom to inhabit with and whose family they would go to. When they eventually enter any woman, they get born as a new baby and later die at an agreed time and return to the spirit world.

Like Ogbalu, Maduekwe affirms the reality of *ogbanje*. In the above excerpt, Maduekwe portrays how the *ogbanje* spirits reach their agreement while in the spirit world, and the kind of utterances that are credited to them. In this mythical episode, two *ogbanje* spirits decide that they will be born in Ntịnuru's home. The first one reveals in 'her' statement that she will strive hard and marry, and on the day she will go to join her husband finally, she will be devoured by a leopard. Then she will die and return to the spirit world. The second one says that "'he' will grow up swiftly and build a house." On the day 'he' will roof his house, he will be bitten by a snake. Then he will die and return to the spirit world. Two glittering objects which represent their *iyi uwa*² were given to each of them with a warning not to allow anything to hold them back in the world. The regenerative potential of *ogbanje* spirits is implicit in their speeches made in the above excerpt. Their death in the physical world does not mean the extinction of their spirits.

Though he re-asserts the reality of *ogbanje* as believed by the Igbo, Maduekwe's use of this myth in *Dinta*, like Ogbalu in *Obiefuna*, reveals the psychological being of the literary character, Ntinuru, his fear and internal conflicts. From a psychoanalytic perspective, therefore, *Dinta* may be read as an exploration of the way in which internal conflict occasioned by fear of the *ogbanje* phenomenon plays out in Ntinuru's behaviors. His vision or revelation in the game forest and the resultant responses, rescuing strategies and actions, is psychological. In the novel, two main factors that drive Ntinuru's actions or behavior are fear of the unknown, and love for his family, particularly his children's survival. Fear and internal conflicts are evident in Ntinuru's sudden introverted disposition - his apparent muteness and unwillingness to talk to or relate with anybody after his vision in the game forest. The work reveals the psychological effects of the belief that *ogbanje* is destructive or a menace, especially when that belief is internalized by the character. These effects are evident in Ntinuru's fear of intimacy apparent in his initial avoidance of his wife to prevent any intercourse that will result in pregnancy and eventual birth of *ogbanje* children for him; fear of intimacy with others—members of his community some of whom express surprise at his sudden change of attitude; his assumption or conviction after a girl and a boy were eventually born to him-confirming

the revelation he had in the game forest—that if nothing drastic is done, the revelation may be fulfilled; his increasing fear and close monitoring of his daughter and son to see when they would manifest the traits of *ogbanje* children or comply with the pacts they had in the spirit world prior to their birth, as well as his aggressive preparations and extreme vigilance to counter any onslaught on his children because he fears that any slightest loss of control would have adverse consequences. Ntinuru’s psychological need is to liberate his children from the spiritual forces that threaten their existence. His anxiety to rescue his children projects a kind of psychological wound inflicted on him by the revelation of how they plan die, and even as he watches them manifest some traits that confirm their impending destruction.

However, the novel illustrates that human being through consistent determination could “twist the arms of his destiny and change the cause of events” (Ugonna, 1978: 26). In traditional Igbo belief, Ntịnuru’s experience in the birth of his children could be said to be his destiny which he can do nothing to change as it is demonstrated in his inability to avoid his wife’s pregnancy irrespective of his efforts. But as the two children are born, Ntịnuru determines to change the course of events for them. Being *ogbanje* spirits, the two children have dates with death but in contrast to the usual attitude—fear and hopelessness of parents—that greets this kind of fate, Ntịnuru

is determined to break the jinx and thwart the appointments his children have with death. Although Ntịnuru expresses fear about what he heard in the forest but he is not overwhelmed by pessimism. His optimism and courage play out in his buying and training a dog in the art of hunting. Every day, he takes the dog out to the bush and trains it in the art of sniffing out odour in order to recognize each and different kinds of animals in the bush. Ntịnuru and his dog are seen regularly hunting for bush rats particularly the one whose body is spotted like that of a leopard. He also finds some crooked sticks and colours them to resemble snakes. If he takes one and obstructs the dog's way, he instructs the dog to catch it. He drops the stick suddenly to the hunting dog and makes the dog pounce on and catch it with fear and anger. These actions are preparatory to his onerous task ahead. The dog is being trained to confront the snake-like stick because Ntịnuru's son has in the spirit world agreed that he would die and return through snake bite, and his daughter by being devoured by a leopard. So, Ntịnuru prepares his dog as an instrument of attack against the "spirits of death".

The manifestations of *ogbanje* syndrome become evident to Ntịnuru through the actions and feelings of his children. The myth that *ogbanje* will not be allowed to enjoy a full cycle of life is, for instance, reflected in the feelings of Qhiakara as Maduekwe, the novelist, exposes it here:

What perturbs him most is that each time he sits down to relax, the object he buried in the hill of *Ogba* River comes and reminds him saying: “What are you doing? The time is up. We shall go home.” (Translation mine)

The id, in Freudian parlance, which is self-destructive in its drive to have what it wants, is presented in the persons of Kanelechi and Ohiakara who seek to gratify their desires without any thought of precaution or the consequences. The utterance, “The time is up. We shall go home” implies that it is time for him to die and return to the spirit world. Kanelechi’s id clashes with her father’s ego in his conscious effort to repress her socially unacceptable desire—to die in her prime, like his brother. For Kanelechi, she looks forward to her marriage day with eagerness and excitement. At the end of her puberty ceremony, she works hard to see that her marriage is a success. But for Ntịnuru, his preparation for the impending ‘battle’ to stop such death is intensified. While his daughter is getting set to begin her puberty ceremony, Ntịnuru is preoccupied with the preparation of his gun for the onslaught against the spirit-beings - the harbingers of death. On the day Ohiakara, his son, is to put a roof over his house, he becomes uncompromising and stubborn as he insists that he will climb the top of the house and cover it to his taste. Argument—a sort of clash between id and ego—ensues between him and the workers who have come to assist him in the work. Ntinuru,

again, struggles to suppress Ohiakara's internal conflict as his repressed desire plays out. He (Ntinuru) has already armed himself for any eventuality and remains resolute as he watches the unfolding event.

The id in Ohiakara, like that of Kanelechi, is unrestrained and it aggressively seeks to satisfy its desires without any concern for his father's feelings or the consequences. Ohiakara's unconscious desire to die is projected through his ever-increasing anxiety of building his own house, and in his persuasion of his father not to employ people to assist him with the roofing of his house nor bring his gun to the site on the said day. The pull of the id in Ohiakara to disregard his father's precautionary measures and instruction intensifies when he forcefully climbs his house to roof it by himself. The ego, which is by nature regulatory and mediatory, appears to be in operation in Ntinuru as he struggles to make his son's id's energies non-destructive by attempting to divert them to socially acceptable norm—employing communal assistance in the roofing of his house. The superego, one's conscience, which operates according to the morality principle, also plays out in Ntinuru. This is apparent in his efforts to redirect his children to assume normal life and retreat from the part of self-destruction, and in his works against the drive of the children's id to repress, back into their unconscious, the socially unacceptable desires—their anxiety to die in their prime. It

is also the operation of the superego principle that inspires, earlier in the narrative, Ntinuru's avoidance of his wife even when she is nagging and cantankerous. The superego in him makes him attempt to tame his wife's libido—her unrestrained passions as she ceaselessly pesters him to sleep with her so that they can make children. Ntinuru does not seem to see the moral justification of making babies that are destined to die in their youth.

At last, Ntịnuru is able to accomplish his set task - the task of changing the course of events for his two children. He kills the leopard that comes out to devour Kanelechi on her way on the day she goes to join her husband in his home. He also kills the snake that comes out to bite Qhịakara the day his house is being roofed. With his courage, resilience and vigilance, Ntinuru is able to defeat the power of his *ogbanje* children and cause them to assume normal life. It is only then that he achieves psychological stability.

From what we have highlighted above, Maduekwe intends to achieve some artistic purpose with the use of *ogbanje* myth in his novel. Ntịnuru's confrontation with the creatures that personify *ogbanje* spirits, in his bid to save the lives of his two children, is an artistic projection of human struggle to free themselves from the forces that challenge their existence and survival. In the use of the myth, Maduekwe is also concerned with change. Though he affirms the reality of *ogbanje*, he

does not uphold the status quo by accepting the established opinion—the myth that nothing can be done to change one’s destiny. The change he seeks to achieve, however, is not that of the socio-political or economic conditions in the society as Okpewho (1985) and Bamikunle (1987) would have it, but of the psychological condition or attitude of the people. In Igbo worldview or cosmology, the spirits are usually regarded as being stronger than human beings and the tendency has always been for humans to give up after little resistance as they find themselves in the chess-board of spirits.

In traditional Igbo society, the popular belief or opinion is that the *ogbanje* phenomenon is something nobody can do anything to change its regenerative power, especially after a series of futile efforts have been made to make the child stay and live a normal life. It is believed, as we pointed out earlier, that its treatment is never complete. In his use of the *ogbanje* myth, Maduekwe does not seem to share the belief that there is nothing one can do to change his destiny. Through determined efforts, Ntịnuru, the protagonist of the novel, is able to destroy the appointments his two *ogbanje* children have with death and make them resume normal life. Maduekwe’s artistic aim is to criticize those who accept self-defeatism or hopelessness as reflected in the myth of regenerative and destructive power of *ogbanje*. The writer wants people to understand that human being is both materially and spiritually endowed to change

his unfavourable destiny if he/she so determines. He wants to show that people suffer the agony of *ogbanje* power because of their inability to see the power of their spiritual endowment to change their situation. Ntịnuru, as a hunter, is depicted as having spiritual eyes to see, and ears to hear the spirit beings as they discuss and agree to be born as children to him, implying that it is only those who can see beyond the physical realm that can afford to see some danger signals that await them and escape. If human beings are aware of their innate ability, they can change the direction of their lives rather than accept defeat. A human being has to confront his/her problem vigorously and find a lasting solution to it as illustrated in Ntinuru's action. Maduekwe has, therefore, demonstrated that the belief in the *ogbanje* phenomenon and the concomitant anxiety can change. Again, what he sets out to do using the framework of *ogbanje* myth is principally to revolutionize the belief that a human being can be destined to be doomed.

The novelist intends to discourage the old psychological outlook that has its foundation on the myth of the regenerative power of *ogbanje*. His handling of this myth becomes a critical theory challenging the prevailing attitude that accepts the victimization by this phenomenon. It implies destruction or an elimination of the fear and hopelessness that are inherent in the internalized traditional myth of *ogbanje*. Maduekwe also intends to establish new intellectual culture in the

handling of the situation which may engender new awareness, part of which is that *ogbanje* problem can be handled with optimism that the victim can be saved. That is, humans can overcome their psychological problems. Maduekwe has, therefore, offered an alternative to the existing mode of handling the fear occasioned by the myth of *ogbanje*. In his attitude to this myth, Maduekwe becomes a philosopher. What a philosopher in his philosophic engagement with human life does, according to Oladipo (1993: 6), is to “seek to provide a categorical framework within which various aspects of life and their interconnection can be explained or he may challenge established understanding of ourselves and our condition and through this challenge, seek to identify new possibilities and trends”.

In deconstructive terms, to some extent, *Dinta* does not appear to offer a single unified meaning. As one reads through the text, one uncovers some seeming contradictions within it. First, it is clear that the novel, like *Obiefuna*, validates the myth of *ogbanje*, which, in traditional Igbo belief, “nothing can be done” to prevent the death of the spirit-child, *ogbanje*, at an appointed time. Yet, the text contradicts this strongly held view which it validates by showing “something done”, to prevent it through the doggedness of the protagonist. There are a number of other areas where oppositions and contradictions or plurality of meanings can be identified

within the text. For instance, certain statements in one of the episodes involving Ntinuru and his wife could offer a plurality of different meanings. Unknown to Ntinuru, as he one day returns very late to his house in the night in attempt to avoid his wife, that his wife lies across the entrance door in the dark, he falls on her and she holds him very tight, refusing to let him go. After some fruitless efforts to extricate himself, according to the novelist, “he conceded that his bed in the inner room would accommodate him and his wife that night” (p. 3). The signifier, “he conceded that his bed in the inner room would accommodate him and his wife that night”, can evoke a couple of associations in the readers’ consciousness, one of which is that Ntinuru allowed his wife to sleep together with him on his bed that night. But the signified is that that night, he is no longer able to avoid sexual relationship with her which he has tried so much to evade all along. It resulted in the wife’s pregnancy. Again, the protagonist, Ntinuru, is shown to be driven by both fear of the unknown and dogged determination to succeed in dealing with the *ogbanje* dilemma. His fears are evident in some of his thoughts—internal conflicts, and determination, in his various actions or preparatory moves to confront his problem. After falling to his wife’s antics that night she lies across his entrance door in the dark, and spends the night with her against his will, Ntinuru is said to have resolved the following

day that since he is not able to stop what is about to befall him, needless to stop his hunting activity (p. 3). Similarly, on another occasion, it is said: He did not actually go for game hunting but to be on guard to avoid an emergency situation. What will befall his two prospective children has the potential of springing surprises on special occasions in their lives” (p. 13). These positions contrast with Ntinuru’s feelings later in the narrative: “He does not want to bother himself concerning what he knows about the child’s fate. He is confident that he can do something to prevent anything that may happen to his son” (p. 30). He restates his confidence when his daughter falls sick and he decides not to show any anxiety about the story of her being an *ogbanje* and the issue of exhuming her *iyi uwa*, that is, destroying the pact she may have had with the spirit world. He assures himself that since he knows from the onset that he is about to confront a situation beyond his capacity, he will fight the battle only at the appropriate time. He, therefore, dismisses his daughter’s condition as ordinary sickness that affects all humans (p. 39). He reinforces his stance by giving his hunting dog adequate training to be fearless. Thus the binary opposition in the story is that between the validation of the myth with its characteristic attendant fears of helplessness and hopelessness in Igbo society in the past, and the confidence and fearlessness exhibited by the protagonist in the onslaught against the

death-harbingers—the eventual deconstruction of the myth in the text. By taking this apparent revolutionary and revisionist approach in his use of the myth, all the views about *ogbanje* encapsulated in the different uses of language in the novel are, therefore, deconstructed.

