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FROM THE EDITORS

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Survey of Swahili Dictionaries: the Macrostructure

Abstract: Swahili dictionaries have been on the market for
over a century. New publications often take into account
works that have been already published and base the list of
headwords on older dictionaries. While this is widely accept-
ed practice, nowadays also new, computer-based activities
may no longer be ignored. Analysis presented in this paper
aims at detecting the differences and similarities among Swa-
hili bilingual published dictionaries on the macrostructural
level, and at identifying possible trends in Swahili dictionary
compilation. It also takes into account corpus-based method-
ology and points to its superiority over intuition-based meth-
ods in dictionary compilation.

Keywords: Swahili dictionaries, bilingual lexicography,
macrostructure

1. Introduction

The present article is concerned with the research into Swahili
lexicography by focusing on the macrostructural level of selected
general bilingual dictionaries of Swahili.

While taking under consideration issues discussed e.g. in de
Schryver and Prinsloo (2000) or de Schryver (2012) that concentrate
on presenting the superiority of a corpus-based approach over
traditional compilation methods, this analysis aims at detecting the
differences and similarities among Swahili bilingual dictionaries on
the macrostructural level, and at identifying possible trends in
Swahili dictionary compilation. Both the oldest as well as the newest
dictionaries shall be analyzed, as solutions adopted within them are
not unitary over the span of a given period. The structures used in the
oldest dictionaries have been reused in subsequent ones.

Contemporary printed dictionaries available to the author[1] have been included into the analysis, as well as reprints of works published in the beginning of the 20th century that significantly impacted the Swahili lexicography, and are still available and remain at least in limited use. The analysis was conducted with focus paid to the dictionaries' usefulness. This study was concluded with full awareness that comparing such elements as lemma-sign lists of dictionaries dating over a hundred years with newer ones will naturally place the prior at a disadvantage; however, due to the still widespread accessibility of the oldest works such an analysis seems to remain expedient.

2. General remarks on the macrostructure

In the current era of corpus lexicography the technological improvements may no longer be disregarded in the field of African language dictionary compilation. Lexicographers who base their research on corpora can easily list all the typical macrostructural inconsistencies of dictionaries compiled without the use of a corpus (e.g. de Schryver and Prinsloo 2000, 2001b). De Schryver and Prinsloo (2001b: 376) cite such typical macrostructural inconsistencies found in dictionaries that were not compiled with the use of corpora:

1. inconsistencies when it comes to the relative length of alphabetical stretches, by treating certain sections of the lemma-sign list more exhaustively than others;

2. inconsistencies regarding the creation of the lemma-sign list (mostly as a result of an enter-them-as-they-cross-my-way approach to dictionary compilation) such as:

2.1. the omission of *words most likely to be looked for*, while

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[1]The list of dictionaries which were taken into consideration is not comprehensive. It has been limited to the dictionaries available at the library of the Department of African Languages and Cultures at the University of Warsaw, as well as those at the library of Helsinki University. Additional works which were facilitated from the private collection of prof. Rajmund Ohly and that of the author have also been referenced within this paper.

words less likely to be looked for are included,

2.2. the partial treatment of lexical items belonging to a *closed set* (currencies, letters of the alphabet, digits, seasons, etc.),

2.3. the unequal treatment of *various prefixes* (i.e. mostly 'inflection' in Bantu),

2.4. the absence of a policy to deal with *productive* versus *non-productive suffixes* (i.e. mostly 'derivation' in Bantu),

2.5. the blind running of each stem through *all possible verbal and nominal derivations*, simply concatenating affixes, which results in serious doubts among mother tongue speakers whether many of these derivations do exist,

2.6. the *ad hoc* handling of *transparent* versus *non-transparent derivations*;

3. inconsistencies in terms of the choice of canonical forms.

Since Swahili is one of only several Bantu languages with an access to a corpus (Helsinki Corpus of Swahili – HCS 2014) the above list seems to be a good starting point for the evaluation of the macrostructure of different dictionaries. On top of that we will also investigate other issues, as the treatment of homonymous entries or the way the entries have been arranged. We will not investigate the 3rd issue as the problem of canonical form will be addressed in a further research on the microstructural level.

3.   The number of articles per page

The first commonly raised issue, concerning the increasing lassitude of the lexicographer as he moves along to the later letters of the alphabet, can be verified without any sophisticated analysis, simply by comparing the general appearance of pages in several manually compiled Swahili dictionaries. In accordance with the hypothesis - the further the letter of the alphabet, the more superficial the given entry - the length of the entries decreases and their amount on a given page increases. By repeating the experiment performed by de Schryver and Prinsloo (2001b), we discover, much as they did, examples which confirm this hypothesis, as exemplified by the *Standard Swahili-English Dictionary* by Johnson (1985/1939), henceforth *Johnson*:

Letter of the alphabet	Page	Number of articles
A	2	11
N	335	26
U	508	56

Nonetheless, we can also find examples, which would prove an opposing hypothesis. The example below has also been taken from *Johnson*:

Letter of the alphabet	Page	Number of articles
A	21	22
N	336	9
U	499	3

Similar examples are commonplace in other dictionaries. This study does not negate the legitimacy of the hypothesis (based on a survey of Sepedi dictionary). Nonetheless, it was not possible to find evident examples in the analyzed Swahili dictionaries. The differences between the length of definitions for various headwords seem to result more from the morphological characteristics of the given words. In all of the dictionaries, it is common to encounter, for example, a concentration of headwords beginning with the letters *ki*, which in general are nouns, or with *u*, which amongst others precede abstract nouns. Noun entries – as a rule in a stem-based dictionary like *Johnson* – are shorter due to the lack of possible derivative forms (unlike the case of verbs), whilst abstract words, predominantly being derivatives, are defined under the given stem. Therefore, the actual entry consists of only a cross-reference.

The above-mentioned issue may also have been the result of the niche character of Swahili lexicography. Limited demand for such dictionaries in the world market has caused them to be published as a non-commercial enterprise. Publishing houses do not expect significant profits and print the works more for prestigious purposes by entering into cooperation with the author of an already compiled dictionary. The authors, mainly Africanists, initiate work on the

dictionary more in connection with private interests than as a result of a paid commission.

4. Dictionary lemma-sign lists

4.1 Headword selection

By headwords we understand the linguistic units being defined within a dictionary. The decision what to include and what to omit in a dictionary is in itself one of the hardest aspects of a dictionary compilation process. This has been mentioned *inter alia* by Tomaszczyk (1983: 51): "One of the basic problems of lexicography is to decide what to put in the dictionary and what to exclude". The selection of headwords, which will then be defined in a dictionary, is conditioned by several factors. These are above all: the type of a dictionary, its size, and the envisaged user group (bf. Zgusta 1971, Bańko 2001, Żmigrodzki 2003).

The bilingual dictionaries which are within the scope of this work can be divided into two groups: general dictionaries that aim at registering the largest possible amount of lexical units, such as *Swahili-English Dictionary* by Madan (1992/1903, henceforth *Madan*), *Johnson*, and *Kamusi ya Kiswahili-Kiingereza* by TUKI (2001, henceforth *TUKI*); and learners' dictionaries consisting of a smaller number of entries, focused on the learners' needs and with a simplified structure of the articles, such as *Concise Swahili and English Dictionary* of the *Teach Yourself Books* by Perrott (1965, henceforth *Perrott*), *Kamusi ya kwanza Kiswahili-Kiingereza* by Cahill (1972, henceforth *Cahill*), *Learner's Swahili-English English-Swahili Dictionary* by Jahadhmy (1981, henceforth *Jahadhmy*) or the *Modern Swahili Modern English* by Baba Malaika (1994, henceforth *Baba Malaika*). The scope of the dictionary and the goals are usually presented in the introductory part. All the dictionaries under research but one, *Swahili-Suomi-Swahili Sanakirja* by Abdulla et al. (2002, henceforth *Abdulla*), were compiled without a use of a corpus.

Due to the limited commercial viability of this type of publication, the authors attempt to reach the widest group of end users. For instance, *TUKI* (2001: viii) was created with people

learning English or Swahili language in mind: "imekusudiwa kuwasaidia watu wanaojifunza Kiingereza au Kiswahili" ('it is aimed at assisting people learning English or Swahili'). In order to meet these assumptions, the authors have included "everyday vocabulary", needed in basic communication. Since the dictionary was compiled without corpus research the authors based their work on other already existing dictionaries, such as *TUKI* (1981), *Johnson*, and Feeley (1990), as well as on lists published by the BAKITA[2] Standardization Council.

The Swahili-English part of a *Perrott* dictionary (1965: Perface) "contains all the words the compiler heard during thirty years' residence in East Africa, together with a selection of those taken for her own use from the dictionaries of Krapf, Sacleux, and Madan and the writings of Swahili authors, and a few present-day words not yet in any dictionary". Therefore we find such lexis as for example *malaya* 'prostitute' or *raia* 'citizen', which were not included in older dictionaries cited by the author. The English-Swahili part contains vocabulary from other dictionaries from the *Teach Yourself* series additionally "adapted to the different circumstances of a tropical country".

Zgusta (1971: 310) notes that whilst compiling a dictionary for languages which come from very distant cultures, it is necessary to take into account the lexis of the target language, when preparing the lemma-sign list for the source language. Some concepts, objects or, for example, plants or animals can turn out to be of little importance or even be non-existent in the target language, while they remain in common use in the source language. Assuming that the users of the target language may apply the dictionary to generate texts regarding the cultural environment of the other language, it is necessary to supply the appropriate units. In accordance with this rule, it would be justified to consider including the following entries in a Swahili-Polish dictionary:

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[2] *Baraza la Kiswahili la Taifa* – National Swahili Council of Tanzania.

mkomunisti	komunista 'communist'
soseji	kiełbasa 'sausage'

And in a Polish-Swahili part:

turban 'turban'	kilemba
muszelka kauri 'kauri shell'	kauri
palma kokosowa 'cocoa palm'	mnazi

This issue was pointed out by Ohly (1967) in his review of the Polish dictionary *Mały słownik suahilijsko-polski i polsko-suahilijski* by Stopa and Garlicki (1966, henceforth *Stopa-Garlicki*). He noted that the Swahili-Polish part of the dictionary lacks entries which appeared in the Polish-Swahili part, such as *naród* 'nation', *marksizm* 'marxism', *kapitalizm* 'capitalism', *kolonializm* 'colonalism', *komunista* 'communist'. Such omission of entries may be also found in other dictionaries. *Perrott* included the entry for *Uislamu* 'Islam' in the Swahili-English part, while the reciprocal entry does not appear in the other part of the dictionary.

The lemma-sign lists probably remain the most widely criticized part of every dictionary. In each dictionary, the reviewer can always find entries which in his opinion should not have been included, as well as a significant group which was not taken into account during compilation. It is especially stressed nowadays in reviews of dictionaries that did not take into account a frequency list.

Bilingual lemma-sign lists of Swahili dictionaries have been also widely criticized (e.g. Ohly 1967, Wamitila 1997). When using dictionaries as end users, we often come upon the lack of the most basic and obvious entries. For example, the English-Swahili part of the *Jahadhmy* lacks such headwords as *Monday* or *Sunday*, whilst *Baba Malaika* contains greetings for only several apparently randomly chosen persons. In the introduction to the *Jahadhmy* dictionary, it is written that one of the main merits of the dictionary is the inclusion of vocabulary regarding sex. In search of novelty, not to be found in other dictionaries, it is possible to come upon such headwords as *penis*, *vagina* or *homosexual*, but for example it is

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impossible to find the term *sexual* or the seemingly paramount word - *sex*, at a minimum in regards to gender. The introduction also bears the information that this is a learner's dictionary, albeit such entries as *biology*, *desk*, *verb*, *noun* or *homework* had not been included. The dictionary also does not give the names of months. Such examples can be reproduced on the basis of other dictionaries.

The above-mentioned lack of key headwords in both parts of the dictionary, is not only a characteristic of the *Stopa-Garlicki*. Other than omitting headwords characteristic for a given culture, the authors often forget about basic units. In *Jahadhmy*, the Swahili-English part lacks, for example, such a vital entry as *zuri* 'good, pretty', while the English-Swahili side contains the word under both *good* and *pretty*.

Irrespective of the size, each general dictionary, especially a school dictionary, should include basic language lexis. De Schryver and Prinsloo (2001b: 375) point that: "Regardless of size, any general dictionary and certainly any learners' dictionary should at least cover the basic or core vocabulary". For the English language the American, L. Thorndike, already in 1921 published the Teacher's Word Book, which was compiled for vocabulary selected on the basis of an analysis of a 4,5 million corpus, that "consists of several lists of words showing their relative frequency [...] designed to help educators and teachers determine which words are common enough to be used" (Landau 1984). On the basis of such frequency lists calculating the commonness of words in extensive, representative corpora, adequate lemma-sign lists are prepared for a given type of dictionary. The superiority of such an approach over a more traditional one has been repeatedly proven (e.g. de Schryver and Prinsloo 2001b, Verlinde and Selva 2001). Nonetheless, the implementation of the most evolved instruments in the preparation of a lemma-sign list should be accompanied by the use of basic common sense (bf. Fillmore 1992, Summers 1996). Since it is possible that the corpus may not include certain very important words. In cases when there is no corpus for a given language de Schryver and Prinsloo (2001b: 388) found that: "it remains truly surprising that a variety of manually compiled lists, each of which

poorly represents the basic vocabulary, can show so much consistency when combined with one another" and therefore they "suggest that, in the absence of an electronic corpus – which is the case for all but a few of the Bantu languages – a well-planned combination of a variety of lemma-sign lists of existing dictionaries and unpublished manuscripts, is reasonably representative of a language's basic (and peripheral) vocabulary".

Since a Swahili corpus exists (HCS[3]) it is possible to compare dictionary entries with the frequency list derived from it. The analysis demonstrates that many words very highly ranked in the frequency list have been omitted, whilst other words more seldom present or not represented at all have been defined in various dictionaries.

Table 1 illustrates the presence of randomly chosen top-ranked vocabulary from the Swahili frequency list, i.e. positions 1-200, in selected publications. The analysis also includes derivatives which have the status of a headword in all dictionaries. The analyzed works are the following: *Johnson*, *Perrott*, *Stopa-Garlicki*, *TUKI*, as well as the corpus-based *Abdulla*. *Johnson*, *TUKI* and *Abdulla* represent big general dictionaries, while the other two, *Perrott* and *Stopa-Garlicki*, are small learners' dictionaries. Due to the fact that the analyzed vocabulary is derived from the list of the 200 most commonly used words in the Swahili language, the comprehensiveness of the selected dictionaries has not been taken into account, based on the assumption that even the smallest handbook dictionary should include vocabulary of such high frequency[4]. Most of the vocabulary from the below list appears during the first year of studies at the Swahili language course for beginners at the University of Warsaw. The letter 'Y' in the table confirms the occurrence of a given word in

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[3] HCS is the biggest annotated publicly available corpus of standard Swahili texts with ca. 12 million of running words, more information at http://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:lb-2014032624 [accessed 19.08.2016]

[4] Even though the appropriateness of the corpus for linguistic research may be disputable, since it represents rather opportunistic than representative or balanced type of a resource.

the dictionary. Out of 50 lexemes 15 are missing in the oldest general dictionary by *Johnson*, 14 in *Perrott*, and 29 in the smallest *Stopa-Garlicki*, 4 entries are missing in the most up-to-date but intuition-based *TUKI*. The only missing entry, *mbalimbali* 'various', in *Abdulla* is described not in a separate entry but under *mbali* as its reduplication. The analysis proves that using frequency counts derived from corpora ensure that the most frequently used words are not accidentally omitted from a dictionary (c.f. de Schryver and Prinsloo 2000).

Table 1.

	Johnson	Perrott	Stopa-Garlicki	TUKI	Abdulla
sema	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
la	Y	Y		Y	Y
nchi	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
mtu	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ingine	Y	Y		Y	Y
fanya	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
toa	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
kwenye	Y	Y			Y
rais				Y	Y
kiongozi	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
waziri	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
mkoa		Y		Y	Y
polisi	Y	Y		Y	Y
endelea	Y	Y		Y	Y
taifa	Y	Y		Y	Y
kutokana na					Y
anza	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
mwananchi	Y	Y			Y
kutoka					Y
mahakama	Y			Y	Y
zaidi	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
baadhi	Y	Y		Y	Y
uchaguzi	Y	Y		Y	Y
muda	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
wilaya	Y	Y		Y	Y
kila	Y	Y		Y	Y
taarifa	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
mwandishi	Y			Y	Y

jiji				Y	Y
pita	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
mbalimbali		Y		Y	
dhidi ya				Y	Y
nyumba	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
shirika	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
tukio		Y		Y	Y
sheria	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
kuhusu				Y	Y
mwenyekiti				Y	Y
jeshi	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
maendeleo	Y	Y		Y	Y
amani	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
mpango		Y	Y	Y	Y
mkazi	Y		Y	Y	Y
umoja	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
suala				Y	Y
ongeza	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
mbunge				Y	Y
gazeti	Y	Y		Y	Y
kamanda				Y	Y
mfanyakazi				Y	Y

4.2 Grammatical morphemes and pronouns

In Swahili dictionaries grammatical morphemes are sometimes present on the lemma-sign list. *Madan* treats nominal, pronominal and relative prefixes, tense markers and even sounds as headwords on his lemma-sign list:

Ye, (1) relative pfx. of 1, 2, and 3 sing. referring to persons and animals. Only used independently in such phrases as *ye yote*, any one whatever, whosoever; [...]

A similar rule, albeit less thoroughly, was used in e.g. *Baba Malaika*, where alphabetically various grammatical affixes are listed:

-po 1, verbal affix: is here, is present
-po 2, verb infix: when
    nili**po**kuja, when I came
-po- 3, verb affix: where
    mahali ni.lala.**po**, the place where I sleep

Perrott, on the other hand, only lists the possessive particle *-a* as a headword and a few of its word forms with appropriate agreement markers, however without any commentary:

-a, of
cha, of

Newer dictionaries, such as *TUKI* or *Abdulla*, do not list any grammatical morphemes. *Abdulla* includes possessive particle in its full word form with information on class.

More common practice is the inclusion of possessive and demonstrative pronouns in their full forms, together with the class prefixes, and possessive pronouns additionally as stems. Some dictionaries introduce this selectively. In *Baba Malaika* we come across some chosen pronouns:

zangu + -pl; my/mine
     funguo ~, my keys
     kazi ~, my jobs/tasks
zile + -pl; those
     njia ~, those paths/roads

TUKI describes possessive pronouns but not demonstrative:

-angu *kv* my, mine; possessive adjectival root for the first person singular. *Kitabu ch*~ my book;
changu *kv* see -angu, mine, my: *Kitabu* ~ my book; *Chungu (hiki) ni* ~ this pot is mine

Perrott limits the inclusion of pronouns and only gives the stems of the possessive pronouns:

-angu, my; mine

4.3 Derivatives

As a Bantu language, Swahili is characterized by agglutinative morphology; inflection is primarily prefixal, while derivation primarily suffixal, with a small degree of stem allomorphy. Due to their complex derivational and inflectional systems, Bantu languages pose problems not experienced by lexicographers working with European languages.

One of the most important questions is how to treat derivatives in dictionaries. Should they be included in the form of sub-entries under their base forms or as separate headwords?

Derivation is a process of word formation which derive a new lexemes from roots or bases of different words by morphological rules. Kiango (2000) discusses thoroughly different derivational rules productive in Swahili and their implications for lexicography. First, the derivative normally belongs to a different grammatical category than the base from which it is derived. Second, the affix modifies or entirely changes the meaning of the base. Additionally, most of the derivational rules are semi-productive, whilst derivatives can be formed regularly or irregularly. The derivational processes which take place in Swahili can be classified into four main categories: nominal, verbal, adjectival, and adverbial derivations (bf. Polomé 1967, Ohly et al. 1998). The derivational base can be both in the form of roots as well as stems, which in themselves already possess some type of a formant. According to Kiango (2000), the above features are the key criteria for a lexicographical decision regarding including derivatives into a dictionary. Based on these factors, a decision is reached as to whether the derivative form should gain the status of a separate headword or remain as part of the entry of its base.

Due to their characteristics, derivatives can be treated in many ways in dictionaries. Lyons (1977: 524) cites two perspectives. On the one hand, derivatives should not be taken into account in dictionaries at all, due to their typically transparent morphological rules, which should be described as part of language grammar instead of in a dictionary. On the other, derivatives constitute new lexemes, derivative processes are much less productive than

inflection rules and the end result tends to deliver unpredictable meanings of the new lexemes. This justifies why derivatives should also be included in dictionaries. The latter rule is adhered to by modern lexicography.

To determine the principle of the treatment of the derivatives, they are divided into regular and irregular ones (bf. Zgusta 1971, Kiango 2000). It is recommended that regular derivatives be placed as sub-entries, whilst irregular as main headwords. Regular derivatives should be understood as those with a regular form and meaning, which can be interpreted through the derivational formant and the base. Irregular derivatives are words which have an irregular morphological structure or meaning that cannot be interpreted using the meaning of the base, from which they were formed.

Despite the fact that not all derivative processes in Swahili are fully productive, their participation in vocabulary enrichment is significant, therefore it is hard to omit derivations in dictionaries. Kiango (2000: 119) points out the need for implementing various solutions, depending on the target group of dictionary users. Native speakers of the language will be able to properly identify a much larger amount of word-forming bases than those who are still learning it.

To visualize the problem, a closer look will be taken at the following two groups of words:

1. tuma, tumia, tumika, tumikia, tumikisha, tumikiana, tumisha, tumilia, tumana, mtume, mtumishi, mtumwa, mtumwaji, tume, utume, utumi, utumishi, utumwa, matumizi, matumishi
2. la, liwa, lika, lia, lana, lisha, lishisha, kilaji, malaji, malisha, mlisha, mlishi, mlisho, mla, mlaji, mlo, ulaji, ulio.

These words constitute a problem in that a decision must be made, as to whether all of the above words should be placed within the two headwords *tuma* 'send' and *la* 'eat', from which they are derived, or treated in accordance with some different rule. The additional complication should be kept in mind that one derived word can constitute the base for further derivations, e.g.:

tuma –> tumia –> matumizi
la –> lisha –> mlishi

In Swahili lexicographical history, no single methodology regarding the treatment of derivatives has been established. Depending on the dictionary we find them in various locations, with references or without them. All published dictionaries taken into consideration within this paper, with one exception, were written by foreigners for foreigners using and learning the Swahili language. It can therefore be assumed that the decisions to apply the specific solutions used within the dictionaries were made with these end users in mind.

Kiango (2000) proposes the following rules regarding the treatment of derivatives in dictionaries for non-indigenous users of the language: regular derivatives are to be included as sub-entries, whilst irregular derivatives should be treated as separate headwords. However, due to the specificity of some derivative processes, he proposes several exceptions to the rule: regular verb-based noun derivatives should be included twice, as a headword with a reference to the base form, where the word will then be defined, e.g.:

tum.a *vt.* assgn/give work to sb, dispatch a person for an errand.
mtume *n. mi-* a messenger, an emissary, apostole.
mtumishi *n. wa-* a paid servant. **mtumwa** *n. wa-* a slave.
mtumwaji *n wa-* a messenger. **tume** *n.* a commission.
utume *n.* evangelical work. **utumishi** *n.* civil service.
utumwa slavery.
mtume *n. mi-* see **tuma**.
mtumishi *n. wa-* see **tuma**
mtumwa *n wa-* see **tuma**
mtumwaji *n. wa-* see **tuma**
tume *n.* see **tuma**
utume *n.* see **tuma**
utumishi *n.* see **tuma**
utumwa *n.* see **tuma**

(Kiango 2000: 121)

Irregular verb-based noun derivatives should also appear twice. However, the difference lies in the fact that the definition of semantically irregular derivatives are included in the location, where the given derivative is the headword, while those morphologically irregular in accordance with the above assignment. Below an example of an entry for a semantically irregular derivative:

> **tum.a** *vt* give work to sb., dispatch a person to a place for an errand [...]
> **matumizi** *n*. living expenses. see **tuma**.
> **utume** *n*. evangelical work. see **tuma**.

(Kiango 2000: 124)

The complexity of the problem can be confirmed by the fact that the entry word *utume* is mentioned in both above examples. Most likely this occurred through the inattention of the author; nonetheless, it does provoke the need to reflect on the issue of classifying specific derivatives.

The author proposes that nominal derivatives formed out of adjectival or noun bases be treated correspondingly to the rules described above. The author also suggests that adjective-based verb derivatives, due to their regularity, should only be included in the form of sub-entries to their word bases. He does, however, state that the placement of verb-based derivatives be dependent on the regularity of their forms and meanings. He then opines that semantically irregular derivatives should be placed as separate headwords with a full definition. In order to not unnecessarily cluster together unrelated meanings, he proposes resigning from referencing to the headword which is the base for the given derivative, e.g.:

> **pak.a** *vt*. apply, lay on, spread on, smear.
> **pak.ia** *vt*. put on board a vessel, cart, train etc.
> **pak.ata** *vt*. hold a child on the knee, lap or shoulder.

(Kiango 2000: 129)

Kiango proposes treating adjective and adverb derivatives - correspondingly to noun derivatives - individually, depending on their regularity. Irregular forms should be introduced twice, whereas the main headword should reference to the headword of the base. This is possibly a justified concept; however, it has yet to be put into practice in any of the dictionaries. Additionally, Swahili lexicography has not introduced any guidelines regarding the inclusion of derivatives. Practically applied solutions are above all dependent on the size and purpose of the dictionary.

In small dictionaries or those intended for students, the amount of derivatives is appropriately less pronounced and they are mostly included as headwords, but without any etymological information. *Perrott* introduces sub-entries mostly for the passive form of the verb, whilst the remaining derivatives have the status of headwords. Similarly, both *Cahill* and *Baba Malaika* treat all derivatives as equal to other words and appropriate them the status of separate entries with full articles. They do not supply any information regarding the type of derivation nor give references to the base form.

Another extreme rule was used in the stem-based *Johnson* dictionary. One of the main purposes of the dictionary was to supply the etymology of each headword. As a result, the author introduced the rule to include all derivatives as sub-entries within the entry for the base, from which they were derived. Whereby he does not differentiate the division between regular and irregular derivatives, hence treats all of them with the same rule. Almost all derivatives are to be found twice; firstly, as the main headword with a reference to the headword, on which it is based, and secondly, as sub-entries, for example:

> **La, v.** (1) eat, consume of food generally. *Watu walikula*, the people ate. (2) use, use up, require for use of efficiency (as material, time, &c.) (Cf. *tumia, chukua*) [...] Ps. **Liwa**, be eaten. &c. St. and Pot. **Lika**, be eatable, be fit for food, be eaten, be worn through. [...] Cs. **Lisha**, (1) cause to feed, feed, keep (animals), graze, pasture. [...] **Mlisha**, n. *wa-*, **Mlishi**, n. *wa-* (1) one who feeds or has care of animals or other creatures, and hence, fig. [...]

Lika, **v**. See under **La, v**.
Lisha, **v**. See under **La, v**.
Mlisha, **n**. *wa-*, **Mlishi**, **n**. *wa-*. See under **La, v**.
Mlisho, **n**. *mi-*. See under **La, v**.
Mlo, **n**. See under **La, v**.

The goal of the above-mentioned rule is to portray the relations between derivatives and their bases, which would allow for a better understanding of their meaning and formation. As a result, the overlong, expanded and complicated entries, together with the frequent necessity to double-check a single word, cannot be deemed user-friendly. Sending a person checking the headword *ogofya* 'frighten', which is the causative form of the verb *ogopa* 'be threatened', to the entry word for the adjective *oga* 'timid', from which the first two words here mentioned are derived, can be of interest to a linguist, but does seem to introduce overly detailed information for an average user.

A different rule was introduced in the Swahili-Finnish *Abdulla* dictionary. Derivative forms of the verb have been placed only within the entry for the main verb, for example:

la *v* I. syödä, syövyttää, kuluttaa;[...]

➢ **lia** *appl* syödä jtk jssk/jkn kanssa/jllk/jklta;[...]
➢ **liana** *appl res* syödä toisiltaan/toistensa ruoka
➢ **lika** *stat*[...]
➢ **lisha** *kaus*[...]
➢ **lana** *res*[...]
➢ **liwa** *pass*[...]

Other derivatives possess the status of headwords, whereas the information regarding their base is given in brackets, for example:

m|lo *s 3/4* (la) ruoka
ma|tumizi *s 6* (tumia) käyttö,[...]

