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Department of African Languages and Cultures
Faculty of Oriental Studies

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Department of African Languages and Cultures
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University of Warsaw
Department of African Languages and Cultures
Krakowskie Przedmieście 26/28.
PL 00-927 Warsaw. POLAND
E-mail: salc@uw.edu.pl

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Anna Gogolewska

English language Editor

Michał Zagrodzki

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FROM THE EDITORS

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ARTICLES

Beata Wójtowicz
University of Warsaw

Lionel Posthumus
University of Johannesburg

Greeting and saying farewell in two Bantu languages: Swahili and Zulu*

Abstract

The article discusses greetings and farewells of a typical conversation in two Bantu languages: Swahili and Zulu. The conversation usually comprises the greeting followed by the enquiry about each other's well-being, the actual conversation, and then the parting farewell. The article outlines the importance of nonverbal, sociolinguistic, and situational factors of the salutation. The objectives of the paper are to explore the feasibility of considering the salutation in Bantu languages as being uniform, to determine some common trends in the salutation, and to discuss the aspects that may have an impact on the form of the salutation, in languages in general and in Swahili and Zulu in particular.

Keywords: greetings, farewells, salutations, Swahili, Zulu, Bantu languages, African languages

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1. Introduction

Greetings and farewells (salutations) are speech acts often considered to be highly formulaic. The act of greeting (and saying farewell) is used globally (Brown and Levinson 1978) as a politeness device and plays an important role in everyday social interactions in speech communities all over the world. While some scholars have noted that greetings are used to serve as a communication device to avoid confrontation, nowadays greetings are used to start a conversation in an appropriate manner or to establish and maintain social relationships (Goffman 1967). While Baratta (2009: 21) states that many greetings are relatively straightforward and formulaic, Jucker (2017: 2) asserts more cautiously that at first sight greetings and farewells appear to be fairly simple and well-defined speech acts that mark the boundaries of conversations and are often ritualistic. They have been claimed to be devoid of propositional content (Searle 1969: 67), however, a more critical consideration reveals that the situation is much more complex. Greetings and farewells are often embedded in longer exchanges and within such exchanges individual expressions may or may not have propositional content.

Learning the language of fellow citizens in a multilingual country is important for building trust and unity between different speech communities. Moreover, with rapidly growing globalisation, particularly with young people entering the world of work in foreign countries, comes a dire need to communicate with people who speak different languages and, in turn, the necessity to learn foreign languages. Foreigners often learn just a few words, phrases, and some expressions, including how to greet in the language of the host country or that of new co-workers and friends. Greeting someone in her/his own language becomes a gesture of goodwill that makes the indigenous communities more hospitable and well-disposed towards newcomers and may be the starting point for building social relationships.

2. The aim of the article

The paper aims at investigating linguistic, sociolinguistic, and nonverbal conventions employed in greetings and farewells in two Bantu languages: Swahili and Zulu. For that purpose, the selected parts of a typical conversation will be discussed. The typical conversation usually comprises the greeting, followed by the enquiry about each other's well-being, after which the actual conversation ensues and then the parting farewell is bidden. Similarities and differences between the linguistic, nonverbal, sociolinguistic, and situational characteristics of the salutation in these two languages will be investigated.

3. The salutation as a speech act

Knowing and using a few words and expressions of a local language may put a smile on faces of the locals, however, that is not enough to engage in a proper conversation. Moreover, successful communication includes both verbal and nonverbal components, nonverbal aspect of communication being crucial. Cohen (1996) remarks that the successful use of a speech act is dependent on the proper definition of its goals, as well as on the semantic and performative prerequisites for its realisation. Performing a speech act is thus a complex task which requires understanding its purpose along with possessing linguistic, cultural, and communicative and pragmatic competence. Even if a second language (L2) speaker performs a linguistically correct speech act, but fails in terms of nonverbal communication, the good intent of the act may be totally annulled. In the process of a speech act production a (L2) target language learner does not only rely on the linguistic rules – the phonetics, phonology, morphology, semantics, and syntax of the language – but also on the appropriate use of these rules and interactional norms according to a specific context. (L2) speakers often inappropriately transfer linguistic rules and sociocultural and contextual conventions of their native language (L1) to the target language (Thomas 1983). Such pragmatic transfer often leads to communicative breakdowns, misunderstandings, and pragmatic failure. Pragmatic errors or "errors of appropriacy" (Crandall & Basturkmen 2004: 38) are perceived as serious by native speakers and, compared to grammatical or vocabulary errors, are "less easily forgiven" (Yates 2010: 288). They might be seen as offensive, disrespectful or even rude.

The Bantu languages are no exception to the underlying principles governing greetings. The non-Bantu speakers, therefore, have to learn to use the forms of salutation correctly and appropriately if they want to communicate with the Bantu speakers. The paper focuses on the usage patterns that are connected with greetings and farewells. Thus, greetings and farewells are not seen as speech acts that can be studied in isolation, these expressions must be investigated within the context in which they occur.

The ultimate goal of language teaching and learning is developing the ability to communicate in the target language. Communication is not, however, just a question of grammar and vocabulary, it is also a question of culture (Crozet 1996). Every message a human being communicates through language is communicated in a cultural context. However, there are of course also similarities, particular behaviours, norms and beliefs that are shared among different linguistic communities.

This study focuses on greeting practices among different Bantu communities. It investigates greeting practices of Swahili and Zulu speakers, in particular. While both communities speak a Bantu language, one may assume that there are certain similarities between their greeting routines. In fact, the research shows significant differences between speaker roles in terms of age, position, and family/social relations of the interlocutors.

4. The salutation in Swahili

Swahili is a language of wider communication in East Africa, therefore it is used as a second or third language by the majority of its users. This is important, since every user has her/his own cultural background that comes with linguistic behaviour absorbed within her/his native language and that heavily influences discourse patterns when she/he speaks Swahili. Batibo (2009, 2015) investigated the effects of the differences of cultural norms and values when minority language speakers shift to dominant languages or use them as second or primary language. The research shows that even speakers who abandoned their native language in favour of a dominant language (in this case Swahili) still value and often transfer the cultural norms of their native language into the dominant language. It is thus difficult nowadays to draw a distinction between what "pure" Swahili is and what adopted cultural norms are. The diversity of Swahili speakers does not allow for strictly defined norms and values to be shared by all its speakers across East Africa. In fact, Swahili native speakers do not belong to any defined ethnic group (Batibo 2009). The language itself is not bound to any particular culture but open to all cultural dimensions of its users, easily adopting different variations of cultural norms and values across areas where it is spoken.

Swahili as a widely spread *lingua franca* is a very tolerant and modern language that incorporates norms of the Western culture, so its conventions pertaining to the salutation are not as traditional as those of the other Bantu languages of East Africa. For example, kneeling used to be a popular greeting act among many African communities, but it does not feature in Swahili, however, it is still practiced among other traditional communities, like the Ngoni and Sukuma, who also use Swahili on a daily basis.

The typical Swahili conversation, similar to Zulu, comprises four distinct parts. The greeting is followed by the enquiry about each other's well-being, after which the actual conversation takes place and thereafter, at the end of the conversation, follows the parting farewell.

4.1. Linguistic forms of greeting in Swahili

Among the Swahili speakers it is age rather than any other characteristic that has the greatest significance for the salutation, especially in terms of turn taking. The younger person always initiates the greeting and it is very important that she/he uses the right expression. If not, the older, offended interlocutor, may react by demanding the right form of address/greeting (Omar 1991).

When an older and a younger person meet, there is a standardised expression *Shikamoo* 'My respects' that the younger person initiates the greeting with. It should be followed by an answer *Marahaba* 'I accept your greeting' – the dependency of the expressions requires the younger person to speak first. The term "younger" may also be equivalent to a lower status of the interlocutor who should pay respect not only to an older person but also to someone of higher status. The form also has a plural variant *Shikamooni* that should be used when greeting several older/of a higher status people at the same time.

The usual greeting routine among interlocutors of equal age and/or status starts with the following saying which can be used regardless of the time of day:

A: Hujambo?[1]
'How are you? (*lit*. There is no matter with you?)'

B: Sijambo.
'I am well.'

In fact, the words *hujambo* and *sijambo* have significant verbal characteristics. The initial morphemes *hu-* and *si-* are negations. *Hu-* is the negative for the second person singular, while *si-* is the negative for the first person singular. *Jambo* means 'matter', and the literal meaning of the whole phrase *Hujambo* is 'There is nothing wrong with you, I hope'. Similarly, the response can be translated as 'No, there is nothing wrong with me'. Person *A* does not ask only for information, but he/she puts forward a hypothesis. There is also a plural version that can be used when one addresses a group of people *Hamjambo* 'Are you-all well?' and the response is *Hatujambo* 'We are well'. *Hawajambo* with the same answer *Hawajambo*, is a query meaning 'Nothing wrong with them?' which is used when asking about the other party's (plural) well-being. There is no distinction between the masculine and the feminine, so the forms can be used for both men and women.

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[1] All linguistic examples, if not indicated otherwise, are provided by the authors.

Many Swahili users are Muslims, so one popular salutation that may be heard especially along the East African coast is *As-salaam alaikum* 'Peace be upon you'.

4.2. Linguistic forms for enquiring about each other's/one another's well-being in Swahili

After the initial greeting, the interlocutors can proceed by enquiring about one another's well-being. During the conversation, one should not simply respond to a greeting but, in return, should also enquire about the other speech participant's well-being and that of his/her family. Consider the example below:

A: Hujambo?
'How are you (singular)?'

B: Sijambo. Wewe je?
'I am well. And you?'

A: Mimi sijambo.
'I am well.'

B: Bwana hajambo?
'How is your husband?'

A: Hajambo.
'He is well.'

B: Na watoto hawajambo?
'And how are the children?'

A: Hawajambo!
'They are fine.'

One should address people by title, or by name, but the name option is used less often. The most used forms of address are *mama* 'mother, lady', *baba* 'father, sir', *mzee* 'older person', *bibi* 'miss', *bwana* 'sir'. So, usually the question concerning the well-being of the interlocutor would be *Hujambo, bwana?* 'How are you, sir?' or *Hujambo, bibi?* 'How are you, ma'am?', used even among friends and colleagues.

The opening form of the greeting does not offer an opportunity to elaborate on one's negative disposition or illness. There are, however, further enquiries one can choose from to ask about other matters. These centre around the word *habari* 'news' and can be associated with the time of day, the interlocutors' last meeting, or other topics, such as work, school or a trip.

A: Habari za asubuhi?
'What's the news of the morning?'

B: Nzuri.
'Good.'

A: Habari za safari?
'How was the trip?'

B: Salama.
'Peaceful.'

A: Habari za masomo?
'How are the lessons?'

B: Njema.
'Good.'

All direct responses are always positive, meaning that all is good, peaceful, and enjoyable. Both forms of the opening, with *–jambo* and *habari*, may be used alternately to form one conversation.

A: Hujambo baba?
'How are you, sir?'

B: Sijambo. Na wewe je?
'I'm fine. How about you?'

A: Mimi sijambo. Habari za nyumbani?
'I'm fine. What's the news at home/of people at home?'

B: Salama. Na mama hajambo?
'Peaceful. And how is the mother?'

A: Hajambo.
'She is fine.'

By using forms such as *Hujambo* at the outset, interlocutors assume that the other party is well. However, one may indicate that there is something wrong or that he/she has some bad news by adding additional information following the initial answer. Consider the examples below:

A: Habari za kazi?
'How is the work?'

B: Nzuri, lakini kazi nyingi.
'Good, but a lot of work.'

A: Pole. Ndiyo maisha!
'I'm sorry. That is life, really.'

B: Kweli. Asante.
'Really. Thank you.'

At the beginning of the conversation, one person may also ask the other person whether he/she got up well, thus:

A: Umeamkaje?
'How did you wake up?'

B: Salama.
'Peacefully.'

There are also other, less formal forms of greeting, used by younger people. The forms used by them are much shorter and usually consist of only one question-response turn. Such opening may be *Sema* 'What do you say?', *Mambo* 'How are things?', and the response, among others, may be *Poa* or *Freshi* meaning 'O.K., all is fine'.

4.3. Linguistic forms for bidding someone farewell in Swahili

After exchanging several turns of question-response communicative acts[2] one may proceed to the main topic of the conversation or meeting, or simply end the conversation by saying good-bye. Again, there are several possibilities depending on whether the speech participants plan to see each other in the near future or how well they know each other. There is also a simple way to bid someone farewell:

A: Kwa heri.
'Good-bye.'

B: Kwa heri ya kuonana.
'Good-bye, see you again.'

To say good-bye to a group of people the suffix *-ni* is added to *heri*, thus: *Kwa herini* 'Good-bye to you all'.

4.4. Sociolinguistic considerations relating to greeting in Swahili

In Swahili, as in any African culture, it is considered rude to ignore people and not to greet them. Due to the aspects mentioned above one is not expected to

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[2] Omar (1991) estimates that a typical Swahili greeting comprises five question-response turns.

greet everyone you pass on the street, especially in urban areas, however, casual greeting is much more prevalent in rural areas where the communities are small, and people know each other. In general, one greets people she/he knows and the ones she/he engages with in conversation, such as a street vendor, a shop-keeper or office staff. If people are more familiar with each other, the longer version of the greeting is more appropriate.

In general, it is the person of a lower status that is expected to initiate a greeting. So, a younger will greet an older person first, an employee an employer, etc. As already said, the age constraint is more important than gender. So, a younger man will greet an older woman first.

The younger person greets first but then the older person takes over the conversation and asks about the well-being of the other. The younger person responds to the questions but is expected to be active in the conversation as well and also ask questions. It is regarded rude if one person only responds but is not interested in the other person's well-being. Such a conversation could end abruptly.

A newcomer should greet the people who are already at a venue she/he enters. In fact, there is only one call that can proceed a greeting, and that is *Hodi?* '*May* I come in?' shouted out by a newcomer to the house, whereupon the host responds with *Karibu!* 'Welcome!'. Only then should the newcomer enter the house and greet the hosts. A European should not feel offended if the host does not get up upon his/her arrival. Staying in a lower position is a sign of respect and not disrespect as may be wrongly assumed. In the same way bending to lower the body while greeting is a sign of respect.

Regarding the nonverbal part of a greeting, a handshake is regarded as part of a good conversation and it is practiced among men and women, however, one has to be aware of the constraints associated with the Muslim culture, where a man is required not to touch a woman. In such situations men usually wait for women to extend their hand first. If the two persons know each other very well, they may initiate a greeting by a handshake but then proceed to holding both hands. The holding of each other's hands may continue for the whole duration of the greeting and even during the whole conversation. Among good friends, especially women and young girls, it is also acceptable to hug and exchange cheek-side kisses while greeting.

As in African culture in general, it is not polite to look someone in the eyes (Wójtowicz 2021). One is expected to cast your eyes down as a sign of respect. It is also customary for children to be expected not to interrupt adults' conversations but, on the other hand, it is a sign of a good upbringing to come and greet an adult guest.

4.5. Sociolinguistic considerations when enquiring about each other's/one another's well-being in Swahili

As said earlier, if people are more familiar with each other, the longer version of the greeting is more appropriate. One should enquire about the other person's well-being, make enquiries about the interlocutor's family, even if one does not know them well, or about other matters, such as work or school. One should also respond appropriately to such enquiries.

A conversation comprises formal enquiries and responses and a particular enquiry demands a particular response. If someone is asking the other person about the children *Watoto hawajambo*? 'How are the children?', the other person is required to answer *Hawajambo* 'They are fine' and not that he/she does not have any children or that they are not very well at that moment. In fact, this phrase may be interpreted as asking about the dependents, among whom a wife would be included. It is regarded as impolite to ask a man how his wife is, however, asking the wife about the well-being of her husband is acceptable. It is also inappropriate to ask a young person whether he/she is already married or whether he/she has any children. The expected answer is *Bado* 'Not yet' if the person is not yet married and has no children.

After a holiday, weekend or any other longer period without seeing each other, the interlocutors can ask each other how they enjoyed the time. There is even a special saying for such a situation:

A: Habari za siku nyingi?
'What's new since the past time?'

B: Nzuri tu.
'Just fine.'

In general, in Swahili conversation there is a lot of repetition, so one should not get discouraged if the conversation is not very innovative. Maw (1985: 33) notices that "a well-mannered Swahili person is never abrupt". What may seem superfluous to a European is of great importance for the Swahili people, who appreciate verbal attention and time spent on small talk. Meeting people and spending time with others to build lasting relationships is an important aspect of African culture in general.

4.6. Sociolinguistic considerations when saying farewell in Swahili

When a conversation comes to an end, one is expected to say good-bye. In taking leave, one always wishes the other person well. By saying *kwa heri* one wishes

the other person good luck or blessing. In fact, *heri* means 'happiness', 'blessed', 'good fortune', so, by saying good-bye one also wishes his/her interlocutors well. One wishes that he/she went to a nice, blessed place, and that they will meet in that place again.

It is also expected that people would want to see each other again, therefore one can often hear *Kwa heri ya kuonana* 'Good-bye, see you again'. There are also other alternative and more informal ways of saying good-bye and wishing to see someone again, such as *Baadaye* 'Later', that clearly indicates the intention of a future meeting. Farewells can also be more situation-bound and express other wishes, like *Nenda salama* 'Go peacefully', *Lala salama* 'Sleep well' or *Usiku njema* 'Good night'.

5. The salutation in Zulu

Like Swahili, the typical Zulu conversation will generally also comprise four distinct parts: the greeting followed by the enquiry about each other's well-being, the actual conversation and the end with the parting farewell. In the following discussion we supply examples of the salutation with a literal translation and an English gloss for each form. The focus will be on the verbal communication. Thereafter we will discuss some important nonverbal communicative aspects of the salutation.

Only one form of greeting is used in Zulu regardless of the time of day. There is a distinction between a singular and plural form of the salutation though. The determining considerations for the use of these two forms are the number of people you greet and on behalf of how many people you are speaking. Unlike Venda (where a male will greet someone else using *Ndaa* while a female will use *Aa*) in Zulu the gender of the interlocutors has no influence on the form of greeting.

5.1. Linguistic forms of the greeting in Zulu

When an individual A greets another person B, the greeting will have the following form:

A: Sawubona.
'We you see / We see you.'

B: Yebo, sawubona.
'Yes, we you see / Yes, we see you.'

The form *sawubona* is a unique contracted form of the original statement *siyakubona* 'we you see/we see you' comprising the morphemes, *si-* subject

morpheme for first person plural 'we', *-ya-* present tense morpheme, *-ku-* object morpheme of second person singular 'you', verb root *-bon-*, and categorial final morpheme *-a*. The contraction of *si-* plus *-ya-* to *sa-* is unique and limited to the salutation only and does not occur in other environments where these morphemes appear (frequently) in succession. The same is true for the change of the object morpheme *-ku-* to *-wu-*. Note that the subject morpheme *si-* (thus the plural first person subject morpheme) is used instead of the expected first person singular subject morpheme *ngi-*. The use of the plural instead of the singular subject morpheme of first person is most probably a fossilized politeness strategy[3]. The logically expected contracted form for the greeting, namely **Ngawubona* < *ngi-ya-ku-bon-a*, does not exist.

When a group (A and company) greets a group (B and company) the greeting will have the form as illustrated below:

A and company: Sanibona.
'We you (plural) see. / We see you (plural).'

B and company: Yebo, sanibona.
'Yes, we you (plural) see. / Yes, we see you (plural).'

There are other informal forms of greeting, used by peers when they greet each other, but those will not be discussed here. Suffice it to mention one such form, namely the informal greeting below:

A: Hobu sagaxa!
'Oh, and there we hook up.'

B: Yebo, yebo.
'Yes, yes.'

The royal greeting, used to greet a king or headman originated in the time of the reign of king Shaka. He was well-known as a warrior king who established a powerful army comprising different regiments and conquering the neighbouring tribes, training the conquered men as soldiers and growing his army in this way. His regiments would greet him with the royal salute: *Bayede*! Shaka was a member of a speech community known as the people who *yeyeza* 'say ye-ye'. The replacement of the l-sound with a y-sound was an outstanding characteristic of this speech community. Shaka's regiments would greet him using the salute, *Balethe!*

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[3] Consider the discussion further down on the use of the plural form of the greeting instead of the expected singular form to express respect or politeness.

'Bring them!' (with the *ba-* being the object morpheme of a class 2 noun, thus meaning 'them', referring to the enemy). Paying respect to him as a *yeyeza* speaker, the /l/ of the verb stem was replaced with /y/ and the /tʰ/ with /d/ resulting in the royal salute *Balethe!* becoming *Bayede!* This royal salute is still used to this day to greet the king or an *induna* 'headman'.

5.2. Linguistic forms for enquiring about each other's/one another's well-being in Zulu

After the initial greeting, the two parties will enquire about each other's well-being. This can be done in a number of different ways. The examples below depict how the interlocutors may enquire about each other's well-being and what their possible responses can be in a one-to-one relation.

The interlocutors may enquire about each other's well-being by simply asking how the other party is, thus:

A: Unjani (na)?
'You are how? / How are you?'

B: Ngikhona. Wena (unjani)?
'I am here. / I am well. (And) you (how are you)?'

A: Nami ngikhona.
'Also I, I am still here. / I am also well.'

The interlocutors may enquire about each other's well-being by enquiring whether the other party is still alive, thus:

A: Usaphila (na)?
'Are you still alive?'

B: Yebo, ngisaphila. Wena?
'Yes, I am still alive. (And) you?'

A: Nami ngisaphila.
'Also I, I am still alive.'

One person can ask the other person whether he/she got up, thus:

A: Uvukile (na)?
'You got up? / Did you get up?'

B: Ngivukile. Wena (uvukile (na))?
'I got up. (And) you (did you get up)?'

A: Nami ngivukile.
'Also I, I got up. / I also got up.'

One person can ask the other person how she/he got up, thus:

A: Uvuke kanjani (na)?
'You got up how? / How did you get up?'

B: Ngivuke kahle. Wena (uvuke kanjani)?
'I got up well. / I am well. (And) you (how did you get up)?'

A: Nami ngivuke kahle.
'Also I, I got up well. / I also got up well.'

As is the case in Swahili, it is regarded as inappropriate to reply simply saying that you are not well. If the individual is not feeling well or is sick, he/she will normally respond by saying 'I am well / I woke up well, but…' He/she may specify the reason for her/his bad disposition or complaint. Consider the following example where B is not well:

A: Usaphila (na)?
'You are still alive? / How are you?'

B: Ngisaphila, kodwa ngibulawa umkhuhlane / Ngisaphila, kodwa ngiphethwe yikhanda. Wena (usaphila)?
'I am still alive, but I am being killed by a cold/flu. / I am still alive, but I am being held by a headache./ I have a headache. You (are you still alive)?'

A: Kwangathi ungasinda. Hhayi-ke, mina ngisaphila.
'May it be that you recover. Oh no, but, I, I am still alive.'

Obviously, in a case where B has indicated that she/he is not well, A cannot simply reply using the default *Nami ngisaphila* since that would imply that she/he is also well, as if A is ignoring B's suffering. The convention is therefore for A to somehow show empathy by wishing B a speedy recovery or a better prospect and then in turn indicate how she/he is.

Depending on the setting where the two parties meet and how well they know each other, they may, after enquiring about each other's well-being, also enquire about the well-being of the family or household and even that of their livestock. (The livestock would generally include cattle and goats. These two types of livestock are regarded as proper assets). Enquiring about the well-being of the family and livestock is fairly common in rural settings if the interlocutor is aware of the circumstances of the other party. The relevance of enquiring about the

well-being of livestock stems from the knowledge that often people in the rural areas are very dependent on the livestock for their daily survival and their existence – cows are milked, and the milk is consumed, often as *amasi* 'curds'. The cows are used to plough the fields and to transport whatever needs to be transported by pulling a sleigh or wagon and cows are even used as *lobola* – the payment a man has to make to his future father-in-law as a dowry when he wants to marry his daughter. Moreover, both cows and goats are slaughtered for their meat (and for ceremonial purposes).

5.3. Linguistic forms for bidding someone farewell in Zulu

When people part to go their separate ways, they will bid each other farewell by either wishing the other party an enjoyable stay or a pleasant journey, depending of the circumstances. The farewell is actually a command, hence the absence of a subject morpheme in the verb form *sala* 'stay' or *hamba* 'go'. Let us presume that person A visited person B at her house and is leaving after their conversation. The two individuals will say farewell to each other as follows:

A: Sala kahle.
'Stay well.'

B: Yebo, hamba kahle / Yebo, nawe uhambe kahle.
'Yes, go well / Yes, you too must go well.'

When saying farewell to a group the plural *-ni* is added to the verb, thus resulting in *Salani kahle* 'Stay, you (plural) well' or *Hambani kahle* 'Go, you (plural) well'. The *-ni* is the contracted form of the pronoun of the second person plural, *nina* 'you (plural)'.

5.4. Sociolinguistic considerations relating to greeting in Zulu

We will now turn to the sociolinguistic aspects of the Zulu salutation. It is customary for the minor to greet first. The child is expected to greet the parent or an older person first. Similarly, an employee is expected to greet the manager first. While it is not necessary to use a form of address when greeting someone, it does show affection or closeness if a person is addressed using a praise name. Zulu praise names are clan names – thus the names of prominent kinsmen of the clan who have since passed on. A person with the surname Buthelezi may be addressed as Shenge or Sokwalisa or Mnyamana, someone with the surname Ntuli may be addressed as Mphemba, while someone with the surname Khumalo may be addressed as Mntungwa, etc.

While the interlocutors may shake hands while greeting, this is not an essential part of greeting. If you shake hands with the person you greet, you are not supposed to give a firm handshake because that may be interpreted as an effort to dominate the other person. Moreover, the handshake is normally a three phase handshake, starting with the customary handshake followed by the two parties greeting moving their hands to hold each other's thumb in the palm of their right hands followed by the hands moved into the normal handshake position again.

It is regarded as proper and polite for the person greeting to hold onto his/her right wrist with the left hand (especially when greeting someone for the first time or someone who is your senior). This gesture is a relic from ancient times to demonstrate that you are greeting the other person in peace and that you are not hiding a weapon in the other hand.

When you greet someone, you are furthermore not supposed to look the person you are greeting in the eye for a prolonged period of time. You glance at the person and then look down or sideways. Looking the person you are greeting in the eye for a prolonged time is regarded as rude or challenging.

If the two individuals greeting know each other well, they may hold hands as a gesture of goodwill or solidarity. The holding of hands may continue for the whole duration of the greeting and even beyond. It is not strange for friends to hold hands after greeting and keep on doing so even as they walk to a shopping mall or sport event. This is a gesture of friendship and solidarity.

If you arrive at a traditional homestead, it is customary to wait at the main gate until someone sees you and invites you into the perimeter of the homestead. You do not greet until you are offered a stool or place to sit. Only when you are seated, will the greeting exchange take place and it will be initiated by the host. This practice ties up with another body language gesture, namely that when you greet, the minor's body may not be in a position higher than that of the superior. It is therefore rude to greet a superior who is sitting down while standing. Even when both parties are standing, the minor party will often bend down to be in a body-position lower than the superior.

It is quite common to use the plural form of greeting, thus *sanibona* instead of *sawubona* even though the person is greeting one person. This is done to show respect. This practice often leads to both parties using the plural form of greeting even though they are in a one-to-one situation.

5.5. Sociolinguistic considerations when enquiring about each other's/one another's well-being in Zulu

The practice of using the plural form of greeting where the singular form would be appropriate to show respect may be maintained even when two individuals enquire about each other's well-being.

Enquiring about the other party's well-being does not always form part of the salutation. Whether this part of the salutation will take place or alternatively how extensive it will be, will depend on the particular speech situation and the relationship between the interlocutors. If two acquaintances walk past each other on their way to work they may simply greet without enquiring about each other's well-being, however, if a family member or good friend visits you, the enquiry about the well-being of the other party will form part of the salutation. Enquiring about the other party's well-being is deemed important, and not adhering to this principle can result in the party being greeted and not asked about her/his well-being, being irritable. A typical setting that illustrates the importance of asking about the other person's well-being after greeting a Zulu speaker is described below.

A non-African language speaker may for instance walk up to the Zulu (or other Bantu language speaker) salesperson in a clothing shop and greet her/him and then immediately ask where the men's or lady's section is without enquiring about the salesperson's well-being. In such a case the salesperson will generally ignore the question and simply enquire about the well-being of the interlocutor first, forcing the "rude person" to be polite before continuing to direct her/him to the section she/he wants to get to.

After a holiday or weekend, the interlocutors can ask each other how they enjoyed the holiday or weekend. This is done by asking the other party whether "he/she/they ate the holidays / weekend well". Consider the example below:

A: Uyidle kanjani impelasonto (na)?
'You, it ate, how, the end of the week? / How did you enjoy the weekend?'

B: Hhayi, ngiyidle kahle.
'Oh no, I it ate well / No, I enjoyed it.'[4]

A: Uwadle kanjani amaholide (na)?
'You, it ate, how, the holidays? / How did you enjoy the holidays?'