4. Conclusion

In the above analysis of the *ogbanje* myth as utilized in the two Igbo novels, the writers have explicitly or implicitly expressed the Igbo view that *ogbanje* spirit-children have some potentiality for cycle of regeneration when they die. It is also pointed out that *ogbanje* is a socio-cultural problem, a phenomenon that has some social stigma as a known victim may, for instance, be avoided for marriage. In their portrayal of the phenomenon, the novelists have really presented it as a problem of humanity that needs a solution. But that solution which does not seem to have been practically found in Igbo traditional society where the belief subsists, Ogbalu and Maduekwe appear to have achieved in the literary context - an artistic destruction of *ogbanje* myth. Through their display of some artistic skill, they show the success of the efforts of parents of *ogbanje* children in preventing their children from dying.

Through psychoanalytic lens, *ogbanje* myth is in this

paper examined as a projection of human psychological insecurity, a perceived threat to the continuity of human life which unconsciously engenders fear and internal conflicts in a person. The novelists advocate a positive psychological attitude towards the *ogbanje* problem as opposed to the defeatist attitude of the past. The attitude of Maduekwe's protagonist as presented in his novel can be appreciated by any reader who is aware of the psychological trauma the belief in *ogbanje* can cause parents whose children die repeatedly in Igbo traditional society. These writers' handling of the *ogbanje* problem is capable of dousing the tension and fear occasioned by the belief that nothing can be done about the syndrome. The two novelists have shown that the solution to someone's problem lies in the person's hand, that is, a person can change his/her negative attitude to life, and overcome his/her fears as he/she confronts life-threatening situations. To that extent, the texts, particularly *Dinta* oppose uncritical acceptance of *ogbanje* myth. And the lesson drawn from the novels can re-orientate the people's negative attitude towards *ogbanje* and restore their confidence that an individual suspected to be an *ogbanje* can make it in life. By taking this apparent revolutionary and revisionist approach in his use of the myth, all the views about *ogbanje* encapsulated in the different uses of language in the novel are, therefore, deconstructed.

Note:

1. The Igbo are one of three major ethnic nationalities in Nigeria; the two others being the Hausa and the Yoruba. The Igbo inhabit the whole of South East geo-political zone and parts of Delta state and River state in South South zone of Nigeria. Igbo Literature is expressible in both oral and written modes in Igbo language. The novels examined in this paper are written in Igbo language but excerpts have been translated into English for wider readership.

2. *Iyi uwa* is a hidden object which symbolizes the oath taken by an *ogbanje* individual with the spirits to which the individual is loyal.

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Alice in the Homeland: Walker's Womanist Vision and Diasporic Disconnectedness

Olumide Osagbemi

The transatlantic slave trade which necessitates the presence of a large number of people of African descent in areas outside their geographical homeland has birthed both literary and critical representations of Blackness, which more often than not, run counter to the prevailing and dominant image of the homeland and its peoples. Since the cultural identity and ownership of Blackness has become a hotly contested intellectual property, it

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becomes imperative that such a reality would ultimately produce a multiplicity of views across the transatlantic boundaries of Blackness. This essay attempts to show how Alice Walker's racial identification is a motivating force behind her longing for kinship connectedness on the vexed practice of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) in, *Possessing the Secret of Joy* and *Warrior Marks*-the follow-up book/film documentary. Walker's feeling of entitlement to kinship through the texts is undermined by her off-shore image, and her patronising and messianic posturing on FGM which she privileges as a signifying culture of backwardness, by (un)consciously backgrounding the importance of the practice to practising societies. Nonetheless, this paper posits that it may not be enough to critique Walker's work solely from the prism of cultural nationalism, without also trying to understand her engagement of FGM through the lens of her womanist vision and the universalisation of human rights concerns.

1. The Origin, Ideology and Vision of Alice Walker

In the literary world, Alice Walker has received both critical acclaim and attacks for three distinct things: as the author of the Pulitzer winning novel, *The Color Purple*, recovering the work of almost forgotten African American poet, Zora Neale Hurston and for her work and novel on female genital mutilation (FGM), *Possessing the Secret of Joy*. After a childhood accident blinded her in one eye, she went on to

become the valedictorian of her local school, and graduated from college on scholarships in 1965. Walker married in 1967 (and divorced in 1976). The politics of Walker's feminism is so strong that she refers in *Warrior Marks* to her eye injury (inflicted, according to her deliberately by one of her brothers with a toy gun bought for him by their father) as "a patriarchal wound" (17). According to her, it was her childhood 'visual mutilation' that allows her to see the subject of 'genital mutilation' because:

Without the pupil, the eye can never see itself, or the person possessing it, reflected in the eyes of another. It is the same with the vulva. Without the clitoris and other sexual organs, a woman can never see herself reflected in the healthy, intact body of another. Her sexual vision is impaired, and only the most devoted lover will be sexually "seen". And even then, never completely. (19)

Walker's early poems, novels and short stories deal with themes familiar to readers of her later works: rape, violence, isolation, troubled relationships, freedom, multi-generational perspectives, sexism and racism. Her works are known for their portrayals of the African American woman's life. She depicts vividly the sexism, racism and poverty which make that life often a struggle for black women. But she also portrays as part of that life, the strengths of family, community, self-worth, and spirituality. When *The Color*

Purple was published in 1982, Walker became known to an even wider audience as her Pulitzer Prize and the movie by Steven Spielberg brought both fame and controversy. In 1993, in her novel, *Possessing the Secret of Joy*, Walker takes on the issue of female circumcision in Africa, which brings further controversy as Walker is labeled by many as a cultural imperialist for criticizing a culture from which she is far removed (Nako Nontsasa, Nnaemeka Obioma, & Oyeronke Oyewumi, 2001). But Cage (2009) avers that Walker only uses her diasporic dreams and sisterhood to address race, place and trauma in the novel.

Walker is often credited with introducing the word “womanism” for an Afrocentric feminism ideology which recognises women’s need for bonding and ‘voicing’ in ways that are culturally positive. However, the entire credit for the emergence of womanism as a concept may not be given to Walker. Contributing on this matter, M.E.M Kolawole (1997: 24) avers that though “It is generally believed that Alice Walker brought the word into focus...Chikwenye Okonjo also used the word around the same time.” The implication of the birth of womanism in Black gender discourse is the rejection of the imposed “ism” and the universalisation of women struggles for self-assertion, self-liberation and self-preservation by insisting that the peculiarity of culture should be recognized in gender theorizing. Since feminism as an

ideology is a social construct, it cannot afford to ignore the legitimate concerns of Black women who uphold the centrality of gender, culture, class, race and nationalism in their drive for recognition and acceptance. In a rich contribution to these efforts, Clenora Hudson-Weems introduces to the discourse, the concept of 'Africana Womanism' which "focuses on the unique experiences, struggles, needs, and desires of Africana women." (1993: 24) Quite expectedly, the historical experiences of Africana women discussed in Hudson-Weems' book, *Africana Womanism* (1993) are mostly centred on American slavery. Although she argues that there exists gender equality in Africana societies "because in African cosmology...the woman at creation is equal to her male counterpart, which is not the case in European cosmology, which holds that the woman is an appendage (rib) of man" (47), her ideological posturing is hampered by a lack of good grasp of the culturally volatile situation of the Black woman in a world where she contends with patriarchy and racism. The push for an Afrocentric ideology in understanding the plights of Black women also gets the support of Molaria Ogundipe-Leslie who M. E. M Kolawole (1997: 9) describes as "one of the most prolific and bold theorists that *Africa* has produced" (emphasis mine). She belongs to the group of African female scholars who believes that feminism can be employed in addressing the situation of women in Africa,

in spite of its Western orientation. African women like Ogundipe-Leslie avoid using the term “feminism” in order to parry the backlash such usage will engender from critics. Instead, she postulates “Stiwanism” which stands for Social Transformation Including Women in Africa. In her book, *Re-Creating Ourselves*, Ogundipe (1994: 229) submits that “Stiwanism” is necessary in order to “deflect energies from constantly having to respond to charges of imitating Western feminism”. However, the applicability of Ogundipe’s ideology is in serious doubt because it caters more for African women scholars than the ordinary women in African towns and villages, who are compelled by such factors as culture and tradition, socio-economic conditioning, to bear most the brunt of patriarchy in its raw, naked form.

In *Possessing the Secret of Joy*, Walker’s interrogation of FGM represents an exploration of her vision as a womanist. In her collection of non-fiction essays, *In Search of Our Mother’s Gardens*, Walker (1994: xii) defines a womanist as:

A Black feminist or feminist of color...who loves other women, sexually and or asexually. Appreciates and prefers women’s culture...sometimes loves individual men, sexually and/or nonsexually. Committed to survival and wholeness of entire people [sic], male and female...Womanist is to feminism as purple is to lavender.

Walker’s definition is inherently tied to the feelings by

Black feminists that their struggles are in tandem with that of their communities against oppression, exploitation and racism. If one is to believe and follow Walker's lead, womanism is firmly anchored in Black culture and is preoccupied with the issue of self-determination for all Black people-both men and women. In fact, Kolawole (1997: 21) holds that:

Her (*Walker's*) definition of womanism addresses the question of racial focus and specificity and makes this concept more valid to African women than the omnibus definition of feminism. (emphasis mine)

However, it is pertinent to ask: to which culture or people does Walker refer in her definition? Would she be referring to the same culture and people she vilifies and denigrates in her novel, *Possessing the Secret of Joy* and the follow up book/documentary, *Warrior Marks*? Her portrayal of African people and culture in her novel is not better than that of any other Western/Western-informed feminists/womanists' Eurocentric viewing of the same phenomenon (Nako, 2001); therefore making her position on womanism quite problematic. Her stance on FGM-a cultural phenomenon-is conditioned by her privileged western status. In fact, Catherine Acholonu, a notable scholar accuses Walker of what I call "the fallacy of the transferred image", which occurs when a theorist uses his/her personal image and/or experience(s) to produce a universal concept. Acholonu (1995: 89) charges:

Walker's definition of womanist is a definition of herself, her strengths and weaknesses, her dos and don'ts, her passions and aspiration. It is full of contradictions, abstractions and taboos that leave many women, white or black, on the fence, wondering where they belong.

In view of the foregoing, Walker's postulation cannot be adjudged as being universal as it fails to account for some issues which are at the core of womanhood such as family, child bearing and rearing, and mothering (Acholonu, 1995).

2. Walker and FGM: From Commitment to Indictment

It is trite to state that the transatlantic slave trade is the major contributory factor responsible (originally) for the presence of a large number of people of African descent in areas outside their geographical homeland. This reality has birthed both literary and critical representations of Blackness, which more often than not, run counter to the prevailing and dominant image of the homeland and its peoples. Since the "cultural identity of Blackness has become contentious intellectual property" (Angeletta Gourdine, 2004: ix), it becomes imperative that such situation would ultimately produce a multiplicity of views across transatlantic boundaries; more so, that, existing boundaries of identities can

be easily blurred, unjustly crossed, and sometimes, potentially violated either consciously or unconsciously. This ultimately breeds the kind of intellectual difficulty inherent in any attempt to bridge the gulf between writers at home and the Diaspora. In an apparent conceptualisation of these realities, Paul Gilroy (1993: 34) opines that:

The precise weight we should attach to the conspicuous differences of language, culture, and identity which divide the black of the Diaspora from one another, let alone from Africans, are unresolved within the political culture that promises to bring the disparate peoples of the black Atlantic world together one day....The themes of nationality, exile, and cultural affiliation accentuate the inescapable fragmentation and differentiation of the black subject. This fragmentation has recently been compounded further by the questions of gender, sexuality, and male domination, which have been made unavoidable by the struggles of black women.