The rule is quite simple and transparent, but may cause some difficulties for beginning students. It sometimes happens that the word-forming base of the second word does not itself have the status of a headword. *Tumia* is a derivative form of the verb *tuma* and

should be searched for within the latter headword. The above method was also previously used in the Swahili-French dictionary by Sacleux (1939). In the French dictionary, additional information was included regarding derivatives at the end of the definition of the base:

> **-Tuma** [...] a. Envoyer qqn avec une mission, comme agent; [...]
> **Mtuma, mtumadyi, mtumwa, mtumwadyi, tuma, tume, tumi, mtume, mtumi, utume, utumi, utumo, matumo, utumwa.**
> **mTumadyi** *wa-*, [..] Celui, elle qui envoie, qui députe, qui emploie.

In the dictionary compiled by researchers from *TUKI*, all derivative forms of the verb, which is the headword, are listed at the end of the article. There are no equivalents but information is given regarding the type of derivation, e.g. *tde – tendea* 'prepositional extension'.

> **l.a** *kt* 1. eat, consume. 2. erode. (nh) (1) *~ fedha* use money; (2) *~ hasara* incur a loss; (3) *~ njama* plot, conspire; (4) *~ rushwa* take a bribe; (5) *~ yamini* take an oath. (*tde*) **lia**; (*tdk*) **lika**; (*tdn*) **lana**; (*tds*) **lisha**; (*tdw*) **liwa**.

Should the given derivative form be widely used and possess a lexicalized meaning, it is additionally included as a headword with an equivalent. Such entries do not have references nor information regarding the verb, from which they are derived.

> **lish.a** *kt* feed, nourish; maintain, support: *~mtoto* feed a child; *~sumu* poison sb; *~mno* overfeed. (*tde*) **lishia**; (*tdk*) **lishika**; (*tdn*) **lishana**; (*tdw*) **lishwa**.

The remaining derivatives have the status of headwords but no information regarding their base is included:

> **mlo** *nm mi-* [*u-/i-*] meal, fare

As noted by Zgusta (1971: 16), various lexicographical decisions should be made with regards to future users of the dictionary: "we

must not forget that the lexicographer is doing scientific work, but that he publishes it for users whose pursuits are always more practical, at least as regarded from his own point of view".

Due to the above, the most user-friendly Swahili dictionary, with regards to its complexity, should do its utmost to register all existing derivations. As mentioned by Herms (1999), it is not without reason that Swahili language students give extremely high praise to the 'friendly' dictionary by *Baba Malaika*, whilst de Schryver and Prinsloo (2000) note the low popularity of those dictionaries which group words according to their roots. Snoxall (1965: 28) points out that a modern user-friendly Bantu dictionary should list verbs and their derivative forms "under the proper alphabetical position in the form in which they are used in actual speech, as words possessing meaning". User-friendly solutions may cause a lack of information regarding semantic and grammatical relations between lexemes. But these can be maintained with the use of an appropriate referencing system.

Kiango's (2000) postulates to supply users searching for the definitions of most words with references to their word-forming bases seems to be an unnecessary complication. An alternative solution to this may be the placing of a reference to the word base at the end of the entry, following its definition. This allows more adept users to widen their knowledge, whilst the less ardent ones will be spared the necessity of needlessly browsing through the pages of the dictionary.

Placing derivations under the base from which they were derived, requires advanced knowledge of language grammar from the user. According to Herms (1999), a method of saving space within the dictionary can be the omission of most regular derivative forms. Among derivatives causing the least learning problems to students, the author classifies the regularly formed passive and prepositional, as well as the reciprocal and reflexive forms. The dictionary should not however omit derivations created by processes, which change the grammatical category of the base and those formed by prefixation.

Due to significant productivity of derivative processes in Swahili, it seems impossible to be able to include all possible derivative forms

together with their definitions, at least not as part of a traditional printed dictionary. By according derivations the status of headwords, we also include them into our dictionary lemma-sign list. We should therefore revert back to the frequency list to include those derivative forms, which possess the highest probability of being searched by the user.

In the existing dictionaries, we can observe three rules regarding the inclusion of derivatives:

- random – the lexicographer includes various derivatives randomly, e.g. *Perrott*;
- in accordance with an approved procedure, e.g. in *TUKI* the most lexicalized forms were included;
- the maximum possible inclusion of all existing derivative forms, as in *Johnson*.

Basing the decision to include various derivative forms on the frequency list gives an opportunity to feature those forms, which users have the highest likelihood to come across during their work with the language. De Schryver and Prinsloo (2001a) performed a corpus research regarding the nominal and verbal derivations of the Swahili verb *sema* 'speak'. They extracted the derivatives from the 1.3 million corpus of the Swahili language (*Kiswahili Internet Corpus*), and then checked their omission/inclusion in two Swahili-English dictionaries: *Perrott* and *The Internet Living Swahili Dictionary*[5] (at that time the largest electronic Swahili dictionary, which consisted of over 50000 entries). The results of the analysis are presented in Table 2, where the letter 'Y' confirms the inclusion of the given form in the dictionary. As the table shows, the second most frequent form was not taken into account in either of the dictionaries, whilst forms which are not at all present in the corpus were included.

Table 2.

Number of occurrences in the corpus	Form	Perrott	The Internet Living Swahili Dictionary
10.862	sema	Y	Y
137	semekana		
117	msemaji	Y	Y
29	usemi	Y	Y
26	semwa	Y	Y
20	msemo		Y
6	semea		Y
4	semezana	Y	Y
4	msema		Y
2	semana		Y
1	semesha		Y
1	semeka	Y	Y
0	semezano		Y
0	msemi		Y
0	usemaji	Y	Y

Similar examples can be observed when analyzing the inclusion of words in dictionaries from the previously mentioned list of 200 most commonly used Swahili words, which was compiled from an over 12-million HCS corpus. Among the first 200 words, it is also possible to find derivatives. The inclusion of randomly selected forms in the dictionaries as *Perrott*, *Stopa-Garlicki*, and *TUKI* has been presented in the Table 3. We did not take into account such dictionaries as *Johnson* or *Abdulla*, where derivations, at least in regards to verbal forms, are in principle included as sub-entires of their bases. The letter 'Y' confirms the inclusion of the given form in the dictionary.

Table 3.

	Perrott	Stopa-Garlicki	TUKI
tumia	Y	Y	Y
fanyika			
uchaguzi	Y		Y
mwandishi			Y
mchezo	Y		Y
sababisha			Y

To summarize, the existing Swahili dictionaries can be classified into two groups in regards to headword arrangement and the procedure of the treatment of derivatives. The first group are alphabetical dictionaries, where all entry words have the status of headwords (e.g. *Baba Malaika*), the second are alphabetical-nest ones, which list the derivatives as part of the given headword, as its sub-entry (e.g. *Abdulla*). The use of the second group of dictionaries requires some knowledge regarding word formation. The user passively accessing such a dictionary may have issues with locating the given word.

Similar discussion may be raised concerning phraseological units. It has been analyzed in depth in an article by A. Chuwa (1996).

4.4 Homonyms

The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics (Matthews 2007) defines homonymy as "the relation between words whose forms are the same but whose meanings are different and cannot be connected". Typically, homonymy applies to entire units, lexemes. However, controversy surrounds the issue of differentiating homonymy from polysemy – in other words distinguishing various meanings of the same unit from various units with the same spelling. The line between homonymy and polysemy is not clear, but lexicography has always distinguished both types (Bünting 1989: 216).

A thorough analysis of Swahili homonyms was undertaken by Gibbe (1977). He introduces the distinctions between homonyms, such as homographs, homophones, and proper homonyms.

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Homographs are forms identically spelled, but differing in pronunciation and meaning. This phenomenon involving the existence of such forms is called homography. On the other hand, homophones are forms identical in pronunciation, but differing in regards to spelling, etymology and meaning. This phenomenon is called homophony (bf. Matthews 2007).

Swahili homographs in the most part originate from the historical occurrence of aspiration. Nowadays aspiration is not a distinctive feature and Swahili orthography does not mark its existence in spelling. Nevertheless a host of homonymic pairs exist in Swahili, which were etymologically differentiated by its occurrence (Polomé 1967: 39f.):

paa 'roof'
pʰaa 'little gazelle'

kaa 'sit'
kʰaa 'crab'

Homophones described in Gibbe (1977) possess all the above mentioned attributes. They have the same pronunciation, but differ in regards to spelling, etymology and meaning. However, the difference in spelling in the below examples only consists in the use of capital and lower case letters:

ukuta 'wall'
UKUTA 'abbreviation for *Usanifu wa Kiswahili na Ushairi Tanzania*'

Proper homonyms identified in Gibbe (1977) are identical in both spelling and pronunciation, differing only in regards to semantic and syntactic features.

Amongst others, he identifies:

• homonyms between onomatopoeic forms, for example:

pakacha 'night thief'
pakacha 'wicker basket'

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- homonyms, where one form is onomatopoeic, for example:

  pikipiki 'motorcycle'
  pikipiki 'a stick used to pull down fruits'

- synchronic homonyms, which exist between the same or various parts of speech.

Among nouns, he additionally distinguishes homonymic forms in singular and plural forms, for example:

  mto 'river', 'pillow'
  pl.: **mito** 'rivers', 'pillows'

and homonymic in either singular or plural, for example:

  mganga 'bush', 'medicine man'
  pl.1: **miganga** 'bushes'
  pl.2: **waganga** 'medicine men'

Paradigmatic homonymy (between various parts of speech) is not widespread. Gibbe (1977) identifies them between nouns and verbs, nouns and adjectives, nouns and adverbs, as well as amongst nouns and copula. He additionally also distinguishes homonymy with borrowed lexemes, for example:

  jazi 'jazz'
  jazi 'supplement'
  jazi 'provide'

The number of homonymic forms in Swahili varies from 2 to 5. In practical lexicography, attributing separate dictionary entries to given words constitutes an acknowledgement that they are homonyms. Traditionally, the issue of homonymy was resolved through etymological research; however, identifying homonyms on the basis

of the grammatical characteristics of the units has become an increasingly widespread practice. In lexicographical practice, homonymic entries are included one after the other and generally they are numbered:

jua[1] to know
jua[2] sun

On the other hand, polisemic meanings are included within one entry and their various meanings are typically listed one after the other, for example:

amini 1. believe 2. trust 3. imagine

The practice to number each separate homonym is used for instance in the following dictionaries: Snoxall (1958), *Stopa-Garlicki*, *TUKI* or *Abdulla*:

paa[1] *kt* crape (off/up) […]
paa[2] *kt* rise, ascend [...]
paa[3] *kt ~ moto* transfer embers [...]
paa[4] *nm [a-/wa-]* gazelle [...]
paa[5] *nm ma- [li-/ya-]* roof [...] (TUKI)

Lack of numeration can be observed in *Madan*, *Johnson*, *Perrott*, *Jahadhmy*, amongst others :

paa (-), small gazelle
paa (ma), roof of native house
paa, *1* to ascend; *2* to scrape   (Perrott)

The above examples illustrate not only the formal methodology of marking homonyms, but also more importantly the various rules regarding their classification. Four of the homonyms included for *paa* in the *TUKI* dictionary (the third meaning is entirely omitted) correspond with the three given in the *Perrott* dictionary. This is a result of referencing different attributes during the process of

identification. The *TUKI* dictionary classifies homonyms based on etymology, whilst the *Perrott* dictionary based on categories and grammatical features. The below examples also illustrate the above:

TUKI:	Perrott:
mto[1] *nm mi- [u-/i-]* river	**mto(mi),** *1* river; *2* pillow
mto[2] *nm mi- [u-/i-]* pillow	

4.5 Arrangement of entries

Two basic orders of headwords can be distinguished in a dictionary – alphabetical and non-alphabetical. The alphabetical arrangement can be *a fronte*, with an order based on the first letters of the headword and *a tergo* (reverse dictionary), with an order based on the end letters of the headword. The non-alphabetical arrangement can be based on semantic or conceptual criteria, e.g. thesaurus.

As noted by Bańko (1987), the *a tergo* headword arrangement seems to be logical in the case of languages, where the inflectional or derivational morphemes predominantly occur in the form of prefixes. Swahili is mentioned as an example of such a language. However, amongst the Swahili lexicography the *a tergo* arrangement seems not to be popular and no publication of this kind was available to the author. This most likely results from several key issues. Irrespective of the commercial viability of such an endeavor, the factors mentioned by Bańko, such as the psychological impact or the influence of European lexicography, seem to sufficiently explain the *status quo*. Another reason may also stem from the issue of describing Swahili as a prefixal language, given the amount of derivational suffixes used.

Alphabetical arrangement seems to be the most natural and it is widely used in all bilingual Swahili dictionaries, which are published in the *a fronte* version. The majority of dictionary authors assume knowledge of the alphabet by users and do not include it. The alphabet is only to be found in dictionaries, where the second language is written down in a non-Latin alphabet, e.g. the Swahili-Russian dictionary by Ol'derogge (1961), or if the author distinguished language-specific sounds, as in the Swahili-French

dictionary by Sacleux (1939). An alphabet (excluding the letter *f*) was also introduced in the Swahili-English part of the *Perrott* dictionary, in order to explain the pronunciation rules for specific letters in the Swahili language.

All dictionaries, which maintain spelling of headwords with lower-case or capital letters (in *Johnson* and *Madan* all headwords start with a capital letter), consistently ignore the differences between them, treating them as textual variants of a given letter. For example, the following order will be used for the headwords: *uimbaji-Uingereza-uingiliaji*. Due to the differing spelling variants of the same word, e.g. *uislamu* (Ol'derogge 1961) and *Uislamu* (amongst others in *Perrott*), the only sensible option seems to be the rule to ignore differences in spelling. In the case of homonyms written down with capital or lower-case letters, the order in which they are defined is dependent on the dictionary, e.g. *TUKI* has *mzungu-Mzungu*, whilst *Abdulla: Mzungu-mzungu.* The order of these words is also not always consistently applied within a single dictionary, e.g. *TUKI* lists *mzungu-Mzungu,* but *Pemba-pemba.*

In accordance with Bańko (1987), there are two possible versions of an alphabetical order, namely the 'letter by letter' order (henceforth LBL) and the 'word by word' order (henceforth WBW). The difference between the two results from the different treatment of non-letter symbols which belong to the headword. In LBL, symbols such as spaces, hyphens, full stops, apostrophes are ignored, whilst the WBW order treats them as equal to the letters of the alphabet.

In Swahili, non-letter symbols, i.e. apostrophes and sporadically spaces, frequently appear in headwords. Apostrophes can be found in headwords such as *ng'aa* 'to shine', *ng'ombe* 'cow'. In all dictionaries with Swahili as the source language, apostrophes are classified according to the LBL order, i.e. they are ignored. The following order, therefore, is used for the below headwords:

ng'aa
ngabu
ngadu
....

ng'amu
ngano

In the case of headwords which differ from each other only in regards to the apostrophe, the headword order is dependent on the rules agreed upon in the given dictionary:

ng'oa		ngoa	
ngoa	(Perrott)	ng'oa	(TUKI)

Due to the gradual blurring of pronunciation differences for headwords with apostrophes, the adoption of such an alphabetical order makes the search for words easier for those learning the language, irrespective of their orthographic competence level.

Headwords which include spaces remain very rare. There is, however, no generally approved rule regarding their treatment. The space can be ignored by adopting LBL or it can be assigned a place in the alphabet by using the WBW order. Adopting the LBL rule causes the headwords to be scattered and separated by other paradigmatically alien words. By using the second rule, multiword headwords, where the first word is the one which is common to all elements of the entry, will occupy adjacent places in the dictionary. Logically speaking, the space can be placed in the alphabet, preceding all the letters or following them.

The space appears as the last symbol of the alphabet in *Abdulla*. Taking into account the example below, it can be concluded that this arrangement seems quite unnatural and unintuitive. It is more likely that the user of the headword *na kadhalika* will initiate his search under the word *na* and not where it was placed in the dictionary – after *nazi*:

na
naam
......
nazi
na kadhalika
ncha

By applying the above rule, slightly similar to the LBL order, headwords with one common first word end up scattered throughout the dictionary. Implementing the LBL order brings about an arrangement which at least at first sight seems to be more natural:

na
naam
......
na kadhalika
nazi
ncha

By applying the WBW order with the space as the first symbol of the alphabet, we end up with the order which is most intuitive:

na
na kadhalika
naam

Such an order was introduced amongst others in *Perrott*:

mbweha
mcha Mungu
mchaguo

Another key issue is the adherence to the alphabetical order of headwords. Such impermissible lapses do, for instance, occur in *TUKI*:

malkia
malumbano
maaluni
mama

mabano
mabavu
mabadilishano
mabishano

uchale[1]
uchongeaji
uchale[2]

In the last example given, the headword *uchongeaji* lacks a definition, while the definition itself appears in its appropriate place.

5. Conclusion

In this article the macrostructural level of various bilingual dictionaries of Swahili has been analyzed. It showed the ways in which such issues as the treatment of derivatives or homonyms has been dealt with in some bilingual printed dictionaries. It revealed that no general decisions have been agreed upon by lexicographers so far and that editorial decisions are undertaken regardless other resources. The superiority of corpus-based approach has been identified and thus the need of urgent use of electronic corpora in Swahili lexicography has to be recognized by present-day dictionary compilers who should use the electronic data more effectively, as it has been already done by e.g. English language lexicographers.

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Survey of Swahili Dictionaries:
Elements of the Microstructure

Abstract: The present article investigates several elements of
the microstructural level of Swahili bilingual dictionaries. The
main emphasis is on the grammatical information, its content
and presentation in the various dictionaries chosen for analy-
sis. The other components of a dictionary entry analysed in-
clude the headword, its citation form, and additionally the
pronunciation, usage labels and etymological information not
found in every dictionary. We investigate the many ways in
which information can be presented to the user, influencing
the user-friendliness of a given dictionary.

Keywords: Swahili dictionaries, bilingual lexicography, mi-
crostructure, entry structure

1. Introduction

The present article is concerned with research into Swahili
lexicography. By focusing on some elements of the microstructural
level of selected bilingual dictionaries of Swahili it supplements the
article devoted to the macrostructure presented in the same journal
volume.

This analysis aims at detecting the differences and similarities
among Swahili bilingual dictionaries on the microstructural level,
and at identifying possible trends in Swahili dictionary compilation.
Since the use of a Swahili dictionary requires at least some basic
knowledge of Swahili grammar from its users, it is interesting to
investigate how dictionaries present different information. The
problem of the citation form in Swahili lexicography seems to be
agreed upon, but there are still discrepancies in the ways of

presenting grammatical information. Both these issues are part of dictionary culture that needs to be taught to the learners of Swahili.

As in the paper on macrostructure, contemporary printed dictionaries available to the author[1] have been included in the analysis, as well as reprints of works published at the beginning of the 20th century that significantly impacted Swahili lexicography, and are still available and remain at least in limited use. Obviously, nowadays users also use electronic dictionaries, especially in the early years of studying Swahili, but more advanced language studies require referring to the older dictionaries that often provide more extensive information than these new resources.

2. General remarks on the microstructure

The microstructure of a dictionary consists of the structure and components of the entries as opposed to the macrostructure that defines the type of entries the dictionary includes and the organization of the headword list (Atkins and Rundell 2008: 160). The basic unit in a dictionary is the entry. It has a strictly defined structure comprising various elements, of which part is mandatory, while the rest depends on the individual decisions of the particular lexicographer. In this paper, we will investigate some elements of the entry in traditionally printed bilingual Swahili dictionaries.

An entry in a dictionary with Swahili as a source language consists of a variety of combinations from the following fields:
a) The headword, i.e. the first word of the entry showing how
b) it is written, usually distinguished with the use of bold letters or capital letter print, for example: **ada**, **Adui**, MUUGÚZI. It may be a single word, a hyphenated word, or a phrase.
c) The pronunciation of the headword.

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[1] The list of dictionaries taken into consideration is not comprehensive. It has been limited to the dictionaries available at the library of the Department of African Languages and Cultures at the University of Warsaw, as well as those at the Helsinki University library. Additional works made available from the private collection of prof. Rajmund Ohly and that of the author have also been referenced in this paper.

d) The grammatical category of the headword, i.e. the symbol

e) of the part of speech - *'n'*, *'s'*, *'nm'* stand for noun entries, *'v'*, *'kt'* for verbs, whilst *'a'*, *'adj'*, *'kv'* for adjectives. In some dictionaries, especially the smaller ones, this information is occasionally omitted or – in the case of nouns – identified through information given regarding the word's plural form.

f) The grammatical characteristics of the headword, i.e. additional information aimed at classifying the given noun to its appropriate class.

g) The translation of the headword, i.e. equivalents, glosses, contextual translation.

h) Examples.

i) Usage.

j) Etymological information.

k) Cross-references.

Depending on the type of dictionary, the entry can vary in complexity. Its content is dependent on the grammatical category of the headword, the number of meanings, or the phraseological diversity.

Due to word inflection, there is a necessity to determine the base form – citation form, which would represent the given lexeme in a dictionary. Such a problem does not arise with the selection of a citation form for non-inflected lexemes, which only has one textual representation. Citation forms for other lexical units, due to them being part of convention, differ from language to language or even within a single language depending on the dictionary.

The headword may be further described with grammatical information on different levels, its pronunciation, etymology or tips on usage. But the core of every entry in every bilingual dictionary is the translation of the meaning of the headword. It has been examined e.g. in Kiango (2000), who conducted a critical survey of Bantu language dictionaries.

The main goal of the present paper is the investigation of how grammatical information is presented in various traditionally printed bilingual dictionaries of Swahili. We will also look at other issues,

such as the citation form, and the presence of information on pronunciation, usage and etymology.

3. The citation form

In the case of languages with a long lexicographical tradition, the citation forms have long been determined and lexicographers easily avoid the problem of discrepancies between dictionaries. The methodology, which has been well researched for European languages and is above all based on Latin, cannot always be without proper scrutiny applied to languages for which the grammatical structures significantly differ from those of Indo-European languages (cf. the discussion regarding lemmatization in Knowles and Mohd Don 2004).

According to lexicographical recommendations, all forms which naturally come to mind to users when searching a dictionary should function as headwords. But due to the complex morphological structure of Swahili words, the choice of the citation form is not always obvious (cf. Kiango 2000).

In Swahili lexicographic tradition, that is followed by all dictionaries under analysis, noun headwords are introduced in singular form together with the nominal prefix, for example *mtu* 'man'. On the other hand, verbs use sequences identical to the infinitive form, but without the infinitive prefix *ku-*, for example *penda* 'love' (instead of *kupenda)*, and adjectives, numerals, and pronouns are represented by non-prefixal forms, for example *zuri* 'good'. To inform the user that the given word necessitates the addition of a prefix in order to take on a proper form, the headwords are in some dictionaries preceded by a hyphen.

The Swahili nouns are grouped into noun classes based on their prefixes. Almost every noun possesses two prefixes – for singular and for plural forms.

(1)

mtoto	**wa**toto	'child, children'
mkoba	**mi**koba	'bag, bags'
kiti	**vi**ti	'chair, chairs'

Lexicographers have adopted a solution in which the headword is the noun in singular form with a class prefix and information regarding the plural form prefix is often given directly after the headword. In order to be able to make use of such prefixal information, knowledge regarding the formation of plural noun forms is necessary. The main problem can be the identification of the prefix and the stem. Most dictionaries do not differentiate the prefix from the stem. However, some do attempt to take into consideration non-advanced users and try to signalize the different parts of the word.

Such rare exceptions include: the Swahili-French dictionary by Sacleux (1939), in which the first letter of the noun stem is written with a capital letter:

(2)
kiTu
mToto
uFũnguo

and the Swahili-Finnish dictionary by Abdulla et al. (2002), in which the prefix and the stem are divided by a vertical line:

(3)
ki|tu
m|toto
u|funguo

Occasionally pronouns, especially demonstrative and possessive, are included in the dictionary in their full form, i.e. with a prefix, for example in Baba Malaika (1994):

(4)
changu 'mine, class 7'
hizi   'these, class 10'

The other issue is the problem of conventional spelling. In the case of Swahili, one must take into account the existence of several

spelling variants of the same word. Various examples of headword variants can be found in most Swahili dictionaries, for example:

(5)
Ahsante, *and* Ahsanta, Asánt	(Madan 1903)
Angao, *sometimes* Angalao	(Johnson 1939)
afu, afua	(Perrott 1965)
angalau *pia* angalao	(TUKI 2001)

Despite the widespread use of variants, there a long ongoing debate regarding the issue. One of the assumptions behind the standardization of the Swahili language undertaken in the 1930s was the identification of standard forms which would supplant other dialectical variants. The standardization committee compiled and propagated a list of standard forms. As part of the committee's work, two dictionaries were published: the monolingual *Swahili Dictionary* (1935) and *Swahili-English Dictionary* (1939), both authored by Frederick Johnson. The main purpose of both was the description and popularization of the standard language. As opposed to earlier dictionaries, the characteristic feature of double consonants in loan-words was dropped, for example *asubuhi* instead of *assubuhi*, and an attempt was made to include just a single standard form from among several variants. As a result of the conducted research, new dictionaries significantly decreased the amount of headwords with variants, albeit they have not been entirely eliminated. Mdee (1999) cites a comparison of the number of variants in Johnson's dictionaries in comparison to earlier dictionaries. As shown in table 1, the first dictionary by Johnson with just 1% of variants seems to fulfil the requirements of the standardization committee.

	Steere (1870)	Krapf (1882)	Velten (1910)	Johnson (1935)	Johnson (1939)
Number of headwords	243	383	265	293	281
Number of headwords with variants	13	52	42	4	27
% number of variants	5	13	16	1	10

Table 1. Variant orthography for the Letter A in dictionaries before Johnson.

The introduction of the standard form by the committee was done under the assumption that future lexicographers would cooperate with its propagation. The dictionaries published in the second half of the 20th Century, ergo after the release of Johnson's dictionaries, borrowed the dropping of double consonants in loan-words. They did not, however, discard variants. Mdee (1999) conducted an analysis of entries beginning with the letter *A* from three dictionaries: the *Swahili-English Dictionary* (Rechenbach 1968), *Kamusi ya Kiswahili Sanifu* (TUKI 1981) and the *Swahili-English Dictionary* (Feeley 1990), which is presented in table 2:

	Rechenbach (1968)	TUKI (1981)	Feeley (1990)
Number of headwords	401	528	298
Number of headwords with variants	77	53	5
% number of variants	19	10	2

Table 2. Variant spellings in post-Johnson dictionaries for the Letter A.

All three dictionaries note a certain amount of variants. Two of them, by Rechenbach and TUKI, quoted variants already included in the dictionaries published before Johnson (1935). The Feeley dictionary represents a different case, as only 2% of the headwords have variants; therefore, it can be considered a model publication. However in such a diverse language, used by the inhabitants of several countries, it may never be possible to entirely eliminate variants.

4. Grammatical information

Each lexical unit in a dictionary is described with its grammatical properties (Atkins and Rundell 2008: 494). The provided information depends on how large and complex the dictionary is, and what the author thought the users might need. The grammar component is flexible and can hold any information, e.g. the class number for Swahili nouns.

As noted by Bień (1991: 30), "the dictionary's morphological information can be divided into two types, which should be strongly linked with each other: morphological information, which is included in a specific entry, and the morphological tables, the purpose of which it is to interpret the headword's morphological information." The way the dictionary expresses the grammatical information is to be found in the introductory part. The grammatical information provided in Swahili dictionaries mostly depends on the word category and may be categorised as basic or extended, when more information than just the part of speech or plural prefix for a noun is provided.

4.1 Grammatical information for verbs

Example (6) presents an entry for a verb in three bilingual Swahili dictionaries:

(6)
Sema, v. say, talk, converse, speak. Sema sana, speak loud. Sema na, talk to, converse with. But sema with an object pers. –pfx. means 'speak against, abuse' (cf. amba, and ambia), e.g. watu watamsema sana, people will abuse him soundly. Jisema (and jisemea), pretend, profess – to be what one is not. Ps. semwa. Nt. semeka, e.g. be said, admit of being uttered, pronounced, &c. Ap. sem-ea, -ewa, e.g. speak to, address, say to (contr. ambia, which introduces the words used). Semea puani, speak with a nasal twang. Hence semeana. Cs. sem-esha, -eshwa, -eza, -ezwa, and hence semezana, hold a conversation together, wrangle. Rp. semana, abuse each other. (Madan 1903)

sema mówić, twierdzić, wyjaśniać; głosić; ~ **kwa uwongo** udawać; ~ **kweli** mówić prawdę; ~ **ndio** przyznawać się; ~ **polepole** mówić cicho; ~ **sana**

mówić głośno; ~ **siyo** zaprzeczać; **mambo niliyoona hayasemeki** rzeczy, które widziałem są nie do opowiedzenia; **wasemaje?** co mówisz? (Stopa and Garlicki 1966)

sema to speak or talk; to say something. Alisema kwa sauti ya juu. Mama alisema turudi saa tano. (Cahill 1972)

Verb headwords are often distinguished by the use of the abbreviations *v* and *kt*[2]. There are two types of verbal entries. In the first, there is no information regarding the grammatical category or properties of the headword, as for example in Cahill (1972), Perrott (1965), and Stopa and Garlicki (1966). This omission can in part be compensated by preceding the headword with a hyphen, as for example in the Höftmann and Herms dictionary (1979).