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[4] The use of a negative 'Oh no/No' may seem odd in this context, however, this form is often used to indicate that "despite the interlocutor's expectation" the opposite is actually true.

B: Hhayi, ngiwadle kahle.
'No, I it ate well / No, I enjoyed it.'

5.6. Sociolinguistic considerations when saying farewell in Zulu

Anyone can end the conversation by saying goodbye to the other party. The only time you are not at liberty to leave at will is when you are part of a group summonsed by the king or an *induna*. In such an instance you have to wait for the king or the *induna* to relieve you before you start preparing to leave and say your goodbyes.

Interlocutors may use the form meant for saying goodbye to a group rather than an individual to show respect. In other words, the plural form of the salutation can be used throughout to show respect to the other party in the conversation.

There are two alternative ways of saying goodbye which are not used very often. You may wish the person a "white road" or you can wish the person "to go with the spirits". Consider the examples below:

A: Indlela emhlophe[5].
'A white road.'

B: Yebo, indlela emhlophe.
'Yes, a white road.'

A: Hamba namadlozi[6].
'Go with the spirits.'

B: Yebo, nawe hamba namadlozi.
'Yes, also you, go with the spirits. / Yes, you too must go with the spirits.'

6. Conclusion

Cultural scripts or norms should be taught during language classes since they form an indispensable prerequisite for successful communication and building and maintaining interpersonal ties. One has to be aware that speakers are normally well-acquainted with appropriate cultural behaviour of their own speech community

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[5] This expression implies that the interlocutor is wishing the other person a safe and prosperous journey.

[6] According to Zulu belief, the spirits of a person's ancestors are responsible for the well--being of the individual (and the clan). Saying "Go with the spirits" thus implies that the person is wishing you the protection and blessings of your ancestral spirits on your journey.

and often transmit those behaviours to conversations held in other languages that they may be learning. However, knowing and adhering to the cultural norms that govern communication in other speech communities will allow for effective cross- or intercultural communication. Even such universal communicative acts as greeting have the pragmatic hallmark of a specific culture.

Ameka and Breedveld (2004: 184) rightly observe that "[it] is only when one understands speech practices from an 'insider' point of view that one can interact with those in the speech community without causing offence". The good intention of communicating with interlocutors in their own language may be jeopardised by unknowingly transgressing – not adhering to sociolinguistic and/or nonverbal conventions in that particular culture. Transgressions on the nonverbal level can sometimes be more detrimental to successful communications than poor language knowledge. A learner of a particular Bantu language should not regard the Bantu culture as uniform and thus apply the conventions applicable to the use of the salutation in a particular Bantu language to another Bantu language.

It has been observed in the African context that the speakers of the minority languages often adopt the cultural norms and values of the dominant languages (Batibo 2009). These may be European languages but also the dominant African language, for instance Swahili or Zulu. Someone learning these languages or any other Bantu language should be sensitive to the sociolinguistic and nonverbal conventions of the particular speech community.

Some of the pragmatic choices a learner of a foreign language makes, are directly instruction-related and are influenced by textbooks and classroom discourse. To reduce such limitations of pragmatic instruction, teaching materials should include corpus-based data and teachers could become more sensitive towards alternative speech acts used in the target language.

The paper analysed some linguistic forms of greetings, enquiring about each other's / one another's well-being, and bidding someone farewell in two Bantu languages, namely Swahili and Zulu. The typical conversation (in both Swahili and Zulu) will generally comprise four distinct parts, the greeting followed by the enquiry about each other's well-being, followed by the actual conversation, and then the parting farewell. Similarly, to Swahili, in Zulu the gender of the interlocutors has no influence on the form of greeting, but in Zulu the determining considerations for the use of some forms is not only the number of people you greet, as in Swahili, but also on behalf of how many people you are speaking.

In addition, the paper discussed some sociolinguistic considerations relating to greeting routines in these two languages. Even though there are similarities

between the two languages as far as the salutation is concerned, one has to be careful not to generalise. There are also some significant differences between these two languages and between languages of the Bantu language family in general.

The two major considerations determining the participant roles of the interlocutors when greeting are the social status and the age difference between the interlocutors. In both languages, it is customary for the minor/younger person or the one who is arriving to greet first. So, it is the child, who is expected to greet the parent or an older person first, and similarly, an employee is expected to greet the manager first. The gender of the interlocutors does not play a significant role in either of the languages.

As far as nonverbal communication is concerned, we have highlighted the importance of the avoidance of prolonged eye contact between the interlocutors in the case of both Swahili and Zulu and the significance of a handshake. The posture of the interlocutors is also an important factor to take cognizance of.

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Alexander Andrason
Stellenbosch University

Laughter interjections in Xhosa

Abstract

The present paper analyzes the system of laughter-based interjections (L-INTJs) in Xhosa. By drawing on corpus and fieldwork evidence, the author concludes the following: the systems of L-INTJs consists of five types of constructions built around the segments *ha*, *he*, *ho*, *hi*, and *yha*, the satellites *te* and *ti*, as well as a number of replicative templates. The pattern *hVhVhV* with a short vowel is the most productive. Other replicative patterns, patterns involving (extra-)long vowels and the pattern *tVhV,* are less productive. Overall, L-INTJs are the canonical members of the interjective category. The presence and range of uses of L-INTJs result from the interjectionalization of laughter-based onomatopoeias or the onomatopoeization of non-laughter-related interjections.

Keywords: typology, Bantu, Xhosa, interjections, laughter

1. Introduction

Laughter, laughing-based, or gelotive interjections (Levisen 2019: 125-126) – henceforth referred to as L-INTJs – belong to the most marginalized types of grammatical categories (Levisen 2019: 110). Their study and theorizing occupy "the margins of the margins" of linguistics (Levisen 2019: 111), peripheral in research on interjections, which is itself a marginal field in language science (Ameka 1992a: 101)[1]. Indeed, seminal studies on interjections – whether typological

[1] From the last decade of the 20th century to the present, the scholarly peripherality of research on interjections has decreased and studies on interjections have gradually penetrated mainstream linguistics (Ameka & Wilkins 2006: 1-2, Levisen 2019: 113-114).

(Ameka 1992a, 2006, Wierzbicka 2003, Ameka & Wilkins 2006, Stange & Nübling 2014, Meinard 2015) or language-specific (Wierzbicka 1992, Nübling 2001, 2004, Bańko 2008, Nordgren 2015, Stange 2016) – "have either little or nothing to say about this type of interjection" (Levisen 2019: 111). Similarly, to my knowledge, references to interjections are negligible in research on laughter (Glen 2003, Jefferson 2004, Glenn & Holt 2013a, Dynel 2013, Trouvain & Truong 2017). When both interjections and laughter are studied thoroughly (O'Connell & Kowal 2008: 133-142, 162-173), they tend to be dealt with separately and treated as two distinct phenomena (see especially p. 133). The only examples of research on L-INTJs are papers written by Schenkein (1972), Kidd (2011), and Levisen (2019).

The marginalization of L-INTJs in linguistic research clashes with the relevance which these words seem to exhibit in human communication and language in general (Levisen 2019: 110). Given their importance, L-INTJs should thus "be […] taken seriously" (Levisen 2019: 111) and studied in a principled manner. To expand our – thus far limited – knowledge of L-INTJs, two urgent and, at the same time, fundamental tasks have been proposed. First, scholars should study the cross-linguistic pervasiveness of L-INTJs by identifying languages in which these words occur. Second, scholars should describe properties of L-INTJs in specific languages, both in relation to their meaning (semantics and pragmatics) and form (phonetics, morphology, and syntax) (Levisen 2019: 125-127). Levisen (2019), who emphasized the necessity of such research, recently provided a compelling analysis of L-INTJs in Danish – the first step towards a comprehensive typology of L-INTJs in the world's languages.

The present paper responds to Levisen's (2019) plea and provides further language-specific evidence that expands our typological knowledge of L-INTJs. The linguistic system under research is Xhosa (S-41) – a Nguni language of the Bantu family, spoken in South Africa. The data presented draw on both a corpus study and original field research. The analysis is developed within a dynamic prototype-driven approach to interjectionality (see Andrason & Matutu 2019, and Andrason & Dlali 2020, following Ameka 1992a, Nübling 2001, 2004, and Stange 2016), making additional use of Levisen's (2019) definition of L-INTJs. To be exact, by testing Xhosa L-INTJs for their compliance with features associated with the cross-linguistic prototype of an interjection, I aim to determine the overall profile of the L-INTJ-ective category and estimate its position within the broader categorial network of interjections.

To achieve its objective, the article is organized as follows: In Section 2 I present the theoretical framework of my research. In Section 3 I describe original evidence related to the meaning and form of L-INTJs in Xhosa. The results of this

description are evaluated within the adopted framework in Section 4. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Theoretical background: Laughter interjections and an interjective prototype

In accordance with my previous research on interjections in Xhosa (Andrason & Matutu 2019, Andrason & Dlali 2020) and other languages, e.g. Hebrew (Andrason, Hornea & Joubert 2020), Aramaic (Andrason & Hutchison 2020), Tjwao (Andrason, Fehn & Phiri 2020), and Greek (Andrason & Durán Mañas 2021), I understand the interjective category as a radial network organized around – but not defined by – an idealized representative: a prototype.

The interjective prototype is cumulative. It is defined as a set of non-formal and formal properties that are pervasive and salient in interjections attested across languages. In the determination of the set of these properties, I have eclectically drawn on comprehensive studies on interjections presented by Ameka (1992a, 2006), Ameka & Wilkins (2006), Nübling (2001, 2004), O'Connell & Kowal (2008), Stange & Nübling (2014), Meinard (2015), and Stange (2016), gradually complementing those authors' observations with the results of my own research on Bantu (Andrason & Matutu 2019, Andrason & Dlali 2020), Semitic (Andrason, Hornea & Joubert 2020, Andrason & Hutchison 2020), Khoisan (Andrason, Fehn & Phiri 2020), and Indo-European languages (Andrason & Durán Mañas 2021).

The non-formal facet of an interjective prototype concerns semantics and pragmatics. A prototypical interjection covers emotive and sensorial semantic domains and contains "an 'I feel' component" (Stange & Nübling 2014: 1983). It is produced semi-automatically and instinctively; performs a non-referential and monologic function; and is polysemous and heavily context dependent. The formal facet concerns phonetics, morphology, and syntax. Phonetically, a prototypical interjection attests to a mono-syllabic structure; is mainly vocalic; contains anomalous sounds and sound-combinations (i.e. sounds that are not used or very rarely used in the standard vocabulary of the language under analysis) including non-speech sounds (i.e. sounds that are not present in the International Phonetic Alphabet); and is produced with louder volume and articulatory intensity. Morphologically, a prototypical interjection is mono-morphemic; it does not host inflections and derivations nor does it exploit the mechanism of compounding; and is lexically opaque and aberrant (i.e. it transgresses the principles governing the forms of lexemes in a particular language). Syntactically, a prototypical interjection is holophrastic; if non-holophrastic, it does not belong to and/or is not

integrated in a core-clause grammar (i.e. it is not governed by the predicate, does not project arguments, and does not modify predicates, arguments, and adjuncts); this structural detachment from the core-clause is visible in the peripheral – typically initial – position of an interjection in the sentence and its phonetic isolation from the other components of that sentence marked by pause, intonation, or contouring; furthermore, a prototypical interjection is not compatible with syntactic operations (e.g. negation, interrogation, and passivization); and does not enter into constructions with any other grammatical elements and word classes[2].

The prototype of an interjection structures the interjective category, imposing its representation in terms of a radial network. That is, the prototype delimitates the nucleus and the boundaries of the category and determines the degree of membership of all the members. This membership extent is correlated with the canonicity of a particular categorial member, measured as a degree of compliance with the idealized prototype and depicted accordingly as a shorter or larger distance from the nucleus. Canonical members, which fully comply with the prototype of an interjection, are central. Non-canonical members, which comply with a few prototypical features, are peripheral. Between these two limits, there is a cloud of semi-canonical members which comply with a number of features associated with the prototype – albeit not all of them.

What is proper of the interjective network is that it spreads along two types of continua (Andrason & Hutchison 2020): the continuum of interjectionality and the continuum of interjectionalization. The continuum of interjectionality represents a gradual increase in semantic-pragmatic canonicity of interjections in the following conceptual order: phatic > conative > cognitive > emotive (Stange 2016: 18-19). Phatic interjections – the least interjective ones – express a "speaker's mental attitude toward the ongoing discourse" (Ameka 1992a: 114, 1992b). They initiate, sustain, and terminate communication. They also function as necessary components of several routine acts, such as thanking and apologizing. Conative interjections – including presentational expressions and calls directed to animals – "are aimed at getting someone's attention or they demand an action or response from someone" (Ameka 2006: 744). Cognitive interjections "indicate the state of knowledge or thoughts of the speaker" (Velupillai 2012: 150). Lastly, emotive interjections – the most interjective ones – express "the speaker's state

[2] Additionally, from an extra-linguistic perspective, a prototypical interjection is accompanied by gestures. For a more detailed presentation of the interjective prototype, consult Andrason & Dlali (2020), Andrason, Hornea & Joubert (2020), Andrason, Fehn & Phiri (2020), and Andrason & Durán Mañas (2021), as well as the references therein.

with respect to the emotions and sensations", like the categorial prototype itself (Ameka 1992: 113). The other continuum, that of interjectionalization, represents a gradual increase in formal canonicity – especially the one that pertains to morphology and phonetics – in the following order: exclamations > secondary interjections > primary interjections (Nübling 2001, see also Ameka 1992a). Exclamations are non-interjective lexical classes (e.g. nouns, verbs, prepositions) that are used in an interjective function following an ad-hoc, spontaneous, and/or idiolectal manner. Secondary interjections emerge where such exclamative uses become more entrenched and stabilized – a given lexeme is often employed as an interjection although its non-interjective usages are still available and non-interjective properties relatively patent. Primary interjections are interjections that are only used as such. They can constitute the final stage of interjectionalization, or they emerge "catastrophically", e.g. when coined spontaneously or borrowed (Ameka 1992a, 2006, Nübling 2001)[3]. Given the direction of the two continua, primary emotive interjections are usually the most canonical and thus central members in the interjective category. In contrast, secondary phatic interjections are the least canonical and the most peripheral (Ameka 1992a, 1992b, Nübling 2001, 2004, Stange 2016, Andrason, Fehn & Phiri 2020, Andrason & Hutchison 2020)[4].

Overall, my approach to interjections is inclusive, gradient, and dynamic instead of being selective, essentialist, and static. The category encompasses all possible members – although not all such members have an equal categorial status since their membership, conditioned by the canonicity, is uneven. In turn, this hierarchical variation of more and less representative members reflects and results from – at least to a certain extent – diachronic processes underlying the category[5].

Even though the present study is developed within a dynamic prototype-driven approach to interjectionality, it only focuses on a particular sub-type of interjections, namely L-INTJs. As this type of interjections is absent in the above-mentioned

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[3] As a result, the continuum of interjectionalization is primarily diachronic although it can also be conceptual. In contrast, the continuum of interjectionality is mainly conceptual.

[4] Given their low interjectionality, conative and, especially, phatic interjections are sometimes denied a place in the interjective category. Similarly, given the low extent of their interjectionalization, exclamations are often not included in the category of interjections.

[5] This type of categorization coincides with an approach used in cognitive linguistics where categories, whether cross-linguistic or language-specific, are represented as dynamic networks with both a synchronic and diachronic dimension, i.e. semantic maps (Haspelmath 2003, Janda 2015, Andrason 2016, Georgakopoulos & Polis 2018).

publications on which my approach draws – being also thus far omitted in my own research – I will tentatively adopt the definition proposed by Levisen (2019: 113). Accordingly, L-INTJs are interjections that (a) are "based on the concept of laughing" and (b) have "a conventionalised expressive semantics" (p. 111-112)[6]. Levisen sees L-INTJs as additional semantic types of interjections, distinct from the other major types: emotive, cognitive, and conative (in his terminology, volitive) interjections[7]. That is, rather than being feeling-, thinking-, or wanting-based, they are laughing-based, i.e. "semantically centered around the concept of laughing" (Levisen 2019: 111). Crucially, Levisen (2019: 111-112) differentiates L-INTJs from the act of laughter and its linguistic representations. To be exact, L-INTJs are not mere (stable or unstable) linguistic strategies mimicking the physiological phenomenon of laughter (Levisen 2019: 112). Instead, they constitute cases of "interjectionalized laughter" (Levisen 2019: 111) – they result from the process of interjectionalization, whereby non-interjective elements (i.e. laughter and its linguistic representations) are conventionalized as exponents of a determined range of meaning typically associated with interjections, especially expressive senses (Levisen 2019: 112-113). In other words, the interjective function of original representations of laughter is entrenched and socially stabilized instead of being spontaneously coined and idiolectal (Levisen 2019: 113).

I will test L-INTJs for their compliance with the non-formal (semantic and pragmatic) and formal (phonetic, morphological, and syntactic) features associated with the prototype of an interjection in linguistic typology. This will allow me to determine, in a principled manner, the profile of L-INTJs, both with regard to their meaning and structure, and, thus, to locate the entire INTJ-ective category within the broader categorial network of interjections.

3. Evidence

The evidence presented in this section draws on a twofold type of research: a corpus study and a field study. The corpus study involved the review of 246 comic strips

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[6] Of course, the link between conventionalized imitations of laughter and the category of interjections is acknowledged by other scholars (Trouvain & Truong 2017: 341). Indeed, conventionalized imitations of laughter are often classified as interjections in the grammars and dictionaries of those languages in which they occur, e.g. in Polish (Bańko 2008, *Wielki Słownik Języka Polskiego*) and Spanish (*Diccionario de la lengua española*).

[7] Levisen (2019) leaves phatic elements outside the interjective category. In my model, phatic elements are interjections although the least canonical ones from a semantic-pragmatic perspective (see this section).

published in the magazine *Bona* between 1981 and 2009 (Andrason & Matutu 2019) and 69 one-frame cartoons published in the newspaper *I'solezwe* in 2017 and 2018. This research yielded a collection of 160 uses of L-INTJ-ective segments spread across 26 frames in 24 different comic strips and cartoons – a number that enables certain, albeit still tentative, quantitative generalizations. In turn, the field study involved the interview of five native Xhosa speakers, all of whom are university-graduated residents of the Western Cape. Crucially, one of the informants is a trained linguist while another one is a psychologist with whom I have previously conducted research on interjections. This field research was mainly qualitative and consisted of discussing the details of the semantic potential of specific L-INTJs, eliciting examples that illustrate it, and determining the functions of L-INTJs attested in the written corpus[8].

In general, L-INTJs are relatively uncommon in my corpus. Out of 1849 uses of interjections attested in the comics that were published in the magazine *Bona* across three decades, L-INTJ-ective segments appear 150 times, i.e. less than 1% of the total corpus. Similarly, in the two-year corpus of comics published in *I'solezwe*, L-INTJs are only found 10 times. This sparsity in terms of use coincides with a limited number of L-INTJ-ective structures in Xhosa. Overall, the corpus and the field study yield a set of five stabilized L-INTJs – those built around the segments *ha*, *he*, *ho*, *hi*, and *yha*, of which two (*he* and *hi*) can additionally be accompanied by the "satellite" element *te*/*ti*. This, at most, constitutes 2% of the total number of interjections in Xhosa which ascend to nearly 350 words and constructions (Andrason & Dlali 2020).

In compliance with Levisen's (2019) definition of L-INTJs, the lexemes identified as L-INTJs in Xhosa are not mere spontaneous, idiolectal, extra-linguistic (imitations of the) acts of laughter. First, although they are associated with laughter,

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[8] It should be noted that the two evidence sources presented in this article – i.e. the corpus study which draws on the written language and the field research which reflects the spoken language – are closely related. That is, comic strips tend to be a written codification of speech. They are very similar, nearly undistinguishable, from natural conversations and spoken language itself. This close relationship between the comic genre and the spoken language has widely been noted in scholarship and explains the abundant presence of interjections in comic strips: Interjections are primarily spoken language phenomena and, if attested in written texts, they tend to occur in those genres that imitate or approximate spoken language the most, in particular comic strips, drama plays, e-mails etc. (Nübling 2004, De la Cruz Cabanillas & Tejedor Martínez 2009, Forster, Borgwaldt & Neef 2012, Stange & Nübling 2014, Andrason & Matutu 2019).

they do not equal laughter[9]. They are conventionalized lexemes, words and/or constructions, on a par with any other words used in the Xhosa language, being characterized by a specific extent of semantic potential that is entrenched and stabilized among native speakers. Second, speakers use them not only to imitate laughter (as is typical of onomatopoeias that mimic sounds experienced in nature, including those made by humans themselves) but also, and, as it seems, primarily, to communicate emotive states and attitudes towards discourse (as is typical of interjections).

3.1. *Ha*-type

L-INTJs built around the segment *ha* are by far the most common among all the L-INTJs in Xhosa. First, in the analyzed corpus, a *ha* segment appears 94 times, which amounts to 59% of all the uses of L-INTJs. Out of 26 frames, *ha* is present in 22 (≈ 85%). Second, the native speakers interviewed in my field research viewed the *ha*-interjection as most directly associated with laughing-based or laughing-related meanings – the "first-come-to-mind" L-INTJ in their language.

The semantic potential of *ha* L-INTJs is broad. It ranges from a mere imitation of a physical act of laughter to complex expressions of speakers' emotions and sensations, as well as their mental attitudes towards communication. Below I explain these various meanings and uses in detail.

As far as mimicking uses are concerned, *ha* L-INTJs are compatible with all types of laughter episodes irrespective of their real pitch and intensity, and the physical characteristics of human sources, i.e. age, sex, body type, etc. Whether produced by young children or old people, by boys/men or girls/women, and by fat/big or slim/small persons, laughter can always be encoded by a *ha* L-INTJ. While the imitative usage links *ha* L-INTJs to the category of onomatopoeias, the two other senses mentioned above are genuinely interjective, i.e. emotive and phatic. Within the emotive range of uses, *ha* L-INTJs can express positive feelings of amusement and pleasure produced, for instance, after hearing something humorous or after experiencing something enjoyable. *Ha* L-INTJs may also be used to communicate happiness, excitement, and enthusiasm. Examples (1a-b) illustrate this. In (1a), having won a price for the best pupil at the school, a boy

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[9] Indeed, the instances of true laughter recorded in an additional empirical study differ (more or less significantly) from the L-INTJs discussed in this paper. Therefore, my study of L-INTJs should not be confused with the study of laughter among Xhosa and/or human laughter as a biological/physiological phenomenon, more generally. It should only be viewed as the study of purely linguistic forms (in particular, interjections) related to laughter.

shouts *ha ha ha* out of excitement and pride. In (1b), a boy sees a girl and pays her a compliment, praising her beauty. She is utterly pleased and, to express it, uses a sequence of *ha* L-INTJs. My corpus provides two further illustrative cases of such emotive uses. In one (*Bona* 2000/9: 161), Denis the Goat, a character in a comic strip, is enjoying a beer. His enjoyment is communicated overtly by chains of *ha* L-INTJs. In another comic strip (*Bona* 1983/2: 155), the Bafanas, a group of young men, are excited about New Year's Eve and channel this by means of many *ha* L-INTJs. Nevertheless, *ha* L-INTJs are also compatible with negative feelings, often being used to mock or ridicule someone (e.g. *Bona* 1985/5: 155, 1987/2: 139)[10]. Specifically, they express malicious joy at someone else's misfortune (e.g. stumbling, falling, losing in a competition) (e.g. *Bona* 1983/5: 195, 1989/11: 211), the disbelief of someone's words, and a general lack of appreciation towards an interlocutor. In (1c), extracted from *Bona* (1992/8: 186), a group of young men mock a boy who wants one shoe by pretending to be able to wear it. To express their mockery and disdain, the young men employ a sequence of *ha* L-INTJs at the end of their speech. In (1d), a boy is asking a girl out. Unfortunately, she dislikes him and has no intention of being in his company. She uses a *ha* L-INTJ to express her aversion or even repugnance to the idea of spending time together. Overall, although the use of *ha* L-INTJs to convey negative emotions prevails in my corpus, their role as expressions of positive feelings is also well attested in the analyzed comics and cartoons; according to my informants, it is, in fact, equally common in colloquial speech. Additionally, *ha* L-INTJs may be employed as a response to the sensorial experience of being tickled. Although genuinely interjective – since emotive interjections express both feelings and sensations – this usage is also related to the imitative function of *ha* L-INTJs. Apart from the emotive-sensorial senses described above, *ha* L-INTJs can be employed as communicative devices similar to phatic interjections. In such cases, *ha* L-INTJs serve to express agreement or disagreement – thus controlling which information enters and which does not enter in the conversation – as well as to maintain a communicative channel. For example, in (1e), speaker B refuses an invitation to smoke weed by saying *ha ha ha* – equivalent to the negative response word *hayi* 'no'. Overall, the above-mentioned meanings (i.e. imitative, emotive, sensorial, and phatic) need not be mutually exclusive, but may instead co-occur in a single usage. Especially pervasive is the combination of one of the interjective

[10] I use the term 'negative' referring to mocking, ridiculing, laughing at others' expense, and mischievously enjoying someone else's misfortune, bad luck, or (perceived) ignorance. The term relates to a general disbelief of the interlocutor's words and a disregard or even disdain towards the other participants, characteristic of sarcasm.

nuances with an imitative function. Indeed, in most cases, an *ha*-type lexeme is used as a true L-INTJ – it simultaneously performs an onomatopoeic and an interjective role. Non-interjective uses (i.e. those purely onomatopoeic) are also common. In contrast, even though possible, purely interjective uses (i.e. those in which any connation of laughter is not available) are, according to all informants, extremely rare. To disambiguate the various senses that the *ha* L-INTJ may express and/or to profile one of the possible components of its semantic potential, knowledge of linguistic and extra-linguistic context is required. This disambiguation (or profiling) is often assisted by special phonation and intonation (see below), as well as gestures.

(1) a. **Ha ha ha**. Ndi-win-ile. Ndi-yincutshe[11].
L-INTJ SA.1st-win-PERF SA.1st- COP.9.champion
'*Ha ha ha*, I've won it! I am the best.'

b. **Ha ha ha**, enkosi, Sipho! U-ya-bukeka kakhulu nawe.
L-INTJ thank.you PN SA.2nd-PRES-look well you.too
'*Ha ha ha*, thank you, Sipho! You are very cute, too.'

c. Kodwa siso kuphela – u-nge-nza ntoni nge-sihlangu esinye!
but COP.7 only – SA.2nd- POT-do what with-7.shoe 6.one
HA! **HA**! **HA**![12]
L-INTJ
'But it is the only one – what can you do with one shoe! *Ha*! *Ha*! *Ha*!'

d. **Ha ha ha**! Thina sobabini?! U-nga-yi-cinga njani lonto?
L-INTJ we us.two SA.2nd- POT-OA.9-think how that.thing
Awu-bahla-nga **Ha ha ha**!
NEG.SA.2nd-be.well-PERF.NEG L-INTJ
'Ha ha ha! Us together?! How can you think that? You are not well! *Ha ha ha*!'

e. A: U-funa intsango?
SA.2nd-want 9.weed
'Do you want some weed?'

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[11] Xhosa exhibits a highly complex agglutinative-fusional type of morphology. Much of this complexity will be omitted in the glosses, which only provide the most relevant morphological information.

[12] The original typesetting/formatting of the interjections extracted from the magazine *Bona* and the newspaper I'solezwe, in particular the use of lower/upper case and line division will be preserved. (The sign "/" indicates that in the actual frame, the text is written in a separate line). In contrast, I will not discuss other conventions governing the presentation of texts in comics, such as types of balloons, different font types, and specific topographical arrangements.

B: **Ha ha ha**!
L-INTJ
'*Ha ha ha*!'

As for the pragmatic properties of L-INTJs the following should be noted. First, the imitative uses of *ha* L-INTJs, as well as those that constitute responses to bodily physical stimuli (e.g. tickling), are generally semi-automatic and instinctive. Nonetheless, the usage of *ha* L-INTJs may also be more deliberate, purposeful, and controlled. This is especially evident in cases where *ha* L-INTJs express negative emotions such as sarcasm, mockery, derision, disdain, and disregard (see 2c-d). Second, *ha* L-INTJs are typically non-referential – one cannot use them to talk about participants different from the speaker themselves (see 1a-e). Third, although *ha* L-INTJs may be monologic in expressing the speaker's own feelings or mimicking their laughter without the necessity of constituting turns in a dialogue, they are often dialogic. In such instances, *ha* L-INTJs play an important communicative role, informing the interlocutor(s) of the mental state and attitude of the speaker. This dialogic component is particularly patent – in fact, compulsory – when *ha* L-INTJs perform a phatic function (see 1e above).