Walker's interrogation of the practice of female genital mutilation in *Possessing the Secret of Joy* represents her womanist vision of the issue as one foregrounded in gender, sexuality, and male domination within the wider framework of an already globalised debate of the matter. In fact, her fascination with FGM dates back to her Pulitzer winning novel, *The Color Purple* where and when she makes reference

to the “the female initiation ceremony” of Tashi, Adam’s wife (202, 235). But from the margin of discourse in *The Color Purple*, FGM and Tashi are elevated to having an entire novel devoted to them in *Possessing the Secret of Joy*. Walker, according to Cage (2009), sees female circumcision as an integral part of the ‘untold’ discourse of the Diaspora; hence, a standpoint which strongly condemns the cultural practice in her novel. The novel marks a significant turn-around in the terminology employed by Walker. From ‘female initiation ceremony’ (p. 202, 235) in *The Color Purple*, the practice becomes ‘genital mutilation’ (p. 235). What this significant change demonstrates is a deliberate move from passive acceptance of the practice to outright condemnation.

No doubt, opposition to FGM in Africa is strong. Before the intervention of Walker through her novel, many African literary writers and scholars have attempted to question the propriety of the practice and its significance as a cultural marker as being claimed by many cultural nationalists like Jomo Kenyatta. In their writings, African writers such as Nawal El Sadaawi (*The Circling Song*, 1982), Nuruddin Farah (*From a Crooked Rib*, 1970 and *Sardines*, 1982), Asma El Dareer (*Woman, Why Do You Weep*, 1982) and Awa Thiam (*Black Sisters, Speak Out*, 1986) in their uniquely different ways, employ their crafts and scholarships to undermine FGM. For instance, in Farah’s *From a Crooked Rib*, the

heroine, Ebla forgoes her right to motherhood based on the trauma she suffers from her infibulations at the age of eight. Medina, in *Sardines*, paints the surreal realities confronting girls who live in FGM practising societies: “they mutilate you at eight or nine, open you up with a rusty knife the night they marry you off” (58). The opposition to FGM in Africa does not shy away from condemning the practice; what it however, does shy away from is casting the practice as the barbaric ‘Other’.

Walker’s *Possessing the Secret of Joy* centres on Tashi and the consequences which her desire to conform to her people’s custom of female circumcision forces on her. She is a member of a fictional African country known in the novel as Olinka. For the Olinkans, the practice of female circumcision is not only customary, it is mandatory as a warrior mark which no one frowns at. The ceremony is usually one that calls for celebration, with the initiate(s), showered with attention and gifts. Tashi describes the aftermath of her sister’s circumcision:

Suddenly she had become the center of everyone’s attention: every day there were gifts. Decorative items mainly: beads, bracelets, a bundle of dried henna for reddening hair and palms, but the odd pencil and tablet as well. Bright remnants of cloth for a headscarf and dress. The promise of shoes. (p. 9)

Like most countries practising FGM, the Olinkan society, is one, guided by cultural mores and norms, which are equally necessary for societal cohesion and survival. For instance, the Olinkans do not support copulation in the fields and the justification for this disapproval finds anchorage in a belief-system that borders on their survival as a people:

In Olinka society, the strongest taboo was against making love in the fields. So strong was this taboo that no one in living memory had broken it....lovemaking in the field jeopardized the crops; indeed, it was declared that if there was any fornication whatsoever in the fields the crops definitely would not grow. (p. 26)

For a society so guided by cultural norms, it is not surprising that it is Tashi's own choice to undergo circumcision which her mother's new allegiance to Christianity denies her. In justifying Tashi's behaviour, de Hernandez (2009: 66) argues that "practicing cultures attach a strong stigma to uncircumcised women, who will not be accepted as brides but instead mocked and harassed for their deviance." Tashi's predicament (of being uncircumcised) is not of her own making as M'Lissa, the circumciser confirms that:

She had argued with Catherine, Tashi's mother, to have the operation done for Tashi when she too was at the proper age. But, because Catherine had gone Christian, she'd turned a deaf ear to her. Now, M'Lissa said with a grimace of justification,

it was the grown up daughter who had come to her, wanting the operation because she recognized it as the only remaining definitive stamp of Olinka tradition. (pp. 60-61)

Tashi is propelled into action by a desire to discard the toga of an outsider foisted on her by her uncircumcised status as she longs for a visceral connection to her people and their culture, and also to gain the right to join the liberation forces of Olinka, fighting a war of independence from colonialism. Simply put, Tashi desires the warrior mark of culture which circumcision can offer. Eventually, going through the operation gives her the desired feeling of cultural release and fulfillment:

The operation she'd had done to herself joined her, she felt, to these women, whom she envisioned as strong, invincible. Completely woman, completely African. Completely Olinka. (p. 61)

Clearly, this is Walker's way of admitting the importance of FGM as a cultural signifier.

However, the subsequent portrayal of a traumatized and long-suffering Tashi marks a shift by Walker, into the sphere of indicting FGM, which is the overall intention of her novel. The novel paints FGM as a degrading experience that takes the shine off the life of its victim. Far from her once energetic self, the post-operative Tashi is given a doll-like image, which implies that her real self has taken flight:

Her eyes no longer sparkled with anticipation. They were flat as eyes that have been painted in, and with dull paint. (p. 43)

For the avoidance of doubt, the type of female genital mutilation performed on Tashi is infibulation, which involves stitching-up the vagina with only a small opening left for urine and menstrual flow. The intention, it is argued, is to guarantee the woman's chastity, but this is often at a huge detriment to her comfort and dignity of person, as Tashi's subsequent encounters with sex illustrates:

After three months of trying, he had failed to penetrate me. Each time he touched me I bled. Each time he moved against me I winced. There was nothing he could do to me that did not hurt. (p. 57)

Walker slams an indictment charge on FGM for its capacity to irrevocably destroy the sexuality of its victims. Tashi, a once passionate lover-who has made love in the fields against an age-long taboo-is reduced to one who no longer gets pleasure but pain from lovemaking. Walker equally uses the novel to show a relationship between FGM and the problems some circumcised women encounter during child birth. Tashi's extremely difficult delivery contrasts sharply with the seemingly smooth delivery of Lisette, her husband's French lover, as:

THE OBSTETRICIAN BROKE two instruments trying

to make an opening large enough for Benny's head. Then he used a scalpel. Then a pair of scissors used ordinarily to sever cartilage from bone. (p. 55)

Tashi's difficult delivery gives credence to the arguments of medical practitioners against the practice. One of such practitioners, Dr Henriette Kouyate, a gynecologist based in Dakar, Senegal affirms that for the woman who has had her genital cut:

intercourse is very painful and there are a lot of problems giving birth. An area which is normally elastic has become a cicatrix area. As a result, many women tear, at the top and at the bottom. If they are in hospital, you can perform an episiotomy, you can enlarge the opening. (Warrior Marks, 1993: 296)

The ordeal of genitally mutilated women is an affront on Walker's womanist concern for the very "survival and wholeness of entire people (sic) male and female" (Walker, 1994: xii). Unlike supporters of FGM who claim the practice forms the core of the practising communities' survival, albeit culturally, Walker indicts FGM and its practitioners for being threats to the very survival of the human society. The cultural significance of FGM does not appeal to Walker, who:

undermines Tashi's construction of infibulations as an embodiment of her community's culture by showing how her protagonist's intended contribution to the struggle against colonial oppressors is in fact a serious blow to her own fighting spirit... (Bekers, 2009: 32)

In fact, she strikes a connection between FGM and her own physical assault by her brother, which left her visually impaired in one eye. Referred to as ‘Alice’s accident’, the physical and emotional injury suffered by her during her childhood drives her to identify with girls and women who have their sexuality assaulted and violated on the altar of culture and tradition. Like her, they have been left to lick their wounds in the inner recesses of their minds, and equally left to recover alone:

My own visual mutilation ...led me to a place of great isolation in the family and in my community and a great feeling of being oppressed. And also, there wasn't a sufficient reason given for it, nor was there sufficient comfort given to me as a child. And I see this mirrored in the rather callous way people assume, 'Why, yes, you take a little child off, you know, and tell her she's going to visit grandmother. On the way, you divert her attention from the trip to the grandmother's and you instead hold her down and relieve her of her clitoris and other parts of her, you know, genitalia'. And basically, you leave her to heal from this as best as she can. Everybody else is making merry, you know; she is the only one crying. But somehow you don't care, you don't show sensitivity to this child's pain. I make a very strong connection with that. (Warrior Marks, 1993: 25)

It is her visual mutilation that enables her see the subject of FGM, and *Possessing the Secret of Joy* is a way of showing her rage about a daughter's (Tashi) betrayal by her own culture.

3. Walker's Womanist Vision and Diasporic Disconnectedness

The criticisms which have trailed Walker's novel, and the follow-up film/book documentary, *Warrior Marks* have been attributed to her fascination with the homeland, a search for self, and diaspora kinship. According to Cage (2009:56), Walker's attempt to connect indicates a "yearning to understand the place from which her foremothers and fathers came..." Underscoring this search for identity is Walker's physical journey to Africa in *Warrior Marks* to promote *Possessing the Secret of Joy*, to campaign against FGM and also, make a visceral reunion with the place of birth of her forebears. Interestingly, Walker links her body and injury (Alice's accident) to that of the circumcised woman in *Warrior Marks*. But despite the sameness of race and gender that Walker feels she possesses with mutilated women, these bodies are not the same as Tashi declares to Olivia: "You are black but you are not like us" (p. 22). Her legitimate feeling of sisterhood is however, marred by her off-shore image of Africa, its peoples, and cultures. Nako (2001), one of Walker's harshest critics accuses her of neglecting to interpret female circumcision as a part of a complex socio-cultural system of identity, thereby underestimating the strength of its role as a cultural signifier. In the same vein, Oyeronke Oyewumi (2003:

14) adds that:

it is perhaps not surprising that the search for Africa continues to structure questions of black identity in the United States. This quest for Africa, often articulated as a theme of 'paradise lost', is an idea whose resonance partially rests on the infinite plasticity and malleability of Africa in the black American imagination.

In response to her critics, Walker refuses to let go her claim to sisterhood and kinship, as she intones that like her home-grown or home-based African colleagues, it is her right to engage in any discourse about Africa, her peoples and cultures. In an apparent move to answer questions on her right to kinship, she offers:

I do not know from what part of Africa my African ancestors came, and so I claim the continent. I have created Olinka as my village and the Olinkas as one of my ancient, ancestral tribal peoples. (Walker, 1993: 285)

It is obvious that Walker views Africa as her origin, home and inheritance. But this disclosure on its own poses as one of her greatest challenges aside being problematic, because, her lack of knowledge on the cultural significance of FGM cannot be substituted by her deep concern on the pain and suffering the practice causes. Urge on by her deep concern, Walker inserts herself into the plot of her novel. Her visual mutilation which she “realised only as a consciously feminist adult, was patriarchal wound” (Walker, 1993: 17) and the genital mutilation of Tashi, represent a ‘warrior mark’ stamp on

women by a patriarchal system which supports male violence against women, along with the need to control the woman's sexuality 'for her own good' (Kenyatta, 1965). However, it must be said that despite Walker's efforts to emotionally and physically connect with Africa, her failure to understand FGM practices from the prism of culture is too glaring to ignore, and it is from this failure that most of her critics get their weapons of attack. If culture is the only distinguishing factor in the sameness of the human nature (Kodjo, 1995), then it is the same culture and traditions that can explain the differences inherently and apparently visible in human communities because culture matters to people (Appiah, 2008). Speaking on the significance of culture, Asaah (2009: 76) posits:

Culture in this light, appears as a site of reciprocal exclusiveness, and its stranglehold may explain deviation: why certain nations or ethnic groups pride themselves on consuming the meat of the whale, an endangered species; why others view criminalizing widows and perpetuating slavery as their unique cultural heritage, while still others see in FGM a mark of proud distinctiveness.