The second group holds three types of information: 1. information exclusively identifying the grammatical category of the entry, as in Madan (1903) and Johnson (1939), in example (7); 2. information regarding the grammatical category and the verb form, as in Krapf (1882) and Abdulla et al. (2002), in example (8); 3. information regarding the transitivity of the verb, as in TUKI (2001), example (9).

(7)
Acha, *v.*

(8)
Acha, *v. a.*[3]
chakarisha *v kaus*

(9)
enda, *kt [sie]*[4]
endesha, *kt [ele]*

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[2] *Kt* is derived from the Swahili word for 'verb' *kitenzi*.

[3] The abbreviations stand for: *v. a.* – verb in the active voice, *v kaus* – verb in the causative form.

[4] The abbreviations stand for: *kt [sie]* – non-transitive verb, *kt [ele]* – transitive verb.

4.2 Grammatical information for nouns

Below, several examples of noun entries in bilingual dictionaries with Swahili as the source language are provided:

(10)
MUUGÚZI, s. (wa*), one who tends or nurses sick persons; vid.* ku ugúa. (Krapf 1882)

Adui, n. (-, and ma-) enemy, foe, opponent (Ar. Cf. *adawa, wadui*, and syn. B. *mtesi, msindani*.) (Madan 1903)

Jina, n. ma- name i.e. proper name. *Jina lako nani?* What is your name? *Jina la kupanga*, nickname (borrowed name). *Tia (-pa) jina*, give a name. *Jina lake linaitwaje*? What is its name? (cf. taja) (Johnson 1939)

kiti IV krzesło, stołek (Stopa and Garlicki 1966)

ada (ada) a fee – that is money which someone pays so that he can do something. *Baba aliwalipia wanawe ada za shule.* (Cahill 1972)

Noun entries are characterized by introducing the symbols *s, n* or *nm*[5], depending on the metalanguage of the dictionary. In some dictionaries, this information is omitted altogether or the noun is identified through the use of information regarding the plural form of the headword.

The main purpose of a noun entry description is supplying information, which is useful during the classification of a given entry to one of the noun classes. This is essential for the proper use of concordial feature in a sentence. The most commonly presented information is the plural form of the noun by providing its prefix or the whole word in the case of irregular forms. Concordial prefixes sometimes can also be included, as well as the explicit grammatical class number of the headword.

We can distinguish three main types of information: 1. syntactic, 2. the plural form only, 3. the explicit noun class number. Different

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[5] *Nm* is an abbreviation from the Swahili word *nomino* 'noun'.

kinds of grammatical information compete with each other in the various dictionaries depending on the author's preferences. The smaller the dictionary the less information is provided, but no subsequent evolution can be observed as the same type can be found in older and newer dictionaries.

The below illustrated structures have been described in more detail in subsequent paragraphs. Additionally, each of them has been identified by providing the name of the dictionary's author, in which the given solution was introduced for the first time.

1. Syntactic
   a) **kitu**, s. (cha, *pl.* vitu)
      mlango, s. (wa, *pl.* mi-)
      paka, s. (wa, *pl.* wa and za)

   b) **kitu** nm vi [ki-/vi-]
      mlango nm mi [u-/i-]
      paka nm [a-/wa-]

2. Plural form only
   a) **kitu**, n. (vi-)
      mlango, n. (mi-)
      paka, n. (-, or ma-)

   b) **kitu** (vi)
      mlango (mi)
      paka (-)

   c) **kitu** (vitu)
      mlango (milango)
      paka (paka)

3. Explicit noun class number
   a) **kitu**, IV,
      mlango, II,
      paka, III,

b) **kitu** *s 7/8*
   mlango *s 3/4*
   paka *s 9/10*

4.2.1 Syntactic information

This specific type of structure, used in the first Swahili – English dictionary compiled in the second half of the 19th century by Krapf (1882), introduces kind of syntactic information within the grammatical part of an entry.

The structure proposed by Krapf, as in example (11), was never precisely duplicated in further publications. The headword, similarly as in each subsequent dictionary, is a noun in its singular form. After the coma, following the headword, the symbol of the noun category appears -*s*. Following this, in round brackets, the grammatical features of the headword are presented in two forms. The first is the use of the possessive particle -*a*, the second is information regarding the plural form of the noun. Multiple inconsistencies in the dictionary's structure also manifest themselves in the presentation of the plural form, which is done with the use of the prefix itself as well as with the whole word, e.g. *vitu* as the plural form to *kitu* and *mi*- as the plural prefix to the noun *mlango*.

(11)
kitu, s. (cha, *pl.* vitu)
mlango, s. (wa, *pl.* mi-)
paka, s. (wa, *pl.* wa and za)

The introduction of information regarding the plural form into the dictionary informs the user about the class the noun belongs to. It is however worth focusing attention on the accompanying inclusion of the possessive particle. Such information presents the superior value of animacy over class agreement. Example (12) illustrates the definitions for nouns from classes, in which the plural form is identical to that of the singular. Instead of a plural prefix, the form of the accompanying possessive particle is included. In this case, animate nouns, which are the names of animals, are exceptions, such

as the below example of *paka* 'cat'. Due to their animacy, they require agreement as if they were human class nouns; however, for possessive pronouns and the possessive particle in the plural form they may still take on the other class prefix, such as in the examples of the nouns *nyumba* 'house' and *paka* 'cat':

(12)
niúmba, s. (ya, *pl.* za)
paka, s. (wa, *pl.* wa and za)

The other dictionary that incorporates syntactic information is the Tanzanian TUKI dictionary (2001). Similarly to the Krapf dictionary, it features the use of pronominal prefixes in the grammatical information for the entry.

After the headword, the symbol *nm* identifies the word category. Subsequently, the plural noun prefix is presented, which is omitted for classes 9/10, as in *paka* compared to *mlango* and *kitu* in (13). The last element of the structure, presented in square brackets, is information regarding the subject prefixes. Such a description introduces the new method of analysing Swahili nouns present in modern grammars of the language (cf. Mohammed 2001). According to it, nouns are no longer analysed by their *form* but rather by their *function*. What is analysed is the variety of the grammatical markers known as subject prefixes and not the nominal prefixes themselves. Thus, nouns which in traditional grammars belonged to classes 9/10 but were animate, such as *paka* 'cat', are here placed together with other animate nouns in the classes that take an agreement *a-/wa-*. This perspective sheds light on how the language is viewed by the native speakers.

(13)
kitu nm vi [ki-/vi-]
mlango nm mi [u-/i-]
paka nm [a-/wa-]

It is significant that this structure was introduced in the first dictionary of Swahili written in the 19th century and then in the first dictionary written by Tanzanian lexicographers, i.e. native speakers

of the language. Krapf was a German missionary, who was the first to describe the language. He also wrote a dictionary for his Swahili-speaking followers. In turn, the TUKI authors thought of native speakers of Swahili as the main user group. The metalanguage of the TUKI dictionary is Swahili and there is no introduction in English. Language learners may notice that the dictionary does not even include a noun class table which the user could consult for help.

4.2.2 Plural form only

This the most popular structure was first introduced in Madan's Swahili-English dictionary (1903). The structure may vary slightly in various dictionaries but it always informs the user on the plural prefix or full form of the noun.

The structure proposed by Madan was then replicated in the first dictionary of Standard Swahili by Johnson (1939). After a comma and following the headword, the symbol of the noun category is provided – *n.* In round brackets, later omitted by Johnson, the plural noun prefix is presented. In the case of class 9/10 nouns, whose forms are identical, the symbol '-' appears. Should the given noun have two variants of the plural form, both are presented, as in the entry for *paka* in (14).

(14)
kitu, n. (vi-)
mlango, n. (mi-)
paka, n. (-, or ma-)

A more popular structure that omits the part of speech category symbol was applied in the 1939 Swahili-French dictionary by Sacleux, which was next replicated, amongst others, in such dictionaries as Ol'derogge (1961), Perrott (1965), Höftmann and Herms (1979), Wazaki (1980), Jahadhmy (1981), Lodhi and Otterbrandt (1987), and Baba Malaika (1994).

Immediately following the headword, there the plural noun prefix, which in most dictionaries tends to be given in round brackets. Noun classes 9/10 are primarily marked with '-', although

the symbol ':' is also in use in Jahadhmy (1981) and '*n*' in Lodhi and Otterbrandt (1987), as in example (15).

(15)

kiTu vi-	(Sacleux, 1939)
kitu (vi-)	(Ol'derogge 1961)
mlango (mi)	(Perrott 1965)
mlango, mi-	(Wazaki 1980)
paka (:)	(Jahadhmy 1981)
paka (n)	(Lodhi and Otterbrandt 1987)
paka-	(Baba Malaika 1994)

A variation of this structure that gives the full plural form of the headword was applied in Cahill's Swahili-English dictionary (1972), as in example (16).

(16)
kitu (vitu)
mlango (milango)
paka (paka)

The plural form or prefix unequivocally point to the grammatical class of a given word; hence, despite the lack of an explicit designation for parts of speech, the user can easily and correctly identify the lexeme. Such is the most popular structure of small learners' dictionaries.

4.2.3 Explicit noun class number

The structure of the entry proposed in the Swahili-German dictionary by Velten (1938) was then implemented in the Swahili-Polish dictionary by Stopa and Garlicki (1966). Unlike the previously described structures, it is based on the explicit mention of the class to which a given noun belongs. The number, which groups the given headword to a specific grammatical class and references the user to the appropriate inflection table, is symbolized with Roman numerals immediately following the headword, as in example (17).

(17)
kitu, IV,
mlango, II,
paka, III,

Nominal classes, based on the division first proposed by Krapf
(1882), differ slightly from the currently accepted classification.
According to this typology, 8 classes were identified on the basis of
their prefixes, which were additionally defined by distinguishing
various semantic fields. Each of the classes consists of both the
singular and the plural form of a noun, and only within a given class
are singular/plural prefixes distinguished. The authors of the first
classification focused mainly on identifying the semantic features of
the classes. The differences in interpreting occurrences are especially
easy to notice when describing classes 3 to 6. Disregarding semantic
issues, we can also observe differences amongst class formants.
Krapf includes words without any prefixes into class 3, those lacking
prefixes in singular form but having the plural prefix *ma* are
categorized to class 4, class 5 consists of nouns with *ki/ch* prefixes in
the singular and *vi/vy* in the plural, whilst class 6 is characterized
with the vowel *u* in singular form. Meanwhile, Madan in his
dictionary from 1903 defines class 3 with *ki/ch* and *vi/vy* prefixes, 4
with *m/mw* and *n*, 5 with a *ma* plural form prefix, whilst 6 as having
no prefix whatsoever. Miachina (1987) places the prefixes *ji/j/-* and
ma in class 3, words without a prefix in singular form and a *ma*
prefix in the plural in class 4, nouns with *ki/ch* prefixes in the
singular and *vi/vy* in the plural make up class 5, whilst class 6
consists of nouns with the vowel *u* in singular form. Number 7 is
mostly reserved for the locative class and 8 for forms with the prefix
ku-, i.e. verbal nouns; however, Miachina introduces the opposite
order for 7 and 8.

Velten, on the basis of his Swahili grammar published in 1911,
distinguishes the following class prefixes applied in the dictionary:

I   m/mw wa
II   m/mw mi

III	n/ny
IV	ki/ch vi/vy
V .	ji/j/- ma
VI	u/w ny
VII	mu, pa, ku
VIII	ku

The entry structure used in the Swahili-Finnish dictionary (Abdulla et al. 2002) to some extent corresponds with the Velten dictionary described above. Similarly to the German dictionary, it explicitly informs about the nominal class the noun belongs to; however, it uses the currently approved classification based on the C. Meinhof's research, as in example (18).

(18)
kitu *s 7/8*
mlango *s 3/4*
paka *s 9/10*

When publishing the comparative grammar of Bantu languages in 1906, Meinhof determined the underlying semantic features of the 22 reconstructed classes. Next, E.C. Polomé (1967) published a renowned grammar of the Swahili language, in which he attempted to introduce new definitions for specific classes by referring to protobantu research and accepting Meinhof's class numeration. This numeration is to this day used in research papers regarding Swahili, as well as for teaching purposes[6] (cf. Ohly et al. 1998).

4.3 Grammatical information for adjectives
Below we present few examples of entries for adjectives in various bilingual dictionaries of Swahili:

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[6] This kind of grammatical information is also found in electronic dictionaries of Swahili that are the most popular among the students in Poland, these are http://africanlanguages.com/swahili/index.php?l=en and http://kamusi.pl/.

(19)

-embamba, a. (*nyemb*. with D4 (P), D 6, *jembamba* with D5 (S)), narrow, thin, slim, pinched, confined; (2) fine, delicate, minute (in texture, fabric, grain). *Mtu mw*., a thin, spare man. *Mlango mw*., a narrow entrance, strait, *Mchanga mw.*, fine sand. *Hewa nyemb*., all- penetrating, thin air. *Nguo neymb*., fine, thin calico, gauze. (Cf. *bamba, ubamba*, and contr. *–pana, -nene*) (Madan 1903)

-embamba cienki, chudy, delikatny, szczupły (Stopa and Garlicki 1966)

-embamba narrow or thin. Wavulana wale ni wembamba. Fuata njia ile nyembamba. Miti hii ni myembamba. (Cahill 1972)

Adjective headwords are usually distinguished with the use of category name abbreviations such as *a.*, *adj.* or *kv*[7]. Among the adjective entries, four distinct types can be identified:

a) **Laini**, adj (kv)
   Zuri, adj

b) **Laini**, a.
   -zuri, a. (**nzuri** with D4(P), D6, **zuri** with D5(S))

c) **Laini**, a. (adj./kv)
   -zuri, a.

d) **laini**,
   -zuri,

The grammatical information included in adjective entries is not as extensive as for noun entries. Most dictionaries place a hyphen before headwords that take concordial prefixes; however, this rule is not always systematically applied throughout the whole dictionary, as for example in TUKI (2001).

The only dictionary with extensive grammatical information featured in the entry is the Swahili-English dictionary by Madan (1903) presented in (20). The headwords which take on prefixes are

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[7] *Kv* is an abbreviation from the Swahili word for 'adjective' *kivumishi*.

accompanied by additional information regarding their agreement with specific classes, where D4 (P) means class 4 in plural form, D6 class 6, D5 (S) class 5 in singular form and so forth:

(20)
-embamba, a. (*nyemb.* with D4 (P), D 6, *jembamba* with D5 (S)),
-gumu, a. (*ngumu* with D4(P), D6, *gumu* with D6(S))
-zuri, a. (nzuri with D4(P), D6, zuri with D5(S))

Another explicit method of supplying information on agreement is the use of examples. This requires insight into the entry, but gives a visualization of the prefixal changes taking place in specific phrases. This solution was adopted amongst others by Cahill (1972), who supplied full sentences, and Wazaki (1980), who cited examples of phrases:

(21)
-embamba narrow or thin. *Wavulana wale ni wembamba. Fuata njia ile nyembamba. Miti hii ni myembamba.* (Cahill 1972)
-embamba [...] *mtu mwembamba, mlango mwembamba, mchanga mwembamba, uji mwembamba, hewa nyumbamba, nugo nyembamba.* (Wazaki 1980)

4.4 Grammatical information for other parts of speech
The remaining parts of speech are defined in accordance with the above described rules, i.e. some dictionaries, especially the more comprehensive ones, supply information regarding the grammatical category of the headword.

(22)
-angu *kv* mine   (TUKI 2001)
-angu *poss* minun   (Abdulla et al. 2002)

Additionally, in cases when the pronouns are included in their full form together with the prefixes, supplementary information regarding the class which they define may be provided, such as in Abdulla et al. (2002) as compared to TUKI (2001):

(23)
changu *kv* see –*angu*. mine, my: *Kitabu* ~ my book. (TUKI 2001)
kw|angu *poss 15/17* minun   (Abdulla et al. 2002)

Non-inflected parts of speech may or may not be provided with information regarding the grammatical category to which they belong:

(24)
jana, *adv*. yesterday   (Krapf 1882)
ghafla *kl* suddenly   (TUKI 2001)
ghafula, suddenly; unexpectedly   (Perrott 1965)

5. Information regarding pronunciation

Information regarding pronunciation is usually included next to the headwords, where – from the user's point of view – there may be a difference between pronunciation and spelling (cf. Żmigrodzki 2003: 108). In the Swahili language, following standardization, consonants are pronounced as in the English language, whilst vowels as in the Italian language. Instructions regarding pronunciation are usually supplied in the introductory part of dictionaries for learners of Swahili, for example in Perrott (1965) or Abdulla et al. (2002).

The only dictionary from among those that are being analysed which supplies information regarding headword pronunciation is the Polish glossary by Stopa and Garlicki (1966). Information written with the use of a phonetic alphabet only accompanies those headwords which in the opinion of the authors may cause problems for Polish users, as in (25). The other entries have no information on pronunciation.

(25)
cheka [tʃeka] śmiać się
finya [fiɲa]szczypać, ściskać
heshima [heʃima] III honor, respekt
jana [dʒana] wczoraj

6. Usage labels

Usage labels, which inform about the adherence of a given unit to a specific stylistic variation, region or determining its meaning, are seldom used in Swahili dictionaries. When introduced, they are present in the form of abbreviations, as in Ol'derogge (1961), or whole words, as in TUKI (2001).

One of the few such examples, but which at the same time introduces a very extensive terminological label list, is the Swahili-Russian dictionary by Ol'derogge (1961). The abbreviations, written in italics immediately after the headword, inform the user about specialist vocabulary from such fields as anatomy, biology, botany, medicine, mathematics, ethnography, or zoology:

(26)
choa (-) *мед.* стригущий лишай
mitu (-) *зоол.* индийский какадў

The qualifiers used in TUKI (2001) have been divided by the authors themselves into chronological, terminological and social-environmental, such as *zamani* 'archaism' in (27):

(27)
makame *nm [a-/wa-]* (zamani) headman, traditional Pemba ruler.

Other dictionaries, in less comprehensive forms, include advice in the main part of the entry that refers to the dissemination of a given headword or one of its meanings. For example, Johnson (1939) informs about obsolete or rarely used phrases:

(28)
Adha,* n. trouble, discomfort. Rarely used.

Stopa and Garlicki (1966) selectively supply information for medical *med.* or nautical *żegl.* terminology:

(29)

tanga [taŋga] V żagiel; **tweka** ~ podnieść żagiel; **shusha** ~ zwinąć żagiel; **punguza** ~ zrefować (żegl.); **mtu wa ku** ~ niezdecydowany człowiek

When analysing labels, it is also worth noting the Swahili – French dictionary by Sacleaux (1939), which was compiled as a supplement to the grammar book of the same author, *Grammaire des dialectes swahili,* published at the beginning of the 20th century. This specialist on Swahili dialects left behind an indispensable text, which documented unique dictionary lexis. Nowadays, the symbols and abbreviations accompanying almost every headword are to a certain extent unclear; nonetheless, they supply information regarding not only the dialect from which the given lexeme originates, its equivalent in other dialects, but also data concerning stylistic varieties. In the below example, *DS.* stands for the southern dialect from Mozambique, while *Ngw*. – for the central dialect *kingwana*:

(30)
-**Čănga** (DS. Ngw.). n. Commencer à percer (poils de barbe, *ndevu*), syn. *ãnza kutoka.*

7. Etymological information
Additional information regarding word etymology is an important element of any dictionary of a language whose lexis is in 30% comprised of loanwords. This information is therefore included in almost all of the more comprehensive Swahili dictionaries.

In Madan (1903), Johnson (1939), as well as in TUKI (2001), non-Bantu headwords are marked with an asterisk, while additional information concerning etymology is supplied at the end of the entry. The example (31) from the TUKI dictionary presents an English loanword. An asterisk was also applied in the German dictionary by Höftmann and Herms (1979) with the slight difference that the information regarding word etymology was included directly after the headword, as in example (32).

(31)
hospitali* *nm ma- [i-/zi-]* hospital. (Kng)[8]

(32)
Akrobati* *<eng>* (ma-) Akrobat *m*

However, Johnson does not limit himself to basic information and similarly to his predecessors, Krapf (1882) and Sacleux (1939), he includes the word from which the loan originates. This principle is applied mostly to loanwords from languages transcribed in the Arabic alphabet:

(33)
 Waima, * also **Waina**, conj. if not, otherwise, for the usu. *kama sivyo.* (Arab. ‏ح‏.‏او‏)

Other dictionaries include etymological information limited only to pointing out the source language, immediately following the grammatical information:

(34)
hospitali (-) [*англ.*] госпиталь, больница. (Ol'derogge 1961)
hospitali *s 9/10, 5/6 eng* sairaala (Abdulla et al. 2002)

hospitali *s 9/10, 5/6 eng* sairaala (Abdulla et al. 2002)

8. Conclusion
The manner of presenting various microstructural elements varies in Swahili bilingual dictionaries. Not only may the combination of various parts differ but also the provided information. The entry elements investigated in this paper included the citation form, grammatical information, pronunciation, usage labels and etymological information.
    The problem of the citation form continues to be discussed in literature but it seems to have been solved in the dictionaries

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[8] The label *Kng* stands for *Kiingereza* 'English'.

themselves. The adopted solution takes word forms (stems with class prefixes) as citation forms for nouns and stems as citation forms for verbs and adjectives. Other parts of speech, such as pronouns, vary depending on the dictionary. However, the grammatical information accompanying noun entries tends to be the most interesting aspect among the analysed elements of the microstructure. Several entry structures have been identified in various dictionaries, which differ in the information that is provided on a given noun. It may be information on the plural form/prefix, pronominal form/prefix, a combination of both, or explicitly on the noun class number. Both the citation form and the grammatical information require at least some basic knowledge of Swahili grammar from the dictionary users. Therefore, dictionary culture has to be part of Swahili language classes. Also authors of new dictionaries should take into account not only the solutions adopted in older dictionaries but, what is more important, the preferences and habits of their users.

As part of the summary, table 3 presents an overview of the analysed elements and some additional dictionary features of the microstructural level in chosen Swahili bilingual dictionaries.

Table 3.

Author	Krapf	Madan	Velten	Sacleux	Johnson	Ol'derogge	Perrott	Stopa and Garlicki	Cahill	Wazaki	Jahadhmy	Baba Malaika	TUKI	Abdulla et al.
Languages Swahili - *	Eng	Eng	Deu	Fra	Eng	Rus	Eng	Pol	Eng	Jpn	Eng	Eng	Eng	Fin
1st edition	1882	1992	1938	1939	1939	1961	1965	1966	1972	1978	1981	1994	2001	2002
No. of pages	433	442	252	1114	548	560	184	126	80	842	106	206	372	405
Swahili grammar	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
Noun class table[9]				-	-				-		+		-	+
Dialects	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Grammatical information	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
extended[10]	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
Pronunciation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Examples	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
translation	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
no translation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
Phraseological units	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+		+	+	+
Etymology	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+		-	+	+
Synonyms	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+		-	-	-
Verbal derivations[11]														
under the base form	+	+		+	+	+				+				+
as main entries			+				+	+	+		+	+	+	
Noun derivations[12]														
under the base form					+									
as main entries	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Ref. to base form[13]	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
Illustrations	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-

[9] In dictionaries without an introduction to Swahili grammar.

[10] Information other than the part of speech, verbal form, prefix (or full form) for a plural noun.

[11] In reference to the placement of the definition.

[12] In reference to the placement of the definition.

[13] Whether there is a connection to the base form in cases when a derivative is the main entry.

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Linguistic and Cultural Pitfalls of Patient-carer Communication in the Official Health Care Structures of North Cameroon[1]

Abstract: North Cameroon displays nearly sixty local languages for an estimated 3,500,000 people. Such a multilingualism is offset by the use of a major trade language, Fulfulde or Fula (spoken by Fulɓe or Fulani), which allows basic exchanges to take place in many settings. Owing to increased rates of school attendance, French has been taking on a greater but still limited role in interethnic communication. The question of language comes immediately to the fore in any medical consultation, yet there are also prior cultural factors in play which have a strong impact on the procedure.

Keywords: Cameroon, health, multilingualism, cross-cultural communication

1. The linguistic situation in the Far North of Cameroon

The sociolinguistic situation in the region discussed here, North Cameroon, is remarkably complex. In 2010, nearly sixty local languages were spoken by an estimated 3,500,000 people (17.9% of the country's total population) in the Far North alone. Most of these languages pertain to the Central branch of the Chadic family. The sec-

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ond group is formed by Adamawa languages (a Niger-Congo family). Quantitatively less important are the Kanuri (Nilo-Saharan) and the Shuwa Arabic (Semitic) languages. In addition to these local languages, one finds a variety of other languages spoken by inhabitants native to other parts of the country and by foreigners, mostly Chadians and Nigerians. Cameroon also has two national languages, French and English. The Far North is in francophone territory, though there is a small minority of English speakers.

This omnipresent multilingualism is offset by the use of a major trade language, Fulfulde or Fula (spoken by Fulɓe or Fulani), which allows basic exchanges to take place in many settings. Owing to increased rates of school attendance, French has been taking on a greater but still limited role in interethnic communication, though the local standard fluctuates and often diverges from the more widely used forms of the official language.

2. Where to go for medical consultation

There are currently (2016) 3 regional hospitals, 29 provincial hospitals, 18 local medical centers and 359 health stations in the region.[2] Many of the latter are in fact underused because people hesitate to visit them. To improve this situation at least insofar as mother and child care is concerned, a project called "H4+" has recently been put into operation in seven of the region's health care districts. It relies on community health agents, one of whose objectives is to get mothers to go regularly to the health stations.

On arrival, patients go to the administration desk of the hospital or other health center where they are asked to show their health book (if they do not have one, they must pay a fee to buy one), and their weight, height, age and blood pressure are recorded. They are asked the reason for their consultation and then oriented towards a member of the health care staff. After the visit, if tests are required, they are sent to a laboratory if one exists, and are invariably sent to the offi-

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[2] We thank Dr. Rebecca Djao, the Regional Public Health Delegate for the Far North, for providing us with these figures and the numbers below of health care personnel as of 10th June 2016.

cial pharmacist to buy any prescribed medicines. The patients must thus state their needs in three or four different contexts: to the administration, to the health care provider, to the pharmacist and, when applicable, to the laboratory personnel. Of these, the crucial phases are the administration and the consulting room since patients will go to the laboratory and the pharmacy with a prescription in hand which they can simply show without explanation.

3. Health care staff

For the entire Far North, there are 80 doctors (equivalent to one for 45,000 people), and around 300 registered nurses, 30 midwives, 700 primary care aides and 30 laboratory technicians.

Health care providers, whatever their category, are generally called *doktor* locally, or one of the numerous phonetic variants of this word: *dofta*, *dokta*, *dokter*, *dopta*, *doptor* or *ndopta*. Wearing a white blouse earns a person this title and confers upon him the ensuing role functions. Most of the staff of the various types of health care centers are actually nurses, whose functions are practically those of a general physician, and aides who provide basic care. There is also maintenance staff whose job is to keep the premises clean.

Patients have been known to approach cleaning staff addressing them as "doctor" because they were inappropriately attired in a white blouse, and get medical prescriptions from them in the absence of qualified staff. Each category of carer is supposed to have a distinct uniform to avoid this kind of confusion but outsiders are not necessarily acquainted with this dress code and the prerogatives associated with each type of apparel.

4. The cultural factor in medical consultation

4.1 Local notions of disease

The question of language comes immediately to the fore in any medical consultation, yet there are also prior cultural factors in play which have a strong impact on the procedure. Indeed, from a biomedical standpoint, the causes of most diseases are clearly defined and include pathogenic germs (protozoa, bacteria, viruses, micro-

scopic fungi), risk-augmenting behavior (in food intake, sexual activity, etc.) and psychic disorders, all of which have scientifically proven effects.