With regard to phonetics, the basic segment of *ha* L-INTJs, i.e. the element *ha*, attests to one of the simplest possible structures in the Xhosa language – an open monosyllable. The segment consists of the consonant [h] in the onset and an *a*-type vowel in the nucleus, the entire structure being represented as [CV]. Since the consonant [h] can also be analyzed as a voiceless counterpart of an adjacent genuine vowel, in this case [a] (see Blevins 2018: 31) – both types of sounds sharing several features – *ha* may alternatively be represented as [ḁa]. This clearly demonstrates the vocalic nature of the *ha* INTJ[13]. Significantly, the realization of the vowel in the nucleus may transgress the rules of the Xhosa sound system. In Xhosa, an *a*-type vowel habitually surfaces as [a]. In contrast, in the L-INTJs, the actual realization of *a* varies from a more front type of *a* (i.e. [a], as in all the other lexical classes) to a more back type (i.e. [ɑ]). This [ɑ] vowel is not a standard feature of Xhosa. Often, a *ha* L-INTJ is accompanied by a particular phonation mode. This includes a louder speech volume and articulatory intensity or, on the contrary, a more subtle pronunciation and even whispering. Similarly, the pitch accompanying a *ha* L-INTJ may be higher and more acute (typical of an [a] realization), or lower and deeper (typical of an [ɑ] realization).

[13] See the discussion of a similar phenomenon in Hebrew by Andrason, Hornea & Joubert (2020).

In general, the more laughter-mimicking a *ha* L-INTJ is, the more articulatorily odd it is, thus exhibiting the above-mentioned suprasegmental accompaniments (loudness, intensity, whispering, and higher/lower pitch).

The interpretation of morphological properties of the *ha* INTJ is complex. To begin with, as far as its form is concerned, the *ha* L-INTJ is lexically opaque and aberrant. That is, it does not contain any element that could structurally suggest membership in any word class, including the interjective one; nor does it allow for agglutinating processes. This contrasts with other lexical classes (especially, nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, participles, and pronouns) which can all be largely identified by their morphological structure and an extensive use of some types of agglutinations. The *ha* L-INTJ also fails to exhibit any types of inflections and derivations, being entirely unsusceptible to inflectional and derivational mechanisms. In contrast, the evidence concerning mono-morphemicity and access to compounding is ambiguous and suggests a gradient or fuzzy interpretation of those phenomena. To begin with, the use of *ha* singletons is avoided. In the analyzed corpus, a singleton *ha* occurs twice. It occurs only in two similar cases: (a) the *ha* singleton forms an interjective sequence with other L-INTJs in an utterance (see the segment *ha* in *HO! HO! HO! HA! HEE! HEE! HEE!*; *Bona* 1985/5: 155), and (b) the *ha* singleton appears in a frame that contains other, loosely connected and dispersed L-INTJs (e.g. *Bona* 1983/2: 139). Indeed, according to my informants, a *ha* singleton cannot convey laughter-related or laughter-based nuances when used on its own and/or isolated. This may be related to the fact that Xhosa contains in its inventory a non-laughter-based interjective singleton of a *ha*-type, namely *haa* [ha:] which expresses a range of emotive senses, especially exultation and admiration (Tshabe 2006: 703, Andrason & Dlali 2020)[14]. While singletons are rare, the replication of *ha* segments is prevalent, and a variety of replicative structures are possible. Reduplication is attested 4 times in the corpus. Triplication is by far the most common, appearing 17 times. Larger sequences are also occasionally found, e.g. series of five (twice) or six segments (once). Sequences of *ha* segments can be written as disconnected units, which is typical (e.g. *ha ha ha!*), or separated by punctuation signs, especially the exclamation

[14] There are two other non-laughter-based interjective singletons spelled in a similar manner to the *ha* L-INTJ, i.e. *ha* and *haa*. The former is used for a number of conative (attention getter) and emotive (admiration, exultation) senses. The latter (graphically undistinguishable from the *haa* interjection mentioned above) expresses emotive senses of surprise and shock. It should, however, be noted that, contrary to the *ha* L-INTJ which contains the unvoiced consonant [h], these two lexemes are pronounced with the voiced approximant [ɦ], i.e. slack or breathy voice transition.

mark (e.g. *Ha! Ha! Ha!*). However, their writing as a single word – i.e. contiguous sequences (*hahaha*) rather than disconnected or semi-connected hyphenated singletons (e.g. *ha-ha-ha-ha-ha*) – is also attested (3 times). In the corpus, this word-like writing of *ha* L-INTJs is only attested for triplets.

The replicative patterns presented above reveal the morphological and morpho--syntactic complexity of *ha* L-INTJs. The first problematic issue is whether a *ha* segment is a true morpheme. The fact that singletons are attested, and that any *ha* L-INTJ may always be extended by an additional segment, suggests that the segment *ha* functions as a morphological unit. However, since singletons can only be used if co-occurring with other L-INTJs, along with the notion that the meaning of a *ha* L-INTJ does not change whether it surfaces as a singleton or whether it is reduplicated, triplicated, and multiplicated, equally suggests that a *ha* segment is not a meaning-bearing unit – contrary to what is typical of canonical morphemes. That the meaning does not (radically) change may be seen in two phenomena. First, while one could argue that the sequence of ten *ha* segments implies a more intense type of laughter than the sequence of two *he* segments, the relationship between the length of a sequence and the intensity of laughter it communicates is much less straightforward and universal. It certainly does not univocally imply loudness, high or low pitch, or any other suprasegmental property. For similar pairs of segments (e.g. 2 versus 3 and 4 versus 5), such a relationship is even less evident: longer variants do not necessarily imply "more laughter" than shorter variants. Second – and much more importantly – contrary to many ideophones in Xhosa (see *wambu-wambu* 'walk like a stork' versus *wambu* 'cover'; Andrason 2020: 155), the multiplication of a *ha* segment does not add new senses to the semantic domain of this L-INTJ. That is, the semantic potential of all *he* segments is identical and their non-imitative values do not change irrespective of the number of segments present. As a result, the replication of *ha* would be a phonetic/phonological device rather than a morphological one.

Another problematic matter is whether the segment *ha* should be analyzed as either a bound or free morpheme (or 'quasi-morphemic' element; see above) – and thus the entire structure as a morphological (synthetic) or a syntactic (analytic) phenomenon, respectively. As explained above, the evidence attests to a variety of strategies – separated (e.g. *ha ha*), hyphenated (e.g. *ha-ha-ha-ha-ha*), unitary (e.g. *hahaha*) – which impede a neat morpho-syntactic classification of *ha* L-INTJs. Such strategies can however be arranged into a cline that reflects an increase in morphologization whereby an analytic syntactic pattern is gradually transformed into a synthetic morphological one. The examples of *ha* triplets match that cline

to the fullest extent. The highest degree of analyticity is attested by the sequence *Ha! Ha! Ha!* (*Bona* 2007/10: 115) in which the three units are represented as independent words separated by punctuation, each bearing its own accent and providing similar articulatory expressiveness. A slightly lesser extent of analyticity is attested by the sequence *Ha ha ha!* (*Bona* 1984/5: 155) which is pronounced as single intonational units, marked by a single exclamation sign at the end. Hyphenated sequences such as *he-he-he* reveal an intermediate semi-analytic and semi-synthetic status. The writing of *HaHaHa* attests to a more synthetic pattern (*Bona* 1005/8: 103) whereby the triplication of a *ha* L-INTJ is represented as a single word, although a capital letter graphically differentiates each segment. Lastly, *Hahaha* (*I'solezwe* 2017/8: 8, 2018/8: 8) represents a fully synthetic structure – a single word composed of three identical syllables. Overall, *ha* INTJs attest to a mixed syntactic and morphological structure, in some cases a fuzzy and transitory one, located between syntax and morphology.

As far as syntax is concerned, *ha* L-INTJs can function holophrastically, i.e. they may form non-elliptical utterances equivalent to full sentences. In the analyzed corpus, this is by far the most prevalent usage of *ha* L-INTJs. Nevertheless, non-holophrastic uses are also grammatical and attested in the corpus (2a; see also 1a-b). In such cases, a *ha* L-INTJ occurs in a larger sentence, featuring as one of its elements. In all such non-holophrastic uses, *ha* regularly fails to be integrated in – or simply does not belong to – core-clause grammar. That is, it is not governed by the predicate, arguments and adjuncts, nor does it modify such structural elements. The only exception is the usage of *ha* with the quotative base *-thi* 'say, do', which is also regularly employed with ideophones, including the onomatopoeic ones. See, for instance, *wathi hahaha* 'he said *hahaha'* (i.e. he mocked the idea of going to the movies) in (2b). Accordingly, the L-INTJ *ha* may form a complex predicate with *-thi* that carries inflection and derivation (see Du Plessis 1978, 2010, Andrason 2020). However, in contrast to ideophones, where the omission of *-thi* is grammatical (Andrason 2020), sentences such as *USihpho hahaha izolo*, where the base *-thi* is not expressed overtly, are problematic. In both holophrastic and non-holophrastic uses, *ha* L-INTJs are incompatible with syntactic operations of negation, interrogation, and passivization. That is, *ha* L-INTJs do not have negative, interrogative, or passive variants. This property is also related to the following phenomenon: When accompanying a negative, interrogative, or passive clause, the interpretation of a *ha* L-INTJ is never negative, interrogative, or passive. Instead, the *ha* L-INTJ maintains its usual illocutionary force, typical of emotive, phatic, and imitative functions. For instance, in (2c) the presence of the negative clause *andizokuyenza lonto* 'I'm not going to do that'

has no bearing on the syntactic interpretation of the *ha* L-INTJ. The position of *ha* L-INTJs in a sentence is regularly peripheral – usually initial (see examples 1a-b above) albeit also final (2a). *Ha* L-INTJs tend to be used at the beginning (2d) or the end of a turn in a dialogue (2e), thus signalling the change of interlocutor. In instances of non-holophrasticity, *ha* L-INTJs are phonetically isolated from the remaining parts of the sentence. This is regularly achieved by a pause and contouring – often indicated in writing by a comma. Lastly, *ha* L-INTJs do not enter into constructions with other elements, especially other lexical classes. The only – but highly common – exceptions are interjections themselves, whether laughter--based or unrelated to laughter, as well as the quotative verb *-thi* mentioned above. That is, any *ha* L-INTJ can be accompanied by or appear in a chain with other L-INTJs, e.g. *ho*- and *he*-types (2f) (see subsections 3.2 and 3.3 below), as well as with interjections that are not laughter-based, e.g. *yo* (2g), *oh* (2h), and *o* (2i). It may also be headed by the verb *-thi*, forming with it a complex predicate (see again 2b).

(2) a. Hayi ke apho u-mchan-ile, **ha ha ha ha ha ha!** (*Bona* 1987/6: 139)
no PART there SA.2nd-hit-PERF L-INTJ
'No, here, you got it right (lit. hit it), *ha ha ha ha ha ha*!'

b. USipho wa-thi **hahaha** izolo
1a.PN 1a.SA.PAST-say L-INTJ yesterday
'Sipho said *hahaha* yesterday.'

c. **Ha ha ha**, a-ndi-zoku-y-enza lonto
L-INTJ NEG-SA.1st-FUT[15]-OA.9-do that.thing
'*Ha ha ha*, I'm not going to do it!'

d. **HA**! **HA**! Ku-hleka bani ngoku?
L-INTJ SA.15-laugh who now
'*Ha*! *Ha*! Who's laughing now?'

e. Ngoku ndi-zi-fumen-e yaye ekugqibeleni ndi-za ku-yi-zuza
now SA.1st-OA.10-find-PERF and finally SA.1st-come INF-OA.9-get
imbasa yam / **Ha**! **Ha**! (*Bona* 1981/12: 191)
9.price 9.my L-INTJ
'Now I've found them and finally I will get my price / *Ha*! *Ha*!'

f. HO HO HO HEE HEE **HA HA HA** HEE HEE HEE (Bona 1988/10: 203)

g. YO! **HA**! **HA**! **HA**! HEE HEE! HA! (*Bona* 1983/5: 195)

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[15] This type of a future-tense marker results from the agglutination of the verbal base *-za* 'come' and the infinitive (class 15) prefix *uku-*.

h. OH **HA HA HA** HO HO HO HO! TEE HEE! (*Bona* 1985/5: 155)

i. O, **ha**! **ha**! **ha**! (*Bona* 1986/10: 211)

3.2. *He*-type

Another class of L-INTJs is built around the segment *he*. In the analyzed corpus, *he* L-INTJs are less common than the *ha*-type, however, they are still well attested. They appear 29 times (≈ 18%) spread across 10 frames (≈ 38%).

As was the case of the *ha*-type, the semantic potential of *he* L-INTJs is broad. In general, *he* L-INTJs can be used in all functions that are available for the *ha*-type, thus covering imitative, emotive-sensorial, and phatic domains. Nevertheless, the relevance of each of these functions in the semantics of *he* L-INTJs – or rather the relevance of the particular sub-senses contained in each of those three major domains – is different from what typifies *ha* L-INTJs. First, *he* L-INTJs can be used to imitate a mere act of laughing irrespective of its reasons and intentions. In that function, a *he* L-INTJ is synonymous to the *ha* L-INTJ with which it often co-occurs (e.g. *Bona* 1983/5: 195, 1985/5: 155, 1987/2: 139, 1989/11: 211, 1992/8: 186). However, when mimicking laughter, *he* L-INTJs more often communicate its restraint, i.e. a laughter that is hidden, discreet, less loud, and softer. An exemplary case is found in *Bona* (1994/4: 163). In that comic frame, while uttering a sequence of *he* L-INTJs, the speaker covers his mouth with his hand to hide and restrain his laughter. Similarly, even though *he* L-INTJs are occasionally compatible with positive emotions, e.g. euphoria (3a), by far the most typical usage of these lexemes emerges in situations involving negative feelings (3b-c). The most common are mockery, derision, and sarcasm – in general, enjoyment caused by someone else's bad luck, misfortune, or trouble. Examples (3b-c) illustrate this. In (3b), a pupil sees another boy's final mark in mathematics. As the two are sworn enemies, he is delighted with the news that his classmate failed the subject and must repeat the year. To express his malicious joy, he employs an L-INTJ built around *he*. In other words, instead of merely imitating laughter, the sequence *hee hee hee* means 'I am happy of your misfortune'. Similarly, in (3c), a teenager hides some biscuits from his siblings. He rejoices knowing that the other children will not be able to find the sweet treats. This malicious satisfaction is encoded by a sequence of *he* segments. The close relationship which *he* L-INTJs have with negative emotions is fully patent in the analyzed corpus. In all their uses in the magazine *Bona*, *he* L-INTJs are invariably employed to mock an interlocutor and emerge as responses to another person's accident (e.g. falling) or ludicrous expression (e.g. trying in vain to threaten the speaker(s)). In the only case attested in the newspaper *I'solezwe*, the *he* L-INTJ is also employed sar-

castically at the end of a monologue. When using *he* L-INTJs to mock someone, speakers typically conceal their feelings from the other participants. This is related to the above-mentioned restrained type of laughter that *he* imitates. *He* L-INTJs are also employed in a sensorial function as a response to extra-linguistic stimuli, e.g. being tickled. As is common of the imitative and emotive functions, their usage within a sensorial domain regularly implies that a person tries to contain their bodily reflexes instead of laughing out loud. Lastly, *he* L-INTJs may perform a phatic function. Within the phatic domain, the negative idea of disagreement seems to be more pervasive than agreement. For instance, when being offered some money and asked *Uyayifuna* 'Do you want it?', the speaker uses a *he* L-INTJ to express his disapproval of the offer since in his view the quantity is far too low. This usage often carries additional nuances of mockery and derision that are typically associated with *he*. As was the case of *ha*, *he* tends to be used as a true L-INTJ, simultaneously combining its onomatopoeic and interjective profiles. Purely onomatopoeic uses of *he* are also fully grammatical. However, according to my informants, contrary to *ha*, a purely interjective usage of *he* is problematic.

(3) a. **Hee hee hee**, ndi-ya e-Thekwini!
L-INTJ SA.1st-go LOC-Durban
'*Hee hee*, I'm going to Durban!'

b. U-tshon-ile, u-za ku-phinda ibanga leshumi
SA.1-fail-PERF SA.1-come INF[16]-repeat 5.standard 5.ten
kwakhona, **hee hee!**
again L-INTJ
'He has failed, he will repeat standard ten again, *hee hee*!'

c. **He he he**, a-ba-zi ku-zi-fumana iibiskiti. Ndi-zi-fihl-e
L-INTJ NEG-SA.2-come INF-OA.10-find 10.biscuit SA.1st-OA.10-hide-PERF
phezu kwe-wodrop
on.top of-9.wardrobe
'*He he he*, they won't find the biscuits. I've hidden them on top of the wardrobe.'

The pragmatic properties of *he* L-INTJs virtually mirror those exhibited by the *ha*-type described in subsection 3.1. The uses of *he* L-INTJs that are imitative and bodily-conditioned (e.g. tickling) tend to be automatic and instinctive. In contrast, emotive and phatic uses are largely uttered deliberately, for specific purposes. Given the tendency to use *he* L-INTJs as expressions of sarcasm, mockery, and

[16] This is a "basic" (Oosthuysen 2016: 202) shorter form of the infinitive *uku-* (class 15) (see Du Plessis 1978: 131).

derision, such deliberate uses predominate. In a further similarity to the *ha*-type, *he* L-INTJs are non-referential and disallow discourses about other participants and third parties. They can be employed in both monologues and dialogues. In the latter case, they perform an important role in conversations (e.g. by marking a turn in dialogue and/or communicating agreement or disagreement)[17]. This dialogic component is compulsory when *he* L-INTJs are employed in phatic functions.

The phonetics of *he* L-INTJs is also similar to that of the *ha*-type. The basic unit of *he* L-INTJs is an open mono-syllable that consists of the consonant [h] in the onset and the vowel [e] in the nucleus. Given the double duty of [h] as a consonant and unvoiced vowel, the sequence [CV] may alternatively be represented as [V̥V]. However, while the nucleic vowel is typically short in the *ha*-type, it tends to be long in the *he*-type. This length is overtly indicated by doubling in written texts. Indeed, in the analyzed corpus, the grapheme *he*, which implies the short vowel [e], is only attested four times, all occurring in a single frame (*I'solezwe* 2018/1: 8). In contrast, the grapheme *ee* suggesting the pronunciation with a long vowel, i.e. *hee* [he:], is found 23 times spread across 9 frames. An exaggerated extra-long realization is also attested, i.e. *heee* [he::] (*Bona* 1994/4: 163). It should be noted that this trimoraic vocalic length, i.e. [e::] found in *heee*, is not a standard feature in the phonetics/phonology of Xhosa. Trimoraic vowels are only attested in ideophones (Andrason 2020) and interjections (Andrason & Dlali 2020). As was the case of the *ha*-type, *he* L-INTJs can be accompanied by particular phonation modes. Although louder speech volume and articulatory intensity are possible, whispering and more quiet realization are particularly common given the restrictive type of laughter typically associated with *he* L-INTJs. *He* L-INTJs are also often pronounced with a higher pitch.

As far as their morphology is concerned, *he* L-INTJs – like the *ha*-type – are lexically opaque. They fail to contain structural elements that would associate them with a particular word class. They are incompatible with inflectional and derivational morphemes. In a further similarity to *ha*, *he* L-INTJs are however segmentable into, or extendable by, more basic units – not necessarily morphological – i.e. *he* singletons. To begin with, a singleton *he* – in my corpus always surfacing as *hee* – occurs only twice and uniquely in a combination with *tee* (e.g. *tee hee*; see below in this section). This means that true solitary *he(e)* segments are unattested. In fact, as corroborated by my informants, such solitary *he* segments cannot function as laughter-based interjections at all. This may be

[17] Compare with a similar property of *he he* in English (Schenkein 1972).

related to the fact that Xhosa contains an interjective singleton of a *he* form, i.e. *he-e*, that is not laughter-based. It is used in emotive (praise and satisfaction, including in a negative sense, e.g. at someone's humiliation) and phatic functions (filler that sustains communication and agreement) (Tshabe 2006: 719, Andrason & Dlali 2020)[18]. While true singletons are ungrammatical, reduplication is the most common variant, being attested 5 times. The reduplicated *hee* may appear either on its own (i.e. *HEE HEE* in *Bona* 1983/5: 195, 1988/10: 203) or in a sequence preceded by *tee* (i.e. *TEE HEE HEE*; *Bona* 1987/2: 139, 1989/11: 211, 1992/8: 186). Triplications are also common, occurring 3 times in the corpus (*HEE HEE HEE* in *Bona* 1998/5: 155, 1986/1: 111, 1988/10: 203). Lastly, sequences of four *he* segments are attested twice – again, without (*he he he he he* in *I'solezwe* 2018/1: 8) or with the introductory *tee* (*TEE HEE HEE HEE HEEE* in Bona 1984/4: 163). Contrary to *ha* L-INTJs, *he* segments are invariably written as separated units. They are never combined by hyphens nor do they form unitary bound word-like structures. As a result, the repetition of a single *he* segment should be analyzed as a more syntactic (analytic) than morphological (synthetic) strategy – the *he* construction being overall less morphologized than chains built around the *ha* segment.

As far as syntax is concerned, the corpus only attests to holophrastic uses of *he* L-INTJs. Nevertheless, non-holophrastic uses, in which a *he* L-INTJ is located within the sentence boundaries, are also fully grammatical. In the cases of non-holophrasticity, a *he* L-INTJ never belongs to the core-clause grammar. It is not governed by the predicate, arguments and adjuncts, nor does it modify any structural elements of the clause. As was the case of *ha*, the exception is the use of *he* as part of a complex predicate built around the base *-thi*. *He* L-INTJs are incompatible with syntactic operations, e.g. negation, interrogation, and passivization. Therefore, their syntactic reading is not affected by being accompanied by negative, interrogative, and passive clauses. In all such instances, *he* L-INTJs maintain their own usual polarity value and illocutionary force, which may be distinct from those exhibited by the adjacent clause. The sentential position of *he* L-INTJs is always peripheral. They tend to appear in the left edge of the sentence, although a position in the right edge is also grammatical. In the corpus, in the only case where a *he* L-INTJ occurs in a larger fragment of text composed of other sentences rather than featuring in a mere sequence of interjections, it

[18] Xhosa contains another non-laughter-based interjective singleton that is spelled in a similar manner to the *he* L-INTJ, namely *he*. This lexeme is, however, pronounced with [ɦ] and is used in conative (attention getter) and phatic (agreement) functions.

signals the end of a monologue (*l'solezwe* 2018/1: 8). In instances where *he* L-INTJs are used as parts of sentences, they tend to be phonetically isolated from the other sentential components by means of a pause and contouring. This is regularly indicated by a comma. Such separation is nevertheless absent between *he* segments and the preceding element *tee* (see below). It is, in contrast, common if a *he* L-INTJ is preceded or followed by other L-INTJs (e.g. *ha*- and *ho*-types). *He* L-INTJs do not enter into constructions with other lexical classes, especially nouns and verbs – except for quotative constructions with *-thi*. Like *ha* L-INTJs, they also co-occur with other L-INTJs (see examples 2f-h discussed in subsection 3.1) and interjections that are not laughter-based, e.g. *yo* and *oh* (see 2g-h).

What radically differentiates the *he* L-INTJs' syntax from that of the *ha*-type and most other types that will be discussed below (except *hi* L-INTJs), is their close connection to the element *te* (see the discussion above). The element *te* never occurs alone (even if replicated), i.e. without an accompanying *he* segment. Therefore, it cannot be analyzed as an independent L-INTJ on a par with all the other L-INTJs, such as *he*, but rather as *he*'s satellite. The element *te* is always written in the analyzed corpus with a doubling of the vowel, which implies a long vocalic nucleus and the realization of the entire *te* segment as [t'e:]. Given the bimoraic pronunciation of *he* and the use of the same vowel in the nucleus, the sequence creates a rhyme and can be understood as a harmonious pattern – a type of partial reduplication. Such *tee hee* sequences are highly common. More than 40% of *he* L-INTJs appear in company of a *te* element, from which they are never separated phonetically by a pause or contouring. This gives rise to a well-entrenched constructional template *te he* with the element *he* being further replicable, e.g. *TEE HEE* (Bona 1987/2: 139) and *TEE HEE HEE HEE HEEE* (Bona 1984/4: 163). I view this template as one of the patterns available to *he* L-INTJs and therefore analyze it as a sub-variant of the *he* L-INTJ itself, fully equivalent to the *he* L-INTJ from a semantic and pragmatic perspective. That is: the semantic potential and pragmatic properties of *te he* are identical to those exhibited by the *he* L-INTJ and the various patterns in which the *he* L-INTJ occurs, whether singletons or replications. To be exact, *te he* primarily conveys negative emotions and a constrained type of laughter. The example *TEE HEE HEE* (Bona 1987/2: 139) is used in the situation where young men mock a boy who says he is going to a party with some celebrities. In example *TEE HEE HEE HEE HEEE* (Bona 1984/4: 163), the speaker conceals his amusement, laughing at a friend whose advice turned out to be detrimental to himself. This hidden manner with which the *te he* pattern is produced is overtly indicated in the comic by the speaker covering his face with his hand.

3.3. *Ho*-type

The third type of L-INTJs is built around the segment *ho*. In the analyzed corpus, this segment is found 29 times (≈18%), being spread across 8 different frames (≈31%). Thus, the prevalence of *ho* L-INTJs is nearly identical to that of the *he* L-INTJs discussed in the previous section.

Similar to the *ha*- and *he*-types, the semantic potential of *ho* L-INTJs is wide-ranging. First, *ho* L-INTJs can imitate events of laughter. Although in many contexts, *ho* L-INTJs are interchangeable with *ha* L-INTJs, they tend to indicate laughter that is loud, unconstrained, and authoritative, as well as characterized by a lower pitch as is typical of bigger, fatter, and/or older persons. These characteristics clearly distinguish *ho* L-INTJs from the *he*-type. *Ho* L-INTJs may also express emotions, whether positive or negative. Exemplary positive emotions conveyed by *ho* L-INTJs are joy, happiness, and amusement such as that when winning a competition (see example 4a). Typical negative emotions are sarcasm, mockery, and derision – in general, mischievous enjoyments of someone's misfortune or ignorance similar to that in (4b). Overall, the use of *ho* L-INTJs to laugh at someone else's expense is more common than other emotive uses. *Ho* L-INTJs may also be employed as responses to bodily stimuli such as being tickled, especially if the person involved is big, fat, and/or old, thus possibly producing a type of laughter characterized by a lower pitch as is typical of this interjection. A phatic usage of *ho* L-INTJs as expressions of agreement and disagreement is also possible (4c) although significantly less common. Similar to *ha* and *he*, simultaneous combination of imitative and interjective functions is typical. Purely onomatopoeic uses are grammatical, while those that would lack any onomatopoeic foundation seem highly problematic.

(4) a. **Ho ho ho** ndi-ba-fumen-e! Ndi-phumelel-e!
L-INTJ SA.1st-OA.2-get-PERF SA.1st-win-PERF
'*Ho ho ho*, I got them! I won!'

b. **Ho ho ho ho**, u-muncu lowo u-sisonka samanzi
L-INTJ SA.1-sour DEM.1 SA.1-COP.7.bread 7.POS.6.water
'*Ho ho ho*, he is as dumb as steam bread (= he is very stupid).'

c. Sa-hlala ilanga lonke silindile, **ho-ho**! (Tshabe 2006: 791)
SA.1stPL.PAST-sit 5.day 5.all waiting L-INTJ
'We waited for him the whole day, but *ho-ho* (i.e. in vain).' (Tshabe 2006: 791)

d. A: Ndi-cela uku-ya phandle
SA.1st-ask INF-go out(side)
'Please, can I go out?'

B: **Ho ho ho**!
L-INTJ
'*Ho ho ho*'

The pragmatic properties of *ho* L-INTJs are fully analogous to those typifying *ha* and *he* L-INTJs. Imitative and sensorial uses of *ho* L-INTJs are automatic and spontaneous. In contrast, emotive uses, especially those expressing sarcasm, mockery, and derision, as well as phatic uses, are usually deliberate and controlled. *Ho* L-INTJs are non-referential and cannot be used to talk about the third parties. They are employed both in monologues and dialogues – with the latter usage clearly prevailing in the analyzed corpus. When used in dialogues, they serve communicative functions, constituting important components in a conversation.

The phonetics of *ho* L-INTJs is also comparable to that of the *ha*- and *he*-types. The fundamental element of *ho* L-INTJs, i.e. the segment *ho*, exhibits an open mono-syllabic structure. The consonant [h] appears in the onset and the vowel [o] in the nucleus. As was the case of *ha* and *he*, this [CV] structure may alternatively be represented as [V̥V], specifically [o̥o]. The vowel *o* is typically short, i.e. mono-moraic, except for singletons where a long *o* – bimoraic [o:] or trimoraic [o::] – prevails. Note that the only singleton that is attested in *Bona* (1987/2: 139) is written *hooo* apparently attesting to an extra-long pronunciation [ho::]. As mentioned in subsection 3.2, a trimoraic vocalic length is not a standard feature in the phonetics/phonology of Xhosa. As the other L-INTJs, the *ho*-type can be accompanied by distinctive phonation modes. In agreement with the particular type of laughter they represent, *ho* L-INTJs are usually pronounced with a louder speech volume, greater articulatory intensity, and a lower pitch. According to native speakers, *ho* L-INTJs constitute the loudest and the lowest (as far as their pitch is concerned) types of L-INTJs.