4. Walker: The Enlightened Westerner and Saviour

Walker's interventionist attitude towards FGM in the novel cuts for her, the image of the enlightened westerner and

privileged saviour of Africans (the ‘Other’) from a ‘barbaric’ culture that destroys the woman’s body and soul. Her description of female circumcision in Africa can be located on the patronizing canvas of the continent, peoples and cultures which has over the years been painted by colonialists, missionaries, racist European writers and scientists. The often painted picture is that of a group of peoples and their traditions, in need of salvation from primitive cultures and backwardness. It is with a similar cultural arrogance that Walker depicts her African characters and society in the novel. Through Olivia, herself, the daughter of missionaries who have come to Olinka to save the people from themselves, the West is offered as a safer place for women. In the preface to the novel dating back to *The Color Purple* (1982), Walker inserts the superiority of the West into the story, as Olivia recounts telling Tashi: “nobody in America or Europe cuts off pieces of themselves” and thereafter, Tashi expresses her happiness over the fact that “the initiation ceremony isn’t done in Europe or America...” It is not surprising, then, when Olivia after finally arriving in America says: “it was so easy to forget Africa in America” (p. 12); a statement which is intended to affirm the superiority of the West and its culture.

The portrayal of Africa, through the fictional country, Olinka underpins Walker’s attempt to cast Africans as a backward and primitive people. At the welcoming reception

for the new missionaries in Olinka, Adam, Olivia's brother observes:

I noticed the small boys my own age, their knobby knees and shaved heads. Their near nakedness. I noticed the men: the seedlike tribal markings on their cheeks and the greasy amulets they wore around their necks. I noticed the dust and the heat. The flies. I noticed the long flat breasts of the women who worked barebreasted, babies on their backs, as they swept and tidied up the village as if in expectation of inspection. (p. 13)

The characters' actions and behaviours can descriptively compare favourably with animals, especially apes. Is it not a known fact that a lot of Euro-centric scholars and writers like Joseph Conrad (*Heart of Darkness*) have described Africans as being a little bit like monkeys (or apes generally) in behaviours and actions? Walker seems to share, re-invent and reinforce this Euro-centric stereotypical view. In an entry on her birthday in *Warrior Marks*, she writes about how her journey and work in Africa on FGM give her joy. On what seems to titillate her to a state of euphoria, she writes:

To be doing work that will mean greater health and happiness to many. To be doing the work of protecting our children. To be in Africa. To realize Africans are doing OK, basically, if they will just stop hurting themselves....That Africans have 'time' and 'space'. Africans really should be able to be wise, not just clever or smart. (Warrior Marks, 1993: 50)

Invariably, the pertinent questions to ask in reaction to Walker's latently patronizing statements above are: who asked

her to check if ‘Africans are doing OK’ and ‘stop hurting themselves’? And why does she think they (Africans) are not okay in the first place? Equally, the referential implication of Africans being ‘clever’ and ‘smart’ should not be lost. Its origin can be located in colonial scientists’ reference to Africans possessing the attributes of apes. Therefore, it becomes imperative to state that Walker’s womanistic attitude towards Africa and her people is anchored in a centre outside the continent. Contributing on her failure to see Africans with clear lens, James (1998: 1037) offers:

The superficiality of her (Walker’s) insights into African social, political, and economic institutions obscures the rich heritage of its many cultures and societies and that in turn suggests an... insensitivity to the complexities of the lives of African women (emphasis mine).

Her efforts concerning FGM both in *Possessing the Secret of Joy* and *Warrior Marks* are thus, polluted and undermined by a subtle form of cultural arrogance and imperialism. In her own criticism, Nako (2001: 3) submits:

The accusation of cultural imperialism relates to her claim of two mutually exclusive positions, that of ‘being possessed of the Other’s voice as an African because of her ancestry and that of attempting to enable the other to talk. The first claim obscures Walker’s ideological upbringing, allowing her to judge and moralise about what she views as African culture, from an inside position. And the second’ casts her as a philanthropic Westerner who intervenes on the other’s behalf.

Without a scintilla of empathy but enlightened rage, Walker portrays African mothers as bad mothers and child abusers; female circumcisers are demonized as “torturers of children” (p. 210).

Furthermore, Walker’s messianic posture leads Tashi to America before she realizes that FGM is bad. In her post-American encounter with M’Lissa (the circumciser), Tashi answers the question about her ‘Americanness’:

An American, I said, sighing, but understanding my love of my adopted country perhaps for the first time: an American looks like a wounded person whose wound is hidden from others, and sometimes from herself. An American looks like me. (p. 200)

On arrival in America, Tashi is renamed in order to detach her from her root; her process of Americanisation which thus begins, ends in a disaster as it leads her to a state of cultural limbo. She asks rhetorically: “Who am I, Tashi, renamed in America ‘Evelyn,’ Johnson?” (p. 36). In her confusion and in a direct indictment of Walker’s messianic posturing, Tashi declares:

Who are you and your people never to accept us as we are? Never to imitate any of our ways? It is always we who have to change. (p. 21)

Tashi then calls Walker and others who fail to understand the significance of FGM, the white people’s wedge. In

defiance, she glories FGM as the mark of courage and “wanted such a mark for *herself*” (p. 23, emphasis mine). Challenging Walker’s claim to kinship and at the same time identifying her crisis of identity, Tashi submits with candour-mixed rage:

You want to change us, I said, so that we are like you. And who are you like? Do you even know? Though you are black, but you are not like us. (p. 22, emphasis mine)

Walker’s Americanization of Tashi is intended to prepare her for the task ahead; that is, the elimination of M’Lissa (an old woman, national icon and the circumciser) who perform the operation on her. Since Tashi’s Americanisation is supposed to culturally detoxify her from the overbearing influence of her cultural heritage; the killing of M’Lissa though culturally inappropriate and criminal, becomes inevitable for the returning Olinkan-American. In the ensuing dialogue between the duo, M’Lissa’s helpless situation as an enforcer of culture is exposed. In her tribe, the position of circumciser is hereditary and unlike her own grandmother or even her mother before her; M’Lissa, in the service of culture, feels the pain of the little girls she is compelled to circumcise. To properly situate her empathy, she recounts her own circumcision as a child:

In fright and unbearable pain my body bucked under the razor-sharp stone he was cutting me with...I could never again see myself, for the child that finally rose from the mat three months later, and dragged herself out of the initiation hut and finally

home, was not the child who had been taken there. I was never to see that child again. (pp. 221-222)

It is quite obvious that the circumciser herself is a wounded and helpless person that deserves compassion and understanding, not the gruesome death Walker plans for her.

The idea of women hurting women has been identified by Audre Lorde, under the rationale that women like all oppressed minorities, are usually manipulated into inflicting physical and emotional wounds on one another, in response to patriarchal norms. Lorde advises that women should learn to “be gentle with each other” (Lorde, 1984: 175), and co-operate to bring about the much-talked-about change. But Walker does not heed Lorde’s advice on the need for women to show understanding and be gentle in addressing each other’s plights. Rather than heed the advice, Walker instills in Tashi, a killer instinct for vengeance and murder in the confrontation with M’Lissa. But Tashi’s anger on the other hand, also seems to be in tandem with Lorde’s argument on the usefulness of anger as a poignant source of power and change for oppressed and victimised women worldwide. In this regard, Lorde (1984: 131) submits:

When we (*women*) turn from anger, we turn from insight, saying we will accept only the designs already known, deadly and safely familiar....The angers of women can transform difference through insight into power. For anger between peers

births change, not destruction, and the discomfort and sense of loss it often causes is not fatal, but a sign of growth (emphasis mine).

Therefore, the murder of M'Lissa by Tashi stands as a strand of the complex web of the change been sought and demanded by women concerning FGM. For both the killer and the killed, the killing represents a kind of release (the climax) and it is only through co-operation between the two that this can happen because the fate of one is tied to the other. M'Lissa understands this ugly fact hence she informs Tashi:

It was only the murder of the tsunga, the circumciser, by one of those whom she has circumcised that proves her (the circumciser's) value to her tribe. Her own death, she declared, had been ordained. It would elevate her to the position of saint. (p. 196)

Since the die is cast, it becomes inevitable that Tashi's anger at being physically and psychologically wrecked by her circumcision is a guided and justifiable route into her own release from trauma while M'Lissa's own reward is an elevation into the pantheon of saints.

Walker's failure on the culture issue notwithstanding, *Possessing the Secret of Joy* embodies her vision as a feminist/womanist warrior on the frontline of the ongoing battle of the sexes. Her interrogation of FGM practices which can safely be located within a globalised and multicultural debate, underscores her commitment to the eradication of

this harmful practice. The declaration of FGM as a human rights issue by the UN has not only globalised the matter, it also lends a critical support to the activities of those fighting for its eradication. Since “Human rights issues” according to Rebecca Ganusah (2004:19) “are...of universal concern, as they, transcend regional or personal idiosyncrasies”, Walker’s viewing and portrayal of FGM in her novel, then, represents an attempt that should be appraised for its ability to use literature to implicate. The post-operative traumatized image of the infibulated Tashi shows Walker’s recognition of the often cited medical implications of FGM, thereby elevating it as serious women/human rights issue. As a ‘cultural outsider?’ moved to act by her conscience and a concern about human rights abuses, Walker’s hardly-suppressed anger in her novel is understandable. After all, Appiah (2008) argues that cultural differences are only to be respected so long as they do no harm to persons and societal well being, and are also not in conflict with universal concerns for human rights in a postmodern world. Quite instructive are the words of the banner raised at Tashi’s execution for murder that: ‘RESISTANCE IS THE SECRET OF JOY!’ (p. 264).

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Shifting to Twenty First Century Thinking: Is Literature Still Relevant?

Lerato Masiea

It is a common view that literature, like all art, is a simple play of imagination, pleasing enough, but without any practical importance. Many scholars have and continue to argue that literature has been less successful, if not diminishing, in conforming to other seemingly more practical and lucrative disciplines in our current technological age. The supposed ‘death of literature’ has been much heralded over the past decade, precipitated by the rising accessibility of technological devices

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such as tablets and smartphones et cetera that have made the electronic medium cheaper and more universal. The crux of this research is, therefore, to find out the extent to which literature does matter anymore in the technological age. Does the human race need literature at all; does it have any worth whatsoever except as entertainment? Do people actually learn from literature? What do we talk about when we talk about literature? Could it be true that literature has lost its relevance in the twenty first century technological age? These and many other unstated questions will be the centre of inquiry in this paper as the researcher attempts to find out whether literature has indeed lost its meaningful value in the dynamics commanded by the continuous change of technological progress.

Keywords: Literature, Technological Age, Death of Literature

1. Introduction

When I hear the term ‘literature’ it reminds me of stories, epics and classical works of the ancient and modern times. In the modern-day phraseology, the term ‘literature’ is linked with the collection of written works of language through different periods and different cultures by authors and scholars, that have been studied for generations and shaped the foundations of our thought. The advent of writing marked a great step in human civilization for many reasons such as transmitting knowledge, ideas, events and even feelings.

However, we are presently witnessing what is already the most profound transformation of human communication in history. Strengthened by the advancements in technology, societies have gradually departed from the culture of the printed word to a technological culture structured by the digital word.

We live in a time when every minute brings great changes and when every other decade differs from the previous one as distinctly as never before. It is an undeniable fact that we live in the world of technology and many people, who take a rather superficial view of things, have begun to feel that in the now technological world the role of literature seems poor. In fact, literature in its pure form is believed to have little relation with technology. We have been observing a fundamental cultural change taking place since the latter part of the twentieth century. The rise of the modern technology has challenged literature with ever expanding force. Thus, Castells (1999) has named the era we are currently living in the 'Internet Galaxy'.

Technology is undoubtedly dominating the world, and the domination is likely to become more pronounced in future. Many critics, theorists and the reading public have contemplated the 'demise of literature' in the technological age because of the fast developments tending to subdue creative human thinking. Technology has saturated our literary environment to such a degree that it is difficult to imagine

a time when print was our most cherished communication technology. Nonetheless, it must be said that technology does not actually discourage natural, multi-faceted talent; rather, it generally encourages the climate for expressions of talent in countless channels.

Is the belief that literature does not have a place in our technological age invalid? So, how can we justify the relevance of literature when the end of reading and *The Death of Literature* (Kernan, 1990) have already been proclaimed by several authors? If the values of literature were arguably self-evident, there would be no need to pose such questions and to search for answers to them. The debate about them would not continue from decade to decade. The intensity of the debate attests to the urgency of validating the significance of literature in the circumstance of decreasing interest in literature, strangely enough occurring in the world in need of more human empathy and intercultural understanding.

2. What Is Literature?

Literature plays a significant role in all our lives and in society as a whole; this much we all know and indisputably, would all enthusiastically avouch to the statement's credibility. But, when asked to expand on that, to describe precisely what literature exactly is, at once, jovial zeal shifts to something towards reticent bewilderment. Truly, where would one begin

to articulate some form of a response? Literature is such an enormous expanse, and its influence is far beyond the reaches of quantification, let alone comprehension.