The world as speakers of Fulfulde see it is quite different (Hampshire 2004: 658-659; Tourneux *et al.* 2007: 373-383). In the sphere of Fulani influence in North Cameroon, diseases are divided into two main classes: "worm diseases" (*nyawu marngu gildi*) and "wormless diseases" (*nyawu bilaa gildi*). One should not jump to the conclusion that "worm diseases" are those that are propagated by a vector and "wormless diseases" are non-transmissible. While diabetes and cataracts are indeed included among the wormless diseases, so are malaria, leprosy, cholera and mycotic affections though the latter four are biomedically vectorial.

Both of these major classes, worm and wormless diseases, can also be called "God's diseases". This label covers both ordinary diseases (those whose cause is thought to be known) and diseases with no known cause, the latter being part of the set of wormless diseases. God's diseases are in turn set over against diseases caused by witchcraft or evil eye. These are called "hand" diseases (*nyawu junngo* – the hand being the witch's), or "sent" or "aimed" diseases (*nyawu neldaangu*), whose "sender" is always a witch. These sent diseases are also a subset of wormless diseases. It should not therefore be concluded that all wormless diseases are sent by witchcraft, only that the witch chooses among them the ones he wants to send. Fever (*pabbooje*), dizziness (*giilol*), diarrhea (*doggere*) etc. are all sendable wormless diseases. This is also true of madness (*ginnawol*).

A final class, also a subset of wormless diseases, is that of diseases caused by jinns (*ginnaaji*, Tourneux 1999). These include nervous affections such as epilepsy and psychic disturbances.

4.2 The setting for medical consultation

The material surroundings of hospitals and health care centers make a strong impression on patients who are not always accustomed to setting foot in modern installations where they find unfamiliar smells and hear metal objects clink as they are laid on trays. They may be

nervous about entering a consulting room where they have no idea of what awaits them on the other side of the door.

Patients, whether alone or not, will avoid looking the "doctor" (man or woman) directly in the eyes and, even when they understand the questions asked, will be reluctant to reveal their mind and reply in the shortest possible way. They will be less reluctant, however, if the "doctor" speaks their language. The timidity of a woman patient will always be greater than a man's, whatever the "doctor's" gender. Many patients only turn to a health care center as a last resort when a traditional treatment, Islamic or otherwise, is already felt to have failed.

5. Medical consultation and the language factor

5.1 Absence of verbal exchange
In the worst, but far from the least frequent case, there is practically no verbal exchange between the patient and the care provider. This may be due to the nonexistence of a common language, further complicated by the lack of an interpreter. The consultation is then unfortunately akin to veterinary medicine.

5.2 Intervention of an interpreter
Somewhat more favorable is the situation where there is no direct communication between patient and carer, but the patient has come with an interpreter (friend or relative) who translates the carer's questions to the patient and the latter's replies. The resulting limitations are nevertheless easily envisaged: the required confidentiality of the exchange is lacking and the patient cannot give frank expression to his feelings, thereby reducing the possibility of accurate diagnosis. There is a second risk, to which we will return below, namely that of incorrect translation.

5.3 Direct communication
It may happen that patient and carer share a language: (a) a common first language, (b) a trade language or (c) French.

With increasing school attendance, more and more patients have had instruction in French about health and hygiene (Tchuenkam 2016). This introduces them to a biomedical vocabulary which is bound to conflict with what they hear at home in their everyday surroundings. There is however no guarantee that the either interlocutor in such case has a true command of any shared second language.

6. Diagnosis

The examples below are taken from instances where Fulfulde is spoken. The kind of situations observed will however be the same, *mutatis mutandis*, in any of the other languages spoken in the region.

6.1 The disease named or described by the patient in a local language corresponds to any of several biomedical conditions

A patient comes speaking of suffering from *paɓɓooje*. This is a plural noun derived from the verb *faɓɓugo* meaning 'take, spend a long time'. Etymologically, the noun therefore properly means 'things that last'. The patient may use it to designate any fever that lasts longer than a couple of days. Such a fever may result from any of a number of factors which often cannot be determined with certainty without laboratory analyses. Failing these, the diagnosis is almost automatically forthcoming as malaria. It could, however, easily be a typhoid or paratyphoid fever requiring a completely different, antibiotic treatment.

The term *paɓɓooje* is thus systematically taken to mean 'malaria' and a patient with this complaint will be treated accordingly. Here, the health care providers are themselves the ones who have restricted the word to this meaning.

6.2 The disease named or described by the patient in a local language is just a symptom of any of a range of possible diseases

Fulfulde has a word *sawoora* whose meaning is practically the same as French *jaunisse* 'jaundice'. It refers to a set of symptoms, the primary ones being a yellow coloring of the sclerotic membrane and the urine. This may be a manifestation of hepatitis (whose forms are avowedly multiple), a bile duct condition or a kind of malaria.

Traditionally in French, *jaunisse* is spontaneously understood as involving a liver complaint. Bile duct problems as such do not come immediately to mind.

As the Fulani see it, *sawoora* is latently present in every individual. It can be activated or reactivated in specific triggering circumstances. This apparently leads us far away from the pathologies that biomedicine associates with these symptoms.

6.3 The disease named or described by the patient in a local language corresponds to nothing particular in biomedicine

There is a Fulfulde term that patients often use, *caayoori*. This is a noun derived from the verb root *saay-* meaning 'disappear without a trace'. *Caayoori* without qualification refers to a generalized internal condition which is believed to move constantly about the body and cause local ailments such as toothache, earache, sore throat, boils, etc. Its primary manifestation is a feeling of heat and pain in one organ or one (internal or external) part of the body or another. Excessive cold, like excessive heat, will bring *caayoori* out of dormancy. It can appear on the outer surface of the body as swelling or even boils. Some traditional healers take *caayoori* to be an allergic reaction to eating catfish (*Clarias*). Others attribute it to "worms" that circulate inside the body.

This word is systematically translated into French as 'inflammation'. According to Quevauvilliers *et al.* (2007 :481), inflammation is a "set of reactions that occur in the organism in response to irritation or aggression by one or more factors. These reactions are characterized primarily [...] by four symptoms: reddening, tumors, heat and pain".

It is thus evident that 'inflammation' as a translation of *caayoori* inaccurately captures the sense of the notion in Fulfulde.

Another case in which local and biomedical notions are at odds is when an affection is thought to be caused by witchcraft or occult forces. Let us take the case of *garsa* which, according to D. Noye (1989:132b) is a "[...] generalized weakness in a small child caused by its being made the object of too much attention from other people". The word probably originates from Tamasheq: in Jeffrey

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Heath's 2006 *Dictionnaire touareg du Mali*, we indeed find "[gæ̀rsha] mauvais œil, mauvaise langue". The condition is caused by being looked at too tenderly (*gite gidooje*) or too insistently. Worse even than general weakness, this disease can cause crippling. It appears initially in the eyes without causing either rheum or redness (though interviewees' opinions may vary on these two points). Rarely, this nonfatal disease may affect adults causing paralysis of the legs. There are many charms for protecting babies from this affection. Kohl can also be used to draw a small black line between the eyebrows. In the health centers, the tendency is to restrict the meaning of this word to "conjunctivitis". There are however later stages of the disease which affect (1) the neck, the mouth and the tongue and (2) the bones. In (1), the body parts involved are deformed (the neck becomes twisted) while (2) causes sporadic pain in the bones.

One does not need to be a doctor to see that the symptoms attributed to *garsa* might originate from any of a variety of pathologies. In any case, for those who diagnose *garsa*, it is clear that this is not the kind of pathology that can be successfully treated by biomedicine. A suitable solution can only come from traditional medicine.

6.4 The patient cites a French name for his affection and communicates in French with the care provider.

When the parties communicate in an official language (here French), both the patient and the care provider will tend to incorporate traditional notions into biomedical terminology. All the observations made in above examples apply here as well. Thus, when a patient speaks of "malaria", he has *paɓooje* as his underlying conception.

7.   Implications of the existing situation

7.1 For national and international health programs

What then are the implications of this situation in terms of communication, both within the framework of national and international health programs and, on the ground in the villages and the quarters of larger towns, for hospitals and health care centers?

Nurses, health care aides and community health agents are quick to adopt a biomedical terminology that they have not necessarily mastered fully. They may well try to make it jibe with local notions, thus giving rise to an uncertain syncretic mode of thought.

Sectorialized projects (AIDS, tuberculosis, cholera, malaria, mother and child protection, etc.) come along one after another, but the time devoted to training the agents who are to carry them out is often insufficient. It is also rare that agents' knowledge at the end of a training program be evaluated.

We have had occasion to speak with a community agent who is taking part in the H4+ project and can be recognized from the fact that he rides a blue bicycle marked UNICEF. He told us his job was to spot "undernourished children" over the different parts of town. As he saw it, since undernourished children did not get enough to eat, any children who were thin were undernourished. This erroneous notion may well be without untoward consequences for the children identified as undernourished since the community agent is not himself responsible for the final diagnosis; this is rather the task of the staff of the health care centers. Still, the mother of the child involved is likely to feel herself to be stigmatized for not feeding her child well, and this may lead her to mistrust public health services in general.

7.2 How the situation can be improved

How can specialists in intercultural communication help to improve the quality of communication? Will it be enough, for example, to assign interpreters to work with health care providers? How can the level of distortion between the intended message, the message as it is expressed, and the message as it is perceived be minimalized?

First of all, we suggest that all actions of mass communication be preplanned to take account of local notions, whether they be expressed in French or in local languages. Word-for-word translations of documents published by the WHO or other agencies must be avoided. With foresight, the communicational gap between patients and health care providers can be progressively reduced by creation of

a common language that will correspond even better to reality than the one learned at school.

There are many but not countless widespread pathologies. It would therefore be extremely helpful to have written information on each of them in a variety of languages, two at least. Such documents could then be used as a basis for radio and television broadcasts for the general public. We have tried to apply this procedure by drafting a guide to communication on HIV infection (Tourneux *et al.* 2011) in two French and two Fulfulde versions, standard and simplified in each language.

The list of subjects that require this kind of treatment can easily be established: malaria, tuberculosis, cholera, intestinal parasites, diabetes, pregnancy, child nutrition, and so on.

7.3 What are the implications for training health care personnel (doctors and nurses)?

We feel that this situation, which is far from specific to just one part of Cameroon, should be taken up as part of the curriculum in schools of medicine and nursing. There should be more initiatives like the Darrah & Froude's (1975) manual of Hausa medicine for Western doctors. It will be enough to aim such manuals not just at Western doctors but at everyone who gets medical training in a non-African language (English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Arabic, etc.).

While an acquaintance with local medical notions is indispensable, attention must also be focused on gaps in local knowledge: there is indeed "the importance of knowing about not knowing" as Murray Last (1981) remarked. We may refer here to an instance of nonmedical biology which nonetheless provides a good illustration of our point. For the peasants of North Cameroon, there are no aphids. What entomologists designate by this term are for them "caterpillar eggs". Obviously, for as long as one remains unaware of the existence of something, one cannot be concerned with or by it.

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The Complementizer *say* in Nigerian Pidgin English – Traces of Language-internal Processes or Areal Features?

Abstract: The paper presents the use of the complementizer *say* in various types of sentence structures of Nigerian Pidgin English. The data comes from the contemporary language in its written form and is based mostly on transcriptions of Wazobia FM on-air broadcasts as well as its Facebook fan page. The analysis of clausal examples enables us to claim that the differentiation of structures in which *say* is used in Nigerian Pidgin English is a result of grammaticalization which is an internal-language process but one that is strongly influenced by the conceptual patterns of introducing the complement phrase in substrate languages.

Keywords: complementizer, say, Nigerian Pidgin English, grammaticalization, West African languages structures

1.   Introduction

The issue of complementizers attracts attention of linguists for both their typological and historical aspects. In the typological perspective, the linker in the construction consisting of the main clause and the complement clause has many structural and grammatically featured variants. On the other hand, the relation between the two elements may be coded by bare juxtaposition (Watters 2000: 223) that makes the status of the surface markers unclear. Historical investigations (Hopper, Traugott 2003) tend to establish lexical sources of the complentizers and to explain how they have gained grammatical functions in the process of development. In cross-linguistics analysis

it has been shown that on the world map of languages complementizers have their source in: nouns, verbs, demonstratives, adpositions (Heine, Kuteva 2007: 66-92). Fo example, *that* in English is traced back to the demonstrative (Radford 1997:57), similarly to *daß* in German, whereas the conceptual basis of many complementizers in African languages is different. In Nama, it is the noun *!xáis* 'matter, story' (*!xáisà* in the form of the oblique case) which serves as a "marker of clause combining" (Heine, Kuteva 2002: 211):[1]

1) Nama:
tiíta ke kè I'úú 'ií !úũ-ts ta **!xáisà**
1:SG TOP PAST not:know PAST go 2:SG:M IMPFV COMP-3:SG:M
'I didn't know **that** you were going'

In Twi, the verb *sɛ* 'resemble', 'be like', 'be equal' has developed into a complementizer. The two variants are differentiated in the language structure. In the example 2a *sɛ* functions as a main verb, in 2b it is a grammatical marker (Heine, Kuteva 2002: 257):

2) Twi: a. *kofi sɛ   amma.*
              Kofi be:like Amma
              'Kofi **resembles** Amma'

              b. *na   ama nim   sɛ   kofi yɛɛ adwuma no*
              PAST Ama know that Kofi did work   the
              'Ama knew **that** Kofi had done the work'

The focus of this paper is the word *say* in Nigerian Pidgin English[2] (hereafter also referred to by the acronym NPE) which is an English-based verb, used in the function of the main verb in a clause, but in descriptive works also distinguished as a complementizer (cf. Deuber

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[1] The examples are provided with transliteral translation which follows the principles applied in source materials. When adopted to one's own examples from NPE, a unified convention is used. All symbols of grammatical information are listed and explained at the end of this paper.

[2] Nigerian Pidgin English is spoken by 30 million people (including L1 and L2 speakers). In some parts of Nigeria it has already gained native speakers and has become a creole language. (https://www.ethnologue.com/language/pcm).

2005: 70). The question is how these functions are differentiated at the structural level and what is the relationship between the two words in the historical development of the complementizer.

This research is based on written texts of the contemporary language. The data was collected from Nigerian Pidgin English users' forums and the Wazobia FM Facebook page, the source materials also include transcriptions from the Wazobia FM radio station and discussions which took place on-air.[3] The variety of structures in which the complementizer *say* occurs is primarily interpreted in terms of the language-internal development. Possible areal influences will be verified with the examples from some West African languages in which the relationship between the complementizer and its lexical source is confirmed.

2. The complementizer in creole languages

From a typological perspective, Nigerian Pidgin English belongs to pidgin and creole languages in which patterns representative of the so-called creole-like structures (Bakker et al. 2011: 31) are very common. Complementizers are interesting for studies of the processes of language development mainly for their form and lexical sources on which they are based. In *The Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Structures* (Michaelis et al. 2013) complementizers from different pidgin and creole languages all over the world were divided into two groups depending on whether they follow verbs of speaking or verbs of knowing. In the first group the complementizers which are identical to bare 'say' are numerous (in 29 out of 75 languages) (Michaelis et al. 2013: 378), but not prevailing. In the second group the complementizers which are used after the verb 'know', or similar verbs of cognition such as 'learn' or 'forget' may be also related to 'say', but the number of other exponents is significantly higher (in 42 out of 73 languages) (Michaelis et al. 2013: 382). Among them, the complementizer based on 'that' is used in Sranan, e.g.:[4]

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[3] Original orthography of the sources was kept, therefore the same words may occasionally feature different spelling.

[4] Winford, Plag. 2013. (http://apics-online.info/contributions/2, accessed on

3) Sranan: Yu denki **taki** na ala sma   o   gi bun sani.
          You think **that** cop every person will give good thing.
          'You think that everyone will give good (spirits)'.

The examples extracted from particular pidgin or creole languages confirm regional preferences in coding the relationship between the verb and its complements. However, in Tok Pisin the complementizer ('that') is expressed by the word *olsem* derived from English 'all the same' (Michaelis et al. 2013: 379), e.g.:

4) Tok Pisin:
Em tok **olsem** *mi mas skul   na kisim gutpela   save*
3Sg talk COMP 1Sg   must school and   get good-MOD knowledge
'He said [**that**] I must go to school and acquire good knowledge'

Detailed studies on the status of complementizers in English-based creoles show that *say* (etymologically related to the verb *say*) is a common innovation in West African creole structures and may be regarded as an areal feature (Frajzinger 1984: 210). Some sources indicate that the complementizer related to the verb of saying is a manifestation of "an African peculiarity of the creole language" (Frajzyngier 1984: 207, see also Watters 2000: 224; Michaelis et al. 2013: 378). The example containing the complementizer *se* ('say') in Krio (Sierra Leone) provides an illustration of this type of structure (Finney 2004: 74):

5) Krio: *A mεmba* **se** *dεm bin win loto*
          I think say/that they PAST win lottery
          'I thought **that** they won the lottery'

A *say*-based complementizer also functions in Cameroon Pidgin[5] and Ghanaian Pidgin[6], e.g.:

2016-12-15).
[5] Schröder 2013 (http://ewave-atlas.org/languages/44, accessed on 2016-12-16).
[6] Huber 2013 (http://ewave-atlas.org/languages/40, accessed on 2016-12-17).

6) Cameroon Pidgin: *A tin   **se**   ren go fol tudei.*
                        I think (that) it will rain today.

7) Ghanaian Pidgin:
Mi à tiŋk **se** *dɛ dɔktafiʃ ì gud pas dɛ tuna.*
'As for meI think **that** doctorfish is better than tuna'.

In order to compare the complementizer *say* in Nigerian Pidgin English with the structures of substrate languages, the typological patterns of marking a relationship between the main verb and the complement in some West African languages will be presented in the subsequent section.

3. The status of the complementizer in some West African languages

Complementizers are connected with introducing the complement clause occurring after the verbs of saying, thinking, wishing, etc. The structures, however, are not unified and the analysis of an overt complementizer *say* in NPE in the context of West African languages will help determine whether it is a morpheme based on the conceptual pattern involving complementizers that are used in various languages of the area or a specific creole structure. On the basis of the available data from major Nigerian languages, namely Yoruba, Hausa, and Igbo we can predict some direct influences on the language and its development[7], but the problem of substrate influence is much wider, as the features which may be perceived as areal go beyond the languages of Nigeria.

The examples from Yoruba (Lawal 1991: 75) show how the relationship between the verb and its complementizer functions in language structure. Therefore, *pé* is a complementizer ('that') which is used after the verb 'remember', but when *pé* fills a verb slot in the sentence it means 'to say', e.g.:

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[7] Direct lexical borrowings from Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba to Nigerian Pidgin English have been presented in (Mensah 2011).

8) Yoruba: *Olú   ránti   **pé**   Bola ńsun*
            Olu   remember COMPL Bola sleep-PROG
            'Olu remembered **that** Bola was sleeping'

9) Yoruba: *Olú **pé**   wọn   wá* '
            Olu say   they   come-PST'
            'Olu **says [that]** they came'

The example 9 confirms that structures without an overt complementizer are also possible and it is the verb 'to say' that introduces the object complement immediately.

   Languages may also have more than one form of the complementizer. Uwalaka (1997) identifies four complementizers in Igbo: *ka, ma, no* and *si*,[8] but only one is etymologically related to the verb of saying. Güldemann (2008: 301) states that the complementizer *kà* is "identical in shape with the stem *kà* 'talk, speak, preach'". However, its use is preferred in contexts other than after verbs of saying or knowing, e.g. (Güldeman 2008: 463):

10) Igbo: *ọ bịàrà   **kà** ha   hụ yā*
            3S come:PST   Q   3P   see 3S
            'he has come so **that** they will see him'

In Hausa, a lexical equivalent of the complementizer 'that' is *cewa* [cêwā] which is a verbal noun of the verb *ce* [cê] 'to say'. Its usage "depends on the specific verb or verbal expression in the matrix sentence" (Newman 2000: 97), e.g.:

11) Hausa:
*Yârân   sun   tsayằ **cêwā** sun   maidō manà dà kudînmù*
children-DET 3Pl/TAM insist COMP 3Pl/TAM return us with money-our
'The children insisted **that** they had paid us back our money'

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[8] Igbo may allow two complementizers that differentiate types of clauses, e.g. *Ogu hụrụ **sị na** oge agaala* 'Ogu discovered **that** time has past' (Obi-amalu 2013).

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Following this, certain verbs like *ji* 'hear', *cê* 'say', and certain phrasal verbs, like *yi tsàmmānī da* 'think' and *sâ râi* 'expect' generally prefer the reportive particle *wai* 'hearsay, it is said that' as the complementizer instead of *cêwā*. Moreover, following the rules of Hausa grammar based on the systemic relations, "if the matrix sentence contains the verb *cê*' 'say' (or its verbal noun *cêwā*) then the complementizer *cêwā* is not allowed" (Newman 2000: 98). Therefore:

12) Hausa: *Yā   bayyànā cêwā   yànzu lōkàcī yā   yi*
             3SG/TAM explain COMP   now   time 3SG/TAM do
             'He explained that the time had come'

The relationship between the form of the complementizer and the verbs of saying is already confirmed in some other West African languages. As it was shown in the earlier works (Frajzyngier 1984: 209, following the data of Lord 1976, Westermann 1930, Bamgboṣe 1966), there is evidence of the identity in the form of the verb 'to say' and the complementizer in Yoruba, Gã, Ewe, Twi[9] and in some Chadic languages. Introducing the complement clause directly after the verb 'say' is also possible, e.g. in Ewe *bé* 'say' may introduce reported speech as well as indirect speech (Lord 1993: 185), e.g.:

13) Ewe: *Me-be   mewɔe*
          1SG say I-do-it
          'I said [that] I did it/I said ''I did it''

In correlations with verbs of mental activity and perception *bé* "functions as a complementizer introducing sentential complements" (Lord 1993: 185). The grammatical status of *bé* is confirmed in the following example (Ameka 1994: 63):

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[9] In Twi, there are two phonologically similar complementizers: *se* which is etymologically related to 'say' and *sɛ* which has developed from 'be like' (Heine, Kuteva 2002: 257), see also example 2b in this article.

14) Ewe: *Me- bu* **bé** *adogló yé*
     1SG think **that** lizard FOC
     'I thought it was a lizard'

Examples from Chadic languages other than Hausa give more explanations on variation of language patterns involving the complementizer in its conceptual structure, but the correlation of the verb 'say' and the complementizer is common, as for example in Kwami *gó* 'say'/'that' (Heine, Kuteva 2002: 262).

The relationship between the verb of saying and the complementizer which introduces its complements is specific to a particular language. Being not only a form derived from the verb, the complementizer may have the form of a phrase, e.g. in Birom, a Chadic language, *wɔkɔ* is an equivalent of 'it is stated that' (Frajzyngier 1984: 209).

The examples from West African languages motivate some questions about the development of complementizers in language structures. The complementizer *say* has already been involved in the discussion on grammaticalization in NPE in which the emphasis was put on internal processes (Mensah 2012). It has been stated that grammaticalization is an language-internal process, but the discourse patterns of native tongues are important in the process of shaping a pidgin which becomes a creole (Bruyn 2009: 312). Referring to the complementizer discussed here (identified as the equivalent of the English complement 'that'), it was shown that in West African languages it is largely represented by the forms derived from the verb 'to say'. Its status (whether it is a verb, verbal noun or grammatical particle) is determined by the systemic rules of a particular language and is motivated by its internal development. It is assumed that the development of *say* in Nigerian Pidgin English is also motivated by the processes that affect other languages of the area. It will be shown that structural variation of patterns in which *say* is used may be an

indication of its transformation from a regular verb to a grammatical morpheme.[10]

4. *Say* in Nigerian Pidgin English as an innovative structural phenomenon

Complementizers are referred to as clause introducers, but their presence and the choice of their form depends on the verb of the main clause and the semantics of the complement cause. Different types of sentential complements are traditionally marked by the English equivalents *that, if* and *for.* The present analysis aims at investigating the meaning and function of *say* in contemporary Nigerian Pidgin English mainly from the perspective of its function as a meaningful item incorporated into the phrases that conceptualize the idea of complementation through the notion of speaking.

The examples extracted from the sources were grouped according to semantic classes of verbs that introduce sentential complements with *say.* Following the cross-linguistic analyses of complementizers (Frajzyngier 1991), the use of the complementizer is associated with three groups of verbs: verbs of saying (*say, ask*)[11], verbs of perception (*see, hear*), and verbs denoting mental activity (equivalents of *know, think, remember, recall*). The three groups of verbs make a chain in the transformation of phrases that makes a grammatical element out of a semantic one.

4.1 The complementizer *say* with verbs of saying

This group may be presumed a conceptual basis for the development of the complementizer, therefore it is an illustration of an initial step in the grammaticalization process in which an English verb *say* is

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[10] In the reconstruction of syntactic patterns in Proto-Chadic (Frajzyngier 1996: 164) the complementizer is not proposed as an overt marker. Instead, its development from the verb 'to say' is postulated.

[11] In functional perspective, the complements introduced by the verbs of saying belong to *de dicto* domain (domain of speech) (Frajzyngier 1991: 225)

used as a component of a phrase meaning 'he stated by saying'. In examples 15-18, the verb *talk* represents the main verb, e.g.:

15) NPE: *She* **talk** **say** *she dey fear*
   3Sg tell COMP 3Sg PROG fear
   'She **says that** she is afraid'

16) NPE: *Im con* **talk say** *make she marry am*
   3Sg PERF tell COMP IMP 3Sg marry him
   'He **told** her **to** marry him'

17) NPE: *Im* **talk say** *El rufai nah Herod of Kaduna*
   3Sg tell COMP El rufai be Herod POSS Kaduna
   'He **says that** El rufai is Kaduna's Herod'

18) NPE: *Im* **talk say** *nah pity*
   3Sg tell COMP be pity
   'He **says** it is a pity'

Some other verbs of saying used in the function of the main verb are also possible, (examples 19-21):

19) NPE: *Dey* **ask** *you* **say** *na which fish dey frown face*
   3Pl ask 2Pl COMP be which fish PROG frown face
   'They **ask** you which fish is frowning its face'

20) NPE: *Congress* **claim say** *dem get solutions to the problems*
   Congress claim COMP 3Pl have solutions to the problems
   'Congress **claims that** they have got solutions to the problems'

21) NPE: *Dey* **ask** *you* **say** *if woman dey provide money for house*
   3Pl ask 2Pl COMP if woman PROG provide money for house
   'They **ask** you **if** the woman is providing money for the house'

The examples 15-21 show that *say* in NPE follows the verb of saying other than the verb *say* itself. As a complementizer *say* introduces sentential complements and is an equivalent of English *that, for, to, if*. When the main verb is *say* 'say', the complementizer is not used, e.g.:

22) NPE: *Im say she be leader*
    3Sg say 3Sg be leader
    'He **says** she is the leader'

23) NPE: *Dem still **say**, light na ogbonge thing*
    3PL still say light be European thing
    'They still **say [that]** light is European thing'

24) NPE: *Na must say husband and wife must get joint account*
    Be must **say** husband and wife must have common account
    'It need to **be said [that]** husband and wife must have a common
    account'

25) NPE: ***Say why** dem dey increase tariff*
    Say why 3Pl PROG increase tariff
    '**Say why** they are increasing the tariff'

Therefore, when *say* is used as a verb, it functions either as an intro-
ducer of direct speech or covers the meaning 'say that'.

4.2 Complementizer *say* with verbs of perception
In the source material, the two verbs: *hear* and *notice* are predomi-
nantly used as main verbs followed by *say*, e.g.:

26) NPE:
    *We **hear say**   both the presidency and the people don confirm   visit*
    1Pl hear COMP both the presidency and the people PERF confirm visit
    'We **heard that** both the presidency and the people confirmed the visit'

27) NPE: *Dem **notice say**   the long queues worsen traffic*
    3Pl   notice COMP   the long queues worsen traffic
    'They **notice that** long queues make the traffic worse'

The examples show that in NPE the complementizer *say* also follows
the verbs of feelings, e.g.:

28) NPE: ***Hope say**   you don   ready*
    Hope COMP 2Sg PERF ready
    '**Hope that** you are ready'

29) NPE: *You **feel say*** *na dem go be the first team to win*
　　　　2Pl feel COMP FOC 3PL FUT be the first team to win
　　　　'You **feel that** they will be the first team and (will) win'

4.3 The complementizer *say* with verbs denoting mental activity

A variety of verbs and verbal phrases may be used as main verbs followed by the complementizer *say*, such as *know, decide, think, make sure*, e.g.:

30) NPE:
*She go **know say*** *other person na beta or no be beta person*
　3Sg FUT know COMPL other person be better or NEG be better person
　　'She will **know that** the other person is or isn't good'

31) NPE:
*PDP Senators don **decide say*** *dem go stand chim wit the Senate President* PDP Senators PERF decide COMPL 3Pl FUT stay chim with the Senate President
'PDP Senators have decided that they will stay chimmed with the President'

32) NPE: *You **think say*** *e go cause any problem?*
　　　　2Sg think COMPL 3Sg FUT cause any problem
　　　　'Do you **think that** it will cause any problem?'