With regard to morphology, the lexical form of *ho* L-INTJs is equally opaque as was the case with *ha* and *he* L-INTJs. In further similarity to those two types, *ho* L-INTJs fail to exhibit inflectional and derivational morphemes. Like *ha*- and *he*-types, *ho* L-INTJs can be segmented into more basic units, i.e. *ho* singletons, or extended by such units. Contrary to *ha* and *he* L-INTJs and despite being fully grammatical, reduplication is unattested in the corpus. Only cases of triplication (e.g. *HO HO HO*; Bona 1986/1: 111) and quadruplication (e.g. *HO HO HO HO*; Bona 1987/2: 139) are found – both with an equal frequency, i.e. 4 times each[19]. There is also one

[19] Examples of triplication are: Bona 1985/5: 155, 1986/1: 111, 1988/10: 203, 2004/2: 111. Examples of quadruplication are: Bona 1985/5: 155, 1987/2: 139, 1989/11: 211, 1992/8: 186.

case of a singleton, which, as explained above, contains an extra-long vowel (*HOOO*; Bona 1987/2: 139). The presence and grammaticality of such singletons may be enabled by the following fact: although Xhosa contains the interjection *ho* that is typically attested as a singleton, this lexeme is pronounced with [ɦ] and, crucially, it is only employed in a conative sense to stop oxen. Accordingly, there would rarely be (if ever) any ambiguity with the *ho* L-INTJ, which is pronounced with [h] and exhibits radically different semantical potential. Contrary to the *ha*-type but similarly to the *he*-type, the sequences composed of *ho* segments are always written as separated units. In one instance in the corpus, *ho* segments are separated by punctuation signs, specifically, exclamation marks (*HO! HO! HO!*; Bona 1985/5: 155). Twice, an exclamation mark is placed after the sequence of three *ho* elements, which suggests their joint exclamatory treatment (*HO HO HO!*; Bona 1986/1: 111, 2004/2: 111). Overall, following the analysis of *ha* and *he* L-INTJs, repetitions of the *ho* segment may be analyzed as the semi-advanced morphologization and synthetization of an analytic syntactic pattern – a stage towards development into a fully unitary bound construction, thus, a word.

The syntactic properties of *ho* L-INTJs also largely coincide with those of the *ha*- and *he*-types. The analyzed corpus only attests to holophrastic uses of *ho* L-INTJs. Nevertheless, non-holophrastic uses are grammatical too. In such cases, *ho* L-INTJs are not integrated in the grammar of a core clause and do not constitute its structural elements. They are never governed by nor do they modify the predicate, arguments, and adjuncts – except the quotative use after the verb *-thi* 'say'. *Ho* L-INTJs do not participate in syntactic operations, whether it is negation, interrogation, or passivization. Their position in the sentence is peripheral, typically initial[20]. In their non-holophrastic uses, *ho* L-INTJs tend to be phonetically isolated from the remaining parts of the sentence, being separated by a pause and contouring. The exceptions are the other *ho* segments. *Ho* L-INTJs do not form constructions with lexical classes other than the verb *-thi*. They do, however, combine with other L-INTJs as well as interjections that are not laughter-based, e.g. *yo* and *oh* (see 2f-g in subsection 3.1).

3.4. *Hi*-type

L-INTJs built around the segment *hi* are unattested in the corpus. However, they may occasionally be heard in colloquial Xhosa and, according to my informants,

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[20] In the corpus, examples that could show the position of *ho* in turns of dialogues are unattested.

constitute the fourth productive type of L-INTJs that draw on a [hV] pattern.

The non-formal properties of *hi* L-INTJs are nearly identical to those that characterize the *he*-type. Semantically, *hi* L-INTJs can both perform an imitative function and express a set of emotive, sensorial, and phatic senses. As the *he*-type, *hi* L-INTJs tend to mimic a constrained and higher-pitch laughter, often being associated with younger age, feminine gender, and slimmer body. According to my informants, out of all L-INTJs, *hi* imitates laughter that is the highest in pitch. In further similarity to the *he*-type, *hi* L-INTJs are more commonly used to express negative emotion, e.g. sarcasm, irony, derision, mockery (5a-b), rather than positive feelings. In (5a), despite being warned by his mother, the son sat close to an anthill. As a result, the child was bitten by the insect. The mother sarcastically comments on this, considering the whole event to be a good lesson for the boy. The phatic senses conveyed by *hi* may be positive (agreement) and negative (disagreement). Example (5b) illustrates the usage of a sequence of *hi* to communicate agreement. As was the case of *he*, the onomatopoeic and interjective functions are combined in most uses. In contrast, purely interjective uses, in which any imitative nuances would be absent, seem ungrammatical. The pragmatic properties of *hi* L-INTJs – in particular automaticity and deliberateness, monologicity and dialogicity, as well as non-referentiality – are also fully analogous to those typifying *he* (see subsection 3.2 above).

(5) a. **Hi hi hi**, zi-ba-fundis-e isifundo iimbovane
L-INTJ SA.10-OA.2-teach-PERF 7.lesson 10.ant
'*Hi hi hi*, the ants have taught them a lesson!'

b. A: Mfundisi ndi-nga-ku-pha esinye isilayisi sekeyiki?
1.reverend SA.1st-POT-OA.2nd-give 7.one 7.slice 7.POS.9.cake
'Reverend, can I give you a slice of cake?'

B: **Hi hi hi** ndi-nga-si-thanda.
L-INTJ SA.1st-POT-OA.7-love
'*Hi hi hi*, I would love it.'

Formally, *hi* L-INTJs are equivalent to the other [hV] L-INTJs. The phonetic properties of *hi* L-INTJs generally coincide with those typing *he*. That is, the segment *hi* constitutes a single open syllable ([CV] or [V̥V]) and is usually accompanied by special phonation modes, e.g. a high pitch – often higher than that of *he* – and restrained, or even whispered articulation. However, contrary to *he*, the vowel [i] of *hi* L-INTJs is usually short. Morphologically, *hi* L-INTJs behave like the other [hV] types, being opaque and incompatible with inflections and derivations.

Usually, *hi* L-INTJs combine in sequences of three segments: *hi hi hi*, although other combinations, e.g. reduplication and quadruplications, are also grammatical. The use of singletons is considered highly problematic by native speakers, unless it is complemented by other L-INTJs. This incompatibility with true singletons may be related to the fact that Xhosa contains a non-laughter-based interjective singleton *hi* [hi]. This lexeme communicates emotive nuances of exultation and admiration and is also used as a conative attention getter and a phatic answer to calls (Tshabe 2006: 724, Oosthuysen 2016: 358, Andrason & Dlali 2020). Syntactic properties are also comparable to those exhibited by the [hV] types, in particular the *he* L-INTJ. Crucially, like *he*, *hi* may co-occur with a harmonious *tV* element, in this case, *ti*, thus yielding the sequence *ti hi*. As is true of *te he*, the element *ti* cannot appear on its own but must be accompanied by *hi*. The vowel in the *ti hi* pattern is either short or long – the length always being identical in both segments. Contrary to *te he*, a mono-moraic nucleus is more common than a bimoraic one. Semantically and pragmatically, such *ti hi* patterns are fully analogous to the *hi* L-INTJ. Therefore, instead of treating them as alternative L-INTJs, I view them as a constructional variant of the *hi* L-INTJ – a type of a partial (or imprecise) reduplication.

3.5. *Yha*-type

Apart from the four types of L-INTJs that draw on the pattern [hV], there is another form compatible with the act of laughing in Xhosa. This type is built around the segment *yha*. In contrast to the other L-INTJs discussed above, such laughter-related uses of *yha* are secondary, both synchronically and diachronically.

From a synchronic perspective, within all 28 instances of *yha* in the corpus of comics that have been published in the magazine *Bona*, only one (*Bona* 1991/5: 171) is related to laughter. This equals less than 4% of all the uses of *yha*. Indeed, *yha* is used – both in the *Bona* corpus and in Xhosa in general – in a wide range of emotive, cognitive, and phatic senses that need not imply laughter and are not necessarily concurrent with events of laughter. Whether single or replicated, *yha* usually expresses non-laughter-related emotional and cognitive states of the speaker, especially surprise, shock, disbelief, and doubt (Pahl 1989: 630, Andrason & Dlali 2020). *Yha* may also be used in a phatic function, communicating agreement[21]. Furthermore, the one laughter-related case of *yha* in my corpus

[21] This phatic usage seems to draw directly on *ja* 'yes' in Afrikaans – the diachronic source of the Xhosa lexeme (see further below in this section). When used as an agreement marker 'yes', *yha* lacks any nuance of laughter.

constitutes 0,6% of all the L-INTJs attested. These two facts suggest the peripherality of a laughter domain in the semantic potential of *yha* and the equal peripherality of *yha* in the class of L-INTJs. From a diachronic perspective, the element *yha* is probably a loanword borrowed in Xhosa from Afrikaans, where it is found under the form *ja*. In Afrikaans, *ja* 'yes' is an interjection expressing emotive, cognitive, and especially phatic nuances, failing to have any evident relationship with laughter. Therefore, the laughter-related usage of *yha* is a likely extension of its original non-laughter senses, inherited from the Afrikaans donor lexeme, to new domains. In other words, instead of deriving from a laughter--based construction, *yha* is a general interjection whose semantic potential has been expanded to events of laughter. Such laughter-related uses of *yha* will be described in this section.

When employed in contexts involving laughter, the semantic potential of *yha* L-INTJs is similar to that of the *ha*-type. It consists of two main domains: imitative (a general act of laughing) and emotive. In a mimicking function, a *yha* L-INTJ is compatible with any type of laughter – as is the case of the *ha*-type (see subsection 3.1). In an emotive function, *yha* L-INTJs may convey both positive (6a) and negative (6b) feelings. In (6a) the speaker is relieved and glad to learn that his interlocutor, a young man, did not break the glass. In (6b), the speaker mocks a girl because she has stumbled and fallen. The ability to express positive emotions distinguishes *yha* L-INTJs from the general interjection *yha* and may have arisen as a result of the association of *yha* with the idea of laughter. The pragmatic properties of *yha* L-INTJs are also identical to those typifying *ha*. *Yha* L-INTJs can be semi-automatic/instinctive and deliberate/controlled, as well as monologic and dialogic. Like all the other L-INTJs, they are invariably non-referential.

(6) a. **Yha**! **Yha**! U-nyanis-ile (Bona 1991/5: 171)
L-INTJ SA.2nd-be.right-PERF
'*Yha*! *Yha*! You are right.'

b. **Yha yha yha**, u-wi-le
L-INTJ SA.1-fall-PERF
'*Yha yha yha*, she fell!'

The formal properties of *yha* INTJs are similar to the features exhibited by the *ha*-, *he*-, *ho*-, and *hi*-types. Phonetically, the segment *yha* is simple. It builds around an open monosyllable with a [CV] structure. It contains a voiced aspirated onset [jʱ] and a monomoraic nucleus [a]. Since the onset may be analyzed as an approximant or a semi-vowel accompanied by a breathy voiced glottal tran-

sition [ɦ] (itself, a type of approximant), the entire structure of *yha* may be alternatively represented as [V̰V]. This renders the vocalic nature of the *yha* L-INTJ clear. When related to laughter, *yha* tends to be accompanied by particular phonation modes and melody, more or less imitating the action of laughing. Morphologically, the *yha* L-INTJ tends to be used in replicated sequences. The only case attested in the corpus involves reduplication, although more complex sequences composed of three, four, or more *yha* segments are also grammatical (see example 6b). In contrast, singletons are generally incompatible with a laughter--related function, being rather associated with the other uses of *yha* (see above). The remaining morphological properties of the *yha* L-INTJ are analogous to those exhibited by the other L-INTJs. That is, the *yha* L-INTJ is lexically opaque and incompatible with inflectional and derivational morphemes. With regard to syntax, *yha* also coincides with the other L-INTJs. Although holophrasticity is prevalent, non-holophrastic uses are grammatical. In such non-holophrastic examples, *yha* L-INTJs are never integrated in the core-clause grammar with the exception of quotative uses with the verb *-thi* 'say'; they are unaffected by negation, interrogation, or passivization operating in a sentence (and thus these three processes have no bearing on the syntactic interpretation of a *yha* L-INTJ and its illocution); they occupy peripheral – typically initial – positions, being separated from the other components of the sentence by a pause, intonation, and/or contouring. Lastly, *yha* L-INTJs fail to enter into constructions with other grammatical elements with the exception of other interjections, whether related or unrelated to laughter, and the above-mentioned verb *-thi*.

4. Discussion

The evidence presented in section 3 yields the following formal and non-formal generalizations regarding the class of L-INTJs in Xhosa:

(a) Semantically, all L-INTJs are compatible with three major domains: imitative, emotive (feelings and sensations), and phatic. The imitative domain is typical of onomatopoeic uses, while the other two domains are properly interjective. Although the ranges of the semantic potential of all L-INTJs are virtually identical, each specializes in a different field within a particular domain. The *ha* and *yha* are the most general in referring to all types of imitative, emotive, and phatic domains available to L-INTJs in Xhosa, in a relatively equal manner (however, for *yha*, a phatic usage is the property of the *yha* interjection rather than its laughter--based extension); *he* mainly refers to a constrained high-pitch laughter, negative emotions, and disagreement; *ho* mainly refers to a free and loud laughter,

and tends to express negative, especially authoritative feelings; and *hi* exhibits a semantic profile analogous to *he*, albeit implying a laughter that is even higher in pitch. Onomatopoeic and interjective functions are not mutually exclusive but typically coincide in any given usage. With the exception of *yha*, non-onomatopoeic interjective uses are scarce. In [hV] L-INTJs, they are attested only with *ha* and, even then, are extremely rare.

(b) Pragmatically, the five L-INTJs can be (semi-)automatic (when used in an imitative and a sensorial function) and deliberate (when communicating complex feelings, especially negative ones)[22]. They can also appear in both monologues and dialogues. All of them, however, are invariably non-referential. L-INTJs may also play a communicative role in conversation[23].

(c) Phonetically, all L-INTJs are built around segments that constitute open monosyllables. These segments are composed of a single consonant in the onset and a monophthong in the nucleus, thus exhibiting a [CV] structure. The possible consonants are the approximants [h] and [j$^{\text{ñ}}$], while the attested vowels are [a/ɑ], [e], [o], and [i]. Given that [h] can be analyzed as a voiceless vocalic element, while [j$^{\text{ñ}}$] is a semi-vowel, the structure of the L-INTJ-ective segments can be interpreted as [V̥V] and [V̬V], respectively. This demonstrates the vocalic nature of L-INTJs. Nucleic vowels are usually short, although longer vowels (long and extra-long) are also attested. For *he*, long vowels prevail. The satellite elements are also open monosyllables. They contain the simplex [t'] in the onset and the vowels [e] and [i] in the nucleus. Both short and long vocalic nuclei are attested. L-INTJs generally lack aberrant sounds and aberrant sound combinations. The exception is the vowel [ɑ] in *ha* and trimoraic extra-long vowels [e::] and [o::] in *he* and *ho*. All L-INTJs tend to be accompanied by special phonation modes: increased volume or whispering, and lower or higher pitch.

(d) Morphologically, all L-INTJs are opaque and lack inflectional and derivational elements. They typically constitute sequences of more elementary segments. However, such segments cannot be analyzed as fully-fledged morphemes: no radical change in meaning can be observed between (if grammatical) singletons

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[22] This corroborates the results of Borchmann's (2019) study. Borchmann observes that, in Danish, (emotive) interjections may not only be spontaneous and non-intentional but also non-spontaneous and intentional.

[23] Consult Borchmann (2019) who notes that interjections may be both communicative and non-communicative (see also Norrick 2014).

and sequences composed of two, three, or more segments[24]. Overall, the replication of L-INTJ-ective segments is a mixed syntactic/analytic and morphological/synthetic phenomenon – the morphologization being the most advanced in the case of *ha*. Although singletons are attested, their presence is only usual in larger sequences containing other L-INTJs. Only *he* and *ho* can be used as true singletons. In such cases, the nucleic vowel is long or extra-long, i.e. [he:/::] and [ho:/::]. The presence (or absence) of such true singletons is correlated with the absence (or presence) of non-laughter-based interjective singletons that exhibit a similar (or identical) form. Overall, triplication constitutes the most common pattern used by L-INTJs. Only in the case of *he* (and the *tV hV* pattern) is it matched by reduplication.

(e) Syntactically, L-INTJs may have a status of utterances (holophrasticity) as well as parts of utterances (non-holophrasticity). In non-holophrastic uses, L-INTJs are never integrated into the grammar of a core clause as that clause's structural elements. The exception is their clausal use as part of a complex predicate with the quotative verb *-thi* (also characteristic of ideophones). The position of L-INTJs in a sentence is typically peripheral. The initial position is the most common; the final position is less common; the medial position is rare. L-INTJs tend to be separated from the other parts of the sentence by a pause and contouring. They do not enter into constructions with other grammatical elements, especially other lexical classes. Regular exceptions are other interjections – whether laughter--based or unrelated to laughter – and the above-mentioned verb *-thi*. Additionally, the L-INTJs *he* and *hi* combine with the satellite elements *te* and *ti*, respectively. All this information, related to the semantics, pragmatics, phonetics, morphology, and syntax of L-INTJs in Xhosa is summarized in Table 1 below:[25]

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[24] The relationship between the length of a sequence and the intensity of the laughter this sequence communicates is neither straightforward nor universal. It does not imply any suprasegmental property, nor does it correlate longer variants with "more laughter" or shorter variants with "less laughter". Critically, the multiplication of a segment does alter the structure of the semantic potential of the L-INTJs, e.g. by adding and/or subtracting non-imitative senses.

[25] The grey color in the table indicates that a particular property is more relevant for a L-INTJ than the other, similar or contrary, properties. The use of *yha* in phatic functions is not the property of its L-INTJ-ective extension but the yha interjection itself.

TABLE 1. The profiles of L-INTJs in Xhosa

			ha	*he*	*ho*	*hi*	*yha*
semantics	imitative	high	+	+	+	+	+
		low	+	+	+	+	+
		loud	+	+	+	+	+
		constrained	+	+	+	+	+
	emotive	positive	+	+	+	+	+
		negative	+	+	+	+	+
	phatic	agreement	+	+	(+)	+	-
		disagreement	+	+	(+)	+	-
pragmatics	control	automatic	+	+	+	+	+
		non-automatic	+	+	+	+	+
	referent	referential	-	-	-	-	-
		non-referential	+	+	+	+	+
	text-type	monologic	+	+	+	+	+
		dialogic	+	+	+	+	+
phonetics	mono-syllabicity		+ [CV]	+ [CV]	+ [CV]	+ [CV]	+ [CV]
	vocalic nature		+ [V̥V]	+ [V̥V]	+ [V̥V]	+ [V̥V]	+ [V̥V]
	vowel	short	+	+	+	+	+
		long	+	+	+	+	+
	aberrant sounds		-/+ [ɑ]	-/+ [e::]	-/+ [o::]	-	-
	special phonation		+	+	+	+	+
morphology	lexical opacity		+	+	+	+	+
	lack of inflections/derivations		+	+	+	+	+
	combinations	singleton	-	-/+ [he:/::]	-/+ [ho:/::]	-	-
		reduplication	+	+	+	+	+
		triplication	+	+	+	+	+
		higher	+	+	+	+	+
syntax	utterance-status	holophrastic	+	+	+	+	+
		non-holophrastic	+	+	+	+	+
	non-integration in clause grammar		+	+	+	+	+
	position in sentence	initial	+	+	+	+	+
		final	+	+	+	+	+
		medial	+	+	+	+	+
	phonological separation		+	+	+	+	+
	constructions	non-INTJ	-	-	-	-	-
		(L-)INTJ	+	+	+	+	+
		satellites	-	+	-	+	-

Among all patterns associated with L-INTJs, the most productive one is built around the segment *hV*. Four of the five vowels available in the Xhosa sound system exploit this pattern, i.e. [a] (with an additional extra-systematic realization as [ɑ]), [e], [i], and [o][26]. The vowel is preferably short and the typical morpho-syntactic configuration is a harmonious triplication of a segment and less so its reduplication, i.e. $hV_1\ hV_1\ (hV_1)$ (analytic) or $hV_1hV_1(hV_1)$ (synthetic). The other productive and equally harmonious pattern – although more constrained – draws on two segments: *tV* and *hV*. It is only instantiated by two vowels: [e] and [i], which can be short or long. The preferred morpho-syntactic configuration is $tV_1\ hV_1$ (analytic) which can be interpreted as a partial (or quasi) reduplication.

The above demonstrates that L-INTJs largely comply with the properties associated with the prototype of an interjection (see section 2), both with regard to its meaning (semantics and pragmatics) and form (phonetics, morphology, and syntax). If compared with other interjections in Xhosa, in most aspects, the non-formal and formal profile exhibited by L-INTJs coincides with the profiles characterizing the canonical members of the interjective category (see Andrason & Dlali 2020: 208-210). Therefore, L-INTJs may be located in the central position in the categorial network of Xhosa interjections.

Although L-INTJs can be understood as canonical and central members in the interjective category, a few differences between L-INTJs and the other interjections should also be noted. The principal semantic dissimilarity concerns the apparent incompatibility of L-INTJs with a cognitive (except for *yha*) and especially conative domain, as well as (tautologically) their close relation to an imitative laughter-related function. Phonetically, L-INTJs distinguish themselves by regularly exploiting sound symbolism, patent in imitative and sensorial uses. This contrasts with most interjections in Xhosa, which are not onomatopoeic (Andrason & Dlali 2020: 194). The vocalic nature of L-INTJs is also more evident than in other interjections. Furthermore, L-INTJs have a more direct relationship with *h*-type onsets. Although this relationship is visible with the majority of all types of mono-syllabic interjections (Andrason & Dlali 2020: 192), there are no exceptions for L-INTJs as all of them contain a guttural element: [h] or [ɦ]. Morphologically, repetitive patterns are by far more pervasive in L-INTJs than in other interjections (Andrason & Dlali 2020: 196-197). The presence of two bound

[26] In contrast, the use of the remaining vocalic phoneme, i.e. *u*, is ungrammatical. L-INTJs built around this segment are unattested in the corpus and have not emerged in the fieldwork with native speakers. Note that Xhosa contains the interjection *hu-u*, which is not laughter-based and expresses surprise and astonishment (Tshabe 2006: 797).

morphemes that are often found with interjections (i.e. the pluralizer *-ni* and the diminutive *-ana*; Andrason & Dlali 2020: 195-196) is disallowed with L-INTJs. Syntactically, L-INTJs cannot be combined with clitics that otherwise accompany interjections, i.e. *ke*, *nje*, and *bo* (Andrason & Dlali 2020: 204-205). They also resist combinations with pronouns and vocatives – two common elements forming constructions with interjections in Xhosa (Andrason & Dlali 2020: 205).

As far as the diachrony of L-INTJs is concerned, their current L-INTJ-ective usage can, in most cases, be explained as the interjectionalization of initial onomatopoeic forms that imitate laughter. Because laughter is a complex phenomenon often exploited to channel sensations (e.g. experienced when being tickled), communicate emotions – whether positive (e.g. happiness and excitement) or negative (e.g. malice and displeasure) – or even control information flow in conversations (O'Connell & Kowal 2008), its linguistic imitations (i.e. laughter onomatopoeias) may be used in emotive and sensorial functions to express the mental state of the speaker (both prototypical uses of interjections), as well as in a phatic function expressing the speaker's attitude towards discourse (which, albeit less prototypical, also characterizes interjections; see section 2). As such interjective uses, that tend to accompany episodes of laughter, become stabilized and entrenched, an onomatopoeic input develops into an L-INTJ, i.e. an element that simultaneously expresses the mental state of the speaker or their attitude towards the conversation and imitates laughter – in other words, a laughter-based onomatopoeia that performs an interjective function. As the interjectionalization continues, the relationship with laughter and the imitative function of the input forms may be entirely lost – original onomatopoeias being employed as non-onomatopoeic interjections (see Fig. 1a). I propose that, in Xhosa, the L-INTJs built around the segments *ha*, *he*, *ho*, and *hi* derive from such original onomatopoeias. Although their use as canonical onomatopoeias with no interjective nuances is attested, it is the blended onomatopoeic-interjective usage that prevails. That is, their interjective uses are stabilized, entrenched, and easily recognizable by speakers – still preserving an imitative link with the event of laughter. According to my informants, purely interjective uses in which any connation of laughter would be lost are only possible with *ha* – however, even there, they are extremely rare. Consequently, if treated jointly, the forms built around the segments *ha*, *he*, *ho*, and *hi* reveal and attest to the three stages available along the cline of interjectionalization: onomatopoeias, L-INTJs, and non-laughter-related interjections. For *ha*, *he*, *ho*, and *hi*, L-INTJ-ective uses are the most prototypical – therefore these lexemes are simultaneously associated with both laughter and emotions by native speakers (see Fig. 1b).

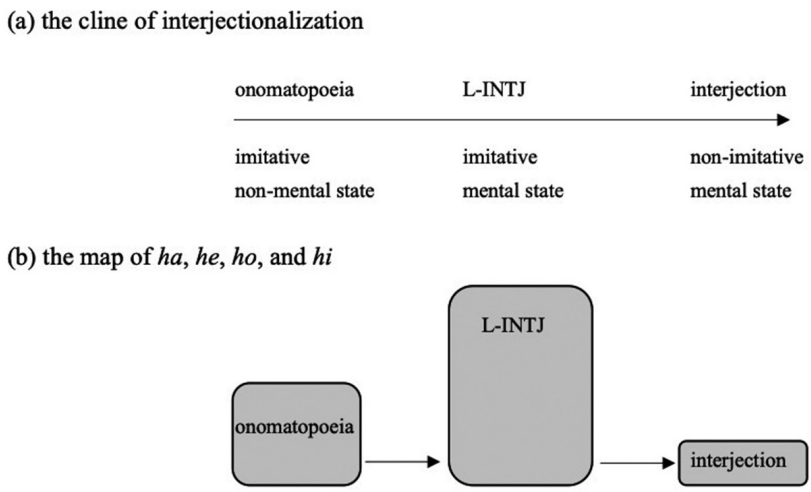


Fig. 1. Interjectionalization and the map of the lexemes *ha*, *he*, *ho*, *hi*[27]

The case of *yha* is different. The laughter related usage of this interjection is not a product of interjectionalization, but rather constitutes a further extension of its original emotive and phatic domains (interjection) to laughter-related contexts where, due to its morphological and phonetic compatibility with episodes of laughter (see the repetitive structure built around an open monosyllable with an evident vocalic nature and a guttural coarticulation), it has acquired a certain imitative character. This suggests that L-INTJs may develop from non-laughter related canonical interjections by being gradually associated with events of laughter. Arguably, if such onomatopoeization continues, the process may lead to purely imitative uses with no interjective functions associated – an L-INTJ turning into an onomatopoeia (see Fig. 2a). The different uses of *yha* attest to two stages of the cline of onomatopoeization: interjections unrelated to laughter and L-INTJs (described in detail in subsection 3.5). The non-laughter-related interjective function is far more relevant in the semantics of *yha* than its use as an L-INTJ. Therefore, this form is not associated with an L-INTJ-ective domain by native speakers. Genuine onomatopoeic uses of *yha* are unattested.

[27] The vertical extent of the semantic domain in the map indicates the (approximate) relevance of that semantic component in the overall meaning of a lexeme. The purely interjective usage is only instantiated by *ha*.