We can start by raising the question: what is literature? It is a tough question to answer; however, it is essentially important to attempt this question since literature is present in our everyday life, though it is not consciously felt by many. In order to get a clear understanding of precisely what literature is, we must first identify the definition. It must be acknowledged that there have been various attempts to define literature. Often times, literature is thought of as unexciting works and long books and passages. Nevertheless, literature is dependent upon the way people relate themselves to the writing. However, there is a universal agreement that literature foregrounds language, and uses it in artistic ways. Eagleton (1996: 17) goes some way towards a definition of literature and its relationship to language: "Literature transforms and intensifies ordinary language, deviates systematically from everyday speech". Traditionally set apart from other kinds of discourse, literature can be defined as a permanent expression in words of some thoughts or feelings or ideas about life and the world. It is the art form that arises out of the human ability to create language. It is something that is meant to take one away from the real world for a while. It is a worldview from another perspective, place, time or world.

Another most intriguing question on the floor is: ‘why should one pursue or study literature?’ The pragmatists are uncertain and unconvinced that literature has adequate value in the twenty-first century technological world. To them, as Llosa (2001) puts it, literature is an unessential activity, no doubt lofty and useful for inculcating sensitivity and good manners, but basically an entertainment that only people with time for recreation can afford. The pragmatists further argue that literature is something to fit in between sports or the movies; and it can be sacrificed without any hesitation when one ‘prioritizes’ the tasks and the duties that are obligatory in the struggle of life.

According to Gillespie (1994: 16), some of the arguments advanced by the pragmatists are:

No one needs literature to be a productive worker, competitive in the global economy. In fact, one can be highly successful in the market place with no knowledge whatsoever of literature; real-world examples are many. Who really needs to know about Shakespeare these days? So, to the pragmatists, literature is an enthusiasm, a leisure-time pursuit, but not a necessary skill for the twenty-first century.

These arguments compelled me to reconsider my belief in the power of literature. So, if literature has only marginal importance to human development, why have all societies at every point in human history made a point of doing it and (except for totalitarian regimes —from

Stalin to Biya—who are scared of it) have made a point of honouring its practitioners? In his opening address at the 40th annual conference of the African Literature Association, Johannesburg, April 2014, the Vice Chancellor of Wits University, Professor Adam Habib, referred to those working in or on literature as “the foot-soldiers of liberation” (because we free ourselves by telling stories).

After much thinking I decided that the most ‘traditional’ claims for literature are the ones I am most keen to defend. Generally, I strongly believe literature is justifiable in the modern technological age for its contributions to the cultivation of imagination and of empathy. To me, these are the central skills for the twenty-first century; essential for people’s thrive in the technological world and they are pragmatic to the core. Evidently, ‘traditional’ claims for the power of literature need reiterating and updating.

3. Resisting Extinction: The Power of Literature

Literature, Carey (2004) argues, is exceptional amongst the arts in its ability to reason: through its use of language, literature can criticize the world, although in different and even contradictory ways relative to the perspective(s) found in any given text. In his essay “Why Literature?” Llosa

(2001) raises several significant points. He underscores the key place literature holds in our society and the ability it has to initiate change. He also argues that literature is central in developing the mind, making for a body of knowledge in the life of an individual, and intensifying egalitarian ideals. For Jean-Paul Sartre (1905-1980), the function of literature is to explore the meaning of life and to speculate about the role of human beings in the world, *especially more so in the now technological age* [my emphasis].

In analyzing the arguments advanced by theorists and critics to determine what literature is good for, one notices that arguments for the value of literature tend to be understood in terms of use. Many and various answers have been advanced over time: literature is good for communication, entertainment, moralizing, teaching, a framework for culture, to name a few of the claims, all of which underline literature as good for something. What one discovers here is that literature's value is therefore tied to its use or function.

This relation between use and value in establishing literature's worth is the common - if not clear approach. Many critics have argued for literature's value in our technological age based on its having a practical function. One common argument advanced is that literature is improving in moral import. However, literature has more functional importance—particularly in arguments for public funding—which

emphasizes its explicit economic, political and social utility.

Literature is powerful in acting as an instrument for the emotional development of the twenty first century individuals. Human happiness lies in reaching a balanced adjustment to all impulses and anything that helps to attain this balance is of value. Clearly, literature provides a wide range of experiences for nurturing individuals' emotional life. It therefore prepares them for the tension that epitomizes the contemporary age of technology and which is bound to be more so in the future. It is an indisputable fact that life in the twenty-first century is categorized by an inevitable component of industrial development. So, individuals need a lot of creative inspiration to remain sane and to perform as human beings separate from the machine which they operate. The inculcation of the habit of reading and of responding satisfactorily to literary texts is helpful in their self-realization.

4. The Integration of Literature in the Technological World

Is there-can there be- a place for literature in the new order of things? Does literature matter anymore in the technological world? Could it be true that it has lost its relevance in an increasingly technological, practical and alienating age? Most scholars react to these pressing questions with

awkward silence and self-conscious shuffling of feet. In a time when most people and critics alike no longer subscribe to the principles of literary humanism, have we really been unsuccessful in developing a set of arguments about the importance of literature in the technological age? Our inability to expound why literature matters in the technological world has resulted in an alarming numbers of students dropping the subject.

The most common concern we are faced with regularly in our time concerns the fact that we are required to defend the existence of literature. In an age in which lucrative disciplines such as sciences and social sciences are perceived by the public as having a cartel on knowledge is becoming progressively fierce, we are more than ever pressed to present conclusive arguments for the integration of literature in the technological world.

We are fortunate to live at this ‘post-modern’ time when such important changes have begun to take place. Literature’s enthusiasm and subscriptions of books, magazines and newspapers are increasingly diminishing, but our appetite for information seems to be growing larger and more impetuous in today’s world. So the importance of literature cannot be simply abandoned. Kajs (2003: 1) posits, “We should do more to inform our students that liberal arts have uses that business and industry need, specifically knowledge, values, and skills

that the study of literature can provide.” According to Kajs, future ‘technocrats’ who will come from engineering, business programs and computer science will likely continue to avoid the study of literature unless we respond. They categorically need the services literature offers as technology becomes more sophisticated. Literature helps in improving communication skills, developing creativity, enhancing interpersonal skills, and guiding one to vision. All these qualities are key to the formation of responsible, effective and humanistic individuals of the technological world.

Literature is also important in helping us to understand the human individual in his or her entirety, social relations, social structures, community, through an exploration of the experience of lived experience (in a way no other kind of discourse does). If literature is so floppy, why are there Nobel prizes for the sciences, economics, peace AND literature? And why did Karl Max think it was so important? - didn’t he have more important things to do?

Admittedly, literature provides an experience of pleasure; but Llosa (2001) argues that it is also an experience of learning what and how we are as humans, in our human integrity and our human imperfection, with our actions and our dreams, alone and in relationships that bond us to others, in our public image and in the clandestine recesses of our consciousness. In today’s technological world, this totalizing

and living knowledge of human beings may be found in literature.

Literature serves as a ready antidote to the deterioration of cherished human and traditional values in the technological age. It also incorporates the willingness to be one's brother's keeper and to serve humanity. It would certainly be possible for individuals of the twenty first century to absorb and equip themselves with modern technology as well as retain their basic humanity and humanness. Most African authors have outstandingly illustrated the beauty of African communalism, which if well blended with the technological advancement could help individuals to adjust to the evolving social system. With literature in the centre of technology, an individual would be prohibited from unwholesome and alien ideology of individualism which makes good interpersonal relationship difficult.

Even though literature is a source of joy, inspiration and creative power, it also has a scientific use. It is put in modern psychiatry. Psychotherapy sometimes finds solutions to its patients' adjustment problems in literature. Thus, the use of literature here is significant for its reconstruction and representation of real life experience of the patient. This has a therapeutic effect on the patient—who on identifying him/herself in the character of a novel, or his emotion or experience in a poem, finds that he/she is not alone in his/her

problems.

Literature can be used as a means of ideological control and change, influencing society. In other words, literature is arguably uniquely useful for exerting control or effecting change on individuals, societal or structural behaviours, acting as ideological persuasion to influence society. Thus, literature often serves as means of acquiring, maintaining or disseminating power, whether for instilling social virtues, effecting change in a political or moral system, asserting the authority of public figures, or as an economic resource in the now technological age. Levine (2007) argues that literature influences the political system, serving as a higher authority which reinforces and questions key values. Literature can therefore both criticize and confirm various political systems through the implicit or explicit perspectives evident in literary texts.

Again literature's importance can be argued from a historical point of view. Vital literatures have been passed down as legacies from our ancestors to their descendants and to the future generations as well. The act of passing down such knowledge through books is itself an indication of the importance of literature because of its lasting relevance despite the age of time. Through literature one acquires some knowledge of history. Whether this is historical fact, anthropological understanding, cultural knowledge, a moral

lesson, a factual knowledge of reality, or an intrinsic truth about the universe, a given text supposedly reveals some information or truth.

The integration of literature in the technological world in particular would provide a person with profiles of different types of people, insights into the human condition, knowledge of myth, and examples of cultural and ethnic differences. Literature, as a rhetorical art, can carry over into the types of communication modern day people will be required to use for instance on the job, from the memo to the presentation before the board of directors and so on. Literature unfolds a whole host of characters experiencing the human condition in a moral framework. Filing before the students for examination are characters similar to those he or she will encounter. It can also encourage people in the midst of frantic twentieth century lives to slow down. It can teach individuals to savour their experience, to take in, reflect on and appreciate the beauty around them.

There are numerous literary texts that validate some of the arguments advanced so far. Prime examples are *The Trojan Women* by Euripides, *King Lear* by William Shakespeare, *War and Peace* by Leo Tolstoy, *Things Fall Apart* by Chinua Achebe, *Petals of Blood* by Ngugi wa Thiong'o, the sonnets of William Shakespeare, the poetry of Wole Soyinka and Pablo Neruda.

5. Conclusion

It may seem as if there is a declining prestige of literature in the technological age. Fortunately, not all are readily agreeing that the current state of affairs regarding the relevance of literature in the technological world is as awfully disheartening as some scholars and critics make it out to be. Increasingly in the modern day society, as technology changes with time, improvements in technology have changed the way people seem to regard the relevance of literature in the technological world. Although literature has to change with society, there are authors who are still trying to address unchallengeable human questions in new ways and reconcile them with the ever-changing technology that surrounds us.

In this paper it has been argued that literature's usefulness or practicality enables a practice of reading which is both informed by explanation and laden with the value of literary experience. The paper shows that the feeling of membership in the collective human experience across time and space is the utmost attainment of culture, and nothing contributes more to its rejuvenation in every generation, especially the technological age generation than literature. The paper equally shows that literature indeed has and will have meaningful value in the dynamics commanded by the continuous change of technological progress. Students and the future 'technocrats' have to be introduced to the practical uses of literature.

In doing so we will be responsive to society's needs and responsible to our discipline.

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Analytical Look at Young Entrepreneurs’ Naming Systems at ‘Lerotholi Polytechnic’

Maboleba Kolobe

The study investigates naming patterns displayed in business names in Lesotho. It examines business names students, as potential entrepreneurs, give to businesses they propose to begin after completing their studies at Lerotholi Polytechnic. The Polytechnic is an institution that trains students to be self-employed in order to combat unemployment. The study proposes that, of the many attributes to a successful business, is a good

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name. A good name talks to potential clients even before making their first entrance into the business, hence it is systematically decided. Data were collected from business proposals written by students doing Entrepreneurship Skills course at second year. Names of their proposed businesses were analyzed qualitatively for patterns in naming. The data reflected the name given to the business in relation to the service/product provided and the proprietor's justification of the given name. Based on the collected data, this study concludes that not only do entrepreneurs use names to sell their business, but also gear to satisfy personal motivations.

1. Introduction

The study examines naming patterns and themes displayed by Lerotholi Polytechnic students in their business proposals. Lerotholi Polytechnic is one of the institutions in Lesotho that offer training to learners to be self employed in order to combat unemployment. Thus, the institution prepares learners to be entrepreneurs. Of the many attributes to a successful business, is a name given to that business. A good name talks to potential clients even before they make their first entrance into the business. In support of a good name, Cleary (2008: 121) states that, "Successful communication does not just 'happen'. It is carefully planned." This study has particularly taken interest in young entrepreneurs because the researcher has observed that the Ministry of Gender and Youth, Sports

and Recreation, Lesotho, in partnership with United Nations Development Programme establish youth projects that train and support young entrepreneurs to start and maintain new businesses [www.undp.org.ls/poverty/youth_employment_Extension.php]. This paper presents data in the form of tables. The tables display names students gave to their proposed businesses and their justification behind such names. The last part of the paper presents findings and discussion.