33) NPE: *You **think say*** *na the right and normal thing?*
　　　　2Sg think COMPL be the right and normal thing
　　　　'Do you **think** this is the right and normal thing?'

34) NPE:
Make sure say *na the same thing wey im administration submit*
Make sure COMPL be the same thing which 3Sg administration submit
'**Make sure that** it is the same thing which its administration submits'

The complementizer *say* after verbs denoting mental activity (as well as after verbs of feeling and perception) marks the next step in its development in which the link between the main verb and the complementizer derived from the verb 'to say' has a weak semantic motivation.

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4.4 Complementizer *say* in structures of the type 'it is (the case) that'

The last stage of grammaticalization is marked by structures in which the complementizer derived from the verb 'to say' is not linked to the notion of speaking/saying at any conceptual level. The most characteristic examples are clauses coding the meaning 'be' that are followed by the complementizer *say*. In these structures, an independent grammatical status of *say* is clearly manifested. Such is a phrase *Tori be say*... 'The story is...', 'it is the case that...', 'it is the story that...' or 'it happens that...', e.g.:

35) NPE:
Tori be say *Lagos State Government don* **say** *dem go punish any person*
Story be COMPL Lagos State Government PERF say 3Pl FUT punish NEG person
'**The story is**: Lagos State Government **said (that)** they won't punish any person'

36) NPE:
The problem be say   my husband dey   spend all him salary on wears
The problem be COMPL my husband PROG spend all his salary on clothes
'**The problem is [that]** my husband is spending all his salary on clothes'

4.5 The complementizer *say* as a constituent of phrasal verbs

In Nigerian Pidgin English, the word *say* shares the function of the complementizer with the function of the constituent of phrasal verbs. The phrase *say yes* is an equivalent of 'agree' which may be used as the main verb, as in 37:

37) NPE: *She think about am before she   go   say yes*
          3Sg think about 3Sg before 3Sg FUT agree
          'She thinks about it before she will **agree**'

When used after a speaking verb, it functions as its complement (examples 38-39)

38) NPE: *My cousin **answer say** yes, before we know anything*
         My cousin answer COMPL yes before 1Pl know-PERF anything
         'My cousin **has agreed** before we knew anything'

39) NPE: *Some people don **talk say** yes we need investors*
         Some people PERF tell COMPL yes 1Pl need investors
         'Some people **agreed [that]** we need investors'

The phrase *say yes* manifests structural properties of many African languages[12] which concern the conceptualization of meanings through the complex structures, but it is also indicative of the source of the complementizer which refers to the notion '(by) saying [that]'.

5. Summary

The word *say* in Nigerian Pidgin English has many functions. It introduces direct speech or functions as a main verb followed by a complementizer ('say that'). In grammatical function, *say* links the main clause and the complement clause.

Although *say* is a lexical borrowing from English, its grammatical status was acquired through a grammaticalization process in which structural patterns of African (especially West African) languages were the source rather than the structure of English. In these patterns, the relationship between the verbs of saying and the complementizer based on the verb of saying is the most common.

The variety of structures in which *say* is used in Nigerian Pidgin English gives an opportunity to trace the path of its development – from the marker of the complement clause in which the idea of saying is a conceptual base – to the linker which is weakly associated with the main verb of saying, and finally, to the complementizer which has an independent status. This path evidences language-

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[12] The so-called phrasal verbs consisting of verbs and their nominal (or other) complements are very common in African languages. They function as fixed collocations, such as *ci gàb*ā 'continue, make a progress' (lit. eat front), *bugà har*ĩ 'to attack, to raid' (lit. to beat raid), *shìga ukù* 'be in a dilemma' (lit. to enter three) in Hausa, *gbáá égó* 'pay' (lit. use money) in Igbo (Pawlak 2010: 195f).

internal process, which, however, follows the grammaticalization patterns characteristic of West African languages.

ABBREVIATIONS:
COMP(L) - complementizer
DET– determiner
FOC – focus
FUT – future
IMP – imperative
IMPFV - imperfective
M - masculine
MOD – modifier
NEG – negation
PERF – perfect
P(L/l) – plural
POSS – possessive
PROG – progressive
P(A)ST – past
Q – complementizer
S(G/g) – singular
TAM – Tense/Aspect/Mood
TOP – topic

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The Role of Pictures, the Veneration of Icons and the Representation of Christ in Two Oriental Orthodox Churches of the Coptic and Ethiopian Traditions[1]

Abstract: The Oriental Orthodox Churches include the Churches of the Coptic and Ethiopian traditions and also of the Syrian and Armenian traditions which will not be mentioned here. The veneration of icons is similar in all the Churches of Orthodox tradition. They do speak of "veneration" of the persons represented on the icons and pictures (Christ, the Virgin and the saints). They do not speak of "adoration" or "worship" of these persons or of the icons as only God is adored, and worshiping icons would be idolatrous. This veneration is especially known in the so-called Eastern Orthodox (of the Greek, Russian, Romanian, Bulgarian, Serbian traditions)or Churches having accepted the Council of Chalcedon in 451 and the Second Council of Nicaea in 787, but also in the Oriental Orthodox Churches, which is less known.

Keywords: icons, veneration (of icons), theology (of icons), miraculous icons, iconoclasm

In September 1990, in the Second Agreed Statement and Recommendations to Churches approved by the Joint Commission of the bilateral Official Theological Dialogue between the Eastern Orthodox Churches and the Oriental Orthodox Churches in Chambésy (Geneva), it was stated that: "In relation to the teaching of

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[1] This article initially was a lecture given during the Meeting of the Association Dialogue between Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox at the Institute of Theology of Saint-Serge in Paris, on November 19, 2013.

the Seventh Ecumenical Council of the Orthodox Church, the Oriental Orthodox agree that the theology and practice of the veneration of icons taught by that Council are in basic agreement with the teaching and practice of the Oriental Orthodox from ancient times, long before the convening of the Council, and that we have no disagreement in this regard" (Chaillot, Belopopsky 1988: 63f.).

In 1993, I published a book on this topic entitled *Rôle des images et vénération des icônes dans les Eglises orthodoxes orientales*, with a Foreword by Metropolitan Damaskinos, then Co-President of this bilateral Dialogue

In this book I then proved that: 1) there exist pictures, wall paintings, illuminations and icons with representations of Christ, of the Virgin and of the Saints in all the Oriental Orthodox Churches of the Coptic, Syriac, Armenian and Ethiopian rites; 2) in all these Oriental Orthodox Churches, icons are venerated. With this aim in mind, I made a short demonstration of the four traditions throughout the centuries, since the beginning of Christianity until today, with a presentation of different texts of these traditions through their history, lives of Saints, accounts of travelers,[2] etc. Many of such texts are translated into our western languages.[3] I shall give here examples of the Coptic and Ethiopian traditions belonging to these very ancient Churches in Africa.

Icons, paintings and art history

First of all, what can be said in a few words about art history? What follows are some indications about the most ancient paintings/icons/illuminations kept in the Coptic and Ethiopian traditions. It must be underscored that many paintings and icons, being fragile, have not resisted time or have been destroyed, for example by Muslims (being iconoclast) such as the Ommayad Calif Yezid II, who promulgated in 721 an edict ordaining the destruction

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[2] For example Vansleb, who visited Coptic churches and monasteries in the 17th century.

[3] See for example the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalis* (*CSCO*), and the *Patrologie orientale* (*PO*).

of all the Christian paintings, including in Egypt; or during the invasion by Ahmed Gragn (1527-1543) in Ethiopia in the 16th century. At this time many churches and monasteries as well as nearly all religious items (including icons, manuscripts with illuminations, etc) were destroyed, which explain why we have very little art and few artifacts left/kept of the previous centuries.

In Egypt, wall paintings of the 6th-8th centuries have been preserved, such as those of Bawit and Saqqarah. The most ancient Coptic icon known today, representing Christ and Abbot Menas, dated to the 7th century, is kept in the Louvre Museum.[4] A great selection of Coptic icons can also be found in National Museum in Warsaw, Poland. In the Coptic manuscripts, we find illuminations of which the most ancient go back to the 9th-10th centuries. Among the most beautiful and ancient icons to be seen in Egypt, let us name those of the churches in Old Cairo, in the Coptic Museum and in the monasteries.[5]

In Ethiopia, (as already mentioned) many pieces of art were destroyed in particular during Gragn's attack in the 16th century, and also before. The two most ancient illuminated manuscripts known today have recently been definitely assigned to the late 5th-early 7th centuries by radiocarbon analysis: the two Gospels of the Monastery of Abuna Garima, near Axum.[6] The most ancient wall paintings may be dated to the 11th-12th centuries (church of Yemrehanna Krestos) and the most ancient preserved icon has been dated to the 15th century (Virgin and Child by Fere Tseyon ("The Fruit of Sion", of the Monastery of Daga Estifanos in Lake Tana).[7]

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[4] It was found in Middle Egypt, in the ruins of the Monastery of Bawit excavated since 1900 by the French archeologist Jean Clédat.

[5] The contemporary Coptic iconography follows the research made by Isaac Fanous (d. 2007), who was a student of Leonid Ouspensky in Paris.

[6] http://www.ethiopianheritagefund.org/ [last accessed June, 2016].

[7] In Ethiopia, in the monasteries and churches, ancient icons are kept in the "treasure house".

About Icons

Icons are painted on wood and are to be found especially in the Byzantine, Coptic and Ethiopian traditions, but also in the Syriac and Armenian ones. In all these traditions, the number of illuminations in the ancient manuscripts, with similar representations of those found on icons, is important.

The mandylion is considered a kind of prototype of the icon of Christ: it is the picture of Christ which was brought from Jerusalem to King Abgar in Edessa, the ancient capital of Syriac culture. According to André Grabar, this picture "not made by human hands" proves, better than any other argument, that the representation of Christ is legitimate".[8] The mandylion is known and mentioned in the texts of the four Oriental Orthodox Churches and is venerated there by the faithful.

What are the words used to refer to "icon" and "picture"? In the Coptic tradition, the Coptic word is "limni"; that was borrowed from Greek is "eikon", and that was taken from Arabic (coming from Greek) is "iquna". In Ethiopia, the Geez word is "se'el"; the word "ayqunâ" is also found.

The icons /representations of Christ/ of his festivals: Themes and iconographical canons

In the four traditions of the Oriental Orthodox Churches, Christ is represented on all the icons of the main festivals to tell the principal episodes of his life in the liturgical year. Christ is often represented with the Virgin who presents Him to the faithful as being the Savior of the world (Grabar 1931:26). Universal as well as local Saints are also represented. In the Oriental Orthodox Churches the iconographical themes as well as iconographical canons are similar to those of the Eastern Orthodox Churches.

Regarding Ethiopian iconography, according to Jules Leroy, Ethiopia, which was evangelized by Syrians and Egyptians, also developed links with Byzantium, following their iconographical

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[8] André Grabar, *La Sainte Face de Laon: le Mandylion dans l'art orthodoxe* (Prague: Seminarium Kondakovianum 1931), 26.

canons, while maintaining a proper character being not Byzantino-Oriental, nor African (Gerster 1970: 62).

Some illustrations/illuminations/icons reproduce local life, for example on the Ethiopian icons of the representation of the Flight to Egypt which shows an Ethiopian family travelling and carrying its local utensils (baskets, pots, gourds). According to the Copt Abu al Barakat (14th c.), the Fathers gave symbolic signs to the pictures: the nimbus, the position of the fingers, etc.[9] New icons continue to be painted until today. [10]

Style of the icons/Oriental Orthodox iconographical canons of paintings and illuminations/copies of Byzantine models

The icon painters must follow specific rules, that are iconographical canons. The icons are not just artistic paintings but they play a religious and pedagogical role in the Oriental Churches. In principle, one must meditate and pray before painting icons, as they are religious art. Icons are often painted by monks and nuns and even priests. According to the Ethiopian priest Kesa of Gondar (1932), one must meditate and pray in order to paint (Merier 1992: 145).

Some of them are copied from icons or steel engravings brought from abroad. In Ethiopia, we know that icons were sent and brought back from Jerusalem and Egypt (Spencer 1972: 71f.). Some pictures and stamps were brought from western Europe, for example that of the Virgin and Child of the Church of Saint Mary the Greater in Rome, an image of Byzantine type which was one of the prototypes of the icons of the Virgin in Ethiopia.[11] Sometimes Greek Orthodox

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[9] "Sur l'emploi des images, des icônes et des chants", the 24th chapter of his liturgical encyclopedia, *La Lampe des Ténèbres pour éclairer l'intelligence du service liturgique.*

[10] For example, after twenty one Copts were beheaded by Islamists in Libya in February 2015, they were recognized as martyrs by the Coptic Orthodox Church and an icon representing them was painted.

[11] http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Salus_populi_romani [last accessed, June 2016]; see also (Chojnacki 1983).

painters were mandated to paint icons for the Oriental Orthodox Churches. This demonstrates that contacts continued to exist between the two families of Churches in daily life and throughout the centuries, in spite of the schism of Chalcedon in 451. For example, the icon of Evangelist Saint Mark, which was ordered by the Copts to be painted by a Greek, Stephanos Therianos, for the Church of the Muhalaqah in Old Cairo, and which is painted and signed by him. In Egypt, we find iconostases painted by Greeks for and in Coptic Orthodox churches, for example in the Church of Saint Mark (the ancient cathedral in Klut Bey in Cairo (19th c.) and in the cathedral in Port Said. Art and iconography of the Oriental Orthodox Churches have been influenced at times by the Byzantine tradition and also by other traditions (post-Renaissance western influence, style sometimes Italian/Catholic).

Where are the icons placed?
Icons are visible in the churches where they are mainly placed on the walls, on a lutrin and also inside the sanctuary and on the altar. The clergy censes the icons during liturgical offices and festivals. In the homes one may see icons as well, but this is very rare for ancient icons on wood which are very precious. Icons on wood are still to be seen in many churches and monasteries all around Egypt, for example in the churches in Old Cairo. In Ethiopia icons on wood are found in some monasteries, usually kept in the so-called treasure house as the ancient ones are precious items which are feared to be stolen. Ancient paintings are found on the wall separating the altar from the nave (that is the iconostasis) in ancient churches, for example in Lake Tana. Ancient wall paintings can also be found. Modern paintings on canvas are put on the iconostasis and on the walls of the churches. In Egypt many icons, ancient and modern, are put in different places around the church, often near the relics of the saint represented on the icon. Icons are put on top of the wall separating the altar from the naves. Ancient icons as well as ancient manuscripts with illuminations of the Ethiopian and Coptic traditions are visible in museums in Ethiopia and in Egypt and also around the

world. The faithful own reproductions of icons, mainly printed on paper as this is the most economical way to buy them.

Vows made in front of the icons/miraculous icons
Through the intermediary of the icons of saints, God can operate healings. Thus, in front of icons, the faithful make prayers and sometimes also vows, especially if the icon is known to be "miraculous".[12] For example, in front of certain icons, some women come and pray in order to have a child. Through the prayer of intercession of those represented, certain icons allow miracles. In Ethiopia, miraculous icons are carried in procession outside the church, for example at the time of scourges such as drought or epidemics, such as plague in the old days.

Where miraculous icons are found, pilgrimages are organized. In Egypt, south of Louxor, in the Monastery of Saint Georges, is found a miraculous icon of this saint which is deeply venerated. There is an important pilgrimage lasting one week which precedes the feast of Saint George, on 16 November. In Ethiopia, Diana Spencer has named some monasteries with such miraculous icons venerated by the faithful which are censed by the priest and venerated by the faithful especially on certain feast days. In the Monastery of Tädbabä Maryam (Säynt) the icon called "the picture which saves" (*se'el adheno*) is then enveloped in some silk material and brought out of the church for the procession. Women not having children come in front of it to lose their sterility (Spencer 1972: 71f.; 82). In the Monastery of Däbrä Jämädo Maryam (Lasta) a similar icon of the Virgin and Christ said of Saint Luke was taken out of the sanctuary for the public veneration for the festivals of Ledäta Maryam, Genbot Maryam and of Saint Bartholomew, and in case of calamity (Spencer 1972: 83f.). In the church of the Virgin of Däbrä Sahay of Qusquwam, where Queen Walatta Giorgis (Mentewab) resided, one could see the queen painted as a donor under the Virgin "looking for refuge in the salutary picture and recommending to the Virgin her

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[12] We still know examples of miraculous icons nowadays in the Oriental Orthodox Churches.

son King Iasu". The queen used to order to have an oil lamp lit day and night in front of the icon (*Annales*...106 Chojnacki 1983:241). We know that under emperor Zar'a Ya'qob (15th c.) faithful were prostrating in front of the icons of the Virgin and icons were censed during the reading of her *Miracles* in the church every Sunday and her thirty two annual festivals (Heldman 1988: 131-142; fig.8).

Did the Oriental Orthodox Churches participate in the iconoclast Byzantine quarrel?

Now comes the question: did the Oriental Orthodox Churches participate in the iconoclast Byzantine quarrel? According to Sirarpie Der Nersessian (d. 1989), a great specialist of Armenian and Byzantine art, the Council of Nicea II would have considered certain so-called "monophysites" such as Severus of Antioch and Philoxenos of Mabbug as being adversaries of pictures, but we have no direct testimony to justify this (Nersessian 1973: 381, 401).[13] The Syrian Orthodox Archbishop of Aleppo, Yohanna Ibrahim, wrote that the Syrian Orthodox never participated in the Byzantine iconoclast quarrel and that they are not responsible for its inception (Ibrahim 1980). The same can be said of the Copts and of the Ethiopians. In fact they were far from Constantinople, the centre of the iconoclastic disputes, especially in Ethiopia.

Practice of the veneration of icons/Veneration not adoration of icons

In front of icons, the Oriental Orthodox faithful light candles; they touch and kiss the icons; they pray in front of the icons, standing or kneeling. They even prostrate themselves in front of icons, especially if they are associated with miracles.

During the great festivals (Palm Sunday, Easter etc.), processions are made inside and outside the churches with the icon of the feast. The faithful pray and sing in front of the icons; the priests offer incense to

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[13] However, according to Sebastian Brock, the great specialist of Syriac studies, Philoxenus has not expressed iconoclastic opinions, see (Brock 1977: 54).

the icons during certain offices. The Coptic faithful, and other Oriental Orthodox, keep small pictures of Christ, the Virgin or a saint in their purses, their bags or on the windows of their cars, as a kind of protection.

One must venerate icons, not adore them. Here are some examples given by the texts. In the Coptic tradition, Abu al Barakat (d. 1324) writes that people prostrate themselves in front of icons, but never adore them. In the Ethiopian tradition, under King Susneyos (17th c.) lived a holy nun, Walatta Petros. In the church of Saint Fasiladas in Meselie, she spent all her nights until dawn standing in front of the icon of the Virgin, straight as a column and without leaning on the wall or the pilasters; and she prayed and supplicated for the salvation of her soul and of all, without rest... Another time, being very sick, she made a prayer in front of the icon of the Virgin asking for her intercession and the picture spoke to her(Ricci 1970). George of Sagla shed tears in front of the icon of the Virgin in the Monastery of Saint Estifanos at Lake Hayq; while prostrating and fasting he saw his prayer being granted (Colin 1987). In the Acts of the holy monk Za Yohannes (middle of the 14th c.) the founder of the monastery of Kebran in Lake Tana, it is said that his parents prostrated themselves in front of the icon of the Virgin to have a child. Being adult, Yohanes prayed in a countryside church dedicated to the Virgin; from her icon she addressed him and told him to become a monk in the Monastery of Debre Libanos.

Icons/pictures and spirituality/ and function or role of icons

All these pictures/icons play the same role as in the Byzantine world. For example: as protection; to think of winning Heaven; to be ocular testimonies of Christ's life; to get closer to God; to remember represented models of saints and to ask for their intercession with God.

Icons/pictures are used and censed by the priest during the liturgy and some offices and during festal processions.

For those who cannot read, pictures and paintings allow those who see them to receive religious education by communicating to the

faithful the teachings of Christ, Church history, the Acts of the Apostles, the lives of the saints, the Holy Bible, as in a book of pictures. Pictures have inestimable value for Christian education, above all for that of children. A religious painting can guide the believer towards spiritual life and salvation, towards the Invisible. The aim is above all pedagogical and spiritual: to instruct those who cannot read to remain firm in faith, to sacrifice themselves if necessary. The pictures of saints, and especially of martyrs, are models of giving oneself to God. They help to encourage and strengthen the faithful, above all the tepid ones. Their representation incites one to meditation, to communion with the saints, in the hope of divine reward. This is why the Oriental Orthodox faithful wish to look at icons, because, through these "windows", they contemplate the World which is behind time and space, as wrote the Coptic Father Tadros Malaty (Malay 1994: 286). For Matta al Maskin, the aim is "to touch the faith of the faithful in order to help them to pray". For Pope Shenouda III, it is the didactic impact which is important: "A icon can produce an effect deeper on the soul than a reading or a sermon" (Pope Shenouda 1998: 174).

The aim expressed by the Coptic prayer of consecration is the following: by praying in front of the picture, the faithful ask for their salvation and forgiveness from God. It is the example of repentance and conversion given by Mary the Egyptian who prayed in front of the icon of the Mother of God before being able to enter the church of the Holy Sepulcher. For her, the icon played a role of "comfort", in order to obtain "grace and kindness from God, the Friend of humankind", as it is written in the Coptic Orthodox Synaxary.

The prayer to consecrate/bless the icons
Before venerating the icons, lighting candles and prostrating in front of them, they are consecrated by a bishop with holy oil (*myron*), except in the Syrian Orthodox Church which uses simple holy oil

instead of *myron*. The prayers used are found in the books of the prayers of consecration of the bishops.[14]

These texts of prayers are another proof of the existence and of the veneration of icons and images in the Oriental Orthodox Churches. In fact, such prayers for consecrating/blessing the icons would not exist if there were no icon or wall painting to be blessed!

Theology of icon

Cyril of Alexandria suggested the idea according to which the icon allows the hypostasis of the Word to become visible, a formula which will be developed by Saint Theodore Studite.[15] In the Coptic Church, in the Middle Ages, according to Severus ibn al-Muqaffa, bishop of Achmounein in the 10th century, adoration is due to God alone.[16] According to Abu al Barakat (d. 1324), we can represent Christ, because, through His Incarnation "He put us in the obligation to represent Him according to the aspects in which He appeared"; and "the picture of Christ is made after the model of His Humanity, not of His Divinity". Bishop Yousab (18th c.) summarizes everything by writing that "the representation of Christ on an icon and its use in the rite of the veneration are the normal result of the divine Incarnation".[17] In the Coptic tradition, in the 20th century, Father Tadros Malaty in his book *The Church House of God* wrote two chapters about the iconostasis and the icons. He is not afraid to quote Saint John Damascene and his famous formula: "One must not adore the creature more than the Creator." He also writes that Christianity is founded on the revelation of God through His Incarnate Son (John 1:18): thus, through this Incarnation, the icon of

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[14] See (Chaillot, Belopopsky 1998: 88-102). The Coptic Prayer was translated into English in (Malaty 1994: 298-304). The Ethiopian prayer according to a Geez text was translated into English for me by the late Father Seife Selassie in Addis Ababa.

[15] Quoted by Christoph Schönborn (1976: 98). "L'icône laisse transparaître l'hypostase du Christ".

[16] See the chapter "Icônes et raisons qui les rendent nécessaires dans l'Eglise" in (Schönborn 1976).

[17] Quoted by Malaty (1994: 272).

God has been revealed to us (John 14: 8, 9). The physical appearance of God on earth makes possible the fact of representing His Image and in order to expose the events of His life in the form of icons. In regards to this topic, as Father Malaty remarks, Saint John Damascene says that when the Invisible has become Visible in His Flesh, we can represent his Baptism, his Transfiguration, etc… and also His miracles which prove His divinity. Father Malaty also writes that the iconoclasts not only were opposed to the ritual veneration of pictures, but that certain Church Fathers considered that they despised the Divine Incarnation as well, because anyone who despises the icon of the Lord also despises His Incarnation. He also insists on the fact that icons represent a vital part of the Tradition of the Coptic Orthodox Church which was developed throughout the centuries: the Coptic icons reveal the dogmas and the spirituality of the Coptic Church (Malaty 1994: 225-420). Finally, according to Pope Shenuda (d. 2012), all pictures are not icons, as only icons give at the same time a dogmatic teaching. In front of each icon of Christ, we must remember his divinity and his humanity, as in fact the two are never separated.[18]

Conclusion

It is enough to see the faithful of the Oriental Orthodox Churches praying in front of icons to understand that they venerate them greatly. By studying texts of the prayers of consecration of icons, we can also find arguments concerning the theological and Christological significance of pictures in the traditions of the Oriental Orthodox Churches. Too often we still hear that the Oriental Orthodox Churches are "monophysites", which they refute categorically.[19] For the Oriental Orthodox the icon of Christ is a Christological argument, and not a theological obstacle, because it is the proof of the visibility and the real humanity of God the Savior.

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[18] Interview with Pope Shenuda in the WCC in Geneva in August 1992.

[19] See the official Christological texts of the Dialogue between the Eastern and Oriental Orthodox and also quotations by Pope Shenouda III from *The Nature of Christ* as well as Statements issued by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, all quoted in (Chaillot 2016: 437; 440; 449; 463; 494-6).

According to Leonid Ouspensky, iconology is like a summit of Christological reflexion, because the two are intrinsically linked in function of the theology of Christ's Incarnation(Ouspensky 1982: 23). In fact, if the non Chalcedonian Churches had really been monophysites, if they believed like the heretic Eutyches that the Humanity of Christ had been absorbed by His Divinity, would they have bothered to represent His Humanity on icons and other pictures/paintings? It is this Christological demonstration which pushed me in 1993 to write on the topic of iconography in the Oriental Orthodox Churches and of their veneration of icons.

Icons have clearly developed a spirituality and also Orthodox faith in the Oriental Orthodox Churches. I hope that those who are closed and negative towards this dialogue between these two families of Churches can read the type of quotations I have given in this article, in order to be convinced of the Orthodoxy of the Oriental Orthodox Churches, at least at the iconographical level. Here I have been able to give only very few examples in order to raise interest in this topic. More examples are to be found in my book *Rôle des images et vénération des icons*. Some people should continue to study and write articles and books on the topic of the veneration of icons in the Oriental Orthodox Churches, including from texts in original languages which are not yet translated. Some should also study in depth the texts of the prayers of consecration of the icons.

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Language Policy in postcolonial Africa in the light of postcolonial theory. The ideas of Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o[1]

Abstract: The main aim of this paper is to discuss the ideas of
Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o on language policy in postcolonial Africa
in connection with the key ideas of postcolonial theory. To
that end some cultural, social, and political thoughts of Ngũgĩ
will be presented, particularly those regarding language as a
means to legitimize and execute the power, its role in the
struggle against neocolonial dependency, social and political
commitment of African writers and their language choices.

Keywords: language policy, postcolonial theory, Ngũgĩ wa
Thiong'o, legitimization of power, literary language

Introduction

PROSPERO. Abhorrèd slave,
Which any print of goodness wilt not take,
Being capable of all ill! I pitied thee,
Took pains to make thee speak, taught thee each hour
One thing or other. When thou didst not, savage,
Know thine own meaning, but wouldst gabble like
A thing most brutish, I endowed thy purposes
With words that made them known. (...)

CALIBAN. You taught me language, and my profit on't
Is I know how to curse. The red plague rid you
For learning me your language!

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This famous passage from William Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (Shakespeare 1991: 7) illustrates that in the European tradition language has long been linked with self-consciousness, knowledge as well as being human (inasmuch gabbling is a characteristic of "a thing most brutish"). It also indicates that language can be used – and in this particular case overthrown Duke of Milan tries to use it this way – as a means to articulate certain interests, bring them into being and, as a result, broaden the power of specific stakeholders. Therefore, language can serve as a tool to legitimize and execute the power. At the same time that passage provides one of the most confronting demonstrations of the importance of language in the colonial encounter and presents some crucial questions of colonial identity and postcolonial transformation (Ashcroft 2001: 82). Therefore it is often used by the advocates of postcolonial theory[2] as a reference point for discussing links between power and language, including language policy, in Africa and other countries of the Global South – to mention only one issue they bring out of it (Gandhi 2008: 133, see also Singh 2003 or Didea 2007).