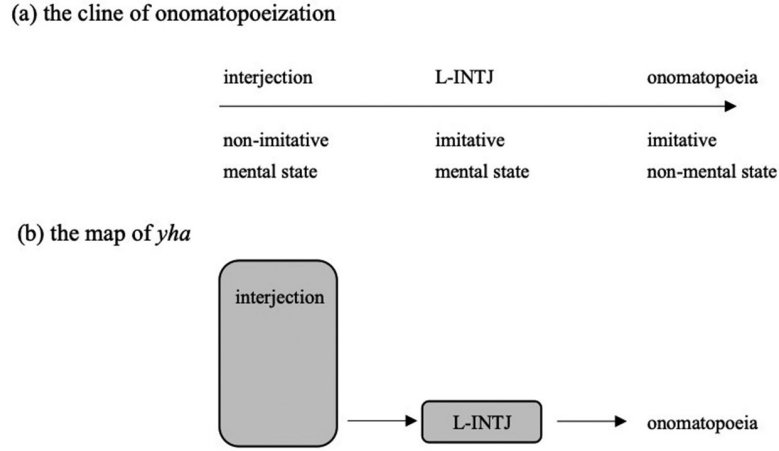


Fig. 2. Onomatopoeization and the map of the lexeme *yha*

Overall, I propose a radial, both gradient and dynamic, model of L-INTJs, which is fully compatible with the non-essentialist prototype-driven approach to interjections adopted in this paper. The category of L-INTJs is organized around a prototype – an element that simultaneously performs two functions: interjective (i.e. expression of mental states) and mimicking (i.e. imitation of laughter). It thus blends – ideally, in equal proportions – a property of being an interjection and onomatopoeia. The lexemes or uses of a lexeme that match this prototype can be regarded as canonical instantiations of an L-INTJ. The intensification of the imitative function and onomatopoeic properties, and the concurrent weakening of emotive, cognitive, and phatic functions and interjective properties; or inversely, the intensification of emotive, cognitive, and phatic functions and interjective properties, in addition to the concurrent weakening of an imitative function and onomatopoeic properties, generate a cloud of increasingly less canonical instantiations. If either of the two functions and sets of properties inherent to the L-INTJ-ective prototype is absent, the form or usage instantiates a different category, namely, that of onomatopoeias or non-laughter-related interjections – the categories whose prototypes establish the boundaries of the category of L-INTJs itself. This radial network is thus structured along two continua: from onomatopoeias to interjections via L-INTJs and from interjections to onomatopoeias via L-INTJs. Both continua are diachronic in nature but can be used to encompass and represent the synchronic semantic potential of a lexeme in terms

of a semantic map. In general, forms, that, in one of their uses, function as canonical L-INTJs, attest to a gamut of less canonical uses where either an onomatopoeic or interjective facet gains in relevance. Some – like *ha* – may even span the entire length of one of the clines.

My research corroborates many hypotheses formulated by Levisen (2019). Crucially, both Levisen's (2019: 111) definition of L-INTJs and the main diachronic path that generates them, i.e. interjectionalization (pp. 111-112), are fully validated in the present study. Similarly, I concur with Levisen (2019: 111-113) that L-INTJs must be treated as distinct from onomatopoeias imitating laughter. However, I argue that both the proposed definition of L-INTJs and the distinction from laughter-onomatopoeias, primarily concerns the prototype of L-INTJs – rather than the entire L-INTJ-ective category. The category is a radial network with a cloud of more canonical (closer to the prototype of an L-INTJ) and less canonical members (more remote from the L-INTJ-ective prototype and thus closer to the prototypes of other types and categories, in particular onomatopoeias and non-laughter-based interjections). Given this continuum (gradient and dynamic) model, the borderline separating L-INTJs from onomatopoeias and non-laughter-based interjections is fuzzy. Significantly, lexemes attested in specific languages that are used as L-INTJs (may) exhibit both more canonical and less canonical L-INTJ-ective uses. Furthermore, even though L-INTJs certainly should be distinguished as a particular sub-type within the interjective category, they may not be regarded as its sub-type on a par with the emotive, cognitive, conative, and phatic types (cf. Levisen 2019: 125)[28]. Instead, L-INTJs constitute an onomatopoeic sub-type of the four interjective types. This stems from the definition of L-INTJs as interjections that have an imitative relationship to laughter, and thus the fact that all L-INTJs are also necessarily emotive, cognitive, conative, or phatic in nature[29]. Lastly, as both token and type frequency (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 127) of Xhosa L-INTJs are very low, their importance for language at large may be lesser than suggested by Levisen (2019: 110)[30].

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[28] Although conative L-INTJs are unattested in my study, they are theoretically possible. Therefore, it is plausible that they may be encountered in other languages.

[29] Levisen seems to concur with this view. That is, being an L-INTJ does not exclude containing an emotive, cognitive, or conative component (*p.c.*). Indeed, in his description of L-INTJs, Levisen (2019) makes consistent use of semantic domains related to feelings, wanting, and/or thinking.

[30] In that regard, my evidence coincides with the results of the study on L-INTJs in Classical Greek, where the category of L-INTJs consists of three members (or four, if *ἃ ἃ* is included), overall attested in a very few cases (Kidd 2011: 457, 459).

From a cross-linguistic perspective, the system of L-INTJs in Xhosa also reveals striking similarities with the system of L-INTJs described by Levisen (2019: 118) for Danish. As in Xhosa, the class of Danish L-INTJs is well-identifiable and structured systematically – each L-INTJ "is associated with a conceptual semantics of its own, distinguishable from the other options in the paradigm" (Levisen 2019: 118). In further similarity to Xhosa, Danish L-INTJs avoid singletons and, instead, mainly exploit replicated patterns (Levisen 2019: 118). However, while triplication prevails in Xhosa, reduplication constitutes a default strategy in Danish. As in Xhosa, the basic segment used in Danish L-INTJs exhibits an *hV* structure. Most vowels – all of them monophthongs – can feature in the segment's nucleus: *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *æ*, *ø*, and *å*. The two disallowed vowels are *y* and, as in Xhosa, *u*. Similar to Xhosa, there is an additional pattern in Danish, i.e. tV_1hV_1. As expected, this template is much less productive and only *i* and *ø* (both being front vowels exactly as in Xhosa) are allowed. Since Danish and Xhosa are neither related – each belonging to radically distant language phyla – nor experience any type of contact with each other, it is likely that the two structures grammaticalized in these two language systems as productive L-INTJ-ective patterns (i.e. *hVhV(hV)* and *tVhV*), as well as (most of) their formal and non-formal properties, are universal[31]. One may therefore expect the presence of those two structures (and their properties) in all or most languages of the world, with the pattern *hVhV(hV)* likely being more widespread and productive than *tVhV*.

Some of the typical patterns of L-INTJs described above and their hypothetical universality, may stem from the well-know and extensively researched anatomical and physiological properties characterizing human laughter (see Bachorowski, Smoski & Owren 2001, Trouvain 2001, 2003, Chafe 2007: 19-23, O'Connell & Kowal 2008: 170, Kohler 2008, Jefferson 2010, Szameitat et al. 2009, 2011,

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[31] The cross-linguistic pervasiveness of *HV* replicative patterns to imitate laughter is well known and has already been noted by Schwentner (1924: 18-20). This pattern seems equally common for L-INTJs, being attested in English (e.g. *he he*; Schenkein 1972), Latin (Kidd 2011: 449), Greek (Kidd 2011: 445), and many other languages from diverse language phyla (own data; see also Kidd 2011: 446). However, as suggested to me by Levisen (*p.c.*), it is not impossible that (at least some) patterns exhibited by L-INTJs in Xhosa constitute a contact feature. Levisen (2019) hypothesizes that the presence of L-INTJs is related to the rise of literacy in general and the development of "interjection-friendly" genres such as cartoons. Did L-INTJs emerge in Xhosa due to increased literacy and the introduction of genres such as comics? Did this spread of "interjection-friendly" genres – of which many are typical of colonial cultures – enable a transfer of some L-INTJ-ective paradigms from Afrikaans and English? More diachronic research on L-INTJs in African languages of South Africa is needed to answer such questions.

Glen & Holdt 2013b, Alter & Wildgruber 2019), which are reflected in L-INTJs due to their imitative function. This would, for instance, explain the pervasive use of sequential patterns in L-INTJs (contrary to other interjections where singletons are a default strategy) and the equally pervasive presence of a guttural component (far more common than elsewhere in the interjective category). The study of such links connecting the grammatical properties of L-INTJs to the physiology of laughter, and thus the explanation of how the biological phenomenon of laughter is reflected (or distorted) in language, will constitute one of my research projects in near future.

5. Conclusion

The present paper analyzed the system of L-INTJs in Xhosa. The evidence presented demonstrates that L-INTJs constitute a minor, albeit fully systematic, part of the Xhosa language. The L-INTJ-ective system consists of five main types of constructions built around the segments *ha*, *he*, *ho*, *hi*, and *yha* and generative templates involving total or partial multiplications, as well as, for some segments, the satellite elements *te* and *ti*. Among all the patterns, the total triplication of an *hVhVhV* type with a short nucleic vowel is the most productive. The reduplicative patterns, patterns involving (extra-)long vowels, and the harmonious pattern *tVhV* are less productive. By complying with the properties associated with the prototype of an interjection, L-INTJs constitute the canonical members of the interjective category and occupy the central position in the categorial network of interjections. The presence of L-INTJs in Xhosa and the range of their uses result from the interjectionalization of initial onomatopoeias that imitated laughter (*ha*, *he*, *ho*, *hi*) or the onomatopoeization of initial non-laughter-related interjections (*yha*) – with the interjectionalization being a dominant evolutionary scenario. Although principally diachronic, both clines can be used as matrices for representing the synchronic semantic potential of forms used as L-INTJs, thus yielding a dynamic prototype-driven model of the L-INTJ-ective category.

Abbreviations

COP – copulative; DEM – demonstrative; FUT – future; INF – infinitive; INTJ – interjection; L-INTJ – laughter interjection; NEG – negative/negator; OA – object agreement; PART – particle; PAST – past (the A-tense); PERF – perfect (the ILE-tense); PN – proper noun; POS – possessive; POT – potential; PRES – present; SA – subject agreement; 1, 2, 3… – (noun) classes; 1st, 2nd – 1st and 2nd person.

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Shuaibu Hassan
Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria

A critical analysis of *Baubawan burmi, kassasaɓarmu ce kan zaɓar jagora* by Aminu Ladan Abubakar (ALA)

Abstract

This paper explores understanding of literature as a medium through which poets address issues in order to reach their audience with a message, thereby rendering service to the community or the society on more broad scale. Poets engage the society through their literary composition by using the language that pleases them and, through entertainment, they try to put across ideas of bringing change. The analysis offered here focuses on the 21st century Hausa poetry of Aminu Ladan Abubakar (ALA) and explains how his poem, *Baubawan burmi, kasassaɓarmu ce kan zaɓar jagora* 'Our mistake in choosing a leader' entertains, enlightens, and educates electorates from Northern Nigeria and beyond about the nature of leadership and the mistakes committed when electing public office holders.

Keywords: Hausa poetry, Aminu Ladan Abubakar, *Baubawan burmi*, Nigerian election

1. Introduction

Literature is a body of oral or written works that portray a society in an artistic manner. The portrayal is done in a language that is appealing, pleasurable, and pleasing to the mind. The sound – rhythm and melody – is blended with words to give that pleasure. The language of the literary genre is beautiful and skilfully crafted to attract the readers. As to the meaning of literature, Skinner (1980: 1)

says: "literature is the expression of the best and worst in a culture through the medium of language". "The best and the worst" may mean positive and negative sides of the society that literary writers depict in their works of art.

Literature generally, and poetry in particular, stimulates the imagination and confronts the reader, or the audience, with a unique vision of life. It demonstrates craft and artistry and has the power to raise questions, provide fresh points of view, expand the understanding of self and the world, and renew the spirit. It is also seen as instilling conscience in readers which eventually serves humanity. Its service to humanity takes various forms: cultural, historical, economic, religious, and political.

Literature is about society, whether factual or imaginative**.** It is about people and what they have done, believed, created, or are willing to create. It aims at portraying not only the positive side of human activities but also their negative consequences, with the view to command a reversal for the better. It is an expression of culture because it documents human knowledge, belief, and behaviour (Eyong et al. 2004). Based on that, late Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, the First President of Nigeria said:

> Literature is the soul of any nation. Just as visionless nations are doomed to perish, so too are nations without literature, doomed to be imposed upon by the literary vandals of their contemporary society. After all, the mode of thinking and actions of the African are, to an extent, dictated to according to the type of literature they consume. […] If they read books which portray them as inferior, their minds are conditioned to such a reflex. Hence it is this type of propaganda that should fire the African with a view to creative scholarship (Azikiwe 1937: 137).

McDonald, with his *Death of the critic* (2007: vii) opines that the work of criticism is now shifted from university experts to journalists, bloggers, discussion groups, and the public outside academia. He says that "the critic […] has often been regarded as a parasite, strangely ineffectual in his inability to create art himself but inappropriately powerful in his capacity to ruin reputations with the stroke of a poison pen".

Whether McDonald succeeded in killing the critic or not, the area is still vibrant in academia. To critically analyse any literary genre, one has to take into cognisance the thematic thrust, the style, the form, and, of course, the characters and the characterization of the work one is critiquing. Thus, this paper examines this poem in order to describe what the poet puts across to the Northern Nigerians as regards the type of leadership and politicking in the current democratic dispensation.

According to Abrams's pragmatic theories (1953: 14), all works of art revolve around relationship of the work and the audience. He maintains that the three cheap functions of poetry are to teach, to please, and to move. To Sidney, says Abrams (1953: 14), "poetry […] has a purpose to achieve certain effects in an audience". Abrams further states that "work of art is chiefly [considered] as a means to an end, an instrument for getting something done, and tends to judge its value according to its success in achieving that aim" (Abrams, 1953: 15). Based on this, poetry is seen as humanity: something that teaches us to be human, in ways both bad and good. It is something that presents us numerous alternatives for behaviour and the basis for choosing among them, which at the end should make us more truly human in the best sense of the word. This concept of humanity takes advantage of our ability to dance, sing, sculpt, draw or paint, and to use language in order to show us both what we have been, what we are, and what we can be. And all these are done through the dimension of enjoyment (Steinberg 2017).

Literature generally has diverse effects on the audiences' social, economic, cultural, and political lives. At times society depends for its betterment on writers and poets, who comment as social critics. Commenting on such effects during difficulties, Brooks (1941) writes:

> We live in a very unhappy world at present [...] and the public has a right to expect from its poets and thinkers some light on the causes of our problems and the ways to a better future. Few writers at present are living up to these expectations. But still the belief in literature persists, because so many writers in the past have performed their true public function.

This shows that what shapes the production and receptions of literature is the political, social and cultural development of societies, and as such it leaves its traces in such socio-political and cultural events in the form of fiction.

2. The Hausa poetry

The genre of Hausa poetry can be divided into two categories, just like that of the poetry of other African cultures that have either double or triple heritage: the traditional, Arabic, and Western civilizations. The cultures that have contacts with only Western civilization can be said to have double heritage: their traditional culture plus the Western culture, while those which came into contact with the Arabic and Western civilizations, like Hausa, Fulfulde, Kanuri, Swahili, and others, have triple heritage: traditional, Arabic, and Western civilizations. Traditional poetry is oral in nature, while the Arab and the Western poetries are written. In the

Yoruba society, for example, there are oral poets and literate poets (Olatunji 1979). As for Hausa, Skinner (1980: 3) also reports that "*waka*, the poetic genre, […] may be either oral or written".

However, in the recent time, specifically towards the end of the 20th century, Hausas have developed another category of *waka* "poetry" which has certain features alien to the written poetry. These features include regular stanza and rhyme forms, and their literary performance includes rhythmic mimicry of piano and other foreign musical instruments accompanying it (Amin, 2015: 146). Amin further says:

> Indeed, this category of song dominates the Hausa music industry in spite of the rich cultural heritage the people are blessed with. Its wide acceptability can be attributed to the prevalence of romantic/love themes, as well as the synchronized order of the free-for-all mixture of sexes in the course of the performance of such songs, most especially taking cognizance of the fact that the youth are their forceful audience.

Further discussion on the Hausa poetry is related to the work of the poet and singer Aminu Ladan Abubakar, known for his artistic name ALA (or Ala). Being a Hausa, he has not escaped from this modern phenomenon as he uses female choruses, piano, and his poems are sung and recorded at studio. He is known for the themes of his poems in which he comments, propagates, enlightens, and educates his audience in order they knew the type of leaders to elect during elections at all levels. One of such poems is *Baubawan burmi, kasassaƃarmu ce kan zaƃar agora* 'Our mistake in choosing a leader'.

2.1. The poet

Aminu Ladan Abubakar (henceforth ALA) was born in Yakasai ward, Kano city, on 11th February 1973. He attended Qur'anic school and later was enrolled into Tudun Murtala primary school which he attended from 1980 to 1986. From there he proceeded to Dakata secondary school which he completed in 1992. For his tertiary education, ALA went to Kano Polytechnic where he was a student from 2004 to 2007 and obtained a diploma in fine art.

ALA started as a novelist before delving into poetry. He authored about eight novels before he changed his direction into poetry. His novels include: *Jirgi Ɗaya* 'Same train' (1999), *Ƃakar aniya* 'Bad intent' (2000), *Cin zarafi* 'Humiliation' (2001), *Ƙawazuci* 'Fatal desire' (2003), *Tarzoma* 'Anarchy' (2003), *Sawaba* 'Freedom' (2003), *Jirwaye* 'Half done' (2003), and *Jagoranci* 'Leadership' (2004). ALA started singing songs when he was a pupil at Islamiyya school, especially during the

maulud (birthday) of the Prophet of Islam. ALA takes poetry as a craft, he composes and sings his poems and makes them available on CDs.

2.2. The poem

Literally, *Baubawan burmi* means a mismatch of an item or event. Bargery (1934) and Newman (2007) define the term Baubawa as 'a pagan'. The phrase can be used for instance when describing things of not Hausa origin, such as in *baubawan wata*, which refers to European months (consisting of 30-31 days), instead of *balaraban wata* meaning Arabic months (consisting of 29 or 30 days). The phrase *baubawan burmi* is a paradox that connotes a statement that is seemingly contradictory and opposes common sense but seems to be true. In this poem it can also be seen as a metaphor of a bad choice. *Baubawa* is something absurd or deviant, while *burmi* 'associate' is supposed to go with *abokin burmi* 'an associate' in Hausa sense. It is used metaphorically to refer to two opposing figures put together to give a sense in terms of personification, description or as a hyperbole (Ɗangambo 2007: 50-51). In this poem, electorates are said to have elected ignorantly public office holders who are unable to lead people because of their corrupt and lackadaisical attitudes. So, the title states that the leaders and the masses do not match. They are opposed to each other. The masses are badly looking for a saviour, while the leaders who pretend to be saviours, ended up looting the resources of the country and eventually pushed the masses into abject poverty and want. The poem has been transcribed from a CD for the purpose of this article.

The central theme of this poem is a lamentation and lampoon for the type of leadership Northern Nigeria has been experiencing since the inception of democracy. The refrain, which serves as the title of the poem, is a message of regrets for the wrong choice: *Baubawan burmi, kasassaɓarmu ce kan zaɓar jagora* 'Our mistake in choosing a leader'.

Poems concerning this subject became popular in Northern Nigeria when poets started reacting by showing their resistance to the corrupt attitudes of especially Northern Nigerian politicians. For instance, in 2007 Haruna Aliyu Ningi composed two poems on the negative attitudes of the then ruling party, PDP, and the then President Olusegeun Obasanjo's attempt for tenure elongation beyond 2007. The two poems are *Waƙar shegiyar uwa: PDP* 'The song of bastard mother: PDP' and *Mu ba mu yarda ya zarce ba* 'We oppose to tenure elongation'. There is also Jibrin Jallatu with his *Mafarkin mulki* 'The dream of power'. This is a caricature of bad politicians who aspire to power only to enrich themselves and their families. On this note, Amin (2006: 235) affirms that "although Hausa

poetry has continued to flourish as a vehicle for conveying religious, political, and to some extent, secular ideas", this practice in fact started during colonial and postcolonial era. He further says: "A quick glance at politically oriented poems during the colonial and post-colonial era down to recent times will show that they are more aimed at propagating party ideals or government programmes". (Amin 2006: 235). But unlike those composed by the above mentioned poets, ALA's poem can be judged and valued as a poem putting across a message of regret over mistakes committed during the election, choosing wrong leaders who ended up enriching themselves and their cronies instead of working for the betterment of the region and the country at large.

3. Analysis of the poem

The form of this poem is structured not like the normal Hausa literate poetry borrowed from Arabic verse, which has fixed stanzaic formulae of single, double, triple, quadruple, and quintuple lines, and where each line has a metre and rhyme, with a specific melody which is quantifiable. The contemporary Hausa poets violate this strict rule and thus compose their poems adopting oral rendition of formula. It is worth mentioning that the *kwar-biyu* (couplet) and *kwar-biyar* (quintuplet) poems are the most frequent. *Kwar-huɗu* (quadruplet) is very rare. Stanzas are marked by rhymes. It is also important at this point to add that rhyme scheme is an important if not essential phenomenon in Hausa classical poetry (Junaidu 1988).

3.1. The structure and form

The poem has about 36 unstructured stanzas. Some of them, the 'tercet stanza' (*kwaruku*), have 3 lines each, some have 4 lines ('quatrain stanza', *kwarhuɗu*), and there are some with 6 lines ('sestet stanza'), which in Hausa are considered as deviant stanzas (*taƙadarinbaiti*) that is not recognisable in Hausa verse.

*Dole in koka da tsuw**wa**,*	I must cry loudly,
*Dubi kasar nan Are**wa**,*	Imagine this land, North,
*Ba ilimi talaka**wa**,*	No education, the masses,
*Ba mu da aikin taba**wa**,*	We don't have a job (to do),
*Mun zama jujin zuba**wa**,*	We became refuse dump (for dumping),
*Tarkace tarkata**wa**.*	Scraps to get rid of.

This is an example of internal rhyme which Hausa verse borrowed from classic Arabic verse metre. And it is this **–wa** rhyme the poet maintains in all the stanzas. Another example with the same **–wa** rhyme is:

*Sassaucin tausaya**wa***,	Compassionate change,
*ALA mai fadakar**wa**,*	ALA one who enlightens,
*Daina kukan koka**wa**,*	You should stop crying,
*Allah ne ke saka**wa***	It is Allah who causes (things to happen)
*Sannan she ke cire**wa**,*	And He removes,
*In ya so zai canja**wa**,*	If He wants, He causes the change,
*Ba mai ikon hana**wa**,*	Nobody stops (Him),
*Sauyin sauyi muke so**wa**,*	What we need is real change,
*Sassaucin tausaya**wa**.*	Compassionate change.

The poet employs some stylistic devices to add colour to his poem in order to entertain his audience. In the first place, he uses a lot of Arabic words in the process of opening and closing doxology. ALA started composing panegyric poems at a younger age when he was a pupil at Islamic school. In the aspect of style, words such as *Allah* 'God', *adala* 'justice', *alfarma* 'favour', *Malikulmulk* 'the Ruler of all rulers', *alkuki* 'a hole-like place in traditional room for putting lamp', *jahilci* 'illiteracy', *hikima* 'wisdom' are all borrowed from Arabic.

As a tradition, poets make use of figurative language which Akinmade (2009: 120) calls "expression in language that gives beauty; graphic and clear meaning to what is said or written". ALA applies figures of speech like proverbs, simile, symbolism, allegory as a style. For instance, he uses a common Hausa proverb which says that one day, no matter how high one reaches in position, one will go back to his original home or position. This is normally said after one assumed power and forgot his past. Hausa person uses this proverb to caution an arrogant common man:

Ungulu za dai fa a koma,	The vulture will come back one day,
Gidanki dai na tsamiya daina gadara.	To your house on the top of tamarind tree.

According to Hausa belief, vulture resides on branches of tamarind tree. So, if it changed its home to a better place, it is believed that one day the condition will worsen and it will move to its natural home (nest), which is at the top of the tamarind tree. The same situation may apply to a leader in a democratic system of government. The leader may be a member of either state or federal house or a legislature, but one day the leader may lose an election and return home. And after some time he may run out of the amassed money and he will have to go back to the people with no money, power, and influence. Another proverb used in this poem is a sort of symbolism. The system of the leadership is symbolized by the habit of Hausa potato traders who put big potatoes over the smaller ones in order to deceive the buyer. In this sense, the leaders are on top, trampling the masses:

Allah wanga kashin mulki,	Allah, this portion of rule,
Ya yi kama guda da kashin dankali.	That resembles the portion pile of sweet potato.
Na sama ya danne na kasa,	One on top step on one at the bottom,
Idan ya so numfashi babu dalili.	If he tries to breath cannot.

This proverb symbolises segregation of power and people in a society. The symbolism demonstrates how sweet potato retailers pile up their potatoes when retailing. They put the smaller ones at the bottom and the biggest on the top. By this, it shows that the bigger ones are always on top, suppressing the smaller or weaker ones. This symbolism also looks like an allegory of the type of leadership practiced in Nigeria. The masses are suppressed, subjected to all hardships and eventually left in abject poverty.

Kararkuka da tsuwwa,	Seeking for redress loudly,
Munshagaltu da yunwa,	We are confused because of hunger,
Munbishe da kishirwa,	We are dried out of taste,
Munmakance da sowwa,	Blinded out of love,
Allah kai kesauyawa.	Allah, you are the one who brings any change.

The poet is now seeking divine intervention because of hunger and lack of potable water. This, according to the poet, is caused by bad leadership and resulted from illiteracy, blind followership, ethnicity, religious bigotry, and regionalism. The masses blindly, and out of ignorance, elect the leaders who do not care much about their problems and those of the society. These factors finally dragged the region into all the problems it is facing now, from a low level of literacy to abject poverty and unemployment among the teeming youth population.

Alliteration as a figure of speech is also used in the poem. Alliteration is a repetition of words or sounds that are somehow similar to the ear of the hearer. Here an instance is cited from the poem:

Sauyin sauyi muke so,	What we need is real change,
Sassaucin tausayawa.	Compassionate change.

The sound [s] is repeatedly used three times in the first line, and four times in the second line. This is not for any emphasis or for bringing out any meaningful message, this is a stylistic device – an alliteration.

We can see that the poet uses figures of speech as style. He borrows a lot of words from Arabic. Also, proverbs and alliteration are used, which gives it the aesthetic qualities needed in literary composition.

The poem retains the common norm and convention of Arabic verse – the opening and closing doxology where the Almighty Creator is thanked for the bounties He gives us and for His power over all people. Also, the Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, is praised.

3.2. Performance

Using musical accompaniment has become a norm in performance of the contemporary Hausa poems. Piano, guitar, and other modern instruments are used by poets at studios. These give extraordinary melody to the poems because voice can be manipulated. The poem *Baubawan burmi, kasassaɓarmu ce kan zaɓar jagora* 'Our mistake in choosing a leader', is not an exception, as it is sung at the studio, instead of open theatre before the audience, and the poet uses modern techniques. ALA records his songs in different studios, such as Lafazi Studio, Castic Studio, Central Hotel Studio, Taskar ALA Global, Taskar ALA Kaduna, etc. *Baubawan burmi* was composed in 2007 and recorded at Dehood Studio in Kano. The music was handled by Ibrahim (Ibro) and the chorus was Fati Nijar. Apart from instruments, the poet has introduced some compositional elements into the poem, such as refrain and chorus, also not being associated with Hausa classical poetry borrowed from Arabic verse composed mostly by *Malams* clerics. In fact, Hausa Islamic clerics detest the innovation of any form of music in poetry. They differentiate between song and poetry. To them, songs are oral and performed with musical instruments, while poetry is composed by literates without any form of musical accompaniment.

3.3. The content

As a tradition, Hausa literate poets introduce their poems with doxology. So, this poet also starts with supplication in which he thanks the Almighty Creator who is omnipotent, omnipresent. Then he describes how the situation is:

Allah mun yi zaman dirshan,	Allah, we sat down for long,
Tamkar fittila a lokon alkuki.	Just like a lamp in a hole (of a room).

The poet describes the future of the socio-political situation as uncertain, thus people came out and sat for a long-time demanding change. The poet then supplicates to Allah, saying that "we sat for a long time, like lamp in its permanent hole in a room", perhaps suffering or anticipating for change. The situation resembles the Arab Spring, when Egyptians took to the streets, protested for a long period time at Tahrir Square, demanding for the then president, late Hosni

Mubarak, to leave the office. Then he goes on to explain the reasons of the supplication:

Allah Ka san kukana,	Allah, you know my pain,
Ka san hujjar zubar da hawayena.	You know why I am shedding tears.
Yau bauta ce ta canza,	Today slavery has taken a new form,
Ta ɗauko salo da tsari mummuna.	It has taken a new bad style and shape.
Mun bar mulkin mallaka,	We are far from colonialism,
Kama-karya a yau shi muka ɗora.	But dictatorship replaces it.

Here the poet laments and agonises over the manner people are treated by the current type of leadership. He says that the whole thing looks like slavery. The leaders are ruling with an iron fist, like dictators.

The refrain somehow consoles the poet and makes him stop crying because God hears His servants in a time of difficulties and will intervene if He pleases:

Sauyin sauyi muke so,	Real change we demand,
Sassaucin tausayawa.	Compassionate change.
ALA mai faɗakarwa,	ALA one who enlightens,
Daina kukan kokawa,	You should stop crying,
Allah ne ke sakawa,	It is Allah who cause (things to happen),
Sannan she ke cirewa,	And He removes,
In ya so zai canjawa,	If He wants, He changes (things),
Ba mai ikon hanawa,	Nobody stops (Him),
Sauyin sauyi muke sowa,	What we need is real change,
Sassaucin tausayawa.	Compassionate change.