2. Background to the Study

Lesotho initiated projects to answer to a national dilemma of youth unemployment. The Ministry of Gender and Youth, Sports and Recreation joined UN partnership made up of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), International Labor Organization (ILO), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) in 2007 to kick off a project named Youth Employment Promotion towards Poverty Reduction in Lesotho. The project aims to adopt a strategy that deals with changing perceptions of students towards entrepreneurship, training out-of-school youth in entrepreneurship, and offering a micro-credit scheme to youth who have successfully developed sound business plans or who are already in business [lesothoembassy.de/UNDPweb/news/Youth_employment.php].

Another training relating to entrepreneurship took place in

2010. The training offered entrepreneurship skills to young people all around Lesotho. These youth were later helped to establish young businesses “...opening up the road for the youth of Lesotho to take hold of their future and positively contribute to the world they live in through innovative entrepreneurship endeavors” [www.undp.org.ls/povrty/Young_Entrepreneurs_trained_in_2010.php]. Appreciating what the government of Lesotho in collaboration with UNDP, training and vocational centers (TVET) in Lesotho offer business related courses such as Office and Administration Management (OAM), Business Marketing Management (BMM). It is in these courses that students might show-case their potential businesses. In starting a business, among other modalities, giving it a name is one of the most crucial steps.

3. Subjects and Methodology

Subjects for this study were Lerotholi Polytechnic students doing Entrepreneurship Skills course at second year. At second year, these students are drilled at writing business proposals. A general observation is that more often, the businesses they propose develop into serious ones, which they actually follow after graduating from the institution. What also helps students decide on the business they want to start is what is commonly referred to as *attachment* (a period of three months a student engages himself/herself in with a company of his/her choice to

practice what they have acquired in class) that students go into just three months prior to their graduation. They choose to get engaged in the job that they want to follow. Their mostly heard expressions during this time are, ‘I prefer being attached at that place and not at that one because I want to have a real feel of what I want to be after schooling’.

The students were to provide names of businesses they proposed in their business proposals and the justification of giving such names. They were further asked to describe their businesses in terms of the services they were going to provide. Students were asked to fill in the information on questionnaires administered by the researcher. The questionnaire comprised three questions:

- (1) Name a business that you intend to begin after completion of your diploma.
- (2) Why have you decided on that name for your business?
- (3) Describe your business in terms of the service it is going to provide.

4. Business Naming

According to Kolobe (2012: 55), naming is a common practice in Lesotho. Basotho give anything they see a name, be it a person, an object, or a place. However, their names would always bear some motivation. This observation makes naming intentional. Heyward (June 2012) states that naming a

business seems to be the most difficult task for entrepreneurs. As tedious as the exercise may be, he mentions that “A name is the primary calling card of a business, and shows up places that even a logo doesn’t”. This means that when deciding on the name to give a business, one need to consider whether the name should reflect the service provided or whether it should bear an abstract name. Again, the name giver should decide on the message the name is intended to convey.

4.1 Structure of a Business Name

A name should be structured in such a way that potential customers know about goals and services of the business through it. It should be self explanatory. Since a name can appear at any place, on a website, a storefront, in a news article, on the product itself or in a conversation, it should be able to speak for itself. Heyward (2012) declares that wherever a business name appears, it carries the weight of the business it is representing.

A business name is intended to have a lasting value in the customer’s mind. Thus, customers must be able to recall it easily. If a name is structured well and has embedded the business goals and services, potential customers tend to think of it before thinking of other businesses. This means the name would be marketing the business. When naming a business, a name-giver considers other languages to ensure universal

interpretation at least the name means something else in other languages. Since a business name represents the image of the business, the name giver guarantees that such image is conveyed clearly to potential customers. Hence, it should reflect a unique and meaningful name.

4.2 Importance of Naming a Business

There is much significance attached to a business name. Nieuwenhuizen (1997, 2007) postulates that a business name goes before the business owner, that is, people come to know about the business through its name even before they know who owns that business. In a way, a good name works as a magnet that pulls the customers into the business. It connects the business with the outside world. Following Nieuwenhuizen's (1997) observation, business names are used to build identity for a business. The business remains different from other businesses because it bears a certain name. Again, business owners communicate a good deal of information through a name.

5. Findings and Discussion

This section discusses the data in relation to name patterns reflected on the data. Data are presented in table form. The tables show the names of businesses students intend to start

after they have completed their qualification, and the services the businesses will provide. They also show the motivation behind the given name from the point of view of the students.

5.1 Patterns in Business Naming

5.1.1 Businesses named after their owners

Literature shows that a business name can bear the owner’s full name or part of the name plus the description of the service it provides. In a case where a name carries the owner’s name, there should be an apostrophe on the name to signify ownership. The following names reflect this structure. The owner’s name is italicized. However, as it can be seen, the punctuation is not observed.

Table 1 Businesses Named After Their Owners

Company name	Service provided	Justification of name
<i>Motlalan</i> Get it all in one	Butchery and beverages	Customers get all their needs in one place (beer, soft drink, snacks, meat)
<i>Makubela</i> Poultry Enterprise	Supplies community with eggs and chicken	People should know that the business is mine
<i>K.B.</i> Net’s Laser Graphic Show	Buys and sells the laser graphic products	The name carries my initials and the type of my business
<i>L & K</i> Fruit Nectar Juice Manufacturer	Supplies juice all over the country and outside	Partnership business of two partners initialed L and K

Data align with Jurisich’s (2004) and Hayward’s (2012) observation that many businesses are named after founders. They are spelt in an exact name or in a derivative form or

including initials or the abridged combination. Usually this practice is used because founders feel they have invested their money and risked their lives over the business; therefore, the appearance of the name is a reward they are giving to themselves. *Makubane* Poultry Enterprise illustrates this aspect of possession and self rewarding. Moreover, one may argue that in an attempt to avoid duplication as advised by Nieuwenhuizev (2007: 123) that a business name should not be a duplicate of existing business name, students opt for this pattern to individualize their businesses. An aspect that is note worthy in the above names is that of sentential name carried by the business name *Motlalane* Get it all in one. The part of the name that accompanies the proprietor's name *Motlalane* is a complete sentence in which the owner commits himself. In this way, *Motlalane* makes an obligation that a customer would get everything at one place.

5.1.2 Names that bear nicknames of their owners

Nicknames pattern has also featured in the students' data. Some of the names reflect nicknames of their owners. The argument behind this pattern is that people will be attracted by the appearance of the name; therefore, will enter into the business out of curiosity to see what it offers. They argue that the pattern is used to play on the mind of the customers who may end up tempted to enter into the business to buy.

Table 2 Names That Bear Nicknames of Their Owners

Company name	Service provided	Justification of name
<i>Diggy Mobile Laundry</i>	Collect clothes from houses for laundry since people are too busy to wash their laundry or take it to dry cleaner	Nick name of the owner ; it also appears unique
SNAWANA DOGGIES	Raise, train and sell dogs to keep away thieves	Unique name
<i>KGASSIE Cosmetics</i>	Sells cosmetics	Sounds easy to pronounce and it is a unique name
<i>DOULONEY</i>	Designs and sells clothes, shoes, handbags for fashion	Since it is a unique name, young people will be attracted into finding out what the business is all about

This pattern involves a diversity of linguistic analysis. *Diggy's* name, on one hand, may have an ambiguous meaning. Even though the owner claims the name to represent her nickname, besides being regarded as a name, it can be assumed an adjective derived from a verb *dig* with a little modification to make it an adjective *diggy* (however, English does not have such a word even though its formation is similar to formation of some English adjectives). On the other hand, the name SNAWANA, displays some phonological aspect. If the name is taken from its full representation of SENAONA, one would realize that the two words sound the same except for the omission of the vowel [e] in the nickname and in the orthographical representation of [W] instead of [O], the former being South Sotho. The same thing could be said about KGASSIE from the name *Khasi*, whereby the [G] has been preferred instead of Sesotho orthography [H].

5.1.3 Names showing services

Jurisich (2004) proposes that a business name may reflect customers' needs rather than the owner's identity. He states that the latter is inconvenient if the owner of the business adds or drops a partner. The advantage that this pattern has over others is that, should ownership of the business change, maybe through death or other means, the business in the eyes of the customers would not change and this could promote its sustainability. Therefore, the author advocates for businesses which reflect the services that they provide. The table below shows such names.

Table 3 Names Showing Services

Company name	Service provided	Justification of name
<i>Good Life Adult Learning & Welfare Centre</i>	Health exercises and teaching old people	Reflects service provided by the centre
<i>High Attitude Fitness Club</i>	Provides health exercises	Reflects geographical setting and the service
<i>Exquisite Business Plan Service</i>	Provides customers with innovative business plans at the affordable/acceptable costs within a short time	Reflects service provided
<i>Beekeeping</i>	Rear bees to sell to individuals and chemists for medicine and honey	Reflects service provided

5.1.4 Names that appeal to emotions

The data in this section show names which appeal to emotions of the customers.

The name, the *Mercy Pharmacy*, for instance, expresses the emotion of sympathy. The student explained that since the

clinic is going to be located at the remotest place, it would be a saviour for the residents there. Other emotions mirrored in the names are religious as in *Angel E Evolution*, *Little Angels Hair Salon* and *Help a Soul Orphanage*. There is expression of satisfaction in the names *Happy Kids*, *Happy Nation* and *Success Waste Management* and beauty expressed in the name *Botle* meaning ‘beautiful’.

5.1.5 Names with double meaning

Other businesses bear ambiguous names. The name below may be given two different interpretations. On one hand, it may be that the owner of the business is proud to sell Basotho garments. On the other hand, it may be that the boutique is for proud Basotho customers.

5.1.6 Sarcastic names

Names shown below reflect sarcasm. If a customer with no character traits reflected in the business names buys from a shop with any of the names below, it may appear as if the person is living in a borrowed status. Thus, s/he is claiming what s/he is not. For instance, *Spoilt Girls Boutique* may be taken to play on the emotions of girls. Female people tend to believe that being pampered with gifts is a sign of love. A commonly used expression to convey this special treat is *spoilt* which means to *be loved*.

Table 4 Names That Appeal to Emotions

Company name	Service provided	Justification of name
<i>Mercy Pharmacy</i>	Provides health services such as first aid kit services, and counseling at low prices	Business to be situated at a remote place with no health services to provide services to people who have to travel long distance using unreliable transport
<i>Success Waste Management Co.</i>	Recycles, reuses and resells waste to keep environment clean	“If this business kicks off, that will mark my success; I am already giving it a successful wish”.
<i>Bottle Revolution</i>	(Meaning <i>beauty</i> in English) online magazine where people will share beauty tips	Reflects the service and appeal to customers as well
<i>Angel E Foundation</i>	Offers medication at cost near to nil price	The name conveys the message of mercy and holiness, only God who doesn't charge us for His services, if I am not charging or charge very low prices, I might as well be labeled an angel
<i>Happy Kids, Happy Nation!</i>	Develops different games for kids that will help kids to appreciate one another despite their different backgrounds	Reflects the aim of my business and its target audience
<i>Little Angels Hair Salon</i>	Sells hair and does young kids hair in different styles suitable for kids	Reflects service, “kids are as sweet as angels”
<i>Help A Soul Orphanage and Day Care Centre</i>	Cares and offers a place for orphan	Reflects a service and appeal to other people's hearts so that they can offer help to orphans

Table 5 Names With Double Meaning

Company name	Service provided	Justification of name
<i>Proudly Basotho Boutique</i>	Sell and hire traditional attire for tourists and people interested in Basotho attire, clothes marketable during cultural days	The shop will only sell and hire traditional attire

Table 6 Sarcastic Names

Company name	Service provided	Justification of name
<i>Fit for Kings Meals</i>	Serves good food	Meant to attract customers and make them feel privileged as kings, everybody wants to be treated like a king
<i>Spoilt Girls Boutique</i>	Sells clothes, shoes and handbags for ladies	Want women to feel too loved
<i>LUXURY WOMEN BRIEFS</i>	Designs women briefs(panties)	People like to be flattered and be made to feel rich so the name is meant to attract such people

5.1.7 Descriptive names

These are the names that qualify the business with a descriptive word, *excellent*, *glamorous* respectively. Such names are also meant to persuade customers to come for services in those businesses.

Table 7 Descriptive Names

Company name	Service provided	Justification of name
<i>Excellent Filling Station</i>	Provides petrol	Unique name and gives people a feeling of good service
<i>Glamorous Girls Boutique</i>	Specializes in lingerie	Indicates how women should feel

6. Conclusion

This study has presented naming patterns mirrored in the students' proposals of businesses they may follow after completion of their studies. It has laid a forum for entrepreneurs to regard naming as a crucial phase that will help them sell their businesses. This study has used students

as participants and they may be regarded premature subjects in the world of business. However it is observed, at least in Lesotho, that for most of these students, they end up getting absorbed in the business industry as young as they may seem and they use their school experiences to confront some of the challenges they encounter in the real world. Due to this, the subjects for this study were well thought of and they were found as suitable subjects for the purpose of the study. The study recommends that a trace-up study be taken with the same students after their graduation to investigate relationship between theory and practice.