One of the leading representatives of postcolonial theory in the world is Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o[3] (born 1938), a Kenyan dramatist, novelist, essayist, critic, scholar, cultural, social, and political activist, called "one of Africa's most eminent literary figures", "one of Africa's most articulate social critics" or in the similar way (however, in the world he is probably best known of his novels). As Ngũgĩ states: "Caliban has no language. He can only be taught/given language.

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[2] Although in this paper we use the term „theory" in a conventional sense, we are aware of various accusation that tend to question and indeed deny the theoretical and even scientific value of research from this perspective. We wish, however, to differentiate between the postcolonial theory and a broader term of postcolonial studies, which is often used in isolation from the historical, ideological and methodological (post-structuralism, Marxism, feminism or psychoanalysis) fundaments of the postcolonial theory.

[3] In this paper the spelling of the name refers to the orthographic convention of the Kikuyu language. In References the author's name is listed as "Nġugi wa Thiongo". For citations and other references in the text the name "Ngugi" is used.

Prospero keeps reminding Caliban of his debt to Prospero's language and culture: *You did not know yourself until I gave you language. I created you, but, of course, in my image.* We encounter the same phenomenon in Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, when Crusoe is teaching language to Friday. (...) Language here is being used to reproduce a master and slave consciousness in order to reinforce the material reality of the same. If Friday – or his earlier manifestation in Caliban – were to accept that language as used by the master, then he would enter a permanent state of auto-enslavement, surrendering his own sovereignty forever." (Ngugi 2008: 168).

In *The Intimate Enemy* Ashis Nandy (1983) distinguished two types of colonialism. The first one is called "militaristic colonialism", and implies territorial conquest. Such colonialism is violent and bandit in nature, but its intended objectives and means remain transparent. The second type is called „civilizing colonialism", and involves mastering the mind, self and culture[4] (Nandy 1983: xf.). It is indeed civilizing colonialism that constitutes the main field of interests of Ngũgĩ, the author of *Decolonizing the Mind: the Politics of Language in African Literature*, with the language policy in postcolonial Africa as a central part of it. In various books, articles, lectures and interviews, which will be examined later, the Kenyan argues that any situation in which there is a relationship of domination and subordination – regardless of time, place, religion or skin color of its participants – is reflected in the language, and that the language confirms and deepens inequalities inscribed in such relations. Therefore, as he states, "the language issue is the key, not the only one, but definitely a very, very important key to the decolonization process" (Ngugi and Jussawalla 1991: 146).

The day after independence – the issues to be discussed
Decolonization of Africa – or merely "formal decolonization", as postcolonial theory underlines – has spawned various conflicts between the newly arisen states. Nevertheless there existed a few fun-

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[4] In the past, claims Nandy, it was led by the rationalists, liberals and modernists in the name of a civilizing mission.

damental issues in which the new countries had promptly reached an agreement. First of all they agreed that their borders, though resulted from the colonial division, will remain intact. This declaration was largely respected[5], albeit it is necessary to note that numerous border wars waged since late fifties in various locations in Africa claimed at least a dozen millions of victims. Secondly, the new countries have recognized that efforts should be made to integrate – or at least cooperate closely on a political level – within the framework of regional organizations and the Organization of African Unity. Unlike in the case of the borders, this demand turned out to have been vaulting ambition and it has been realized only partially. Such a consensus as in respect of the frontiers and integration, even if only declared, did not consider the language policy. The new states had to decide – and they wanted to do that on their own – whether they preferred a colonial or indigenous language to be their official or national language. Both solutions could have brought many risks and uncertainties. Let us list some of them.

On the one hand, the language of the ancient metropolis was considered by many Africans as a symbol of colonial enslavement, and over time as a symbol of postcolonial dependence (not always fully conscious, of course). As the postcolonial theoreticians claim, this language, being the tongue of the colonizer or the „invader", confirmed, legitimized and ossified the outcome of seventy or eighty years of colonial rule (that is, the life of three generations)[6]. Since the

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[5] Obviously, in many cases the imposed borders violated strong and centuries-old social, ethnic, religious and linguistic divisions, but re-demarcation, as was assumed, could trigger a spiral of bloody wars. The first, and so far the only, correction of the colonial borders took place in July of 2011, when Republic of the Sudan divided into Republic of the Sudan and Republic of South Sudan. However, it is true that Eritrea broke away from Ethiopia in 1993 after a long and bloody war, but from 1936 to 1941 it was a part of the Italian East Africa, from 1941 to 1952 – a territory under control of the British, and in 1952, on the grounds of the UN resolution, it was incorporated into Ethiopia.

[6] However, in some countries it was a shorter period of time. The best example is Morocco, which "became a French protectorate in 1912 and was

language is the carrier of cultural, social, political or economic ideas, they argue, then a colonial language, despite the departure or „escape" of Europeans[7], continues to impute colonial view of things and thus limits the development of native ideas and institutions. The choice of the indigenous language as a national or official language of a new state was supposed to complete the process of decolonization, making this historical though only formal and symbolic breakthrough a real and palpable change as well. According to some post colonialists it was also supposed to partially heal, and perhaps even compensated for, the wounds of the past.

On the other hand, the advancement of the native language to the status of a national or official language is potentially connected with the promotion of one language group at the expense of others[8] (and, as history of Africa clearly shows, it is hard to avoid such a risk or temptation). Since linguistic divisions are often interwoven with ethnic or religious divisions as well as with historical, political or economic conflicts and animosities, the arbitrary choice of the national or official language may cause or deepen social inequalities, weaken cohesion of a country, or lead to a spiral of violence.[9] The next chal-

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again independent in 1956 – the era of colonial domination now shorter than that of renewed sovereignty." (Parker and Rathbone 2007: 91).

[7] As some cases of the "escape" can be pointed out, e.g. Guinea after 1958 referendum.

[8] One can count on the fingers of one hand the countries south of the Sahara, where at least half the population speak one common African language. Although there are few (however impressive) exceptions – that is, countries where about 80 percent of the population speak the same language (Tswana in Botswana and Sotho in Lesotho) – but usually several languages are used within one country and they are used by a few groups that are similar in number.

[9] Let us note that even in the times of the European pre-colonial expansion the European missionaries tried to use local language differences for their own purposes, sometimes strictly political. By translating the Bible into a selected native language they opened up new prospects for a specific language group – namely: access to culture, education, and power at a local

lenges for the language change process are: huge organizational and financial effort, which is associated with it[10], high level of illiteracy as well as an ideological and emotional attitude of the other-language groups[11] (see Piłaszewicz and Rzewuski: 2004: 103ff.).

Some supporters of exoglossia have enriched the above-mentioned arguments with references to the international situation of the new countries both in Africa and Asia. They argued that the choice of the colonial language as an official language would enable worldwide communication for the commercial and political elites of these countries, and, as a result, strengthen their position in global politics and economy. At the same time it might facilitate cooperation and integration of these new countries at the regional, continental, or even Afro-Asiatic level, all the more that the vast majority of them were colonized by the speakers of just two languages, i.e. French and English.

H. Ekkehard Wolff, referring to the African intellectuals who perceive the colonial languages as the instruments of dominance and cultural alienation and would like to see them replaced by one or more indigenous languages, states: "With a few exceptions, of which Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o is the strongest voice, their complaints are launched paradoxically in exactly the languages they complain about!" (Wolff 2000: 342). It is indeed dilemma situation, if the same think, that is the European language, is at the same time the

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level – to some extent at the expense of other language groups, some of which consequently underwent marginalization.

[10] It is necessary to develop teaching materials, curricula, hire teachers, translators etc. What is more, as many African languages are highly diversified in terms of dialects (many of them are in fact groups of dialects that Europeans call „languages" only out of laziness or simplification), a standard form of the language needs to be developed. This raises the need to define, or better still to unify the grammatical, spelling and phonetic rules. A scientific transcription, and even written form is needed (many African languages, for example Shona in Zimbabwe, is rarely used in writing). This "language change" process may take up to several dozens of years.

[11] The last obstacle can be compared to the aversion many Polish students felt when forced to study Russian in the time of Polish People's Republic.

subject and the tool of the criticism. However, let us look at the following admission of Caliban once again: "You taught me language, and my profit on 't / Is I know how to curse". Bill Ashcroft argues that despite the fact that Caliban fails to transform the language, he remains very inspiring symbol of postcolonial response: "while many would hold that colonial language has no other function than oppression, good for nothing but cursing, writers throughout the colonized world have continued to transform it, and turn it into a vehicle that works for them." (Ashcroft 2001: 82). So do some of them transform this symbol in order to state that the knowledge of the language of the enemy gives one a weapon best possible – that is, a weapon of the enemy (kind of an ancient but extremely practical argument). As a result one can be fully understood by both executors and enemies of neocolonial dependency.

Decisions on language policy

The examples of the arguments that appeared in favor of endo- and exoglossic policies could humor us for a long time. Before we characterize the decisions made on language policies, the notions of "official language" and "national language" in reference to Africa should be defined. Since the linguistic and socio-political situation in Africa is tremendously diversified, there are indeed ambiguous terms.

To start with, one should state that "language policies will establish a functional hierarchy of *official* language(s), *national* language(s), and other languages spoken within the state, and indicate their role and institutional support" (Wolff 2000: 340f.). Generally speaking, official language is a language that is given a special legal status. Typically it is the language of the legal acts and official documents, is used by the government (courts, parliament, administration), in countrywide media or at the universities. In turn, the status of a national language can be, though does not have to be, prescribed by law. National language might be a dominant language in the country, have a countrywide range and serve as a tool of national communication (such function of it can be even stated by law), but does not necessarily have the status of an official language (the au-

thorities do not even have to support such language). There are some languages which, due to the fact that they are dominant, may be regarded as potential national languages (if elaborate this issue, the notion of "dominant language" should be specified). There are also languages which are dominant but there are neither *de iure* nor *de facto* national languages. To sum up, the official language is primarily perceived as a practical or even "technical" tool of communication, particularly if used only by the government, whereas the national language is considered mainly in the light of its role for national unity and identity.

As it was flagged before, two modes of language policies – endoglossic and exoglossic – have developed in Africa. These modes were also internally varied: different levels and options of each one could be described (Piłaszewicz and Rzewuski 2004: 117-129). The majority of the countries south of the Sahara choose the exoglossic policy, taking European languages (English, French or Portuguese) as the official or national languages. These languages were used by the government, dominated the media and were taught at all levels of education (in high schools they were sometimes taught simultaneously with the local languages). However, some other countries choose the endoglossic policy. In the active variant of this model the native language was foremostly a means of communication in public administration and education, at least at a basic level, and the government tried to extend its reach to the national media and universities.[12] In turn, in the passive variant it was used in the state administration, the education system and in the national media to a small extent, even though formally it had the status of the official language[13].

The seventies brought a correction in the exoglossic model. Many African leaders and intellectuals have recognized that exoglossia can lead to loss of their native culture or stand in the way of creating a

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[12] This model was implemented e.g. in Arab countries in Northern Africa (Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Mauritania, Sudan, Tunisia) as well as in Ethiopia, Somalia and Tanzania.

[13] This model was implemented e.g. in Botswana, Burundi, Djibouti, Eritrea, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Rwanda, Swaziland.

new genuine national culture. Some expressed opinions that the low level of education and poor literacy make exoglossic policy beneficial for the upper class only, and that it therefore leads to a reproduction of elites, which in turn accelerates the development of a class society (Piłaszewicz and Rzewuski 2004: 108). As a result, several countries south of the Sahara strengthened the native languages' significance. For instance in 1974 Kenya announced Swahili the official language of the parliamentary sessions; Tanzania adopted an endoglossic model subsequently.

In his best known book *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961), which is undoubtedly one of a few founding texts of postcolonial theory, Frantz Fanon states: "In decolonization, there is therefore the need of a complete calling in question of the colonial situation" (Fanon 1991: 36). Let us conclude this part of the article with the statement that the lack of a consensus regarding language policy in Africa together with the introduction or retention of exoglossic model in many countries, even if considering its later corrections, were blatantly contrary to the quoted words of Fanon, all the more in comparison to the consensus on the inviolability of the borders.

Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o – biography of the writer and activist
Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o was born as James Thiong'o Ngũgĩ on January 5, 1938 in Limuru, a small town near Nairobi, in a large peasant family speaking Kikuyu language. He received his primary education at a mission school and Kikuyu independent school. During the Mau Mau rebellion Ngũgĩ and his family were imprisoned, along with more than a million Kikuyu people. Then he went on to attend Alliance High School (1955-59), the first school in Kenya to offer secondary education to Africans. He graduated from Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda with a B.A. in English in 1963, and, subsequently, from Leeds University in England with the second B.A. in literature in 1964. During the mid-1960s he was teaching at schools and worked as a journalist for Nairobi's *Daily Nation*.

Ngũgĩ's emergence as a writer has coincided with the struggle against the colonial rule in Kenya and other countries of East Afri-

ca.[14] In 1962 he performed his first play, *The Black Hermit* (published in 1968), at the National Theatre in Kampala, as part of the celebration of Uganda's independence. The play focuses on a young man, Remi, who is torn between two loyalties – that of the modern city and that of his traditional community, the conflict embodied by the fact that he abandons his rural wife for the white urban girlfriend. As he is the first of his tribe to go to university, the community elders and the Christian pastor, acting separately, send the delegations to convince him to return home, and to make use of his education by taking the political leadership. Remi, who goes along with this proposal, strives to unite his people, but, as it turns out, he is unable to reconcile his modernizing vision with the tradition, and the idea of nationhood with the ethnicity.

During his studies at Leeds, Ngũgĩ wrote his first novel, *Weep Not, Child* (1964), which turned out to be very popular and prize-winning. The book tells about a Kikuyu family involved in the struggle for Kenyan independence during the state of emergency and the Mau Mau uprising. It was the first major novel in English written by an East African. In 1965 Ngũgĩ published his second novel, *The River Between* (written before *Weep Not, Child*), the story of lovers kept apart by the conflict between Christian and traditional beliefs, in which he suggests yet again that an attempts to reunite a culturally divided community by means of Western education are doomed to failure (Augustyn 2014: 234). Ngũgĩ's third novel, *A Grain of Wheat* (1967), set in the background of Mau Mau revolt, deals with the social, moral, and racial issues of the independence struggle and its aftermath[15].

In 1967 Ngũgĩ became a lecturer in English literature at the University of Nairobi. He soon engaged himself in the university politics, and campaigned to change its English Department into the De-

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[14] Tanganika obtained independence in December 1961, Uganda in October 1962, Zanzibar and Pemba as well as Kenya in December 1963.
[15] On the official website of Ngũgĩ we can read that it "was a turning point in the formal and ideological direction of his works. (...) The collective replaces the individual as the center of history" (ngũgĩwathiongo.com).

partment of African Languages and Literature. In 1968, together with Taban Lo Liyong and Awuor Anyumba, he wrote *On the Abolition of the English Department*, a text which had a continental-range impact (soon it became a part of his first volume of essays, *Homecoming*, 1969). Around that time he dropped his Christian first name, James, and adopted his Bantu name, Ngũgĩ.[16] In 1969 he resigned his post at the University in protest against violations of academic freedoms by the government. In 1970 he published another plays: *This Time Tomorrow*, *The Rebels*, *The Wound in the Heart*. From 1970 to 1971 he worked in the United States as a visiting professor of English and African Studies at the Northwestern University in Illinois. In 1971 he returned to the University of Nairobi, and became a head of the renamed Department of Literature (1972-77).

In 1976 Ngũgĩ co-authored, with Micere Mugo, a play *The Trial of Dedan Kimathi*, telling about a famous leader of the Mau Mau uprising. The European management of the Kenya's National Theatre did not agree to perform the play during the UNESCO General Conference in Nairobi (instead it scheduled *A Funny Thing Happened* on the way to the Forum). In 1977 Ngũgĩ published *Petals of Blood*, a novel which deals with social and economic problems in East Africa after independence, especially in Kenya: exploitation of the masses by foreign business, greedy indigenous bourgeoisie and corrupted political leaders. In 1976 and 1977 Ngũgĩ was working in the Kamĩrĩĩthũ Community Education and Cultural Centre, a self-help project located near Nairobi, which aim was, among others, to recreate and celebrate the African languages in the theater and in literature. In 1977 he wrote, together with Ngũgĩ wa Mirii, *Ngaahika Ndeenda* (published in 1980 and translated as *I Will Marry When I Want* in 1982). The play, the first one written in Kikuyu ever, attacks capitalism, religious hypocrisy, corruption, inequalities and injustices in postcolonial Kenya. It was performed in Kamĩrĩĩthũ the same year in an open air theatre, with Ngũgĩ as a director and actors from the

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[16] This is why some editions of his early books are still published under the name James Ngũgĩ.

workers and peasants of the village. The play was so popular among the local people that the authorities banned it immediately.

Ngũgĩ soon became the victim of a government harassment campaign: his home was searched, his library confiscated, and he lost his post at the University. In the end he was detained without trial (or even formal charges) in December 1977 and spent nearly a year in a solitary confinement at Kamiti Maximum Security Prison in Nairobi. It was in the prison when Ngũgĩ made the decision to abandon English as the language of creative writing in favor of Kikuyu or Swahili, and wrote, on a roll of toilet paper, *Caitaani mũtharaba-Inĩ*, his first novel in Kikuyu. Written in a manner meant to recall traditional ballad singers, the novel is an allegorical account of a meeting between the devil and various villains who exploit the poor (Augustyn 2014: 235). It was published abroad in 1980 and translated into English by Ngũgĩ himself as *Devil on the Cross* in 1982 (as he continued to use English to translate his works and for non-fictional purposes). Ngũgĩ's account of the time in the prison were published in the memoir *Detained: A Writer's Prison Diary* (1981). After an international campaign was performed, with Amnesty International naming him a prisoner of conscience, he was released in December 1978. However, the regime of Daniel arap Moi (president of Kenya from August 1978 to December 2002) barred him from jobs at colleges and the University.

In 1982, while Ngũgĩ was in London for the launch of *Devil on the Cross*, he was warned about the Moi's plot to arrest him on his return to Nairobi (the plot is supposed to be a part of the repressions following the attempted coup against Moi in July 1982, after which a number of artists and intellectuals fled the country). Consequently he decided to live in exile, first in Great Britain (1982-89), and then in the United States (1989-2002). Nevertheless, the Moi dictatorship hounded him trying, unsuccessfully, to get him expelled from London and from other countries he visited. In 1986, at a conference in Harare, he experienced an attempted assault (according to ngũgĩwathiongo.com – official website of Ngũgĩ).

In 1986 Ngũgĩ published his second novel in Kikuyu, *Matigari ma Njiruungi* ("The patriots who survived the bullets"). Matigari is a

man who, having lived in the forest for some time, decides to return to his home to reunite his sundered family; on the way he is jailed, escapes, lands in a mental hospital, but escapes once again. Eventually he comes to a conclusion that an armed uprising is the only way to make his country more just. A lot of people started talking about Matigari as if he was a real living person and some of them were even calling him "Mzee" as a term of respect. In response to this the Moi regime, also believing that Matigari was a living man, issued an arrest warrant for him. On learning that he was a fictional character, the regime banned the novel: it was taken away from all the bookshops and publishers warehouses, and between 1986 and 1996 it could not be sold in Kenyan bookshops. Together with other Ngũgĩ's books it was removed from all educational institutions (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1989: 249).

Living in Britain, Ngũgĩ continued to publish essays on literature, culture, and politics, which were collected in: *Barrel of a Pen: Resistance to Repression in Neo-Colonial Kenya* (1983), *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (1986), *Writing against Neocolonialism* (1986). In the preface to *Decolonising...*, in which he explains his language choices, Ngũgĩ declares: "This book (...) is my farewell to English as a vehicle for any of my writings. From now on it is Gĩkũyũ and Kiswahili all the way" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1994: xiv). Eventually he has not kept his promise: although he had once did a conference paper and wrote a significant critical essay for "Yale Journal of Criticism" in Kikuyu, he began using English again in the late 1980s in his academic career (see Pendergast and Pendergast 2007). During his stay in Britain Ngũgĩ, together with his wife, Jerry, founded a literary journal in Kikuyu. He also collaborated with the London based Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners in Kenya.

In 1989 Ngũgĩ moved to the United States. From 1992 to 2002 he was a professor of comparative literature and performance studies at the New York University. Living in the U.S. he released another collections of essays: *Moving the Centre* (1993), *Penpoints, Gunpoints and Dreams: Towards a Critical Theory of the Arts and the State of Africa* (1998) as well as two children's books: *Njamba Nene and the*

Flying Bus and *Njamba Nene's Pistol* (both in 1995). In 2004 he published *Mũrogi wa Kagogo*, his first novel since *Matigari* (translated into English as *Wizard of the Crow* in 2006). It is a surreal, allegorical, and satirical story dealing with the legacy of colonialism, as it is both perpetuated by the native elite and ingrained in ostensibly decolonized culture (Augustyn 2014: 235). The plot is set in the fictional postcolonial country of Aburi resembling Kenya and other 20th-century African states.

Because of Moi ousted in 2002, Ngũgĩ visited Kenya in 2004 for the first time since 1982 as part of a month-long tour of East Africa. The third day of the stay Ngũgĩ and Jerry were assaulted in their home in what is believed to have been a political attack. In last years he wrote two memoirs: *Dreams in a Time of War: A Childhood Memoir* (2010) and *In the House of the Interpreter* (2012). In June 2015 Kenya's president Uhuru Kenyatta, during his meeting with Ngũgĩ in Nairobi, invited him to move to Kenya. "It is really a great feeling when you feel your government is recognizing and acknowledging you", said Ngũgĩ ("Daily Nation").

Ngũgĩ has taught at numerous universities throughout Europe and the United States, including Bayreuth, Yale, and Oxford. Currently he holds a post of distinguished professor in comparative literature and English at the University of California at Irvine. Ngũgĩ's books have been translated into more than thirty languages.[17] He is the recipient of ten honorary doctorates, both in Africa and in the West, and many other awards, from the East Africa Novel Prize (1962) and UNESCO First Prize (1963) to the 2001 Nonino International Prize for Literature. He is regularly mentioned as a candidate for the Nobel Prize in Literature (see e.g. "Guardian").

Key Ngũgĩ's thoughts on language policy
Since "nothing is more important than life's journey" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 2009: 1), we will begin this part of the article with Ngũgĩ's reflections on the beginning of this journey, that is the childhood. In

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[17] In Poland two novels by Ngũgĩ were published so far: *Weep Not, Child* (*Chmury i łzy*) and *A Grain of Wheat* (*Ziarno pszeniczne*), both in 1972.

a joint publication under a telling title *English Language as Hydra* (2012) Ngũgĩ gives us advice: "if you wanted to hide knowledge from an African child, put it in English or French. Or if you wanted to hide the keys to the future, hide them in the dominant European languages" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 2012: 14). In his numerous texts Ngũgĩ describes his school days when he used to use both his mother tongue, Kikuyu, and English, which was the language of education of each level and the official language in Kenya from the beginning of colonization. He tells how he and his friends were punished and humiliated for speaking Kikuyu in the school compound (the culprit was given strokes of the cane on bare buttocks or was made to carry a metal plate around the neck with inscriptions such as "I am stupid" or "I am a donkey") (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1994: 11-17). "This humili-ation and negativity were attached to African languages in the learn-ing process" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 2012: 12). "On the other hand, when anyone of us did very well in English language, we were praised very highly, were given very high marks, were given stand-ing ovations. We became heroes" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1985: 20). Ac-cording to Ngũgĩ two things were taking place in the cognitive pro-cess: positive affirmation of English and criminalisation of African languages as means of intellectual production. As he could sum up: "With English, went pride; with African languages, shame" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 2012: 12).

What are the results of the language policy as described above? Ngũgĩ argues that a child punished and humiliated for speaking his mother language starts to hate that language and "by extension hate the values carried by that language and also dislike or look down upon the people who created [that] language" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1985: 20). At the same time the child starts to look up to English language, values, culture, and, by extension, the English people. Consequently, a knowledge of English is seen by him as the standard or the measure of one's intelligence and abilities (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1985: 20), "the rubber stamp that certifies the neocolonial mind as being truly made in Europe" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 2008: 168). In brief, the hierarchy of languages, cultures, values and nations in the men-tality of the child is created.

The behavior of the child as well as the policy of neocolonial native government which establishes that hierarchy in child's mind, may be considered in relation to the notion of mimicry formulated by Homi Bhabha in *The Location of Culture* (1994). Dominated Africans who undergo mimicry – that is, both the child and the government – feel that a foreign language has a special power that their indigenous languages miss, since they are lower in the world hierarchy of the languages, while the European ones are certainly at the top of it. Therefore postcolonial power's obligation is to civilize and bring the ruled people closer to a pattern – which is obviously the European pattern, based on the colonial language – seen as a final stage in the evolutionary path of human societies' development. However, the aim is precisely that: to bring closer, but never complete the process. As Bhabha states, the ruler does not want the ruled to become the same as him, but almost the same – the same, but not quite (Bhabha 2010: 122). Therefore, for example, this native government, controlled by the ancient metropolis, holds firmly to the opinion that the African literature can deal with the native topics, but only in a European language.

The first result of the exoglossic policy in education, as described above, is the hierarchy of languages, cultures etc. established in the minds of Africans. The second one is alienation. It is an alienation from one's own language, culture and society, from other people but also from one's self. Ngũgĩ describes it this way: "[English] Language and literature brought us further and further away from us to other us, from our world to other worlds" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1994: 12). So, as we see, alienation has both psychological and sociological character. In the essay *Freeing the Imagination* (2008) Ngũgĩ claims that it is therefore total and ties it in with the notions of enemy and threat: "colonialism (…) is indeed a system of alienation. It turns a people's land, labor, power, values, even psyche, into an enemy, a threat, as in the case of the overseer." (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 2008: 168) (may it be a reference to Foucault's *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* 1975).

The result of alienation is deepening of social divisions which may contribute to the reproduction of elites within the meaning of

both economic and cultural capital (compare with the above-mentioned arguments against exoglossia regarding class society).[18] Ngũgĩ underlines that even after the cold war "the gulf between the poor and rich is becoming really enormous" all over the world, but in Africa in particular (Ngũgĩ and Rao 1999: 166). In *Detained* (1981), having told how much he had learned working in the Kamĩrĩĩthũ Centre, he states: "colonial education, it tended to alienate the educated from his immediate environment" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1989: 20). In other text he asks: "The colonists may have even wanted to create a gulf of knowledge between the elite and the people. But why should we in Africa want to continue to deepen and widen the gulf?" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 2012: 14).

The hierarchy of languages, established in the minds of Africans, is analyzed by Ngũgĩ in terms of different disciplines (the main are: history, psychology, sociology, political science) and on various geographical levels: that of the particular countries, that of Africa and also that of the whole world, when the African situation is seen in conjunction with the other developing, Third World, or Global South countries. So let us discuss his arguments presented in terms of international political, economic and cultural relations. Colonists' languages, claims Ngũgĩ, dominate the world process of production and spread of knowledge, as well as the fields of consumption, media and industry. The European linguistic dictate, as he calls this phenomenon, manifests itself not only on strictly international but on transnational level as well. The best proof of that is the fact that four of the six official languages of the United Nations (since 1982 these are: Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Spanish, and Russian) are, after all, European languages.[19] These hegemonic languages constitute, as

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[18] H. Ekkehard Wolff points out that since the upward social mobility is encouraged through use of the foreign language, the elite can control replenishment of their own ranks (Wolff 2000: 342).