It is argued that the politicians and the leaders in Northern Nigeria have not done enough or even have done nothing at all towards uplifting the educational and economic status of the community. The majority are unemployed, and remain in abject poverty. The literacy level is low. The poet rightly captures this and laments over it:

Dole in koka da tsiwa,	I must cry with all force,
Dubi kasar nan Arewa,	Look at this region North,
Ba ilimi talakawa,	People are illiterate,
Ba mu da aikin taɓawa,	No work to do,
Mun zama jujin zubawa,	We are like heap of dump,
Tarkace tarkatawa.	Useless heap of dump.

In the traditional Hausa set-up the poets, especially those presenting their poetry orally, are largely non-literate, they hardly have the courage to criticise an estab-

lished authority: traditional, military or modern (democratic). The authority is praised to earn the worldly gain but is not criticised in order to correct any wrongdoing. On the contrary, the modern contemporary Hausa poets, such as the poet under discussion, do openly criticise the government. This can be ascribed to the freedom of expression, enshrined in the Nigerian constitution. But that notwithstanding, poets, filmmakers, and novelists are subject to censorship in some Northern Nigerian states. For instance, in the years 2003-2011 the Kano State government under Ibrahim Shekarau banned some artists from performing in the state. Along the same line, Olatunji (1979: 198) describes the Yoruba poets who are now not seen, unless in the hands of the aristocrats, advertisers of government programmes, and those who valorise the status quo. They now come out boldly and criticise the government policies, the politicians, and their unpopular programmes.

The next issue criticised in this poem is how the politicians drug and arm the youth in order to push them into all sorts of crimes:

Suke tarkata yaranmu,	They gathered our youth,
Da makamai suna ta saran junansu,	With weapons wounding each other,
In da alamar adalci,	If there is justice,
To me zai hana su caku ɗa 'ya'yansu.	Why don't they involved their sons.
Kayan maye suka ba su,	They are given drugs,
Su hau gidan mutum su faɗa shi da sara,	They climb houses and start hurting people,
Kuɗin abinci ake ba ku,	They are giving chicken feed,
An maishe ku sai ka ce dabbar kiwo.	As if they are fattening animals.

Vendetta and thuggery are common in our politics. The youth as thugs are engaged to attack and hurt the political opponents. This is common during the campaigns and elections and leads to rigging the elections. The thugs, armed with dangerous weapons by the politicians, come and disrupt the election process.

After the election, the young men, drugged and armed, turn into something different. They become a menace to the society and the system. They become hooligans and beggars, going from one office holder to another looking for money, instead of engaging in businesses. The poet goes on to describe the situation after the election:

Mun ɗore da tumasanci,	We remain as slanders,
Ma bara ta muke a hannun jagora.	We are beggars at the hands of the rulers.

This form of life portrayed by the poet in the above stanza leads to abject poverty and want. The severity of poverty, according to the poet, is harder than being bitten by a stick:

Yanzu kuwa gadonmu talauci,	Now what we inherited is poverty,
Ai kuɗarsa ta fi dukan ka da gora.	Its hardship is more than being bitten by a stick.
Talauci shi muka gadowa,	Poverty is what we inherited,
Jahilci kuwa ya zamanto rigarmu.	And illiteracy has become (like) our garment.

Comments by the economic experts on the level of poverty and illiteracy in Northern Nigeria need not be cited here. This, by implication, is caused by the lackadaisical attitudes of the politicians towards moving the region forward to socio-economic development, as portrayed by the poet.

The artificial poverty created by bad politics and bad leadership turns the masses into scavengers and beggars in the midst of plenty. The poet thus laments that the rulers splash out money and the masses struggle to collect it. In the process of the struggle some suffer from injuries:

Kuɗi a dumtse su a watsa,	They splash out money,
Ku bi kuna ta wawaso har ku ji ciwo.	You followed struggling and got wounded.

The poet frowns at the shameless habit and character of the politicians. After ruining the economy and the society, at the end of their tenure they shamelessly come back to the voters seeking for re-election. They use various forms of deceit:

Sannan ba sa alkunya,	Besides, they are shameless,
Daga an doka tamburan nan na siyasa,	Once the drums of politics are bitten,
Kunya ba tsoron Allah,	Shamelessly without fear of Allah,
Su iyo oda ta atamfar nan sosa,	They order for *sosa* material,
Su mammanna gumakansu,	They printed their pictures,
Su rarraba a mu ɗauke su mu ɗaura.	They share for us and we wear.

This sort of deceit is common in our politics. The politicians order food items, detergents, or clothing materials such as *sosa* brand of women's wrapper. They distribute them house by house during the campaign. And when they are doing this, they still make other juicy promises and commit themselves to correct any wrongdoing perpetrated during the last tenure. They ask for forgiveness and promise better future. This poem captures this well.

Pragmatically, one can notice the relationship of this text to the audience through the messages put across to the Northern Nigerians. It is about politics, about awareness and enlightenment. And it enlightens.

To turn our attention to the mimetic nature of the poem, we can say that whatever is in the poem has a direct or indirect bearing to the situation of politics and leadership in Northern Nigeria. The poet describes critically his world – Northern Nigeria – and thus represents it by the political scenarios to his audience. The poet is able to portray the actual or fictitious political scenarios of his society. This portrayal of the poet's cultural world is best explained in terms of what Abrams refers to as mimetic theory. The poets represent experiences they acquired in their cultural world.

ALA demonstrates how Northern Nigerian politicians manoeuvre their way to get elected into political offices and manage or mismanage the offices. The poet reveals the negative attitude of the system of governance in which the politicians' inaction brought negative consequences to the Northern Nigerian society. In so doing, ALA acts in line with Levi's (1976: 48) view on the role of literature and the critics: Poetry may have many subsidiary "functions": to speak the truth, to persuade us to change the social order, to urge upon us the poet's individual sense of life.

4. Conclusion

The contemporary Hausa poets, unlike the traditional ones – Hausa oral poets – engage in politics to critique their society. They lament, lampoon, and at times praise the incumbent government when things go contrary to what they expected. Aminu Ladan Abubakar laments the political situation in Northern Nigeria in this poem titled *Baubawan burmi, kasassaɓarmu ce kan zaɓar jagora. ALA* is telling the Northern Nigerians in particular, and the Nigerians in general, that we should blame ourselves for the wrong choice. The poem laments the leadership situation, the state, and the condition of the subjects. The poet aspires to achieve the change of the status quo and hopes that the common man realises his mistakes and will act differently in the future. We have also seen how the form and style of the poem conform well with the type of Hausa contemporary, modern form of poetry which mixes composition with modern musical instruments, contrary to the borrowed Arabic verse which is only sung without any musical accompaniment.

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Adesina Bukunmi Sunday
University of Ibadan

Temidayo Akinrinlola
McPherson University, Abeokuta

Discourse strategies of handling denials in police – suspect interaction in Ibadan, Nigeria

Abstract

Studies on police interrogation have examined interrogating police officers' (IPOs') deployment of power abuse in gleaning confessional statements from suspects. However, studies on how IPOs handle denials during interrogation has not been given adequate attention. Therefore, this study investigates discourse strategies of handling denials in police – suspect interaction in Ibadan, Southwest Nigeria. Spencer-Oatey's rapport management theory served as theoretical background. Recorded police interrogation sessions at the State Criminal Investigation and Intelligence Department (SCIID) Ìyágankú, Ibadan, constituted the data. Four cases (assault, stealing, Internet fraud and robbery) were sampled, owing to their robust manifestation of facial, sociality, and interactional cues between the IPOs and suspects. While suspects adopt empathic and explanatory forms of denial to threaten IPOs' goals, IPOs make lexical, discursive, and paralinguistic choices to negotiate discursive acts of appealing to suspects' needs, constructing testimonies against suspects, emphasising suspects' rights and engaging detention and investigation to threaten the face, sociality rights, and goals of suspects.

Keywords: police interrogation, criminal cases, rapport management theory, strategies of handling denials, police – suspect interaction, Ibadan

1. Introduction

Police – suspect interaction (PSI) is a platform for negotiating contextual goals between interrogating police officers (IPOs) and suspects. While IPOs are officers charged with the responsibility of arresting and prosecuting offenders within the ambit of the law, suspects are individuals assumed to have committed crimes. IPOs are charged with the task of eliciting confessional statements from suspects during interrogation. To achieve this objective, they deploy series of strategies to elicit confessional statements from suspects (Heydon 2005, Nicola 2012, Akinrinlola 2016, Sunday & Akinrinlola 2017, Udoh 2010). Conversely, suspects adopt denials to escape incrimination in such interactions.

With regard to the Nigerian policing context, suspects engage in denials to manipulate the context of interrogation. Suspects' engagement in denials is not unrelated to the consciousness of their disadvantaged position during crime investigation. Aware of the legal implications of confessional statements made during interrogation, suspects consciously refute every incriminating statement of IPOs. Suspects adopt denial as a tool to beat IPOs' investigative skills. Denial is a discursive strategy adopted by suspects to avoid accusations during PSI (Benneworth 2009). They construct denial by refusing to acknowledge their involvement in crimes (May, Granhag & Tekin 2017). Denial is manipulated by suspects to invalidate IPOs' testimonies, and such construction of denial is geared towards escaping incrimination (Akinrinlola 2016; Sunday & Akinrinlola 2017).

Existing studies from the sociological (Udoh 2010, Nicola 2012), psychological (Soukara, Bull, Vrij, Turner & Charryman 2009; May, Granhag & Tekin 2017) and discourse analytical (Benneworth 2009; Ajayi 2016; Akinrinlola 2016; 2018; 2019) perspectives have investigated how IPOs manipulate discursive devices in enacting control, hegemony and abuse in PSI without attempting to explain how IPOs handle denials in interrogation. Contemporary scholarship argues that PSI transcends the use of threat and abuse to handle suspects' denials; studies are now interested in examining how IPOs discursively handle denials without subjecting suspects to physical abuse. Such studies are devoted to investigating how IPOs defeat suspects' construction of denials. Apart from the fact that studies from the discourse analytical angle are very scanty, existing discourse analytical investigations in PSI have not sufficiently interrogated how denial could be handled through IPOs' display of positive interactional cues during investigation. In other words, research has not considered how IPOs' construction of rapport with suspects could contribute significantly to handling

denials during interrogation. This study argues that denial could be handled in PSI by adopting rapport building as an ethnographic method in policing. Another striking shortcoming in the previous studies lies in their neglect of the role of context in the interpretation of the motivations of participants in PSI. This weakness is handled in this study by rapport management theory (RMT), considering its strength in engaging aspects of politeness in achieving interactional goals.

The thesis of this paper is that rather than deploying physical threat, IPOs devise discursive strategies in handling suspects' denials in PSI. This is so because suspects' denials constrict IPOs' investigative capacity. Since PSI thrives on the strength of interaction, this study maintains that, rather than resorting to force, IPOs utilise the resourcefulness of rapport management in handling cases of denial in PSI. This study addresses the following questions: What are the strategies adopted by IPOs in handling denials in PSI? What implications do such strategies have for the language of crime investigation in Ibadan? To respond to these questions, the study adopts Oateys' RMT as its theoretical framework, in view of its emphasis on the resourcefulness of politeness in achieving intended goals in interaction.

2. Studies on police interrogation

Many studies have investigated PSI from the psychological, sociological and discourse analytical perspectives. While psychology-based studies (Soukara, Bull, Vrij, Turner & Charryman 2009; Fisher, Edwards & Geiselman 2010; May, Granhag & Tekin 2017) examine the manipulative strategies of engaging suspects' psyche in a bid to elicit confessional statements, studies within the sociological field (Udoh 2010; Omoroghomwan 2018) deploy the resourceful of socio-cultural variables in crime investigation. Discourse analytical studies (Benneworth 2009; Akinrinlola 2016; 2019) interrogate the import of discourse devices in projecting the orientations of participants in PSI. On the significance of psychological tactics in police investigation, Soukara et al. (2009) investigate the use of psychological tactics by police in England. Using audio-recorded interviews assessed by forensic psychologists, the study reveals that coercive tactics were infrequently used. Rather than resorting to coercion, IPOs adopted strategies that enabled the elicitation of information from suspects. The study is quite relevant to the present research in terms of scope; the subject examined is crime investigation. However, the point of departure lies in the goals; Soukara et al.'s (2009) study is not located within discourse analysis. Besides, the study does not consider how denial is managed in PSI. Fisher et al. (2010) investigate

the components of police interview that restrict suspects' contributions during crime investigation. The study uses interview with 70 participants. Its findings reveal that IPOs' construction of the structure of the interview militates against suspects' triumph over psychological problems. The study recommends the cognitive interview model which enhances suspects' recollection.

With focus on the nature of evidence in crime investigation, May, Granhag and Tekin (2017) interrogate how evidence disclosure affects the elicitation of information. The researchers interviewed 80 participants. Two modes of evidence disclosure were found: strategic use of evidence and confrontation. The study demonstrates that a significant correlation exists between mode of evidence disclosure and cases examined. This study provides information on how evidence is managed in PSI. On the significance of context in police interview, Kelly, Dawson and Hartwig (2019) describe how IPOs use space to enact and sustain control over suspects during crime investigation. The authors created an experimental room to accommodate more space than the control context. Using 77 copies of an interview questionnaire by detectives, suspects in the experimental room reported that it was more comfortable. On the use of language by Nigerian police officers, Udoh (2010) investigates the language of traffic police officers in Onitsha, southeastern Nigeria. The study reveals that Nigerian police officers' use of the English language reflects their educational background. Omoroghomwan (2018) focuses on four notable police behavioural strategies in crime investigation among police personnel in Nigeria. Using 217 respondents, the study indicates that police officers' use of service and defection is instrumental to criminal identification.

With respect to how IPOs elicit confession from suspects, Benneworth (2009) notes that IPOs seek constitutionally preferred confessions from suspects. Concentrating on suspects of paedophile cases, the study uses a case of a 54-year-old man sexually assaulting females of 8-12 years. With critical discourse analysis as theoretical framework, the study shows the challenges faced by interviewers. Akinrinlola (2016) examines discursive elicitation and response strategies in PSI in Ibadan. The study uses 200 recorded cases of rape, felony, arson, murder, and defamation of character, among others. The study contends that elicitation strategies of IPOs and suspects' construction of response account for power negotiation in PSI. On the use of deixis in PSI, Akinrinlola (2019) argues that deixis functions as resourceful discourse device used in expressing collectivism, labelling, assertion, and legitimacy during police interrogation.

The aforementioned studies reveal that critical investigations have approached police discourse from the psychological, sociological, and discourse analytical

perspectives. This study agrees with the position of Soukara et al. that psychological tactics are instrumental to eliciting confessional statements from suspects. The submission of Fisher et al. (2010) that the structure of police interview restricts the scope of suspects' responses is in consonance with the view of the present study. However, the studies do not explore suspects' adoption of denial and how IPOs deploy strategies to manage denial in PSI. The emphasis of Kelly et al. (2019) on space as an instrument of control in police interrogation corroborates Akinrinlola's (2016) submission on dynamics of power negotiation in PSI.

Although Udoh's (2010), Omoroghomwan's (2018) and Akinrinlola's (2019) description of the sociolinguistic-cum-discourse-analytical peculiarities in PSI is commendable, the studies' neglect of denial in PSI undermines how discourse devices are deployed to create interpersonal relations in PSI. While the psychology-based studies identified above (Soukara et al. 2009; Fisher et al. 2010; May et al. 2017) provide informative and relevant insights into the workings of police interrogation, the studies' neglect of an interpersonal discourse analytical model limits understanding of how participants in PSI negotiate contextual goals. This study holds that denial by suspects often culminates in forced confession in PSI, hence the need to discursively handle it via discursive devices. It is against this background that this study investigates how denial is handled in PSI.

2.1. Rapport management theory

Rapport management theory (RMT) is a reaction to the weaknesses of the earlier theories of politeness (Brown & Levinson 1987). It relies on the relational strength of social interaction. As a theory of interpersonal communication, RMT investigates how interpersonal communication is managed and sustained within communication ethics (Spencer-Oatey 2000). It holds that face, the social value of interlocutors in communicative interaction, should be protected in order to realise communication goals. Another important aspect of RMT is sociality rights and obligations, which have to do with the rights of the participants and their roles during communicative encounters. The theory also identifies interactional goals as an important aspect of communication. As a theory of interpersonal communication, RMT investigates factors influencing the (mis)management of relations. Spencer-Oatey hinges his theory on face and politeness. He emphasises individuality and harmony of interpersonal communication. Of particular interest to him is how harmonious or disharmonious relationships are created. The essence is to examine how the use of language promotes or maintains or threatens harmonious social relations (Spencer-Oatey 2000; 2008; 2009). The theory looks beyond politeness to investigate the bases of rapport, which include face, sociality

rights and obligation and interactional goals. Face sensitivities concern personal traits, beliefs, physical features, language choice, and affiliation. However, rapport can be threatened through face-threatening, rights-threatening and goal-threatening behaviour.

The RMT strategies cover a number of linguistic choices which can be adopted for the management of face and sociality rights. These include face management and sociality rights management (Spencer-Oatey 2000; 2008; Wu, Huang & Liu 2020). Face management has to do with quality face, which is related to individual and social identification, while sociality rights concern equity face rights in interpersonal communication. Various linguistic choices can be adopted to manage face. Some of these include stylistic choices, speech acts, discourse content, and other paralinguistic cues. A number of factors influence choice of rapport management strategies. These are rapport orientation, contextual variables, and pragmatic conventions. Rapport orientation refers to the desire to improve, maintain or neglect social relations while contextual variables concern participants' relation, the content of the message, rights, and the communicative activity. Pragmatic conventions are pragmatic concepts, like topic choice. Interpersonal rapport is influenced by behavioural expectations and interactional needs. Behavioural expectations are also influenced by the particular speech act, the genre type, and norms (Spencer-Oatey 2000).

The adoption of Spencer-Oatey's RMT in this study is predicated on its strength in handling how face, sociality, and interactional goals of IPOs and suspects are managed in PSI. Since suspects deploy denial in achieving their goals in police interrogation, IPOs equally devise means through which their own goals are achieved within the law, hence the need to examine how IPOs handle denials in PSI. The study interprets the discursive use of face, sociality rights and obligations, and interactional goals of IPOs and suspects during interrogation sessions. This study argues that IPOs handle denials by engaging discursive acts and context.

3. Research method

This qualitative study employed the descriptive research design. After seeking written permission from relevant authorities, police interrogation sessions were tape-recorded at the State Criminal Investigation and Intelligence Department (SCIID) Ìyágankú, Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria, from 15th January, 2015 to 21st May, 2016. The SCIID is a unit of the Nigeria Police Force devoted to crime investigation. It is a department to which serious criminal cases are referred. It has IPOs that are versed in the techniques of handling denials in PSI. Permission to

tape-record the sessions was sought from the IPOs and suspects, and such permission was documented. The rationale behind the recording of the sessions was explained to the suspects and IPOs, they were informed that the research was for academic purpose, and that the completed work would be kept in library for further academic use. The researchers' idea was not known to the IPOs and suspects.

The non-participant observation technique was adopted. The recordings were done from a distant place in the interrogation room. The names and location of suspects were coded. Ten cases on felony, fraud, assault and robbery, affray, burglary, arson and malicious damage, and rape were tape-recorded. However, four cases on stealing, fraud, assault and robbery were purposively selected considering their robust engagement of the facial and sociality management strategies.

The recorded conversations were transcribed, and conversations in Yoruba and Pidgin were translated into the English language. While most of the interrogation sessions were conducted in Yoruba, only few were done in Pidgin English. Although Ibadan is the largest Yoruba speaking city in Southwest Nigeria, it is heterogenous, the residents speak diverse languages. So, Pidgin English is the language adopted for communication by residents from diffrent linguistic backgrounds. This language serves incidental communicative purposes in Ibadan. It assists communication between speakers who are in contact. It is associated with the group with less social power in a multilingual setting like Nigeria. It is predominant in the South-South region of Nigeria. There are no specific rules for the usage of Yoruba and Pidgin English during interrogation sessions in Ibadan. The language a suspect understands is always used to conduct interrogation, as many of the police officers could speak English, Yoruba, and Pidgin English.

Structured and unstructured interviews were also deployed. 50 IPOs (30 IPOs from the inspectorate cadre and 20 from the rank and file cadre) were interviewed on how denials are handled in PSI. The purpose of the interview was to confirm if the result of the tape-recorded cases would agree with that of the interview. Spencer-Oatey's RMT was adopted as the theoretical framework. The study investigated how IPOs and suspects explore Oatey's facial, sociality, and interactional goals to handle denials in PSI. The theory was adopted to determine the way contextual variables inform how suspects construct denials to threaten IPOs' goals. The tenets of RMT were utilised to describe how IPOs device a number of discursive strategies to handle denials in PSI. The implications of IPOs' use of such strategies were described. This study maintains that IPOs handle suspects' denials by employing discursive acts of appealing to suspects' needs, con-

structing testimonies against suspects, exercising suspects' sociality rights, and engaging detention and interrogation.

4. Data analysis

4.1. *Kíkọbiara sí àwon ohun tí afurasí fẹ́* 'Appealing to suspects' needs'

One of the strategies adopted by IPOs in handling cases of denials is appealing to the emotional and physiological needs of suspects. Kassin (1997: 45) observes that "response to suspects' needs during interrogation enables interviewers to get a better part of suspects". Excerpt 1 below presents a case of IPOs' response to the suspects' needs:

Excerpt 1

1. P: Láti ìgbà wo ni o tí ń bá Chief XX ṣiṣẹ́ gégẹ́ bi aṣírò owó rẹ̀?
   'How long have you been working with Chief XX as his accountant?'
2. S: Mo ti wà níbẹ̀ fún bíi ọdún méje.
   'I have been there for seven years now.'
3. P: Chief gan-an jẹ́rí sí jíjẹ́ olótitọ́ rẹ fún àwọn ọdún yìí. Kí wá ló dé tí o fi pàdánù owó bàntà-bantan yìí?
   'Chief attested to your honesty for those years. Why did you lose such a huge amount?'
4. S: Mi ò ji lówó. Mo ṣàlàyé fún Chief bí a ṣe ná owó náà.
   'I did not steal his money. I explained how we spent the money to Chief.'
5. P: Inú mi kò dùn lórí ìṣesí rẹ lórí ọ̀rọ̀ yìí. Mo lérò wípé Sergeant XX ń fún ọ l'oúnjẹ gidi fún bíi ọjọ́ mẹ́fà ṣẹ́yìn. Mo sọ fún-un wípé kíi ó máa fi ọ́ sínú túbú pẹ̀lú àwọn ọmọ ògórí ọlọ́ṣà.
   'I am not happy with your attitude towards this case. I hope Sergeant XX has been giving you good food for the past six days. I told him not to put you in the same cell with the hardened criminals.'
6. S: Mo mọ rírì ipa yín, Sir. Mọ sọ fún Chief gbogbo ohun tí ó ṣẹlẹ̀, ṣùgbọ́n kò gbàmí gbọ́.
   'I appreciate your efforts, sir. I told Chief all that transpired, but he did not believe me.'
7. P: O nílò láti lọ wẹ̀, kí ó sì sinmi fún ìgbà díẹ̀. Chief kò fẹ́ kíi a fìyà jẹ ẹ́ rárá. Mo ba sọ̀rọ̀ lánàá.
   'You may need to have your bath and rest. Chief does not want us to subject you to any torture. I spoke with him yesterday.'

8. S: Òṣìṣẹ́, mo fẹ́ kí o ránmí lọ́wọ́ lórí ọ̀rọ̀ yìí. Èmi kọ́ lójí owó náà. Mo ní ilé ìfowópamọ́ méjì tí Chief XX gan le jẹ́rì sí.
'Officer, I want you to assist me in this case. I did not steal the money. I have two bank accounts, and Chief XX knows.'

9. P: Ǹjẹ́ o ti lo òògùn ibà rẹ? O nílò láti ṣ'ara gírí nígbà tí wọ́n bá ń fi ọ̀rọ̀ wá ẹ lẹ́nu wò. Gbogbo ohun tí o ṣàlàyé fún mi lóyé mi yékéyéké. Mo sì ti ṣàlàyé fún Chief nípa gbogbo ìdákọ́nkọ́ ìwádìí tí mo ti ṣe. Màá pe nọ́ọ́sì láti wá wo ipò ìlera rẹ.
'Have you taken your malaria drug? You need to be emotionally stable in the interrogation room. I understood your side of the story. I also informed Chief of the findings I have made so far. I may need to invite the nurse again to check your malaria status.'

10. S: Òṣìṣẹ́, èmi ni mo maa ń pín owó tí a máa ń ná nínú ilé-iṣẹ́ yìí jáde, mo sì máa ń jáàbọ̀ gbogbo ẹ fún Chief. Owó tí à ń wá kò sọnù. Oṣù tó kọjá ni a ra àwọn nǹkan tuntun tí ó wọ́n sínú ilé-iṣẹ́. Mo mọ̀ èmi lówà nípa tètò ìsúná, ṣùgbọ́n...
'Officer, I allocate money for all expenditures in our firm, and I report to Chief. The missing money is not stolen. We bought some expensive items for the factory just last month. I know I am in charge of the treasury, but…'

11. P: Fi ọkàn rẹ balẹ̀. Màá yanjú ọ̀rọ̀ náà. Ìlera rẹ ló ṣe pàtàkì ṣe kókó.
'Calm down. I will deal with the case. Your health is more important now.'

Excerpt 1 is a case of stealing. The suspect was arrested for misappropriating the sum of two million naira (2,000,000) belonging to Chief XX, the proprietor of XX company. The suspect is the one in charge of the company's treasury, and he had played the role for a number of years. The last audit conducted in the company revealed that the said amount was misappropriated. The suspect was subsequently arrested. In the excerpt, the speech act performed by the IPO is that of appealing to the suspect's emotional and psychological needs in a bid to achieve the goal of the interrogation. Such appeal is negotiated through the deployment of interactional cues. His question on the length of service the suspect had invested in the firm is an instance leading question, a stylistic device, aimed at initiating the case-relation phase of the interrogation.

In line 3, the IPO discursively deploys justification of the suspect's credibility, a form of facial management device, according Spencer-Oatey (2008), to create emotional stability for the suspect. The IPOs' justification of the suspect's credibility is a conscious attempt aimed at saving the face of the suspect. His accent on the suspect's honesty over the years contradicts his (IPO's) account in the later clause, in line 3. The IPO's use of *Chief gan-an jẹ́rí sí jíjẹ́ olótítọ́ rẹ fún àwọn ọdún yìí. Kí wá ló dé tí o fi pàdánù owó bàǹtà-bantan yìí?* 'Chief attested to your honesty for those years. Why did you lose such a huge amount?' reveals contrasting construction of facial attributes of the suspect. While the first clause,

which describes the suspect as being honest, reveals the positive face on the part of the suspect, the second clause deploys a leading question to challenge and allege the suspect for being responsible for the misappropriation of the said amount. In other words, the IPO deploys the leading question negotiating challenge. In constructing positive face of the suspect, he deploys *pàdánù* ('lose') instead of *jí* ('steal') or *sowó básubàsu* ('misappropriate'). The IPO's stylistic choice of *pàdánù* ('lose'), a device aimed at mitigating the suspect's crime, is an instance of face management technique which is targeted at ensuring the stability of the suspect. The stylistic-cum-contextual use of *pàdánù,* which conceals the suspect's offence, is a form of interactional strategy aimed at ensuring elicitation of relevant information from the suspect. In response, the suspect, in line 4, constructs denial by refusing to acknowledge involvement in the crime. The suspect's use of *Mi ò ji lówó. Mo ṣàlàyé fún Chief bí a ṣe ná owó náà.* 'I did not steal his money. I explained how we spent the money to Chief.' is an instance of empathic denial. The denial is constructed by using the negative marker *not* to pose dissociation of self.

In line 5, the IPO further dwells on the suspect's needs by posing a positive face. The expression *Inú mi kò dùn lórí ìṣesí rẹ lórí ọ̀rọ̀ yìí. Mo lérò wípé Sergeant XX ń fún ọ l'oúnjẹ gidi fún bíi ọjọ́ mẹ́fà ṣẹ́yìn. Mo sọ fún-un wípé kíi ó máa fi ọ́ sínú túbú pẹ̀lú àwọn ọmọ ògóríọlọ́ṣà.* 'I am not happy with your attitude towards this case. I hope Sergeant XX has been giving you good food for the past six days. I told him not to put you in the same cell with the hardened criminals.' is a discursive act of appealing to the suspect's physiological state. His expression of dissatisfaction with the suspect's attitude is an interactional tool to get access to more confessional statements from the suspect. He builds rapport in line 5 by engaging facial, sociality rights, and obligation and interactional goals as spelt out by Spencer-Oatey (2008). The IPO, who equally exercises power, performs the act of condemning the actions of the suspect. He equally constructs sociality rights and obligation by affirming to the suspect that he had instructed sergeant XX to constantly provide food and better cell for him. His appeal to the suspect's needs is a discursive device aimed at eliciting confessional statements from him (the suspect).