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Contextual Use of Metaphors in Basotho Accordion Music

Lehlohonolo Phafoli, Thabo Martins

The chapter analyses the contextual use of metaphors in recorded Basotho accordion music from some artists in selected songs. The challenge is that there is much to learn about Sesotho language from accordion music which seems to preserve and retain the dying flavour of Sesotho language. It is alleged that artists use their background knowledge and experiences to incorporate metaphors in their music, as they do with the Basotho praise poetry. The analysis is informed by theories of New Criticism and Functionalism.

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1. Background

Metaphor could be said to fall under the broad category of figurative language which, according to Abrams (1985: 96), is a conspicuous departure from what the users of a language uphold as the meaning of words or from the standard order of words, in order to achieve some special meaning or effect. Abrams further points out that figures of speech are sometimes described as primarily poetic, but, they are integral to the functioning of language and indispensable to all modes of discourse. Language techniques have various functions either in a written or spoken form. They arouse the reader or hearer's interest, make one to think deeply, create vivid or graphic mental images, emphasize certain aspects, entertain or amuse the reader, criticize or satirize or evoke certain feelings. (www.jochen-lueders.de/abitur) The employment of these features in accordion songs adds more flavour to the taste of the music. Their use further displays one's proficiency in Sesotho language.

Metaphor, as a figure of speech, is commonly employed by accordion artists in their songs as it is the case with poets, who employ it in order to put across their feelings in a vivid manner. Peck and Coyle (1984: 140) indicate that the obvious attraction of metaphor is that it makes an idea vivid. They further point out that critics share the idea that metaphor is an important device because it adds and enriches meaning

and weight of poems and plays. According to Peck and Coyle metaphor demonstrates how a writer responds to complexities of experience because it enables a writer to establish connections between different areas of experience. In other words, metaphor, as an art form, allows the artist to connect dissimilar areas of life. Although oral, accordion songs capture and respond to complexities of experiences observed by the artists in their life time.

Writing about metaphorical eulogue, Kunene (1971: 37) says that it identifies or associates the hero with natural phenomena noted for possessing qualities observed and praised in a hero to the highest degree. Kunene further notes that, metaphorical names of Basotho heroes are the names of animals, mostly wild and ferocious, but also domestic animals, especially the bovine. Sometimes, inanimate objects are also used as phenomena of comparison. Damane & Sanders (1974: 40-41) point out that under metaphorical eulogues the chief may be identified with an animal, a bird, a reptile, a plant, an inanimate object, natural phenomena or a monster from a folktale. Kunene's view is contained in accordion songs where artists associate themselves with natural phenomena, birds, plant and animals as discussed below. It is argued that accordion music is not only a tuneful sound for entertainment but also oral literature of its kind. It needs the attention of Sesotho speakers. The lyrics in this music contribute towards

the enrichment of one's language; it is a language tank which spills over to quench Sesotho speakers' thirst.

2. Theoretical Framework

The analysis of accordion music is based on the theory of functionalism that is, focusing on the role of the language in accordion music. Accordion music, as a social activity, is communicated through language. Therefore its language has a role to play among the Basotho. This is in line with Radcliffe-Brown's (1952) view that the function of any recurrent activity is the part that it plays in the social life as a whole and the contribution that it makes to the maintenance of the structural community. He goes further to indicate that the function of a particular social usage is the contribution that it makes to the social life and that each social activity is to be found by examining its effects upon the individuals that it serves. This paper demonstrates that the language used by the artists has a role to play in the social lives of Basotho in that it provides the listeners with the artistic skill of the Sesotho language and has enabled the change of attitude of the Basotho towards accordion music. That is, the artists have succeeded to win the hearts of the Basotho towards this music through the use of appropriate technical language. The language used in accordion music has an important role to play in popularizing the music; therefore, it enables the public to maintain the

status of Sesotho language for future generations. The employment of metaphor in this music retains its importance and encourages its continuous use among the public. This is why it is worth analysing the language that it uses.

The analysis also follows the theory of New Criticism, as New Critics emphasize the concept of the text itself, the organic unity of the text and the close reading technique. According to Lodge (1972: 291), New Criticism looks at the meaning of words and the context of their use. In this paper, the metaphors will be defined together with the context in which they are being used in order to unravel the underlying meaning of the lyrics.

Researchers randomly picked on the songs played on radio stations, Lesotho Television, music shops and even in the artists' own tape recorders. In some cases the researchers personally interviewed accordion music artists, attended their concerts and funerals in order to get the opinions on the effect of accordion music on the Basotho.

3. Analysis

Metaphor is part of the language that Basotho poets live with. As they praise or sing, metaphors automatically come in subconsciously. This is because metaphors are inseparable from the rest of the Sesotho language. That is why, this device is at the tip of accordion music artists' tongues and is found in

almost every song. To them metaphors convey messages in a vivid and meaningful way.

This chapter covers four types of metaphor namely, animal, plant, material and natural phenomena metaphor. These four categories have been chosen to represent the wide scope of the employment of metaphors in accordion music. The analysis further follows this pattern; identification of the figures of speech, definition of figures of speech, how and why they are used, what message they convey to the public in general and what lessons are learned from the language based on its contextual use.

3.1 Animal Metaphors

The use of animal metaphor among the Basotho is very common and part of their culture. Basotho have clan names that are given after different animals that were found in Lesotho and beyond in the past. Most Basotho ideally venerate various ferocious animals, which in essence are believed to be emulated in day-to-day social behaviours of their worshippers. Their physical features are believed to have one-to-one resemblance to such animals. There is even a common belief that no matter how vicious one of such animals is, it cannot under any circumstances harm the person who associates with it. This feature of animal veneration is explicit in traditional Sesotho poetry as observed in Mangoaela's collection. Poets

want to make reference to these animals. For example, in praise poetry, Letsie II is referred to as *koena* (crocodile). Mangoaela (1988: 173) says: “*Koena e tloha Likhoele e palame,*” (The crocodile left Likhoele on horseback). He is referred to as “*koena*” because he belongs to the crocodile clan.

Identification with animals is part of Sesotho culture. Basotho identify with various animals known to them to convey messages. Moletsane is called “*kotsoana e sisang* (the roan cow that gives a lot of milk). Moletsane, as a chief, is expected to cater for the social welfare of his people just like the cow that feeds its calf. Moshoeshe is called “*phiri*” (hyena) and “*lefiritšoane*” (spotted hyena) in his praises (Mangoaela, 1988: 2&7). Moshoeshe is identified with these ferocious animals to show his bravery and that he successfully beats his opponents.

The use of animal metaphor may either be positive or negative, depending on the context and the situation, as described by the musician. This section discusses animal metaphors that are used to show appreciation and those that reflect disapproval.

(1) Animal metaphors with positive attitude

Animal metaphors are sometimes used to show appreciation of one’s achievements. It could be said that it is a form of self-praise used when one thinks highly of oneself. Examples

are drawn from two songs; the first one is *Khalema kheleke* (Reprimand the eloquent) by ‘**Mutla oa Maloti** (1986). The lead-singer says:

Mataoa a tsohe a utloe, e fetile khanyapa...

Nke ke be ka pheta lifela e ea kolla khoalibe

Let the drunkards wake up and listen, the fabulous water-snake has passed,

I cannot repeat *lifela* the black and white bull is wandering.

The artist calls himself “*khanyapa*” which is the mythical fabulous water-snake usually referred to as a tornado. He praises and compares himself to a particular enormous and powerful water-snake. He likens his power to that of the water-snake. This snake is feared by both children and adults; therefore, his message is that he is fearful. This is a warning to his counterparts that he is dangerous and they should not attempt to cross his way. He does this by referring to other artists as drunkards who are always either drowsing or sleeping; when they wake up, he is miles ahead of them. According to our common knowledge, when ‘*khanyapa*’ is angry, it brings about a great thunderstorm which causes destruction to human beings, animals and buildings. In this case, instead of harming other artists physically, he torments them psychologically because he is far ahead of them in the music circles.

Stories about ‘*khanyapa*’ are mostly told to herd-boys by

male adults at men's courts in the evening. They are told that it lives in big dams. Its face is said to be like that of a horse although it has an eye like a mirror on the forehead. Nobody seems to have ever seen its full structure and how big it is. In an interview with the late Ramakhula, alias Phallang (2005), he related how, as a herd boy, he personally saw this water-snake in the Phuthiatsana River next to Mapoteng area. He asserted that it looked like a horse on the face, and people only managed to see its face when it appeared from the dam. Within seconds it was covered with a thick black mist. Soon after its appearance, the weather around the Mapoteng area changed as a thick cloud covered the sky. Within a few minutes there was a hailstorm but, the thick mist was still coming out of the dam. As it was getting darker and dangerous, because of the hailstorm, they had to flee for safety and could not see the rest. The lead-singer is assumed to have the background knowledge that Phallang has; that is why he refers to the water-snake which is said to be powerful in his song. In this case, the artist relates his strength in his music, suggesting that he surpasses other musicians who plays his kind of music.

Lead-singer further calls himself "*khoalibe*;" the black and white bull which excels over others. One observes that the artist relates his pastoral experiences, giving an impression that he was once a herd boy. The artist does not call himself a computer but something that he knows well from his youth,

an ox. He knows that an ox is a strong animal, especially for ploughing and carrying heavy luggage. He knows the difference between female and male, while the male is said to be '*khoalibe*' the female of the same colour is said to be *khoatsana*. He uses the word "*kolla*" (roaming freely in all directions without hindrance or moving quickly forward without hesitation). Normally, a wandering bull does so in order to claim the pasture that it is grazing on with other bulls. It chases after and/or fights other bulls so that it remains the 'king' of the land. When there is a cow on heat, it fights the rest of the bulls so that it is the only one that mates. It does not show fear of the herd-boy or other bovines. It roams all over the place without suppression and fear; it refuses to be in the midst of other stock that has probably established rapport with the herd-boy. The word, *kolla*, as explained above implies that nothing can stop the artist from progressing. On the other hand, his colleagues would be left behind dragging their feet. He asserts that he cannot repeat what he chanted in other songs because that may imply that he does not have enough vocabulary; he feels that he is so eloquent that there is no artist who can match him. The fact that he chants new praises in every song shows that he is artistic and versatile.

The use of these metaphors means that his singing cannot be matched by any musician. He is outstanding. He is a tough and talented artist. By so saying, he is buying fame

and popularity from his listeners. One also observes that the experiences that he refers to would make some of his listeners to recall their hey-days when they were herd-boys and enable them to identify with the artist and his music. As indicated earlier, artists make use of their environment in order to relate their experiences. The lead-singer in this group seems to have learned about the way in which the mythical water-snake and bulls behave to the extent that he identifies himself with them. In order to draw the attention of his listeners to the existence of such animals in Lesotho, he metaphorically names himself after a water-snake and a bull. The use of metaphors urge the audience to learn more about these animals, especially the water-snake because it is alleged that is still found in Lesotho even today. It also leaves a record for future generations that they must know that water-snakes were and are still present in Lesotho. This is why some traditional doctors go to some dams in the rivers to meet their snakes who act as their teachers. The artist compares himself to these animals to prove his dedication to the music career; he loves his music and does his best to make sure that his listeners are well entertained.

(2) Animal metaphors with a negative attitude

Animal metaphors are sometimes used by Basotho to express a negative attitude. This happens when a person is identified with a certain animal to show disapproval of certain behaviour. It is mostly done with the intention of making a

warning or strong reprimand against such a misdemeanor. The example in this category is taken from Manka le Phallang (1997) in their song, *Batho ba kajeno* (People of nowadays). The quoted line says: “*Batho ba kajeno ke linoha ba u bolaea ba tšeha.*” (People of these days are snakes; they kill you while still smiling). Phallang’s consciousness of the proverb ‘*meno masoeu a phoma*’ (white teeth deceive others) is extolled in a musical version. This proverb means that the glistening one sees in the teeth of another person is bait for death. We want to assume that Phallang’s song has been influenced by this knowledge and his personal experiences. As such, he intends to recount the ordeal that befell him one day. In life, there are certain snakes which are dangerous because of their bites while appear harmless. One learns that they are dangerous after one has been struck.

One finds that there are dangerous snakes such as *gooane* (viper) that may pretend to be dead to the extent that even when one is at close range it will remain motionless and will only strike when one picks it up. One of the researchers, Phafoli, once experienced it at a young age when he thought it was a lovely belt. He was about to pick it up when an elderly herd-boy warned him that it was a viper pretending to be dead. To his surprise, when the older herd-boy began to beat it with a stick, it started to move. This behaviour further depicts that a viper is cunning in nature. In order to cease its

prey, it disguises life for death and remains motionless; while waiting for its prey to be proximate so that it may pounce on it. It hides its true nature - of spitefulness but rather induced dullness and surrender. We unearth an element of danger in the behaviour delineated by *qooane*. By hiding its intentions and showing unpredicted plans when it fends food for itself and offspring, we can conclude that *qooane* is a dangerous snake.