[19] Let us note that Ngũgĩ does not mention that only two of the official UN languages listed above, i.e. English and French, are undoubtedly languages of the North, while Spanish is the language of both Spain and the great part of the South (the Philippines and Latin America countries except of Brazil)

he calls it, an aristocracy of the languages, while "small" languages of the periphery are being dominated and marginalized by them. Ngũgĩ calls this phenomenon "linguistic feudalism". What is more, linguistic feudalism is only an initial step on the road to the extinction of language – the process or effect that is called „linguistic Darwinism". Some of the African languages, as he states, "face the destiny of dinosaurs" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 2012: 15).[20]

Although in Ngũgĩ's texts the objections to linguistic feudalism and Darwinism are aimed mainly at the colonial languages, particularly English, some of them are addressed, albeit not so vehemently, to African vehicular languages. According to him such languages as Swahili (from 50 to 100 million users), Hausa (50 million) or Fulani (20-30 million) contribute to the destruction of smaller vernacular languages which are not associated with such a big influence, prestige or money (the phenomenon acknowledged by the linguists long time ago). In that way, as the postcolonial theoreticians would state, and Ngũgĩ probably agrees with them, the colonizer-colonized dichotomy manifests itself not only in the foul language of the former metropolis and the former colony, but also in a clash between African languages. Thus Africans themselves incorporate the roles of the colonizers and the colonized. Let us note that such an attitude is somewhat at odds with the vulgar, "opposing" version of postcolonial theory, which operates within the black-and-white hostility between the native and the colonizer. In fact, Leela Gandhi explains, in this situation one has to deal with reciprocal fears and desires, and mutual snooping. The lines of the struggle between the native and

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and finally the status of Russian in this classification is disputable as some people include Soviet Union or Russia to the North and some others to the South. It is true however that all these European languages, which are the official languages of the UN, are the languages of the colonizer, though only two or three of them are the languages of the European colonizers of Africa, namely English, French and to a much less extent Spanish (Spanish West Africa).

[20] It should be added in this context that a language is considered a gift from God by many African commons.

colonizer duplicate in both the colonized and the colonizer. This hidden psychological conflict is no less important, as she claims, than the classic one which dominates the militaristic colonialism (Gandhi 2008: 19f.).

Despite the ferocious phraseology he uses at times, Ngũgĩ is not a fanatic or dogmatic person. He is aware of the difficulties and possible negative consequences of the policy of endoglossia. He notes that the endoglossic policy should not generate new conflicts and social disparities; rather it should be tailored to the individual circumstances of each country. As an example of a successful implementation of these assumptions Ngũgĩ brings up the language policy which promoted Swahili to the range of a national language of Tanzania. He is also aware that the struggle with the old hierarchy (of cultures, languages, identities) should not lead to creation of a new one (see Foucault 1980: 86, invoked by Ngũgĩ). With this recommendation in mind, the Kenyan postulates that the relationships between the languages were not gradable, thus not feudal, but based on the principle of a network. In the terms of postcolonial theory Ngũgĩ's position can be specified this way: recovery of the dominated languages and marginalization of the dominant languages is necessary, but risky. He could easily agree with the old Latin phrase: *nec temere, nec timide* (neither rashly nor timidly).

Writing in African languages
All the plays and novels of Ngũgĩ, up till the play *Ngaahika Ndeenda* (written in 1977) and the novel *Caitaani mũtharaba-Inĩ* (written in 1978), were written in standard English. As Feroza Jussawalla notices, in *Petals of Blood* (1977), his last novel in English, while the narrative is in standard English, Ngũgĩ uses some code mixing and switching as well as transliteration of African languages in the dialogue and the poems. Ngũgĩ comments on that it in the following words: "that's subconscious. But some phrases used in *Petals of Blood* could only be said a certain way, in Kikuyu or in Kiswahili (…) But definitely *Petals of Blood* was a transitional novel. However, language experimentation was only a small part of this novel. I was writing about peasants and workers and their struggle (…) This

was true not just of *Petals of Blood* but of all my novels. And yet none of the people who formed the subject matter of my novels could possibly read them because the novels were encased in a language that was not their own. So one could say that, in a sense, I could not continue in that direction" (Ngugi and Jussawalla 1991: 147). The work in the Kamĩrĩĩthũ Centre (1976-77), where he was naturally confronted with the issue of language, definitely deepened that kind of feeling. It was, as he recalls, "a shocking confrontation" with the reality (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1985: 21). Nonetheless his change of the language of creative writing, made in 1978 in the solitary confinement, was not an impulsive decision, but resulted from the long and profound reflections and personal experiences.

Since that switch of language Ngũgĩ has been intensely calling other African writers to create in the African languages. We can mention three assumptions which are crucial for his appeal. The first one is a very simple and logic one and address the problem of hierarchy already discussed: since African languages, likewise cultures, philosophies and nationalities, are not worse than the others, and "All over the world writers write in their own languages" (Ngugi and Jussawalla 1991: 149), African writers should write in African languages. The second one provides that the African matters should be seen from the African perspective, thus by means of African languages. In the manifesto *On the Abolition of the English Department* (1968) Ngũgĩ and others state: "This is not a change of names only. We want to establish the centrality of Africa in the department. (…) With Africa at the centre of things, not existing as an appendix or a satellite of other countries and literatures, things must be seen from the African perspective" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 2003: 442). Finally, the third assumption is set out in the following words: "in the case of Africa, there is a definite need, a necessity, for breaking out of this historical mold into which we have been forced" (Ngugi and Jussawalla 1991: 149) – a phrase which could easily begin a political manifesto of postcolonialists' party. One can say that all the further Ngũgĩ's arguments on writing in African languages are derivative of those three fundamental assumptions.

One of the most important Ngũgĩ's arguments can be called a "majority argument". It is based on the assumption (some would say: the fact) that European languages are the languages of the minority of Africans. "The situation in Africa – states Ngũgĩ – is a little bit absurd when you take into account that the majority of the African people speak African languages and that only a very tiny minority (…) speak French or English or Portuguese, which means that when African writers write in these languages (…) they are basically addressing themselves to that very tiny minority – that is, the apex of each of these nationalities" (Ngugi and Jussawalla 1991: 144). It is indeed democratic and egalitarian argument, and it is additionally linked with the argument invoking the sense of reality. Ngũgĩ claims that language policy should reflect the real, not imaginary, linguistic situation, and that this reality might be specified only if one see the things as a whole. Therefore, he argues that colonial languages should "occupy their proportionate position in society. English and French may remain minority languages, but they will at least not be the dominant languages for expressing African culture (…) There will be a more natural balance." (Ngugi and Jaggi 1989: 250, compare with Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1997: 20).

Ngũgĩ states that Kikuyu-speaking nationalities count *circa* five million people, but only five percent of them can effectively read, understand and use English, while ninety-five percent uses Kikuyu as their only means of communication. "So the choice for me is between that five-percent minority and the ninety-five-percent majority. I know that when I'm writing in Kikuyu, I'm reaching many more people within that nationality than if I wrote in English" (Ngugi and Jussawalla 1991: 145). Let us note that in the above excerpt, and it is not a unique example of that, Ngũgĩ does not mention about the possible supralocal impact of the works in English. Even though in some other places he points out that writing in English can attract attention of a small percent of overall country's population, in that excerpt he does not formulate the dilemma: either You write in Kikuyu and reach almost five million Kikuyu speakers or You write in English and reach a handful of Kikuyu speakers along with a few percent of the whole Kenyan society or, to make the numbers larger, a few per-

cent of the whole English-speaking Africans (instead of that five percent of Kikuyu speakers, as he does propose). It might seem to be an inconsequent or at least unconvincing approach, but actually it is very logic one. To prove it, let us analyse Ngũgĩ's thoughts on imperialism and tradition.

In *Decolonising the Mind* (1986) Ngũgĩ argues that language policy in Africa is an area of world struggle between tradition and imperialism and that the reasons for the choice and retention of exoglossic policies, just as the sources of war and poverty, are to be found in this struggle. To describe its character, the Kenyan uses some basic principles of Marxist theory (some would say that he expresses an African Marxist viewpoint", as McArthur does). His narrative is as follows: the ruling elite in the pro-Western African countries is thoroughly opportunist and dependent on foreign patrons. It continues to implement "civilizing colonialism", but their role is only that of an intermediary for the transmission of Western ideas. It mimics the views and behavior of the Westerners, bringing into existence the most harmful principles of imperialism and capitalism which serve their interests.[21] That establishment – called servants of the international bourgeoisie – usually consists of officials, judges, journalists and scientists who without embarrassment claim to be the African patriots or defenders of the African tradition. In fact, contemporary native ruling elite presents no less a threat to the African tradition than a long time of colonial administration once was. Resistance to that elite is reflected in the struggle for democracy and the defense of native tradition or "patriotic defense of the peasant or working-class roots of the national cultures" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1994: 2). It is a domain of the working class, namely the proletariat and the peasantry; the patriotic students, intellectuals (academics and others), sol-

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[21] Ngũgĩ refers to Foucault when he adds that the modern economic dominance of the West stems directly from the alliance of knowledge and power. The problem is not confined to Africa itself – rather, it has a global reach. Ngũgĩ says, however, that Africa is where the worst features of that phenomenon are revealed (Ngugi 2009).

diers and other „progressive elements" of small middle class assist them.

Coming back to the "ninety-five or five percent dilemma", we should ask: what is the sense therefore to mobilize people (writers, translators, publishers etc.) in order to release anti-imperialistic books in small indigenous languages? Is that really efficient way to fight with imperialism, assuming that the impact of such books is limited as the number of potential readers is relatively small, the efforts are disproportionate in relation to the goals, and the power of imperialism is enormous. Maybe one should not choose half-measures, as writing in native languages should be called, but decide to use the most influential tool, which is possible, namely the very tool of the enemy – the colonial language?

According to Ngũgĩ "any blow against imperialism, no matter the ethnic and regional origins of the blow, is a victory for all anti-imperialistic elements in all the nationalities. The sum total of all these blows no matter what their weight, size, scale, location in time and space makes the national heritage" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1994: 2). The cited words imply that Ngũgĩ perceives that great all-African struggle as a long-term process consisted of numerous local fights. These battles can be isolated and quite different, but with the passing of time they start to form one great struggle with the same ultimate goal, though still locally diversified in terms of tools and intermediate goals. The crucial condition for the success of that struggle is to have fighters deeply convinced of the justness of their fight. The best way to make them convinced is to use their own language. It is not the best solution, claims Ngũgĩ, if you try to convince the biggest possible group of people by the use of the language, which is understandable but unconvincing, since it is foreign, likewise to convince the elite which is alienated and unchangeable. These are actually the actions that should be called half-measures. Instead he urges to address a small number of people, by using their native language, so as to convince them truly and deeply. We can call such an attempt a grass-roots approach, increasing the chance, coast accounting or otherwise, depending on one's outlook and methodology. To sum up this paragraph the following words of Ngũgĩ, put in his essay *The*

Commitment of the Intellectual, may be cited: "My advice here will be very simple. And that is, to go back to the people. (...) I mean it is using our immediate environment as a base for our take-off, or as a base for our assimilation of whatever is necessary to our struggles" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1985: 24).

The last, but definitely not least, argument of Ngũgĩ's appeal – among those which can be listed in this paper – provides that writing in African languages can constitute an interesting and instructive experience for a writer who used to write in foreign language, since it is an opportunity to experiment with some new formal and artistic solutions as well as to get a feedback from the readers. Ngũgĩ recalls his work in the Kamĩrĩĩthũ Centre, where he performed the plays on the real "heroic struggles against colonial and neo-colonial oppressions. The moment we did this, and in a language which they understood, of course the rules were once again reversed (...) Often some of the people who took part in our theatre were the very people who had actively participated in the Mau Mau guerilla", so they knew their story much better than the scriptwriters. At the same time the peasants and factory workers knew much more about Kikuyu language than Ngũgĩ did, so some of them laughed at the awkward way he wanted to use it. "And they would comment and say, 'You are doing very well, you are trying very hard. But this is not how you use language. An old man does not speak like this. An old man uses this and that kind of proverb. (...) So now, I who had been previously a Professor of English and Literature at the University of Nairobi, was now being taught the ABC of my language" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1985: 21). As we can imagine, Ngũgĩ is highly satisfied with the new formal and artistic challenges which derive from his change from, or against, English, in favor of Kikuyu. "Now I can use a story, a myth, and not always explain because I can assume that the [Kikuyu] readers are familiar with this (...) I can play with word sounds and images, I can rely more and more on songs, proverbs, riddles, anecdotes"

(Ngũgĩ and Rao 1999: 163f.). Obviously, writing this way makes his books much more convincing and popular among the local people.[22]

Translating the African languages

Since Ngũgĩ claims that the struggle against imperialism is an all-African struggle, involving various groups of people speaking different languages, and believes that this struggle should be fought in African languages, he pays much attention to the translations between the African languages, both vernacular and vehicular. As a result, he argues, "the African languages will be communicating with one another. And if a literature develops from that communication, that literature overall will be reaching many, many, many more readers than if we're using only English, French, or Portuguese" (Ngugi and Jussawalla 1991: 145).

However, one can see at least two obstacles for the translations between the African languages, particularly between these smaller. The first one is a fear that it will cause or deepen language fragmentation of Africa (actually it is the same fear that drives the objections to writing in these languages). When asked about that fear, Ngũgĩ answers: "There is no reason why it should. It is not more or less different from what is the actual practice in the world today.", but his arguments, whether right or not, sound a bit unconvincing, since he invokes a situation when "Gorbachev and Reagan met in summit meetings to decide the fate of the world" (Ngugi and Jusawalla 1991: 151) and none of them did not have to abandon either English or Russian thanks to the help of interpreters and translators. Then, the second obstacle are the limited skills or rather the limited number of some languages' translators. As Ngũgĩ claims, "whereas many African people can handle at least two or three languages (...), what has not been developed is their capacity in those three languages to a level where they would feel free to translate from one to another." (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1989: 251).

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[22] Tom McArthur (1998) states that works of Ngũgĩ (though he probably means all his works, including these in English) "are widely read in Kenya by people far from the modern metropolitan centres".

In that context, it is worth noting Ngũgĩ's decision regarding translations of *Matigari ma Njiruungi* (1986), his second novel in Kikuyu. In 1989 Ngũgĩ told that he had closed, in the contract of the originating publisher, the option to translate the novel from English, by insisting that it must be translated directly from Kikuyu. "Obviously, translators may check additionally with the English, but we have been very firm on this because there were loopholes in the case of *Devil on the Cross* (…) The tendency has been to take the easy way out – through the English translation – which means that the work will become further and further removed from the original in terms of its spirit and meaning" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1989: 249). Ngũgĩ decided on that direct translation clause, although his position, as he stated in 1989, seemed "to be a minority position among practicing African writers" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1989: 251).

"Writers who could not use the African languages"
In the preface to *Decolonising the Mind* Ngũgĩ emphasizes that his criticism is not total: "If in these essays I criticise the Afro-European (or Eurafrican) choice of our linguistic praxis, it is not to take away from the talent and the genius of those who have written in English, French, or Portuguese. On the contrary I am lamenting a neocolonial situation which has meant the European bourgeoisie once again stealing our talents and geniuses as they have stolen our economies" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1994: xii). Nevertheless some of Ngũgĩ's statements on the role of African writers creating in colonial languages are radical, vituperative or just extremely sour. For example he claims: "Admittedly, in some cases, missionaries have done more for African languages, by having people read the Bible in, say, Gĩkũyũ or Ibo or Kiswahili, than African writers themselves – though the missionaries were not, of course, doing this for the sake of African languages or cultures" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1989: 250). However, when writing or asked about the details, he does see some arguments that justify writing in the colonial language, regarding Africans living in exile (as was his case at the time) or raised up abroad.

The key sentence for his argumentation in that matter is following: "The choice of language is a question of both the content of the

books and the audience" (Ngugi and Jusaswalla 1991: 145). Confronting with the fact that there are some African or Third World writers living in Britain or younger black British writers trying to reach people in Britain and not elsewhere, Ngũgĩ elaborates: "For me it is necessary to see what is typical and necessary for Africa. I am continuing to attempt to reach the people in Africa. (...) I don't expect to see a writer who was brought up in Britain and so has learned the English language all his life write in an African language. Each individual has to respond to his or her own practice, and this practice will be determined by the concerns of his or her individual position" (Ngugi and Jussawalla 1991: 149). Nonetheless, as he underlines, "nearly all writers have a choice. I can only think of maybe a handful of African writers who could not use the African languages" (Ngugi and Jussawalla 1991: 149f.). He adds that Caribbean writers are going more and more towards their own languages, and Afro-Americans or the black writers in Britain go to the roots of the language as spoken by their own communities instead of standard English. However, at the same time he recognizes that a writer needs an inspiration and a contact with his own home, society and language, which is a living tool after all, to be able to function effectively.[23]

Finally, it should be stated that the above-mentioned opinions of Ngũgĩ, urging some authors to write in the African languages, are primarily referred to creative writing, and not necessarily to the language of science or other activity. Let us remind that Ngũgĩ has not fulfilled his pledge to use Kikuyu or Swahili as the only means of his writing of all types. In his academic work he returned, without explanation, into English. Simon Gikandi notes that by the time Ngũgĩ accepted a tenure at New York University (1992-2002), "it was clear that Ngũgĩ's effort to use Gikuyu as the language of both his fiction and critical discourse had been defeated by the reality of exile and American professional life" (Gikandi 2000: 274).

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[23] However, Ngũgĩ claims that working abroad has its strengths, as "one can see some other problems much more clearly" (Ngugi and Jussawalla 1991: 148). Nevertheless, in the same interview he is enigmatic when discussing the possibility of inspiring the struggle from overseas.

Conclusions

"Obtain a political kingdom, and the rest will be given to you" – these famous words, attributed to Kwame Nkrumah, might have contributed to the discussion on the terminology of postcolonial theory.[24] Some representatives of this perspective prefer the term "post-colonialism" written with a hyphen in the middle to emphasize the difference between colonialism and the state resulting from decolonization. Jean-François Lyotard criticizes the use of the hyphen, claiming that it results from the utopian hope that colonialism obviously ends as soon as the former colonies gain independence (it is suffice to obtain a political kingdom).[25] Actually, as Said states, "To have been colonized was a fate with lasting, indeed grotesquely unfair results" (Said 1989: 207). So by using the hyphen, continues Lyotard, we avoid an open confrontation with the past, making it difficult to escape from colonialism – we repeat it, instead of surpassing it (Lyotard 1993: 75-80). Even today, as Albert Memmi reveals, the decolonized are reluctant to acknowledge the fact that the colonial past has a psychologically lasting impact on their postcolonial present (Memmi 1968: 88). In this context Leela Gandhi speaks of "the will of oblivion", which is supposed to constitute a part of the historical self-creation or a simple need to begin anew (Gandhi 2008: 13). All these arguments cause many, or perhaps even most of the postcolonial theoreticians to use the term "postcolonialism" written sans hyphen, assuming that the colonialism cannot be separated from its effects.[26]

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[24] Let us put aside the objections to the use of the adjectives like "colonial", "postcolonial", and "precolonial", based on the assumption that colonialism was just a part of the history of these countries and societies which we call pre-, post- or colonial (Loomba 2011: 33f.), although these objections are of extreme importance.

[25] According to Ashis Nandy the postcolonial state should be understood as a state of suspension between the dependence and the actual independence.

[26] Some of them are convinced, however, that the term "postcolonialism" is too academic, and therefore they use the term "postcoloniality", which, as they claim, contains an existential element and maybe even awakens some sort of empathy (Gandhi 2008: 13).

Pursuit to name the things with their proper names is also characteristic of Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o. Actually it is an issue that has been a leitmotif of his works and activity from the very beginning, with the declaration *On the Abolition of the English Department* (1968) as a particularly clear proof of it. An example of that pursuit is put in *Decolonising the Mind*, where he argues that due to the continuing growth of poetry in African languages it is "manifestly absurd to talk of African poetry in English, French or Portuguese. Afro-European poetry, yes; but not to be confused with African poetry which is the poetry composed by Africans in African languages" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1994: 87). Accordingly, if there is an African, claims Ngũgĩ, who creates in non-African languages – whether he constitutes that "handful who could not use the African languages" or not, and regardless of his motives, whether justifiable or not – he should be consequent and should not call his works "African". Otherwise, it means that he is unable to surpass the colonialism, as Lyotard and others state.

Obviously, Africans writing in colonial languages, as well as writers and non-writers from outside Africa, can contribute, and they actually do that, to the struggle against the legacy of colonialism, however, as Ngũgĩ suggests, the impact of their contribution is limited. Therefore the most important thing to do in order to make the struggle successful, claims the Kenyan, is to urge Africans to write in the African languages.[27] With the passing of time they will find that "they can communicate and be published, and derive status as writers, even if they write in African languages". Such a change could let, as he argues, to the more endoglossic approach in some other spheres of social and cultural life: "I see a situation where an increased focus on African languages in schools, universities and other institutes of learning will also mean increased attention to the art of translation." (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1989: 250f.). All these elements –

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[27] In 1989 Ngũgĩ was predicting: "What I think will happen is that the younger generation will probably experiment with African languages." (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1989: 250).

pro-endoglossic governments, writers willing to "experiment", as he states, and translators willing to work in African languages (whether their own or not), as well as publishers willing to invest in these writers and translators – are necessary to promote for a breakthrough in literature written in African languages. But the primary responsibility, as Ngũgĩ states, is for the writers themselves.

What are then the specific conditions which have to be fulfilled, so as to the African writers contribute to the struggle most effectively? According to Ngũgĩ there are three of them: the proper language, the proper content, and the proper audience of the book. As for the language, it should be an African language, as we already know. With regard to the content, the book should be written in the language of struggle. "But the real language – he states – that one is looking for is the language of struggle, the language of the transformation of our various societies. (…) [when you] find an identity with the struggles of the working people. Then you discover that real language of struggle – that is, whichever language is being used for "the struggle," whether it is English or Kikuyu or Swahili or Ibo or Hausa or American English or Chinese or Russian" (Ngugi and Jussawalla 1991: 150). Finally, the third condition – the proper audience – can be seen as a derivative of the first one, because "When you use a language, you are also choosing an audience" (Ngũgĩ and Rao 1999: 163). Consequently, the proper audience means people using local languages, and these are, first of all, the lower classes.

In the following words of Ngũgĩ these three conditions are combined: "if a book is written in the vernacular of the people and is critical of the existing social order and is addressed to and being received by the peasantry or the working people in Kenya, then the government fears that this might give the people 'wrong' ideas" (Ngugi and Jussawalla 1991: 145). Finally, it should be specified that these three conditions are inseparable and indispensable for the success of the struggle. Therefore even though the content is extremely revolutionary, if articulated in colonial language, the book is alienated from the majority. On the other hand, if the books praise the regime in power, "the regime wouldn't mind if they were written in Kikuyu or Ibo or Swahili" (Ngugi and Jussawalla 1991: 145).

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Rebecca Haile – a New Star in the Ethiopian Literary Firmament

Abstract: It is rather difficult to determine the genre of the
book "Held at a distance: my rediscovery of Ethiopia" by Re-
becca Haile – it is part travelogue, part history, part memoir
but reads like an autobiographical novel. The story is about a
young Ethiopian woman who in 1976 was forced to flee to
the United States of America with her family during Ethio-
pia's "Red Terror". Rebecca grew up in Minnesota where her
father, professor Getatchew Haile worked at St. John's Col-
lege as a scientist. After 25 years in the USA Rebecca decided
to return to her native country and her visit dislodges so many
Western stereotypes of Africa. She admires the great cultural
heritage of the ancient times, respects its history and rich civi-
lization. Her insight into Ethiopia is so unique that it reveals
her to us as a very talented young writer.

Keywords: Ethiopia, native, homeland, religion, orthodox,
history.

Written literature in Ethiopia has a long history. Religious writings in
the ancient liturgical language of the Ethiopian Orthodox Christian
Church, ge'ez, constitutes the bulk of the literary production until the
late 19th and early 20th century. By contrast, according to studies
conducted in the field, Ethiopian literature in the English language
came into existence in the late 1950s and early 1960s. But this litera-
ture written mostly by the Ethiopian Diaspora was not attentively
investigated and only now it was possible to investigate some promi-
nent literary writings of the Diaspora in English, published in the

period between 2000 and 2011[1]. This literature, as one can see in the book "Held at a distance: my rediscovery of Ethiopia" by Rebecca Haile has to do mainly with the rediscovery of the self.

Rebecca Haile was born into a family of Ethiopian intelligentsia. Her father, Getachew Haile[2], was born and raised in the Shoa countryside; he overcame his poor rural roots by entering the country's religious school system (Platonov 1991: 221-245), where he excelled and went on to win a state scholarship to study abroad. In the 1950s he earned bachelor's degrees from the Coptic Theological College and the American University in Egypt and then a doctorate in Semitic philology from Tübingen University in Germany. After 11 years abroad he returned to Addis Ababa in 1962. He was only thirty years old, eager to begin building his professional and personal life and to play his part in the broader project of developing a modern Ethiopia. He began teaching at Haile Selassie I (now Addis Ababa) University, and in 1965 was appointed head of the University's Department of Ethiopian Languages and Literature. Outside the university, he was closely involved with the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, which dominated in Ethiopia, and eventually became a confidante of the Patriarch (the head of the Church) and served as the Church's representative to the World's Council of Churches. He was also involved in politics, aligning himself with those who wanted Ethiopia to become a liberal socialist democracy.

He wrote many books and published many articles. Among them: "Beauty of the Creation" (with Misrak Amare), "A History of the First Estifanosite Monks", "The Ge'ez Acts of Abba Estifanos of Gwendagwende".

Rebecca's mother, Misrak Amare, the daughter of an old Addis Ababa family, dropped out of the university in 1964 to marry Rebecca's father and to start a family; within two years Rebecca and her

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[1] Other titles of the Ethiopian-American diaspora: Maaze Mengiste "Beneath the Lion's Gaze" (New York 2011), Nega Mezlekia "Notes from Hyena's Belly" (Toronto 2000) and others.
[2] Getatchew Haile – one of the most prominent Ethiopian scholars of Ethiopian studies specializing in Ge'ez literature.

younger sister Sossina were born. At the time of the coup, her mother worked as a secretary in the local office of Oxford University Press.

For months before and after the coup, Rebecca's parents continued to pursue their personal and professional lives. In 1974, the father was elected to represent the province of Shoa in the Ethiopian Parliament, her family at last moved into a new house they had lovingly designed and built.

One day a terrible thing happened. While the parents were waiting for guests to a small party, called *mels*,[3] their neighbour told them that she saw soldiers gathering near their house. It turned out that the *Derg*[4] had sent soldiers to arrest the father. During the turmoil in front of the house, a soldier shot Getachew Haile. Heavily wounded, Getachew was taken into a military hospital. Thanks to his service in the World Council of Churches Getatchew had many contacts outside Ethiopia and the story of his arrest reached the international press and as a result he was transferred to Addis Ababa's Black Lion Hospital.

Within a month after the shooting, Rebecca's parents went to England and then to the USA. Getatchew had used a wheelchair ever since he was injured. But despite his heavy illness after six months, with the help of friends and colleagues, he found a position as a cataloguer of Ethiopian manuscripts at St. John's University, a small Catholic university in central Minnesota.

Soon after that the parents took Rebecca with her sister to the USA. Rebecca won a scholarship to attend William's College, then she graduated from Harvard Law School, became a clerk for a federal judge and worked at large law firms in Washington and New York. She met and married Jean, a non-Ethiopian friend. Soon she felt that she eagerly wanted to see her motherland, which she began

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[3] *Mels* – literally the "homecoming" of the bride during many parties organized by friends and family following the wedding.

[4] *Derg* – the military junta that deposed Emperor Haile Selassie in 1975. The *Derg* was composed of ca. 120 young military officers, drawn from the main units of the army, air force, navy and police.

to forget. She completely forgot the Amharic language and was afraid that soon she would forget Ethiopia as well.

In May 2001, 25 years after her family was forced to leave their homeland, she persuaded Jean and bought tickets to fly to Ethiopia.

Rebecca's grandmother
Rebecca's grandmother was the head of her extended maternal family: many aunts, uncles and cousins. The grandmother's modest home in the center of Addis Ababa at the main street – Piazza – had been for over 70 years the center of family gatherings: on ordinary Sundays, specific holiday feasts etc. Rebecca loved her grandmother with all her heart and going back to Ethiopia she wondered what she looked like, how many unpleasant marks time left on her extraordinary individuality.

Firstly Rebecca saw the damaged building on the Piazza, which has suffered during the students' demonstrations when government soldiers opened fire at a group of protesters, killing between 40 and 60 students. But when Rebecca and Jean entered the yard, she felt that she had forgotten those damaged buildings, but recognized the whole house of her grandmother and recalled their remarkable last Sunday afternoon. Everything was familiar and quite the same as it had been before! Grandmother was still well although she was nearly 90 years old. She had 6 children and 21 grandchildren (most of them in the USA). She was a great-grandmother of many more, a fixture in her neighbourhood and church community, independent and self-sufficient in nearly every way.

All guests knew Rebecca or her parents, they admired her husband Jean, a non-Ethiopian, half-Greek and half-Armenian. Rebecca felt not as an outsider but felt "embraced with an uncomplicated warmth that took in my *ferenji* (foreigner) husband as well' (Rebecca Haile 2007: 47).