In line 7, the IPO negotiates sociality and obligation by appealing to the suspect's comfort. He informs the suspect of the need to have a bath and take some rest. His emphasis on the needs of the suspect and assurance from the other IPO to exclude the suspect from any physical torture is means of identifying with the suspect's physiological and emotional demands. The suspect's construction of denial in line 8 is greeted with further interactional management skill

from the IPO in line 9. He de-emphasises the suspect's denial and focuses on the well-being of the suspect. His expression *Ǹjẹ́ o ti lo ògùn ibà rẹ? O nílò láti ṣ'ara gírí nígbà tí wọ́n bá ń fi ọ̀rọ̀ wá ẹ lẹ́nu wò. Gbogbo ohun tí o ṣàlàyé fún mi lóyé mi yékéyéké. Mo sì ti ṣàlàyé fún Chief nípa gbogbo ìdákọ́nkọ́ ìwádìí tí mo ti ṣe. Màá pe nọ́ọ́sì láti wá wo ipò ìlera rẹ*. 'Have you taken your malaria drug? You need to be emotionally stable in the interrogation room. I understood your side of the story. I also informed Chief of the findings I have made so far. I may need to invite the nurse again to check your malaria status.' is a form of discursive appeal to douse the suspect's fears and tension. The IPO responds to the suspect's denial by disregarding the construction of denial, and emphasising the suspect's emotional and physiological needs. This study negates Ajayi's (2016) emphasis on physical torture as a means of eliciting confessional statements from suspects.

4.2. *Jíjẹ́rítako àwon afurasí* 'Constructing testimonies against suspects'

Bull (2012) writes that police interrogation thrives on information management. He notes that interviewers construct evidence to achieve their desired ends in interrogation. Construction of testimonies against suspects features as a strategy adopted by IPOs to handle cases of denials during the recorded interrogation sessions. An instance is presented in Excerpt 2:

Excerpt 2

1. P: Ìgbà wo lo bẹ̀rẹ̀ isẹ́ ayélujára?
   'When did you start the internet business?'

2. S: Mo bẹ̀rẹ̀ ní ọdún 2017, ó kàn jẹ́ wípé àwọn isẹ́ ayélujára tí ó tọ̀nà nìkan ni mò ń ṣe.
   'I started in 2017, but I only engage in legitimate businesses online.'

3. P: (*Rẹ̀rín mú*sẹ́) Àwọn isẹ́ ayélujára tí ó tọ̀nà nìkan? O ṣe alábàápàdé Mrs. XB ní ọdún 2015, o sì lùú ní jìbìtì l'ọ́ dún kan náà. Òótọ́ àbí irọ́?
   (*Smiles*) 'You only engage in legitimate business? You came in contact with Mrs. XX in 2015, and defrauded her in the same year. True or false?'

4. S: Sir, Mi ò bá máa ṣèyí. Báwo? Mo ní isẹ́ ayélujára tí ó ní òǹtẹ̀ ìjọba. A ṣe ń gbọ́ wípé irú èèyàn bí tèmi ní ó máa lu ẹlòmíràn ní jìbìtì? A pàdé lórí ẹ̀rọ ayélujára, a sì di alábàáṣiṣẹ́pọ̀.
   'Sir, I could not have done that. How? I have a registered online business. How can such a person be defrauding people? I met her online and we became business partners.'

5. P: Ǹjẹ́ o rántí ìfòrọ̀jẹ̀wọ́ láàrin ìwọ àti XB, tí ó ṣèlérí fún-un wípé o máa ja àwọn ọjà kan fún-un. Ó san milionu kan lé ọgọ́rùn igba méjì náírà (1.2 million naira) fún ọ. Ǹjẹ́ o kó àwọn ọjà náà fun bí? Àwọn àkálẹ̀-ọ̀rọ̀ àti ẹ̀dà owó tí ó san nìyìí.
'Do you recall that you had a conversation on XB, and you promised to make some deliveries for her. She paid you 1.2 million naira. Did you deliver the items? The print out of your conversation and her teller are here.'

6. S: Òhun ló fàá, sir. Kò mú májẹ̀mú rẹ̀ ṣẹ. Ó kàn fi mí ṣeré lásán ni. A padà yanjú ẹ̀ láàrìn ara wa.
'She caused it, sir. She did not honour our agreement. She took me for granted. We later resolved our differences.'

7. P: Apart from the first deal you did, was there any other occasion where you defrauded her?
'Yàtọ̀ sí ti àkọ́kọ́ yẹn, ǹjẹ́ òmìràn wà tí ó gbà lùú ní jìbìtì?'

8. S: Mi ò lùú ní jìbìtì, sir. Ọlọ́run gan lè jèrí si wípé mí ò yánjẹ.
'I did not defraud her sir. God knows I did not cheat her.'

9. P: Ǹjẹ́ o f'ìgbà kán ṣe ìlérí láti ran ọmọ ẹ lọ́wọ́ lójúpòǹà láti lọ ìlú òyìnbó ní ọdún 2015?
'Did you ever promise to assist her son to travel out of Nigeria in 2015?'

10. S: Bẹ́ẹ̀ni, Mo sapá-sapá, ṣùgbọ́n kò bọ́si. Ohun gan náà mọ oun tó ṣẹlẹ̀. Mo ṣe gbogbo ohun ti agbára mi ká, kò kan bọ́si ni.
'Yes, but it did not work. She knows the story. I did all I could, but the plans fell through. I made a lot of efforts.'

11. P: Ǹjẹ́ o gba owó lọ́wọ́ rẹ̀?
'Did you collect money from her?'

12. S: Bẹ́ẹ̀ni, líló si òkè-òkun máa ń gba owó, tí kò sìí ẹni tí ó lè sọ bóyá ó má bọ́si tàbí kò ní bọ́si.
'Yes. Travelling requires money, and one cannot tell if it will be successful or not.'

13. P: Àwọn àkálẹ̀-ọ̀rọ̀ àti ìwádìí ilé-ìfowópamọ́ fihàn wípé ó san milionu méjì náírà (2million naira) sí àpò àsùwọ̀n rẹ. Mr. XC àti Mrs. XD gan le jẹ́rì si ìfọ́rọ̀wérọ̀ yín.
'The print out of your bank details has it that she transferred 2 million naira to your account. Mr. XX and Mrs. XX are also witnesses to the discussion you had.'

14. S:Òṣìṣẹ́, báwo lo ṣe máa ràn mí lọ́wọ́ lórí ọ̀rọ̀ yìí?
'Officer, how do you want to help me with this case?'

Excerpt 2 is a case of Internet fraud. The suspect was arrested after repeated fraudulent acts perpetrated against one Mrs. XB. The IPO tracked the shady deals of the suspect for six months before he was eventually arrested. The IPO probes the suspect's denial by posing testimonies of the suspect's crime. In line 1, the IPO demands the specific time the suspect started his criminal act. The sus-

pect's response in line 2, *Mo bẹ̀rẹ̀ ní ọdún 2017, ó kàn jẹ́ wípé àwọn iṣẹ́ ayélujára tí ó tọ̀nà nìkan ni mò ń ṣe*. 'I started in 2017, but I only engage in legitimate businesses online.' includes more extraneous details. His inclusion of the nominal group *legitimate business* is an instance of facial sensitivity created to constrain the creation of negative face by the IPO. Since the interactional goal of the suspect is to escape incrimination, he engages face sensitivity to create a positive self. In line 3, the IPO says: *Àwọn iṣẹ́ ayélujára tí ó tọ̀nà nìkan? O ṣe alábàápàdé Mrs. XB ní ọdún 2015, o sì lùú ní ìjìbìtì l'ọ́dún kan náà. Òótọ́ àbí irọ́?* 'You only engage in legitimate business? You came in contact with Mrs. XX in 2015 and defrauded her in the same year. True or false?'. The IPO responds by using facial sensitivities to achieve his interactional goal. Facial sensitivities, according to Spencer-Oatey (2008) include personal traits, beliefs, physical features, language choice, and affiliation. First, the IPO uses smile, a paralinguistic cue, to challenge the suspect. The IPO's repetition of the suspect's response, *Àwọn iṣẹ́ ayélujára tí ó tọ̀nà nìkan?* 'You only engage in legitimate business?' is contextually constructed to render invalid the narrative of the suspect. To further legitimise his allegation in the same line, the IPO presents some factual testimonies against the suspect by informing him about when he (the suspect) met and defrauded the victim. The IPO deliberately threatens the suspect's face by providing unquestionable testimonies against the suspect.

Having presented testimonies against the suspect, the IPO, through the use of alternative question *Òótọ́ àbí irọ́?* 'True of false?', utilises sociality rights of the suspect by informing him to contest his allegation. This question type is often used by the Yoruba to box the respondent in. It does not give room for explanation. It is deployed to make the suspect commit himself and own up to the crime. In line 4, the suspect further negotiates the discursive act of contesting the IPO's stance by using explanatory form of denial. He provides justification for and explanation on why he could not have done such a shady act. The suspect equally constructs denial by framing rhetorical question *A ṣe ń gbọ́ wípé irú èèyàn bí tèmi ní ó máa lu ẹlòmíràn ní jìbìtì*? 'How can such a person be defrauding people?' to perform the act of challenging the IPO's claim. The Yoruba often use this to make the interlocutor confirm the truth of a claim. In this instance, the suspect invites the IPO to attesting to his innocence, making him a witness. In response, the IPO resorts to a paralinguistic act to further provide testimonies against the suspect by playing a recorded voice of the suspect on failed business transactions with Mrs. XB. He (the IPO) asks *Ǹjẹ́ o rántí ìfọ̀rọ̀jẹ̀wọ́ láàrin ìwọ àti XB, tí ó ṣèlérí fún-un wípé o máa ja àwọn ọjà kan fún-un. Ó san miliọnu kan lé ọgọ́rùn igba méjì náírà* (*1.2 million naira*) *fún ọ. Ǹjẹ́ o kó àwọn ọjà náà fun bí? Àwọn àkálẹ̀-ọ̀rọ̀ àti ẹ̀dà owó tí ó san nìyìí.* 'Do you recall that you had a conversation on XX, and you

promised to make some deliveries for her. She paid you 1.2 million naira. Did you deliver the items? The print out of your conversation and her teller are here.' The IPO's presentation of testimonies against the suspect is an interactional strategy targeted at threatening the face and goal of the suspect.

The testimonies of the IPO force the suspect to admit in line 6 by saying *Òhun ló fàá,* sir*. Kò mú májẹ̀mú rẹ̀ ṣẹ. Ó kàn fi mí ṣeré lásán ni. A padà yanjú ẹ̀ láàrìn ara wa.* 'She caused it, sir. She did not honour our agreement. She took me for granted. We later resolved our differences.' Another instance of presentation of testimonies to threaten the face and goal of the suspect is captured in line 13. The IPO asks the suspect, in line 9, if he had collected money from the victim: *Ǹjé o f'ìgbà kán ṣe ìlérí láti ran ọmọ ẹ lọ́wọ́ lójúpọ̀nà láti lọ ìlú òyìnbó ní ọdún 2015* 'Did you ever promise to assist her son to travel out of Nigeria in 2015?'. The suspect's affirmative response compels the IPO to present evidence against the suspect, in line 13: *Àwọn àkálẹ̀-ọ̀rọ̀ àti ìwádìí ilé-ìfowópamọ́ fihàn wípé ó san miliọnu méjì náírà (2milllion naira) sí àpò àsùwọ̀n rẹ. Mr. XC àti Mrs. XD gan le jẹ́rì si ìfọ́rọ̀wérọ̀ yín.* 'The print out of your bank details has it that she transferred 2 million naira to your account. Mr. XC and Mrs. XD are also witnesses to the discussion you had.' The suspect eventually admits in line 14 by saying *Òṣìṣẹ́, báwo lo ṣe máa ràn mí lọ́wọ́ lórí ọ̀rọ̀ yìí?* 'Officer, how do you want to help me with this case?'. The suspect constructs empathic denial by refuting the IPO's claims so as to escape incrimination while the IPO engages facial sensitivities to achieve confession. This study converges with Akinrinlola (2016) and Sunday and Akinrinola (2017) on the significance of linguistic cues in negotiating interactional goals in PSI.

4.3. *Piípakuuru mó ẹ̀tọ́ afurasí* 'Harping on suspects' sociality rights'

The IPOs deploy justification of suspects' rights to pursue interactional goals during interrogation sessions. Kalbfleisch (1994) describes justification of suspects' rights as a form of language of deceit during interrogation. An instance is presented below:

Excerpt 3

1. P: Ṣé ọkùnrin Fulani yìí daran jẹ nínú oko rẹ?
   'Did the Fulani man graze on your farm?'

2. S: Bẹ́ẹ̀ni òṣìṣẹ́. Ó ti ba gbogbo ohun tó wà lórí oko mi jẹ́. Nígbà tí mo débẹ̀, mo sọkún. Ó gbàmí ní ọdún mẹ́rin lati gbìn àti dá oko náà.
   'Yes officer. He destroyed everything on the farm. When I got there, I cried. It took me four years to cultivate and plant the crops.'

3. P: Ṣùgbọ́n ọkùnrin Fulani yìí sọ wípé oun kò dé ibi oko rẹ. Kíló dé tí o fí ń halẹ̀ mọ? Mo mọ̀ wípé ọkùnrin Fulani yìí ti tẹ ẹ̀tọ́ rẹ lójú mọ́lẹ̀. Ó mọ̀ mọ̀ ba àwọn èrè oko rẹ jẹ́ ni.
'The Fulani man said he did not destroy your farm. Why did you threaten him? I know the Fulani man has infringed on your rights. He wilfully damaged your crops.'

4. S: (*Ó fi ojú èrọ-ìbáraẹnisọ̀rọ̀ rẹ̀ han IPO)* Mi ò halẹ̀ mọ, Sir. Ó paró fún ẹ ni. Gbogbo ohun tí ó ṣẹlẹ̀ l'óko rẹ̀ ni mo yà sínú èrọ-ìbáraẹnisọ̀rọ̀ mi. Ẹwo bí gbogbo ẹ ṣe paarun. Tani irú ẹ̀ yóò ṣe tí kò ní bínú? Ǹjẹ́ ó rọrùn láti fúrúgbìn bí? Báwo ni mó ṣe fẹ́ rí gbogbo owó tí mo ná lorí oko yìí padà?
(*Displayed his cell phone to the IPO)* 'I did not threaten him, sir. He lied to you. I snapped the farm on my phone. Here is the scene of the destruction. How will I not react to this? Is it easy to plant? How will I recoup the money I spent on the farm?'

5. P: Ọkùnrin Fulani yìí sọ wípé o kọjú ìjà sí òun, ó ní ká wo oùn nílẹ̀. Kílódé tí o fi ṣe ìdájọ́ lọ́wọ́ ara rẹ? Mo mọ̀ wípé, o ti náwó-nára lórí oko yìí.
'The Fulani man said you attacked him, and you can see him on the floor. Why did you take laws into your own hands? I know you have invested so much in the farm.'

6. S: Mi ò kọjú ìjà si, sir.
'I did not attack him, Sir.'

7. P: Gbogbo wa la mọ̀ wípé ọkùnrin Fulani yìí kógun ja agbègbè rẹ,tí ó jẹ́ èṣẹ̀ lọ́nà kan. Yíya bo agbègbè rẹ yìí léwu fún ọ àti àwọn ìpakúpa àwọn èrè oko rẹ̀ ni ò bójúmu tí ó sì tọ́ fún ìjìyà lábẹ́ òfin. Ṣúgbọ́n ètò ààbò ti ẹ náà ṣe kókó. Kò yẹ kí o kọjú ìjà si rárá.
'The Fulani man invaded your territory, and that is an offence in the first place. His invasion is a threat to your life and his reckless destruction of your farm is also condemnable. But his life is precious, too. You should not have attacked him.'

8. S: Bí ó tilẹ̀ wù kí ó rí, ẹbí mi ni a ti sọ sínú ìpayínkeke àti ìnira. Kò sówó, kó oúnjẹ. Ẹmá bínú lórí èyí, Sir.
'As it is now, my family has been thrown into misery and hardship. No money, no food. I am sorry about that, sir.'

9. P: Ọṣẹ́ tí wọ́n ṣe lórí oko rẹ kò b'ófin mu, tí ó sì tọ́ fún ìjìyà lábẹ́ òfin. Èyí túnmọ̀ sí wípé a ti tẹ ẹ̀tọ́ rẹ lójú mọ́lẹ̀.
'The damage done on your farm is unlawful and punishable. It is an infringement of your rights.'

10. S: Ẹ ṣé gan ni, Sir. Ọlọ́run a bùkún fun yín.
'Thank you, sir. God bless you.'

11. P: Ṣùgbọ́n ìwọ náà ti ṣe ìdájọ́ lọ́wọ́ ara rẹ. Èyí náà tó fún ìjìyà lábẹ́ òfin.
'But you took laws into your own hands. That is punishable, too.'

12. S: Ẹmá bínú, òṣìṣẹ́.
'I am sorry, officer.'

Excerpt 3 is a case of assault. Mr. XE, a Fulani herder, reported that Mr. XF accosted and beat him mercilessly on his (the suspect's) farm. Mr. XF was eventually arrested. In the excerpt, the IPO makes use of sociality rights and obligation, a tenet in Spencer-Oatey's RMT, as a strategy to achieve interactional goal in his interaction with the suspect. Asked if the Fulani man had grazed on his farm, the suspect, in line 2, says: *Bẹ́ẹ̀ni òsìṣẹ́. Ó ti ba gbogbo ohun tó wà lórí oko mi jẹ́. Nígbà tí mo débẹ̀, mo sọkún. Ó gbàmí ní ọdún mẹ́rin lati gbìn àti dá oko náà.* 'Yes officer. He destroyed everything on the farm. When I got there, I cried. It took me four years to cultivate and plant the crops.' The suspect resorts to the use of facial cues, in line 2, to construct identities within the context of the case presented. His choice of *ba gbogbo ohun tó wà lórí oko mi jẹ́* 'destroyed everything on the farm' poses a threat on the face of the complainant. In other words, he constructs the complainant as a culprit and destroyer. Besides, the suspect, through the deployment of facial cues, constructs sympathetic mood before the IPO by saying *Nígbà tí mo débẹ̀, mo sọkún.* 'When I got there, I cried.' His utterance contextually draws a mental picture of the destruction caused on his farm by Mr. XE. The suspect's construction of a positive face is targeted at threatening the face of Mr. XE and the IPO and escaping incrimination. In line 3, the IPO refutes the suspect's allegation by harping on the rights of the suspect. Through the deployment of sociality rights cues, the IPO admits Mr. XE's excesses and advances the rights of the suspect within the scope of the law. He says: *Mo mọ̀ wípé ọkùnrin Fulani yìí ti tẹ ẹ̀tọ́ rẹ lójú mọ́lẹ̀. Ó mọ̀ mọ̀ ba àwọn èrè oko rẹ jẹ́ ni.* 'I know the Fulani man has infringed your rights. He wilfully damaged your crops.' The IPO creates appropriate context for the suspect by engaging facial cues to construct Mr. XE as a wilful destroyer by emphasising his (the suspect's) rights so as to enhance the suspect's interactional goal and threaten Mr. XE's face.

The IPO's emphasis on the suspect's rights is an interactional strategy aimed at eliciting confessional statement from the suspect. The suspect's resort to rhetorical question constitutes an affront to the IPO's face. The suspect's contextual deployment of rhetorical questions negoatiates the discursive act of challenge and jusstification of his actions. He affirms that *Gbogbo ohun tí ó ṣẹlẹ̀ l'óko rẹ̀ ni mo yà sínú ẹ̀rọ-ìbáraẹnisọ̀rọ̀ mi. Ẹwo bí gbogbo ẹ ṣe paarun. Tani irú ẹ̀ yóò ṣe tí kò ní bínú? Ǹjẹ́ ó rọrùn láti fúrúgbìn bí? Báwo ni mó ṣe fẹ́ rí gbogbo owó tí mo ná lorí oko yìí padà?* 'I snapped the farm on my phone. Here is the scene of the destruction. How will I not react to this? Is it easy to plant? How will I recoup the money I spent on the farm?'. In line 5, however, the IPO provides a counter narrative by saying *Ọkùnrin Fulani yìí sọ wípé o kọjú ìjà sí òun, ó ní ká wo oùn nílẹ̀. Kílódé tí o fi ṣe ìdájọ́ lọ́wọ́ ara rẹ? Mo mọ̀ wípé, o ti náwó-nára lórí oko yìí.* 'The Fulani man said you attacked him, and you can see him on the floor. Why did

you take laws into your own hands? I know you have invested so much in the farm.' The IPO's response, in line 7, *Gbogbo wa la mọ́ wípé ọ̀kùnrin Fulani yìí kógun ja agbègbè rẹ̀,tí ó jẹ́ èṣè lọ́nà kan. Yíya bo agbègbè rẹ yìí léwu fún ọ àti àwọn ìpakúpa àwọn èrè oko rẹ̀ ni ò bójúmu tí ó sì tọ́ fún ìjìyà lábẹ́ òfin. Ṣúgbọ́n èrò ààbò ti ẹ náà ṣe kókó. Kò yẹ kí o kọjú ìjà si rárá.* 'The Fulani man invaded your territory, and that is an offence in the first place. His invasion is a threat to your life and his reckless destruction of your farm is also condemnable. But his life is precious, too. You should not have attacked him.' thrives on sociality rights of the suspect by creating an identity of innocence for the suspect. He establishes victimhood on the part of the suspect by condemning the actions of Mr. XE.

The IPO's lexical choices, such as *kógun ja* ('invaded')*, agbègbè* ('territory')*, èṣè* ('offence')*, léwu fún ọ* ('threat to your life')*, ìpakúpa àwọn èrè oko* ('reckless destruction of farm'), and *ò bójúmu tí ó sì tọ́ fún ìjìyà lábẹ́ òfin* ('condemnable') contextually threaten the face and goal of Mr. XE. The construction of such negative face implies or justifies Mr. XF's innocence. As seen in line 9, *Ọ̀ṣẹ́ tí wọ́n ṣe lórí oko rẹ kò b'ófin mu, tí ó sì tọ́ fún ìjìyà lábẹ́ òfin. Èyí túnmọ̀ sí wípé a ti tẹ ẹ̀tọ́ rẹ lójú mọ́ lẹ̀.* 'The damage done on your farm is unlawful and punishable. It is an infringement of your rights.', the IPO further uses interactional cues to affirm the rights of the suspect. He alleges that Mr. XE's actions were unlawful and that the suspect's rights were challenged. He, however, condemns the suspect's act of taking laws into his own hands, in line 11. The suspect eventually apologises, in line 12. In the interaction, the participants negotiate interactional goals by means of face and sociality rights during the interrogation. This finding agrees with Heydon (2005) and Nicola (2012), that IPOs and suspect contextually construct their goals by exploring contextual variables during interaction sessions.

4.4. *Using cell and investigation for suspects* 'Engaging detention and thorough investigation'

Interrogating police officers resort to continued detention of suspects to create a platform for better interaction during interrogation sessions. Griffiths (2008) describes continuous detention as an advanced investigative skill. Excerpt 4 below is an instance of IPOs' use of continued detention:

Excerpt 4

1. P: Corporal XG arrest you sey you follow go do the robbery for XO. Na true or lie? 'Corporal XG arrested you as one of the syndicates of the robbery incident at XO. True or false?'

2. S: I no dey, sir. As dey finish the robbery, na im police dey arrest anybody wey dem see. I was not part of them, sir.
'When the robbery was carried out, IPOs raided our compound and arrested everybody.'

3. P: Na three of you we arrest. The remaining don run. Na today make am second week wey you don dey cell. I go help you if you cooperate. IPO XX wan hang you self, but I no go let am punish if you confess.
'We arrested just three of you. Others are still at large. Today makes it your second week in the cell. I am ready to assist you if you cooperate. IPO XX is ready to hang you, but I will not let him punish you that way provided you confess.'

4. S: I no dey, sir. Nobody wey no know me for our compound. I be Christian, and I never thief before.
'I was not part of them, sir. Everybody knows me in my neighbourhood. I am a Christian, and I do not have any previous crime history.'

5. P: (*Nodes im head*). I don know sey you go fit tell me information about the case. I wan dey talk with you about other suspects wey dey inside cell. You see sey I dey comot you for inside cell to talk with you for day time. Who plan the thing between suspect XF and AA? I sure sey you tell me.
(Nodes his head) 'I have discovered that you can give me useful information relating to the case. So, I want to be interacting with you about other suspects in the cell. You can see I bring you out during the day to interact with you. Who planned the thing between suspect XF and AA? I am sure you will tell me.'

6. S: Oga, I no know. But dem dey together before the thing happen.
'Sir, I do not know. But they were usually together before the incident.'

7. P: Wetin dem dey do together any time wey you see dem?
'What were they doing together each time you saw them?'

8. S: Sometime dey talk till 11pm.
'At times they talked till 11 p.m.'

9. P: I go put you here while I go dey do my investigation go. I don reach your community go do some investigation. The two suspects there be correct thieves. I go release you if you don tell me somethings about the suspects.
'I will keep you here while I carry out some investigations. I have been to your community and I made some consultations and interrogation. The two suspects have very good crime history. Your release from custody is consequent upon your provision of useful information on these suspects.'

10. S: Oga, the two guys be correct thieves for our place o. Police don catch dem many times.
'Sir, the two suspects are known criminals in our compound. They have been arrested many times by police.'

11. P: I put some people for cell there to dey monitor their talk. I even tell one of the spies to ask dem why dem go rob. Dem sey dem do am to gather money for business.
'I planted some informants in the cell to help me monitor the conversation of these two suspects. I even told one suspect to ask them (the two suspects) why they carried out the robbery. They confessed to the suspect that they did it to raise some money for a business.'

12. S: Dem won start bunker business, and dey sey dey need that kind 2 million naira. I no know if na that one push dem go rob o.
'They are about starting bunker business, and they said they needed 2 million naira for a start. So, I cannot tell if that was what informed their involvement in the robbery.'

Excerpt 4 is from a case of robbery. The suspect was arrested in connection with a robbery case that was carried out in XO. The IPO employs detention and investigation as a device for handling denials during the interrogation sessions. Although the IPO uses a leading question to establish the suspect's guilt in line 1, such question recognises the sociality right of the suspect. Although the IPO's question is a threat to the suspect's face and goal, his (the IPO's) inclusion of *Na true or lie?* 'True or false?' enables the IPO to contest the IPO's allegation. In line 3, the IPO stresses the act of detention and investigation by the police team in tracking the case. He says: *Na three of you we arrest. The remaining don run. Na today make am second week wey you don dey cell. I go help you if you cooperate. IPO XX wan hang you self, but I no go let am punish if you confess.* 'We arrested just three of you. Others are still at large. Today makes it your second week in the cell. I am ready to assist you if you cooperate. IPO XX is ready to hang you, but I will not let him punish you that way provided you confess.' The IPO's accent on the number of weeks the suspect has been kept in custody does not only pose a threat to the suspect's face, but it also affirms the IPO's emphasis on keeping the suspect in custody so as to have access to confessional statements.

In a bid to further pursue his interactional goal, the suspect, in line 4, poses explanatory denial by giving justification for his innocence: *I no dey, sir. Nobody wey no know me for our compound. I be Christian, and I never thief before*. 'I was not part of them, sir. Everybody knows me in my neighbourhood. I am a Christian, and I do not have any previous crime history.' His justification is aimed at protecting his face from being threatened. In line 5, the IPO resorts to engaging rapport with the suspect by harping on the strength of interaction in eliciting confessional statement from him. He says: *I don know sey you go fit tell me information about the case. I wan dey talk with you about other suspects wey dey inside cell. You see sey I dey comot you for inside cell to talk with you for day time. Who plan the thing between suspect XF and AA? I sure sey you tell me.* 'I have

discovered that you can give me useful information relating to the case. So, I want to be interacting with you about other suspects in the cell. You can see I bring you out during the day to interact with you. Who planned the robbery between suspect XF and AA? I am sure you will tell me.' With detention as a strategy, the IPO deploys sociality by giving preferential treatment to the suspect. While other suspects were kept in cell throughout the day, he allowed the suspect being investigated to stay in the interrogation room. In his interaction in line 5, there is an instance of facial construction of sociality identified by Spencer-Oatey (2008). The IPO's trust in the suspect facially constructs the suspect as an honest person who should not be subjected to physical torture. His emphasis on the strength of interaction in the same line agrees with Oatey's submission that achieving interactional goal is hinged on participants' strength of handling the complexities of interaction.

Having created a sense of mutual interaction and trust in the suspect, the IPO asks who was responsible for the robbery. As seen in line 6, *Oga, I no know. But dem dey together before the thing happen*. 'Sir, I do not know. But they were usually together before the incident.', the suspect admits to seeing the two other suspects together days before the incident. Emphasising detention and investigation, the IPO makes use of social obligation by informing the suspect that he had done spirited investigation about the crime. He also affirms that the two other suspects are liable. He says: *I go put you here while I go dey do my investigation go. I don reach your community go do some investigation. The two suspects there be correct thieves. I go release you if you don tell me some things about the suspects*. 'I will keep you here while I carry out some investigations. I have been to your community and I made some consultations and interrogation. The two suspects have very good crime history. Your release from custody is consequent upon your provision of useful information on these suspects.' The IPO's utterance forces the suspect to reveal the identities of the two other suspects in the cell. The suspect says: *Oga, the two guys be correct thieves for our place o. Police don catch dem many times.* 'Sir, the two suspects are known criminals in our compound. They have been arrested many times by police.'