Phallang (2005), as indicated earlier, related many stories about snakes and water-snakes that he came across during his lifetime as a herd-boy. He recalled one incident where he used to see a roped horse at Litsebe village in the rural areas of the Teya-teyaneng district, next to a dam in the Bokong river. He pointed out that the horse would never be seen anywhere else except at the same place around midday. It pretended to be grazing on the sand where there was no grass. People who passed next to that place usually ended up with swollen bodies. He was told that it was the water-snake; it was attracting its victims to it. He said that he was told that somebody once tried to get hold of it. As he did so, the horse ran into the dam and the man's body was found ashore on the next day.

Having experienced these abnormal situations involving snakes, Phallang feels that it is worth including them in his music so that even future generation can learn that snakes, just like people, sometimes pretend to be what they are not if they

want to get hold of their victim. It is through songs of this nature that people can understand the history of the Basotho and different types of animals that once lived in Lesotho. This raises awareness of the audience to the fact that accordion music is not just about entertainment but about some social facts that influence the lives of the Basotho. Phallang gives a stern warning to the entire nation that it should be aware of the so called friends. Undoubtedly, Phallang is aware of human vices and follies and casts his word of advice to his folk to be cautious all the time.

One is inclined to associate this metaphor with the life experiences of Phallang with regard to witch-hunting. He relates incidents of witchcraft that nearly took his life. His life was lost through a mysterious illness, which came through a fire that engulfed his bed. Although he escaped from that horrible incident, he never recovered until he died. Therefore, the so-called friends had succeeded to take his life.

3.2 Plant Metaphors

Plant metaphors refer to a variety of plants that are known to the artist and that could be used to describe any aspect that the artist wants to sing about. The use of plant metaphor serves to show that the artist is very observant and knowledgeable about his environment. One of the common plant metaphors in Basotho praise poetry is a tree. In Mojela's praises it is

said that: “*Morena o siea a hlomile sefate, A siea se makala a matenya.*” (The chief left having planted a tree, He left the tree with ample branches) (Mangoaela, 1988: 299). Mojela is called a tree because, as a chief, he protects his subjects from any harm just like the tree that provides shade to people during the hot summer season.

The example for this section is taken from the **Kutloano Makaota** (1998) group in its song *Haeso*. The quoted line says: “*Ke fate-sa-moea ke ntse ke foka banna ba heso ba Ha Mojela*” (I am the tree of the wind; I blow men of my village of Mojela). The artist calls himself a tree, which signifies shade and a soft, gentle and cool breeze. A tree is a form of an umbrella which protects people from the scorching sun. People benefit a lot from the products of a tree; it may be used for building, making fire, furniture and many other useful materials. Both mankind and a great portion of the fauna family benefit from trees. For example, birds build their nests on trees while others use trees as their habitat. The artist, as a tree, provides a cool breeze to his people of Ha Mojela. Apart from this, the singer considers himself a strong fortress for his people. Essentially, he sees himself as the protector of other artists. The coolness, gentleness and softness of the breeze blown by the tree plainly equates to how meticulously he nurses his folk and nurtures budding singers. With his singing expertise, he assumes the reins of a more renowned

and superior artist of all time above others. This breeze makes them to be cool and lively, especially during the hot summer season.

The lead-singer shows his importance as a musician in that, through his music, he sprinkles the spirit of singing onto other members of his society. Through his songs, he challenges other people especially from his region, to join in the singing career. The artist makes use of the plant within his reach to show his importance in the society and urges other artists to make reference to their environment in their music because that prompts Basotho to love accordion music. The fact that trees are everywhere in Lesotho helps the audience to understand their importance.

3.3 Bird Metaphors

Basotho are known for their rearing of animals such as cattle, sheep, goats, donkeys and horses. These animals are herded by young boys, in most cases. It is during this age as herd-boys that they learn about the habits of other living creatures such as birds. Their increasing knowledge enables them to deal with of different birds in a manner that makes their own lives and the lives of the animals easy to cope with. They have to know which birds are dangerous to their animal folk, and those that they can eat. With this type of knowledge, young men easily manage to speak and to sing about such

birds. The use of bird metaphor in accordion music does not come as a surprise but is part of oral literature.

It is also a common phenomenon among the Basotho praise poets to identify themselves or their chiefs with some of the birds found in Lesotho. In Jankie (1982: 31), Lefeta says: “*Ke pjempjete*” (I am *lanarius gutturalis*.) Lefeta calls himself “*pjemptjete*” because it is a good looking bird with a green colour and it sings melodiously. Lefeta identifies himself with it because of his being handsome. When one listens to this song, one notices that it has an influence from traditional poetry of the boy-like initiates and praise poetry where in most cases people employ metaphor in order to compare themselves to objects such as birds or animals. Chief Maama calls himself “*lenong*” (vulture) while chief Masupha is referred to as “*seoli*” (hawk). Maama and Masupha are said to be carnivorous birds that bring terror to other birds. The two chiefs were a threat to their enemies. They killed their enemies in great numbers in war (Mangoaela, 1988: 38 & 96).

Birds that were and are still found in Lesotho play an important role in the social lives of the Basotho. Some of them are used for medicine, others provide feathers and are admired because of their behaviour. The song for discussion is titled, *Nong la Lihlaba* (Vulture of the highlands) which goes:

Ke nong la lihlaba,

Ke nong la lihlaba la Ha Tumane,

*Le ka pota-pota sefifi,
Nong la lihlababa ha le lapa lea solla banna oe!
Lenong ha le lapa lea solla.*

I am the vulture of plateaus,
I am the vulture of the plateaus of Ha Tumane,
Its turns can make circles around the dead body,
The vulture of the plateaus when it is hungry it wanders!
When the vulture is hungry it wanders.

(Shale, 1996)

The song tells of how the artist fends for himself for survival. As an industrious person, the artist does not remain idle but does his best to make a living. He calls himself “*lenong*” (vulture), which is one of the gigantic and omnivorous birds found in Lesotho although it is very scarce nowadays. He associates himself with a great bird to reflect on his importance in the musical circles. It is not just an ordinary vulture but, specifically from the plateaus of Ha Tumane, his village. This shows that he is so attached to his village that he can proudly sing about it. This colossal bird is usually found in the mountains, in the rural areas of the country where it feeds on dead animals, hence the artist words, “*Ke nong la lihlababa la Ha Tumane*” (I am the vulture of the plateaus of Ha Tumane.) When it has a prey, it fills its stomach to the brim so

that it can last days while it is still searching for another. That is why the artist says: “*Lenong ha le lapa lea solla*” (When the vulture is hungry it wanders.) He employs a vertical repetition of *lenong* or its short form, *nong*, in four lines to strengthen his position that he is vulture as he behaves like it. He has to work hard in order to earn a living.

This bird has an influence on the lives and language of the Basotho. For instance anybody who enjoys eating rotten food is said to behave like a vulture, *O rata libolu joaloka lenong* (He likes carrion like a vulture). *O meno a bohale joaloka a lenong* (His teeth are as sharp as those of a vulture.) Basotho have proverbs like *Lenong ha le lapa lea solla* (When the vulture is hungry it wanders) which has been highlighted in the analysis. As observed from the quotation, a vulture is wise; it circles around to make sure that its prey is dead body not a trap. Having observed the behaviour of the vulture, as a herd-boy, the artist brings such experiences into music to illustrate the impact of a vulture on the lives of the Basotho in general.

The artist calls himself a vulture because, just like a vulture, he struggles hard to make a living through his music. It is through the sale of music that he can make a living. He points out that he comes from the plateaus of Ha Tumane, in the mountain areas of Botha-Bothe. He calls himself a vulture because he circles around like vulture before it picks its prey. This behaviour relates to the long process of getting his

royalties after recording. That is, it takes some time for one to earn the fruits of his toil once one has recorded an album. Just like a vulture, he has to wander from place to place, holding concerts and participating in festivals that will meet his economic needs.

The message that is communicated here is that people should work hard in order to live, no matter how difficult it may be in life. This metaphor discourages any form of idleness in anybody who is capable of making life easier for himself. That is, people must try to exploit talents that they have in order to survive.

3.4 Natural Phenomena

Natural phenomena may be described as anything that is natural, that is neither classified as animal or as a plant. Metaphors of this nature are also used by Basotho to describe the character of a person or relate to any situation under discussion. The mostly used metaphors, especially in praise poetry are lightning, and hail or deluge. Joel Molapo and Letsie II are metaphorically referred to as lightning. Griffith Lerotholi and Sempe are called “*sekhohola*” (deluge) and “*sefako*” (hail) respectively in the first two lines of their praise poems (Mangoaela, 1988: 119, 173, 175 & 245). These weather conditions are unbearable and hazardous to man and destructive to nature. It is not surprising that death can often

result in the ecosystem when the spelt weather conditions take place. Apparently, the four chiefs are named lightning, hail or deluge because they are very destructive to both human life and the environment. These metaphors are used to describe their being fierce while at war. Their opponents are warned of their being dangerous.

An example is drawn from the song, *Pholo e tšoeu* (White ox). In this song, Famole compares himself to hail. He narrates what the hailstorm does to nature. Towards the end of the song he says:

*Fako seo ke buang ka sona,
Le tsebe ke sena,
Ke ntate Famole oa Matelile,*

The hail that I am talking about,
You have to know is this one,
It is father Famole of Matelile,

(Famole Two, 1999).

The first metaphor is seen where Famole calls himself “*fako*” (hail) that destroys plants, animals, birds, human beings and infrastructure. This is what happens when a hailstorm is experienced. It causes havoc to most of the living and non-living things. For instance, if it comes in summer, it destroys crops in the fields and kills both birds and animals. It is also dangerous to human beings who may be caught in

such conditions; it affects their physical and economic well-being. It causes overflowing of rivers and destroys bridges and halts transportation of people and property through the use of vehicles. Sometimes, people drown and cars overturn while trying to cross bridges. The hailstorm also poses danger to houses. Some of them are destroyed and some people lose their lives in the process.

As much as hail brings about disaster, Basotho have traditional medicines which they use to change its (hail) direction or sometimes to disperse it. The point that Famole wants to put across is that, hail has an impact on the lives of the Basotho and they have initiated some tactics to thwart it. When Famole compares himself to hail, it is because hail influences the lives of the Basotho in general. It is a common knowledge among the shepherds that cobra's fat is used to disperse hail. This experiment is an oral literature handed from generation to generation among the Basotho. It stems from the observation that hail never fell on the area where there was a cobra. There is an observation that during the hailstorm, a cobra would be seen raising its head from the den spitting in different directions, thus dispersing the hail. Based from this observation, Basotho adopted the style of dispersing hail by using fats from a cobra's head. This practice proved fruitful as hail would not fall on the ground next to anybody whose stick had cobra fats. These experiences and many others of

their nature are difficult to believe unless one personally tests them. Being aware of the terrible effects of hailstorm, Famole compares himself to it. He feels that he is a threat to other accordion artists of his times. They cannot compete with him; he is too powerful for them. He beats them at almost every angle in the music circles. Just as hail destroys everything that it comes across, he is too talented for his contemporaries to compete with him. All attempts they make to catch up with him fail.

The metaphor here is used to display the level of achievement of Famole as compared to other artists who are still struggling to reach his lofty standard in the music circles. He is proud of his achievement of having been referred to as one of the outstanding accordion artists in Lesotho. Some interviewees pointed out that Famole is more eloquent and proficient in Sesotho language than other artists. This opinion was also stressed by individuals on several radio stations when listeners passed their condolences upon his death. Through this metaphor; he is urging other accordion artists to work hard in order to catch up with his standard in language proficiency.

4. Conclusion

Metaphors are hardly found in spoken language but, are abundantly found in Sesotho oral literature, particularly

in poetry and in accordion music. In its application, as seen in the discussion above, metaphor serves a number of communicative functions. Its use is either motivational or didactic to lovers of accordion music and the young generation. Music fans are inspired to sing and extol their own flair and eloquence in accordion music which enacts their being real Basotho nationals with distinctive language proficiency. Undoubtedly, flourishing singers, thrive to imitate their predecessors in terms of the use of metaphor, thus eulogizing their own manly prowess over and above other singers. Young Basotho speakers harvest a lot of enriched language and reclaim the true nature of hard core Sesotho which is presently watered down through the plight tunnel. Accordion music contributes a lot towards inspiring Basotho to employ metaphor in their writings and in conversations so that the young generation will be able to enjoy the beauty of its language.

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