At the end of this chapter she noticed that the feeling of being a lonely American woman left her completely and she understood that her solitude did not mean that she was without such a remarkable grandmother, a true matriarch, as well as history and home. And her home was Ethiopia!

Engineer Tadesse

One of the interesting personages of the book is Rebecca's uncle, Engineer Tadesse.

Despite the unpredictable nature of the *Derg* regime, Engineer Tadesse was determined to bring meaningful and permanent change to this nation. He strongly believed that economic transformation would lead to political change or transformation.

Rebecca's narrative about Engineer Tadesse is unbelievably moving. His determination to continue to live and build bridges in Ethiopia, even under the most trying moments of the *Derg*, is quite exemplary. Surely, every responsible citizen shares his vision of putting the abundant water of the Abbay (Blue Nile) river to large-scale agricultural irrigation development.

Tadesse presented his new proposal entitled "A Proposal for How to Eradicate Hunger in Ethiopia" to the Ethiopian Association of Engineers. One of his slides written in big bold letters reads: "If only [thirty years ago] we had made our slogan water for the tiller instead of land for the tiller, we would not be hungry today!"

What a great privilege it is to encounter such a visionary, dedicated, courageous, selfless, practical person, especially, in our time where individualism reigns. He is a real change agent; he can easily influence the way you think and do things; Rebecca also played her writer's role by effectively depicting the challenging story of Engineer Tadesse in a very artistic and readable manner.

It is quite reasonable that Rebecca devoted enough space to draw Engineer Tadesse's profile. She crafted and narrated it so beautifully that it may affect the thinking of every Ethiopian who reads *Held at a Distance: My Rediscovery of Ethiopia*. It teaches us that an individual can make a meaningful difference even in the midst of unimaginable and deeply disappointing circumstances. Through Tadesse's story, she taught us a lasting lesson about what perseverance meant, and about its reward. One may venture to say that he has succeeded in life, because success is measured by what we leave for others. (Rebecca Haile 2007: 69f.)

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The Remains of an Empire

When her parents were in Ethiopia, Rebecca did not get the chance of visiting such remarkably important historical places as Lalibela, Gondar, Lake Tana, and most of all, the city of Aksum which represents an important piece of Ethiopian History.

> *Lalibela is home to massive monolithic rock that eleventh century masons extracted from solid mountainside; Lake Tana has atmospheric monasteries that depict multiple facets of an age-old church; and in Gondar there are medieval places where kings, courtiers and early Portuguese explorers plotted royal intrigues, Axum the oldest and most important of these places, is also the hardest to categorize. As l would discover, the city is home to an extraordinary mix of ancient ruins, historic churches and present-day tensions that reveals a complex and unsettling picture of the nation and national identity. Two thousand years ago, Axum was at the center of an empire that stretched from northern Ethiopia across the Red Sea to the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula. Several centuries later Axum witnessed the birth of Ethiopian Christianity and the rise of powerful legends that linked Ethiopia's monarchs to Israel and laid claim to the Ark of the Covenant. The nineteenthccentury Axum signified the line the colonial Italians could not cross – the town sits just south of Adwa, the famous battlefield where Emperor Menelik's ragtag army stunned the aggressors in 1896* (Rebecca Haile 2007: 75).

During her visit, Rebecca discovered three distinct strands of Ethiopian identity: *the ancient empire, the Christian kingdom* and *the divided modern nation.* As I wrote before, Rebecca painted a very bright and unique picture of Ethiopia[5]. Rebecca knew quite well the

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[5] Ethiopia is a country with the most complicated historical and cultural heritage in Africa. It is a cradle of one of the oldest African civilizations, which is evidenced by the artifacts which were preserved from ancient times. Along with Sassanid Iran and Byzantium, the Aksum Empire (the ancient name of Ethiopia), whose development reached its peak in the 3rd-4th century AD, was one of the greatest states of the ancient world, spreading its influence deep into Arabia and the Sudan. The Aksum and pre-

history of Ethiopia and she knew that Ethiopia differed a great deal from other African countries. Originally called Abyssinia, Ethiopia is sub-Saharan Africa's oldest state and its Solomonic dynasty claims descent from King Menelik I, traditionally believed to have been the son of the Queen of Sheba and King Solomon. To the ancient world Ethiopia signified all lands south of Egypt. Ethiopia's northern highlands were the site of the empire of Aksum (Axum), established in the 1st century CE), which controlled the Red Sea coast, had cultural contacts with Southern Arabia, Egypt, Rome and Greece. In the 4th century Aksum's Emperor, Ezana, was converted to Christianity and Aksum then used its power to spread Christianity across the central highlands. Later, in the 7th century, Islam penetrated the region from the Red Sea coast and took hold in eastern Ethiopia.

When Haile Selassie I became the Emperor of Ethiopia in 1930, the country achieved great success. Haile Selassie, known as "the Lion of Judah", outlawed slavery, created a constitution, began a modern army and an educational system. The program of modernizing Ethiopia had to be paused in 1935 when fascist Italy invaded and occupied Ethiopia. In spite of the whole backwardness and the lack of modern weapons, Ethiopia had won this cruel war. Haile Selassie I resumed the throne in 1941 and remained in power until he was overthrown on 12 September 1974 by a military clique (*Derg*).

Ethiopia takes pride in the fact that it never was a European colony and that it has been important to the modern history of Africa as a

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Aksum kingdoms left us with beautiful architectural pieces, huge monolithic obelisks, statues cast in gold, silver and bronze and many other artifacts. Writing emerged in Ethiopia as early as the 5th century BC in the Sabean script; and later. in the 4rd-6th centuries AD it appeared in Ge'ez, The writing system that emerged two and a half thousand years ago was reformed one thousand years later, and since that time it has not undergone any drastic changes, nor have the religious ideology and the cultural orientation. Ethiopia had never been a colony of international powers. Even with the struggle with Italy which had modern weapons at its disposal, Ethiopia was a great winner and it still takes pride in this event. (See Balashova G. A., 2012, *Drama in Modern Ethiopian Literature and Theatre*, Moscow/St. Petersburg: Institute of African Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences.

symbol of independence. Its capital, Addis Ababa, was the headquarters of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and its successor, the African Union, is also based there, as well as the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa.

The moon over Lake Tana
After Axum, Lalibela, Gondar Rebecca and her husband wanted to visit Lake Tana, a vast, heart-shaped body of water located in northwest Ethiopia. Outside Ethiopia, the lake is known as the source of the Blue Nile, which meets the White Nile several thousand kilometers later. Within Ethiopia the region is also known as an important center of Ethiopian Christianity, a place where monks, monarchs and ordinary men have come from the secular world to see the sanctuary.

On one of the islands in the monastery of St. Gabriel a great library of rare Ethiopian manuscripts collected from the all across Ethiopia was established – the initiator of this endeavour was Emperor Iyasu II (1730-1755). The number of those rare manuscripts was so great that the main part of has not been investigated until now (Bartnicki A., Mantel-Niećko J. 1976: 220). Rebecca remembered her father for whom the Church as an institution had also been crucial. The Church helped him replace rural poverty with the acquisition of complete degrees and university professorship. He fell in love with the ecclesiastical Ge'ez language and liturgy and dedicated his life to the study of its texts and traditions (Rebecca Haile, 2007: 103). During his short service in the post-revolutionary National Parliament, he protested against certain anti-church proposals, such as the proposal of *Derg* veto over the appointment of bishops; this instance of resistance undoubtedly angered Mengistu Haile Mariam and led to the father's arrest. But when he began to look for work outside Ethiopia, in the USA, he had strong support from the international religious network he had established through the years of representing the Church abroad. He found a new home within the Catholic community of Minnesota's St. John's University. His position was: Regents Professor Emeritus of Medieval Studies and Cataloguer of Oriental Manuscripts at the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library of Saint John's University.

Having visited so many historical places in Ethiopia, Rebecca clearly understood that the Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity and the Church were fundamental elements of Ethiopian history and culture, but she also understood that nothing of this sort was true for her. Her parents did not take her and her sister to regular church services, and in fact she was there only twice. And as she grew older, the church felt increasingly distant.

Being in Ethiopia Rebecca always asked herself: "Who am I? I am not a believer in God as practically all the Ethiopians even if I don't know how to kiss the cross, I am 36 years old, I am a married woman but I don't have children, I don't know the Amharic language at all". But in spite of all these things she feels a strong connection with her country, "she experienced powerful moments of this connection that affirmed this tie, despite the temporal, geographic and cultural distance that caused me so much concern" (Rebecca Haile 2007: 185).

To my mind, "Rediscovery of Ethiopia" is really "The discovery of a real homeland" because Rebecca heard and felt the voice of blood.

Dr. Ayele Bekerie, from Cornell University summarized the key points of the book in the following manner:

> Rebecca's *Held at a Distance: My Rediscovery of Ethiopia* is a well-written, incisive and readable autobiographical, historical, and diasporic narrative. It is indeed a memoir of dislocation, migration, and rediscovery after a revolutionary change. The narrative is based on her four weeks' trip to her homeland Ethiopia after twenty-five years of absence. Rebecca meticulously narrates how she and her family succeeded in overcoming a traumatic experience and how they rebuilt their immensely productive lives in the Diaspora while they remained connected to their motherland. Her narrative is in fact therapeutic and, hopefully, it will encourage thousands of silenced Ethiopians to voice their sufferings at the hands of the state-sponsored oppressors of the *Derg* period. Rebecca's initiative in this regard is commendable.[6]

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[6] www.meskot.com [retrieved August 30, 2016]

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Reviews

Aliyu Mu'azu, *Baƙin Al'adu a K'agaggun Littattafan Soyayya na Hausa* (Foreign Customs in Hausa Love Novels), Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press Limited, 2013, 132 pp.
This book is an enlarged version of Aliyu Mu'azu's Ph.D. thesis written under the guidance of Prof. Sa'idu Muhammad Gusau from the Department of Nigerian Languages, Bayero University in Kano. It was aimed at finding out foreign customs (and items!) which have been found in the Hausa love novels known as *littattafan soyayya.* They are of two kinds: those borrowed from afar (Europe, India, Middle East) and others coming from the neighbouring countries.

The book consists of five chapters. Not all of them refer straight to the topic but „additions" constitute a background to the analysis. Chapter one contains an introduction and a discussion on the meaning of word *al'ada* in Hausa. It presents the history of Hausaland (starting with the Bayajidda' story), its natural environment, living conditions and information on social stratification of the Hausa people. When discussing the genesis of the language, the Author shares common opinion of its membership in the Afroasiatic family.

In chapter two main reasons of contacts between Hausa people and strangers are given: commerce, travelling trade, exploratory travels, dry season migrations, visiting historical places, wars, and others. In the second part of the chapter one can find short history of the development of Hausa literature. Special attention has been paid to the condition of the love novels which became source materials for the research of foreign customs that have penetrated *littattafan soyayya.*

The third chapter is dedicated to those foreign customs and items which have been introduced to the Hausa love novels by Arabs, Europeans and inhabitants of India. Having provided short information on the history of Islam in Hausaland, the Author has traced three

customs which are believed to be brought by Arabs: putting henna on bride's body, wearing *jallabiyya*, and use of praying mat. The majority of foreign customs have come from Great Britain: lancing party (*lancin fati*), cocktail party (*kwaktal fati*), ornamentation of bride's and bridegroom's car, marriage invitation cards (*katin d̒aurin aure*), calendar (*kalanda*), cutting cake (*yanka kek*), birthday ceremony (*bikin ranar haihuwa*), parents' day, wearing festive attire, tea party (*liyafar shan shayi*), picnic (*liyafar ya da rana*), and wedding dress (*rigar amarya*). As far as inhabitants of India are concerned, the Hausa novelists borrowed from them the habit of offering flowers, spending time among flowers and trees, embracing each other in love plays, painting flowers on fingers, use of lipstick, and engagement ring.

The fourth chapter is dedicated to the foreign items and customs which have been borrowed by Hausa people from the neighbouring ethnic groups. From Yoruba they have acquired words like *goggoro* (yardage cloth), *ashoke* (kind of cloth), and *anko* (bridesmaid). Part dealing with the Fulani influences is preceded by their short history and expansion, especially during their jihad against the Hausa states. They are supposed to have lent the Hausa people *goyon ciki* (carrying a baby on the back), *zanin sak̒i* (woven cloth), *d̒aurin k̒irji* (not commented upon), *shimfid̒a farin k̒yalle a gado* (spreading out white cloth on bed to prove the virginity). According to the Author, *fura* (milk gruel) also was borrowed from the Fulani. Kanuri's presence in foreign items and customs encompasses *lafaya* (Kanuri's women cloth), *turaren wuta* (bark scent), *sisin gwal* (golden shilling used in matrimonial payment), and *dilka* (removing any hair from the bride's body). Only one item of Nupe origin has been taken into account: *sabulun salo* (a soap used as medicine against pimples).

Each foreign item and custom has been confirmed by citations from the literary source materials. Eleven of novels were of masculine authorship and fifty six came from the female creativity. Names of the authors and titles of their works are given in two appendixes at the end of the book which is pioneer undertaking in tackling the topic.

Stanisław Piłaszewicz

Rainer Voigt (ed.) Tigre studies in the 21st Century – Tigre-Studien im 21. Jahrhundert, „Studien zum Horn von Afrika" 2, Köln, Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2015, 241 pp.

The book is the outcome of the III International Enno Littmann Conference held in Berlin in April 2009. Of all the papers presented during this meeting the editor has chosen only papers devoted to the study of the language and culture of the Tigre people. The Tigre language ranks as the fifth most spoken in the Semitic family and its speakers amount for roughly 20% of the population of Eritrea[1]. It therefore certainly deserves scholarly attention. The book is, to the best of my knowledge, only the second collection of essays devoted to Tigre studies (the first one being Lusini 2010).

The volume opens with an essay by Hatem Elliesie, Stefan Sienell, Roswitha Stiegner, Bogdan Burtea „Der Littman-Nachlass im Archiv der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften" in which the authors describe the fate of Enno Littmann's personal library and papers, with special focus on the materials concerning the Tigre language. The collection is now housed in the Archiv der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Vienna. The remaining papers are grouped in two blocks: "Language and literature" (six chapters) and "Society, traditions and institutions" (four chapters).

In her article "The prefix ʾat- in Tigre" Maria Bulakh attempts to clarify the usage of the causative marker ʾat-. There are in fact two prefixes ʾat-, one is the allophone of the more common ʾa- before the guttural consonant, the other is an entirely distinct causative marker. Using the material from the dictionary by Enno Littmann and Maria Höfner (1962) the author presents a detailed analysis of the semantics of ʾat- verbal formations and tentatively concludes that the two alternative causative markers are not connected with distinguishing between neutral and indirect causation, phenomenon known in some Ethiosemitic languages.

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[1] Cf. http://www.ethnologue.com/country/ER/languages [accessed August 12 2016].

Bogdan Burtea in his essay „Anmerkungen zur Palatalisierung im Tigre" studies the phonology of palatalization in Tigre. He identifies two types of palatalization. Fairly limited morphological palatalization occurs for example with the 1st person singular possessive suffix: *bet* "house" → *bečče* "my house". Historical palatalization seems to be phonetically motivated for example by the vicinity of /r/ (Gǝʿǝz *ḥasärä*, Tǝgre *ḥacra*) or labialization (Gǝʿǝz *sokär*, Tǝgre *šǝkkar*). This phenomenon displays some dialectal variation.

The article by Paolo Marrassini entitled "Linguistic stratification in Tigre" has been edited posthumously by Alessandro Bausi and seeks to address the issue of certain features of the Tigre language which can be interpreted as archaic within the Semitic language group. The author focuses on three such features namely the imperfect **yaqattal*, the nominal flexion and the definite article. The analysis takes into consideration wide comparative material from other Semitic languages while touching upon many issues of linguistic methodology such as problems of inadequate documentation or distinguishing between genetic isoglosses and parallel development.

Tesfay Tewolde in his essay "Relations between verb types and internal plurals in North Abyssinian Semitic" draws a parallel between the derivation of certain verbal form such as the so-called frequentative (*säbärä* → *tǝsabäru*) and the formation of nominal plural (*därho* → *därawǝh*). His conclusion is that Tigre displays a plural pattern CaCāCVC which can be used for both verbs and nouns. The author further explores the possibility that this pattern "can be related to ancient adjective/stative CaCVC forms or to participles" (p. 111).

The editor of the volume, Rainer Voigt in his contribution "The development of Tigre literaturę" presents a very useful bibliographic survey of Tigre literature which he divides into five chronological stages. In the first three stages the production of literature in Tigre was the product of the contact between the Tigre speakers and Europeans. Interestingly, this contact in each stage had somewhat different character: first religious (Swedish Evangelical Mission and the French Lazarists), then scientific (Enno Littmann's expedition), finally political (Italian colonial authorities). Further stages were

marked by the emancipation of Tigre speakers, first during the war of independence and later in the newly independent Eritrea. Apart from a wealth of rare bibliographical data, the author offers a comparison between two dictionaries of Tigre, a European and an Eritrean[2].

"Notes on Tigre-Beǧa interference" by Andrzej Zaborski is the second article in this volume which is published posthumously. It explores the linguistic manifestation of the ages-long vicinity of Beǧa and Tigre speakers in the Sudanese-Eritrean borderland. The examples of such manifestations include i. a. a similar origin of independent personal pronouns and *nota genitivi*, preservation of active participle or singulative suffix *–ay*. The author also briefly comments on the social nature of this linguistic contact within the context of multilinguality and serf-overlord relations in the region.

The essay which opens the block devoted society, traditions and institutions is "Conflict resolution and customary law in contemporary Eritrea: case studies of the Saho community" by Abdulkader Saleh Mohammed and Nicole Hirt. The authors seek to explain how traditional ways of conflict resolution contribute to maintaining stability and peace within Eritrean society and how they adapt to the bureaucracy of a contemporary nation-state. The example in question is the traditional law of Saho people. The authors briefly present the basic facts about the Saho and their customary law code and then proceed to analyze four case studies in which the application of this code is described.

Hatem Elliesie in his chapter "Social construct and system in Tigre tradition: a contribution to Eritrean customary law" focuses on the Mänsaʿ group of the Tigre people and their traditional code of laws known as *Fətaḥ Mäḥari*. Their traditional society had a hierarchical character and consisted of three strata: the ruling class, the serfs and the slaves. The *Fətaḥ Mäḥari* specified the duties of each group. Interestingly, as the author suggests, the code applied to Christian and Muslim Tigre alike. The code also mentions a number

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[2] They are: *Wörterbuch der Tire-Sprache* by Enno Littmann and Maria Höfner (Wiesbaden 1962) and *Kəbət qalat həgya Təgre* by Musa ʾAron (Asmara 2005).

of traditional offices (such as *käntebay* or *šum*) but their exact role appears to be difficult to define.

Mohammed-Ali Ibrahim in his article "Rab'at: the Tigre traditional youth organization" describes the *rab'at* which he defines as "a common traditional youth organization throughout the Tigre ethinc group [...] based on small tribes and clans who live together" (p.182). It appears from the article that *rab'at* is an institution which under various names and shapes is present in many groups in the Horn of Africa: a voluntary association with some internal organization whose overt function is to organize communal work for particular occasions but it is also a way of maintaining social control over its members as it has power to judge and punish. The author offers what seems to be a first-hand account of how *rab'at* affects the daily life and lists vocabulary pertaining to this instution.

Finally, Saleh Mahmud Idris in his chapter "The Tigre and their traditional beliefs and superstitions: a socio-linguistic survey" describes Tigre traditional beliefs regarding phenomena such as: witchcraft, traditional healing, forbidden activities, the language of respectful avoidance within the family, impure foods and drinks, omina and premonitions. Furthermore, the author analyzes the traditional way of house construction, marriage customs, the upbringing of children and property ownership, trying to define the values which underline the daily life of the Tigre people.

The book concludes with an index (pp. 239-241) and a reproduction of an article from a Tigre-language newspaper *Eratrəya Ḥaddās* with a report from the conference which was the source of the volume under review.

Each article in the book is accompanied by a bibliography and in a very innovative decision also by a summary in Tigre as if to declare that the research on Tigre should be done also for and by the people themselves. Thanks to this approach, the book is not only a valuable scholarly contribution but also an important step in the construction of scientific terminology of the Təgre language.

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Sergio Baldi, *Dizionario Hausa: Hausa-Italiano, Italiano-Hausa*. Milano: Ulrico Hoepli Editore S.p.A., 2015, 588 pp.

As it is stated in foreword (VI-VII), this monumental dictionary is intended for students, economists, tourists and all the others interested in Hausa langage, Hausanists included. First steps in its compiling were undertaken in 1995, when Bernard Caron acquainted the Author with the ShoeBox computer programme, which became essential tool in Baldi's lexical research. With the help of Prof. Henning Schreiber the collected data were transferred into the Windows version of the ShoeBox Programme.

The dictionary contains more then 13.000 Hausa and above 10.000 Italian lemmata which have been taken from literary and journalistic texts, as well as from technical term lists and literary sketches. In the introduction (VIII-IX) one can find general information on the number of Hausa speakers as mother and vehicular tongue. The question of the Hausa ethnic and religious complexity is raised. Finally, the introduction of *Ajami* and *Boko* has been discussed. In the bibliography (X-XI) the lexicographical works have been taken into account with a small omissions. The reader is looking in vain for J. McIntyre's *Hausa Verbal Compounds* (Köln 2006) and V. Laptuhin's *Russko-Chausa Slovar'* (Moskwa 1963). The essential part of the dictionary is preceded by a guide for the users (XII-XIV) and a list of abbreviations (XV-XVIII).

The dictionary is provided with an outline of Hausa grammar and with useful appendixes: week days' names, Christian and Muslim months' names, personal and geographical names (586-588). It is principally based on standard Hausa. Since Hausa is also mother tongue for many inhabitants of Niger it encompasses also some terms of the local use, mainly of French origin. It also contains some words coming from several dialects spoken in northern Nigeria. All those

additions are duly marked in an abbreviated form.

As mentioned above the Author has borrowed technical and scientific terms from articles and lists published in *Harsunan Nijeria*. He mistakenly attributes this journal to the Ahmadu Bello University, Kano (XI) whereas it is being edited by the Centre of the Study of Nigerian Languages, Bayero University, Kano.

There is a number of misprints, omissions and few controversial opinions which are rather difficult to avoid in such serious undertaking. For example, it is rather a simplification to consider the Qadiriyya brotherhood as a Muslim sect (p. 28). In *bàn san indà dà yârā sukà tàfi* 'io non so dove i ragazzi sono andati' *dà* is redundant (p. 145). Plurals of *kadā̀* should start in the same line. In *K'ungiyar Āgàji ra Red Cross* instead of *ra* it should be *ta* (p. 195). On p. 222 *ta* is omitted in *Manufar dà ta shāfi dūniyà̀ gàbā daya* 'politica globale'. On p. 236 *dàbâ* should be divided into two words. On p. 247 instead of *kìmāyà̀* it should be *kìyāmà̀*. The sequence *tayàmurnà̀* should be divided into two words (p. 260).

The main value of the dictionary is enlarging words treasury in relation to the traditional Hausa dictionaries. It does not mean, however, that it resolves all the lexical and idiomatic problems. Recently I was reading novel *Amina* by Mohammed Umar and could not find in Baldi's dictionary many words which were not attested in the existing vocabularies. Still Prof. Baldi has made a long step in Hausa lexicography but there remains enough work to be done by others.

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Stanisław Piłaszewicz

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Abdourahmane Diallo, *Language Contact in Guinea. The case of Pular and Mande Varieties* **(Topics in Interdisciplinary African Studies, Volume 36). Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2014, 422 pp.**
Language contact has become a major subject in African linguistics over the last several decades, providing a new perspective on studies into language development, mainly as the basis for drawing historical inferences (Möhlig *et al.* 2009). Much attention has been paid to identifying areas of convergence in West Africa (Cyffer, Ziegelmeyer 2009) and the linguistic mechanisms of spreading areal features (Baldi 1997; Zima 2009). Less widely explored issues include extra-

linguistic factors (such as social aspects) that are responsible for linguistic phenomena.

The book under review presents an analysis of language contact phenomena in a limited territorial dimension and includes processes that are motivated by sociolinguistic factors, such as language diversity, extensive multilingualism and migration to cities. The study refers to Guinea, a recognized area of convergence in which languages of different origins and various typological features meet. The languages under investigation are Pular (the Fula variety spoken in Guinea), which belongs to the group of Atlantic languages, and some members of the Mande languages. Though these languages represent different units in genetic classification, it is worth mentioning that the notion 'family' is not quite appropriately used with respect to their status within genetic classification. Both Atlantic and Mande languages are major groups of the Niger-Congo family, though their relationship is relatively distant in terms of the system of genetic ties.

The analysis of contact phenomena between the Atlantic (Pular) and Mande languages of Guinea is well rooted in the Author's earlier achievements, which include the description of the Pular variety from Fuuta Jaloo (Diallo 2000) and studies on the sociolinguistic situation in Guinea. The extension of the analysis to Mande languages is supported by a detailed presentation of the Mande languages spoken in the area of investigation and comparison of their variants at the phonological and morphological level. The basis for the identification of contact phenomena is the significant difference between the two groups of languages (representing Atlantic and Mande patterns) in respect to their typological features. The two systems vary considerably in terms of their phonological inventory, morphophonological processes and suprasegmental phenomena. The interpretation of linguistic processes also includes their non-linguistic dimensions, such as language policy favoring Pular as the local *lingua franca*, and indicates some other factors which may influence language changes, such as the status of the president's mother tongue which grants a kind of political bonus to its position in the country.

The main study consists of three parts distributed over eight chapters. Part one "Social history and language change" provides an overview of the areas of investigation conducted over the course of three research trips between 2001 and 2004. The ten regions within Fuuta Jaloo and the immediate surroundings are presented as contact areas in which Pular interacts with individual Mande languages. This part deals with the documentation of historical and sociolinguistic factors that justify language contact. Linguistic data are presented as the contrastive description of the phonological and morphological characteristics of the Mande languages spoken in the research area. Through this description, the identification of dialect clusters and their mutual relationships is provided.

Part two "Mande influence on Pular" investigates the contact situation from the perspective of Pular. It deals with different levels of its system which undergo changes motivated by contact with Mande. In the process of borrowing, the phonological integration of Mande loanwords in Pular is marked by both regular changes and deviating peculiarities. Special attention is paid to the adaptation of vowels, which is based on re-ordering processes in the receiver language with regard to the ATR vowel harmony functioning in Mande languages. There is also well-based documentation related to the question of how tones are realized in a non-tonal language. The description provides evidence of the development of the Pular sound system in contact with Mande languages, but also demonstrates general phonological and morphophonological processes which are open to further theoretical interpretations. At the level of the morphology, it is shown that the integration mechanisms respect categories relevant for the receiver language, but this situation of permanent contact evokes processes of morphological restructuring that lead to systemic changes. Syntactic influences from Mande are illustrated with examples that are interpreted as evidence for mixed languages.

Part three "Pular influence on Mande" presents the contact situation from the Mande point of view. It contains two chapters which analyze the phonological and morphological integration, respectively, of Pular loanwords in Mande. The systems in contact have been analyzed through the rules of phonotactics (with reference to syllable

structure) and suprasegmental phenomena, such as vowel harmony and the tonality of the receiving language. An interesting observation is that in the process of borrowing Pular words into Mande some diachronic stages can be distinguished. They are marked by the gradual reduction of adaptation processes, which are replaced by respecting the original systemic rules of Pular. These processes are motivated by the bilingual situation in the region and increasingly better command of the standard variety of Pular by speakers of the Mande languages.

The study on language contact in Guinea provides rich documentation of language contact in a well-defined sociolinguistic setting. The collection of linguistic data is supported by good recognition of linguistic geography and of the language policy in the area under investigation, as well as by the proper identification of authentic discourse situations that might be relevant for the study. 37 tables and 12 figures summarize and present the results of the analysis in the form of graphic models. In the Appendix, parts of the data collection (free recordings of narrations and word lists) are presented.

The analysis which is made on serious methodological grounds provides more insight into the phenomenon of language contact. It presents processes which affect systems that are considerably different. It also provides an explanation for the changes in the morphophonology of Pular that make the Guinean variety significantly different from the other varieties of Fula. As for the Mande languages spoken in Guinea (especially Kakkaɓe and Jalunka spoken in the Fuuta Jaloo), the study gives evidence for divergence processes within Mande languages that separate languages influenced by Pular from the other Mande languages spoken in Guinea.

Nina Pawlak

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