In line 11, the IPO informs the suspect that he had planted some spies in the cell to monitor the communication of the two other suspects: *I put some people for cell there to dey monitor their talk. I even tell one of the spies to ask dem why dem go rob. Dem sey dem do am to gather money for business*. 'I planted some informants in the cell to help me monitor the conversation of these two suspects. I even told one suspect to ask them (the two suspects) why they carried out the robbery. They confessed to the suspect that they did it to raise some money for

a business.' In line 12, the suspect tells the IPO: *Dem won start bunker business, and dey sey dey need that kind 2 million naira. I no know if na that one push dem go rob o.* 'They are about starting bunker business, and they said they needed two million naira for a start. So, I cannot tell if that was what informed their involvement in the robbery.' In the excerpt above, the IPO uses continued detention of the suspect to initiate and sustain spirited investigation of the crime committed. In a bid to elicit confessional statement from the suspect, the IPO manipulates facial and sociality cues. While May, Granhang and Tekin (2017) identify evidence disclosure as the only viable strategy of ensuring elicitation of confessional statements in PSI, this study contends that detention and spirited investigation also aid elicitation of confession in PSI.

5. Implications of IPOs' handling of denials for crime investigation at SCIID, Ibadan

This paper has explored the deployment of denial in PSI in Ibadan, Nigeria. The study provides a counterdiscourse of police elicitation strategy during interrogation sessions. While some studies (Ajayi 2016, Akinrinlola 2016) confirm the use of physical threats in eliciting confessional statements from suspects, this study argues the contrary. While this study recognises denial as a weapon of defeating IPO's investigative endeavour, it contends that the IPOs elicit confession from suspects by deploying the resourcefulness of face, sociality, obligations, and interactional goals during interrogation sessions.

The study argues that the IPOs' discursive strateges of handling denials have implications for crime investigation in Ibadan, Nigeria. From the interactions considered in this study, it could be deduced that the suspect is an important stakeholder in crime investigation. While most of the earlier studies did not recognise the place of the suspect, this study argues that the suspect's rights should be protected during crime investigation. With reference to police interrogation sessions in SCIID, Ibadan, this study claims that suspects threaten IPOs' interactional goals in a bid to save their (suspects') face during crime investigation. They adopt denial as a tool to justify their actions and beat IPOs' investigation skills. Conversely, IPOs pose threats to suspects by constructing negative identities for suspects.

With reference to the sampled cases, IPOs appeal to suspects' emotional and physiological needs as a strategy of handling denial in cases of stealing while suspects deploy empathic denial to render invalid the allegations of IPOs. In fraud-related cases, IPOs handle denials by constructing testimonies against

suspects. While IPOs harp on suspects' rights in cases of assault, continued detention-cum-spirited-investigation strategy is adopted to handle denial in robbery cases.

From the cases considered in this study, it could be deduced that IPOs use linguistic cues to mitigate denials in PSI. Handling suspects' denials is imperative for IPOs. Since the goal of IPOs is to elicit confessional statements from suspects, they adopt strategies to minimise cases of suspects' denial. The reason is that suspects' denials constrict the elicitation of relevant confession from suspects. Also, IPOs discursively handle denials to avoid forced confession from suspects. It could be inferred that the power of the PSI does not reside in the IPOs alone, as claimed by Ajayi (2016) and Omoroghomwan (2018). Power is initiated, managed, and sustained in the interactions presented above through manipulative engagement of context, participants, and interactional goals. Power is interpreted with respect to how IPOs handle suspects' denials in the interaction.

This study does not only extend the frontiers of scholarship in forensic discourse studies, but it also equips students and teachers of discourse studies with necessary discourse analytical strategies of negotiating civility in communicative encounters. Besides, officers of the Nigeria Police Force, especially personnel attached to the State Criminal and Investigation and Intelligence Department (SCIID), are armed with requisite strategies of coping with denial in PSI through the findings of this study.

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Saul S. Bichwa
Stellenbosch University

Contextualizing Universal Theory of Acronym Formation in Kiswahili acronyms

Abstract

In controlling and managing knowledge there is a need of a tool that ensures such management. Theories, principles, and rules are the right tools for knowledge management (cf. Mkude 2008: 158). There has been so far only one theory known to the present researcher, which is the Universal Theory of Acronym Formation (UTAF) (Zahariev 2004). This study evaluates the applicability of the UTAF to Bantu languages drawing data from Kiswahili since the UTAF was developed based on European, Asian, and Middle East languages[1] and, hence, in the real sense, its founder did not include any acronymic data from any African or Bantu languages. The theory was developed in 2004 by Zahariev who argued that it is the first theory accounting for acronyms in all human languages. To my knowledge, this claim has never been tested with any of the Bantu languages, which this study attempts to do. Testing this theory in Kiswahili, a Bantu language, will stimulate further insightful studies on acronyms in other Bantu languages.

Keywords: Universal Theory of Acronym Formation (UTAF), acronym, Kiswahili

1. Introduction

Acronymy is a morphological process of word creation involving formation of new words by taking initial letters or syllables from words in a given string of

[1] European languages involved are English, Spanish, French, German, Finnish, Italian, Hungarian, Romanian, Russian, and Bulgarian. Middle East languages involved are Hebrew, Arabic, and Farsi. Asian languages involved are Chinese and Japanese.

words, e.g. phrase (cf. BAKITA 1994, 2013, O'Grady et al. 1997, Akmajian et al. 2001). It is a way of representing an expression or a construction in a simple manner by replacing it with a single word (Zahariev 2004, Kahigi 2007, Katikiro 2014). Examples of acronyms formed in this way include the following (initial letters or syllables picked are shown in bold face):

Example 1

1. BAKITA (**Ba**raza la **Ki**swahili la **Ta**ifa) meaning 'National Kiswahili Council'.
2. BAMUTA (**Ba**laza la **Mu**ziki **Ta**nzania) meaning 'Music Council of Tanzania'.
3. TUKI (**T**aasisi ya **U**chunguzi wa **Ki**swahili) meaning 'Institute of Kiswahili Research'.
4. UNESCO (**U**nited **N**ations **E**ducational, **S**cientific and **C**ultural **O**rganisation).
5. TEHAMA (**Te**knolojia ya **Ha**bari na **Ma**wasiliano) meaning 'Information and Communication Technology'.
6. BASATA (**Ba**raza la **Sa**naa **Ta**nzania) meaning 'National Arts Council of Tanzania'.
7. TAMISEMI (**Ta**wala za **Mi**koa na **Se**rikali za **Mi**taa) meaning 'Regional and Local Government Authorities'.
8. UMISETA (**U**moja wa **Mi**chezo ya **Se**kondari **Ta**nzania) meaning 'Tanzania Secondary School Sports Association'.
9. TASUBA (**Ta**asisi ya **S**anaa na **U**tamaduni **Ba**gamoyo) meaning 'Bagamoyo Institute of Arts and Culture'.
10. ASP (**A**fro-**S**hiraz **P**arty).

Source: Habwe 1995, Fieldwork 2014/2015

Acronyms exist in many human languages. They are a significant and most dynamic area of the lexicon of most human languages. Acronym is regarded as a universal phenomenon of systematic abbreviation of expressions, and it represents the most productive source of new and fresh lexical items for various languages (Zahariev 2004: iii).

Despite the presence of numerous acronyms in most human languages, studies theorising the acronym phenomenon are scanty. Some few studies available cover a few methods or rules regarding acronymization (cf. BAKITA 1994, 2013, O'Grady et al. 1997, Massamba 2000, Akmajian et al. 2001, Kahigi 200, Rubanza 2009, Katikiro 2014). The theory known to the researcher at present is the Universal Theory of Acronym Formation (henceforth UTAF). Zahariev (2004) claims that UTAF is comprehensive and that it accounts for acronyms in all human languages. The UTAF formulation was based on a study on acronyms in fifteen languages with six different writing systems. The language families that were

involved include Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Semitic, Slavic, Japanese, and Sino-Tibetan. The Bantu language family was not considered for this case despite the assertion made by Zahariev (2004: 120) that the theory accounts for acronym formation in all human languages.

From the above observation, one can argue that Zahariev considers the language writing systems to be the only special case for language differences in acronym formation rules whereas language families and even individual languages in the same family differ in many aspects, especially linguistic patterns (Kiango 2000, Gordian 2010). Therefore, this paper finds it important to test UTAF in Bantu languages in order to find out how far the claims by the author of this theory are true in Bantu language family, particularly in Kiswahili. To achieve this objective, data from Kiswahili are drawn. The results are used to identify some rules which are specific to Kiswahili and/or Bantu languages in general. This springs from Zahariev's observation that the rules for creating acronyms are common and universal to human languages but their ordering and importance or weight can differ from one language to another (Zahariev 2004: 31).

2. Data gathering and analysis

The data for this paper were gathered through intuition, documentary analysis, and the WhatsApp chats. The documents that were analysed are policy documents, teaching and learning materials such as books, dictionaries and journals, reports, and Kiswahili newspapers. The WhatsApp chats method was used to gather data from Kiswahili academicians, teachers, researchers, and students. The researcher sampled one international WhatsApp group known as CHALUFAKIDU i.e. **CHA**ama cha **LU**gha na **FA**sihi ya **KI**swahili **DU**niani. The group has members from various countries, Africa and across Africa. The intuition method was so imperative since the researcher himself is a Kiswahili linguist, teacher, and speaker. Thus, the knowledge he has would also be useful to generate some data. The analysis of data was done through intuitive knowledge as the researcher is generally knowledgeable about Kiswahili.

3. Kiswahili scholarship on acronym creation rules

To be able to test the UTAF, it is indispensable to identify Kiswahili specific rules for acronym creation that have been established by scholars. These rules are significant in identifying Kiswahili acronym forms to be used in testing the rules of acronym creation composing the UTAF. As noted earlier in the introduction,

some scholars (BAKITA 1994, 2013, Massamba 2000, Kahigi 2007, Rubanza 2009, Katikiro 2014) have highlighted some rules regarding acronym creation in Kiswahili. The challenges with their acronym studies are that some are not exhaustive, and some do not directly focus on the creation. Rather, this aspect is implied.

BAKITA (2013: 28-30) stipulates four acronym creation rules, as follows:

Rule One: Order the words forming an acronym appropriately

This rule stipulates that in forming an acronym the following order has to be borne in mind:

a) **Name:** an organisation, union, cooperation, company or treaty.

b) **Activities** being performed by the above name for example, transportation, legal services, teaching, editing, and researching, among others.

c) **Owner**: the person or an entity responsible for the activity.

This rule is general to acronym morphology since it means that the initial particles of words picked from an expression or construction to form an acronym should comprise all the three stipulated criteria as listed components. Considering rule one above, the example of Kiswahili acronym that would be considered to meet all criteria stipulated above is "BAKITA", an acronym standing for "**BA**raza la **KI**swahili la **TA**ifa". *Baraza* ('council') is the name, *Kiswahili* is the activity, and *Taifa* ('nation') is the owner. However, some examples provided by BAKITA under rule one does not conform to the rule. Consider the following examples:

Example 2

1. AZISE (Asasi Zisizo za Serikali) meaning 'Non-Governmental Organisation'.
2. TATAKI (Taasisi ya Taaluma za Kiswahili) meaning 'Institute of Kiswahili Studies'.

Source: BAKITA 2013: 29

The two examples above are within the list of acronyms formed as per rule one. However, they do not meet criteria established by the rule since they do not contain the "owner" that is supposed to be a person or an entity responsible for the activity. In example1 above "AZISE" the owner is no specified. The sense that is echoed here is that the owner is not the government represented by "**ZI**sizo za **SE**rikali", literally "which are non-governmental". Therefore, the owner

can be for example private, individual, company or association. Example 2, i.e. "TATAKI", does not even imply any sense of ownership of activities carried out by name. It only meets the name and activity components.

Rule Two: Pick the first syllable from each content word in each construction

BAKITA (2013: 29) argues that syllable system in creating an acronym should be observed since they ease the pronunciation of acronyms formed from abbreviated Kiswahili word constructions. Picking syllables from construction or expression to form acronyms results in the word-like and easily pronounceable acronymic forms. BAKITA provides acronyms created by observing this rule as illustrated below:

Example 3

1. CHADEMA (**CHA**ma cha **DE**mokrasia na **MA**endeleo) literally meaning the 'Party for Democracy and Development'.
2. BAMVITA (**BA**raza la **M**aendeleo ya **VI**tabu **TA**nzania) meaning 'Tanzania Book Development Council'.

Source: BAKITA 2013: 29

However, BAKITA (2009: 29) notes that there are certain cases where some letters in syllables in an formed acronym can be deleted for the sake of easing pronunciation. BAKITA provides examples where parts of syllables are deleted to ease pronunciation of the acronym as exemplified hereunder:

Example 4

1. TUKI (**T**aasisi ya **U**chunguzi wa **Ki**swahili) meaning 'Institute of Kiswahili Research'.
2. BAKWATA: (**BA**raza **K**uu la **WA**islamu **Ta**nzania) meaning 'National Muslim Council of Tanzania'.

Source: BAKITA 2013: 29

In Example 4 (1) the construction would be acronymised as "**TAUKI**" through picking the initial syllable from each content word as bolded in the following construction "**Ta**asisi ya **U**chunguzi wa **Ki**swahili". But for the purpose of easing pronunciation, letter "A" in the first syllable of an acronym TAUKI, i.e. "TA", is dropped retaining letter "T" which joins the subsequent vowel syllable "U" and the resultant acronym form becomes TUKI.

Likewise, in Example 4 (2) the construction would be acronymised as "**BAKUWATA**" through picking the initial syllable from each content word as bolded in the following construction "**BA**raza **KU**u la **WA**islamu **Ta**nzania". But for the purpose of easing pronunciation, letter "U" in the second syllable of an acronym **BAKUWATA,** i.e. "KU", is dropped retaining letter "K" which joins the subsequent syllable "WA", and the resultant acronym form becomes BAKWATA.

Rule Three: Choose one prominent word

Regarding this rule, BAKITA (1994, 2013) implies that one can form an acronym by selecting one word from the construction/expansion. The word to be selected should be the one that carries the main theme of the construction to be acronymised (BAKITA 2013: 30). Some examples supplied to justify this strategy are as follows:

Example 5

1. **WAFASIRI** an equivalent for TRANSLATORS (Chama cha Wafasiri Tanzania) translated as 'Tanzania Translators' Association'.
2. **WAZAZI** an equivalent for PARENTS (Jumuiya ya Wazazi Tanzania) translated as 'Tanzania Parents' Association'.
3. **VIJANA** an equivalent for YOUTH (Umoja wa Vijana) translated as 'Youth League'.
4. **USHIRIKA** an equivalent for COOPERATIVES (Muungano wa Vyama vya Ushirika) translated as 'Cooperative Unions'.

Source: BAKITA 2013: 29

This rule deviates too much the other rules of acronymisation. Even the common definition and conceptualisation of acronyms are not reflected in this rule. Thus, this rule calls for modification of acronym definition. This paper, however, does not focus on the redefinition of for accommodating acronyms created through this rule.

Rule Four: Pick the initial letters of words in a construction

According to this rule, BAKITA (1994: 32, 2013: 31) refers to forming an acronym through picking initial letter of each word in a construction and joining them to form an acronym. Examples supplied to justify this strategy are such as:

Example 6

1. **CCM** (**C**hama **c**ha **M**apinduzi) meaning a 'Revolutionary Party'.
2. **UWT**: **(U**moja wa **W**anawake **T**anzania) meaning 'Women Association of Tanzania'.

Although it is not stated clearly by saying "initial letters of words in a construction", BAKITA (2013: 30) intends to capture acronyms which are pronounced as series of letters commonly known as initialisms (Zarihev 2004: 17). BAKITA recognises this rule of acronym creation but discourages its implementation in Kiswahili as Rubanza does (BAKITA 1994: 31, Rubanza 2009: 68). The general rule of Kiswahili syllable that is consonant + vowel (open syllable) has to be used in creating an acronym but sometimes it is violated (Rubanza 2009: 68).

The observation under this rule is that BAKITA (1994, 2013: 28) states that "Finyazo za maneno ya Kiswahili huundwa kwa usahihi kwa kuzingatia misingi mikuu ifuatayo" ('Kiswahili acronyms are correctly created by observing the following main principles'). However, some acronym examples used in BAKITA (2013: 30), that are CUF (**C**ivic **U**nited **F**ront) and TLP (**T**anzania **L**abour **P**arty), to illustrate this rule are not derived from Kiswahili constructions.

Apart from BAKITA, Massamba (2000: 225) discusses creation of acronyms in Kiswahili as well. However, he is concerned with abbreviations in general. He does not distinguish between acronyms and abbreviations. Basically, acronyms are a subset of abbreviations. The larger set of abbreviations has several categories of abbreviations including symbolic abbreviations, direct abbreviations, acronyms, and other subcategories (Zahariev 2004: 17). But Massamba does not draw a line between these terms. Starting from the definition he offers, he puts abbreviation and acronyms in one basket as follows: "What is an abbreviation or acronym? For purposes of the present discussion an abbreviation or acronym is a short form of a word or a name" (Massamba 2000: 224).

The definition and concept of acronyms have been debated to date (Zahariev 2004: 15, Aronoff & Fudeman 2011: 120-122). Reliable definitions of acronyms and related concepts are very much needed to differentiate these terms and concepts. In the process some scholars have called for a comprehensive definition. Zahariev (2004: 16) observes that there is need for:

> a consistent set of definitions covering acronyms and related concepts, in order to solve one of the most important difficulties of acronym systems: the lack of a consistent terminology and blurry delimitations between terms.

Massamba's work is not related to the above observation. Massamba (2000: 225) proceeds to recommend three rules of creating abbreviations/acronyms as follows:

1. Taking part of a word to represent a whole word, for example "Prof." abbreviated from "Professor". This method is applicable in constructions which are at a single unit word level.

2. Taking the first letter or syllable of each word in a construction or phrase, for example "USA" abbreviated from "United States of America". This process involves constructions with more than a single unit of word.
3. Picking out the most prominent sounds of a particular name for example "DSM" abbreviated from the name "Dar es Salaam" and "ZNZ" abbreviated from the name "Zanzibar".

Similarly, in the process of classifying acronyms in Kiswahili, Rubanza (2009: 69) implies three strategies of creating acronyms:

Strategy One: Translating foreign acronyms into Kiswahili

Under this method of acronym creation, Rubanza refers to a process from which acronyms and their expressions originating from other languages are translated to form acronym equivalents and expressions in target language, Kiswahili in our case. The loan acronyms after being translated into Kiswahili then get their equivalent acronyms and expansions. The following are examples of translated acronyms from English to Kiswahili:

Example 7

TABLE 1. Translated acronym and expansion equivalents from English to Kiswahili

No.	English acronym	Expansion	Equivalent in Kiswahili	Expansion
1.	NSGRP	**N**ational **S**trategy for **G**rowth and **P**overty **R**eduction **P**rogramme	MKUKUTA	**M**kakati wa **K**ukuza **U**chumi na **K**upunguza **U**maskini **Ta**nzania
2.	PEDP	**P**rimary **E**ducation **D**evelopment **P**lan	MMEM	**M**pango wa **M**aendeleo ya **E**limu ya **M**singi
3.	PRSP	**P**overty **R**eduction **S**trategic **P**aper	WMUU	**W**araka wa **M**kakati wa **U**punguzaji wa **U**maskini

Source: Rubanza 2009: 69

Strategy Two: Forming acronyms from Kiswahili constructions

Considering this method, Rubanza observes that this method is unique since the concept of a resulting acronym is from Kiswahili expression. He, however, notes that acronyms formed out of Kiswahili expressions do not consistently observe the rule of picking initial letters of words in an expansion. Examples of acronyms originating from Kiswahili expansions are illustrated as follows:

Example 8

TABLE 2. Acronyms from expansions of Kiswahili origin

No.	Acronym	Expansion
1.	MEMKWA	**M**pango wa **E**limu ya **M**singi **K**wa **Wa**lioikosa
2.	MKURABITA	**M**pango wa **Ku**rasmisha **Ra**slimali na **Bi**ashara za Wanyonge **Ta**nzania
3.	MUKEJA	**M**pango wa **U**wiano **K**ati ya **E**limu ya Watu Wazima na **Ja**mii

Source: Rubanza 2009: 69

In the foregoing method of acronym formation, Rubanza specifically makes an observation on how acronyms deviate from the rule of picking initial letters of words in a construction. His main concern is that some acronyms leave out some initial letters of words in the expansion. Such words are not represented in the acronym form but exist in the expansion forming an acronym. Some examples he cites in illustrating this argument are as shown below:

Example 9

TABLE 3. Acronyms skipping words in expansions of Kiswahili origin

No.	Acronym	Expansion	Skipped words
1.	MKURABITA	**M**pango wa **Ku**rasmisha **Ra**slimali na **Bi**ashara za Wanyonge **Ta**nzania	wa, na, za & Wanyonge
2.	MUKEJA	**M**pango wa **U**wiano **K**ati ya **E**limu ya Watu Wazima na **Ja**mii	wa, ya, watu, wazima & na

Source: Rubanza 2009: 69

In Kiswahili, the issue of skipping some words, particularly functional words, has been raised particularly in Rubanza (2009).

Strategy Three: Borrowing English acronyms

In this method Rubanza (2009: 69) observes that borrowing acronyms from other languages, particularly from English, is another way of creating acronyms in Kiswahili. It is in this method that acronyms from a foreign language are not translated or given equivalent forms in Kiswahili as is the case in his method (1)

above; rather loan acronyms are adopted. The acronym expression of source language, however, is translated in target language but the equivalent expression in target language is not used to form an acronym. It accompanies the loan acronym form in writing or speaking in target language. Some illustrative examples of this strategy are listed below:

Example 10

TABLE 4. Kiswahili acronyms borrowed/adopted from English

No.	Acronym	Expansion	Expansion equivalent
1.	TASAF	**Ta**nzania **S**ocial **A**ction **F**und	Mfuko wa Maendeleo ya Wananchi
2.	HIPC	**H**ighly **I**ndebted **P**oor **C**ountries	Nchi Maskini Zenye Madeni Makubwa Sana
3.	PER	**P**ublic **E**xpenditure **R**eview	Tathmini ya Matumizi ya Fedha za Umma

Source: Rubanza 2009: 69

This method of getting acronyms in Kiswahili is widely used since there are many acronyms of this kind in the language. Borrowing words from other languages is common in most languages and, hence, a possible strategy for acronym creation as well (Rubanza 2009: 70).

Other rules for acronym creation that are covertly stated in Rubanza (2009) are that Kiswahili acronyms should observe pronounceability condition, should not be too long, should not be taboos, and should not collide resulting into synonyms (Rubanza 2009: 71).

Generally, Kiswahili scholarship on acronyms is still at the infancy stage in many aspects. However, the few studies highlighted in the foregoing discussion guide us in identifying acronyms found in Kiswahili to be used in testing the UTAF.

4. Contextualising the UTAF in Kiswahili

The UTAF contains seven claims and fifteen acronym creation rules. These claims are briefly elaborated in relation to rules in order to form the basis on which Kiswahili, as a Bantu language candidate, can be tested. The rules are grouped into three major categories that are matching rules, skipping rules, and other rules. Each rule and each claim are tested by supplying Kiswahili acro-

nyms that meet the conditions or qualities stipulated under a particular rule or claim. The provided data on Kiswahili acronyms are also supported by any rule or method already identified in Kiswahili studies on acronyms covered in the foregoing section on Kiswahili scholarship.

4.1. Matching Rules

Rule One: Match the initials

This rule involves matching of the initial character of a word in expansion with an identical character in the acronym. According to Zahariev (2004), this rule accounts for most acronyms in most languages. In Kiswahili, it is also accepted and is a common practice to form acronyms by picking initial letters of words from a construction to form an acronym. This kind of strategy of creating acronyms is supported by some Kiswahili scholars (BAKITA 1994, 2013, Massamba 2000, Rubanza 2009). The rule has three claims as stipulated by Zahariev (2004):

a) Short accidental matches

Longer acronyms matching initials and internal characters in the expansion are preferred over shorter (two-letter) acronyms matching only initials. Longer acronyms limit high incidence of false matches which results in the difficulty in recognising the expansion in the text.

Massamba (2000: 230), in identifying challenges of creating Kiswahili acronyms, notes that there are Kiswahili acronyms that are debatable simply because of lack of official attempts to standardise Kiswahili acronyms. He observes that:

> The short form for "Kifua Kikuu" (tuberculosis) is "KK", but the same short form is also used to represent "kupitia kwa" (under the forwarding signature); the short form for "meneja mkuu" (general manager) is "MM", but the same abbreviation is also used to present "mwalimu mkuu" (head teacher), etc.

Such clash of Kiswahili acronyms as identified by Massamba (2000: 230) is, in most cases, a result of short matches. This idea, however, is noted by Rubanza (2009: 71) from another angle where he observes that acronyms in Kiswahili should not be too long as it can impact on the pronounceability aspect of the acronym.

b) Pronounceability

Acronyms with improved pronounceability as words by adding more matches from internal letters of words in a given construction are often preferred over acronyms matching only initials of words of constructions.

The eased pronounceability of acronyms is also supported by studies on Kiswahili acronym creation strategies (cf. BAKITA 1994: 31, 2013: 29 Rubanza 2009: 71). To achieve word-like pronounceability of Kiswahili acronyms, some letters of a formed acronym can be dropped as exemplified under section 3 rule 2 (BAKITA 2013: 29). Regarding acronyms with difficulties in pronunciation as they are pronounced as series of letters refer to Kiswahili data in section 3 rule 4.

c) Conflict

Possible new acronyms which would be identical to acronym forms already used in a given domain are avoided within that domain, leading to matching strategies different from initial matching.

Creating two or more acronyms colliding morphologically is possible in Kiswahili and is discouraged as well. Having acronyms that would be the same morphologically but different semantically creates problems of contextualisation when they are used in communication or texts. Therefore, avoiding such cases within a language, even among languages, would be the best way of creating acronyms. Regarding this challenge, Rubanza (2009: 71) observes:

Tatizo jingine ni kwamba baadhi ya akronimu za Kiswahili haziandikwi kwa kufuata muundo wa Kiswahili. Mfano ni CCHAUT [sic][2] yaani Chama Cha Usomaji Tanzania. Katika majadiliano na mwenyekiti wa Chama hiki (Prof. Madumulla) nilibaini kuwa, badala ya muundo uliotarajiwa kama ulivyobainishwa hapo juu, akronimu ya chama hiki ni CHAUTA. Sababu zilizotolewa ni kuwa CHAUTA ni akronimu ambayo imekuwa ikitumika katika asasi nyingine nyingi. ('Another problem is that some Kiswahili acronyms are not written based on Kiswahili syllable structure. CCHAUTA, which stands for Reading Association of Tanzania, is an example. In the discussion with the chairperson of this association (Prof. Madumulla), I noted that, instead of the syllable structure expected identified above, the acronym for this association is CHAUTA. The reasons that were given are that CHAUTA is an acronym that has been in use by many other institutions.')

The idea of acronym similarity is also discouraged in Kiswahili acronym creation strategies as discussed in Rubanza above. BAKITA (1994: 32) cements on this issue by noting:

Mashirika, vyama na jumuiya vinashauriwa kuhakikisha kuwa finyazo zao hazifanani. Mbinu mbalimbali zilizoorodheshwa zitumike kuepusha tatizo hili. ('Organisations, associations and unions are advised to make sure that their acronyms are not similar. Various methods stipulated should be used to avoid this problem.')

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[2] It means that the acronym CCHAUT is misspelt, as it supposes to be CCHAUTA as appears in the English translation.

Rule Two: Match intraword morphemes

This rule of acronym creation is achieved by matching the initial character of intraword morphemes within the expansion with an identical character in acronym. According to Zahariev, this rule is productive in languages and domains where morphological compound words are common. Examples of such languages are German, Russian, and Finnish. The domains commonly having such examples are medical or chemical terminology (Zahariev 2004: 24). Some examples offered by Zahariev (2004) are as follows:

Example 11

1. From Finnish
   YTK for '**y**hteinen **t**utkimus**k**eskus'.
   TKK for '**t**eollisuuden **k**ehittämis**k**eskus'.

2. From Italian
   SIDA for '**S**indrome da **I**mmuno**d**eficiencienza **A**cquisita'.
   RCA for '**R**epublica **C**entr**a**fricana'.

3. From German
   KGI for '**K**atholische **G**laubens**i**nformation'.
   KFZ for '**K**raft**f**ahr**z**eug'.
   PLZ for **P**ost**l**eit**z**ahl.

The underlined part in Example 11 is the compound word and where the initial character of intraword morpheme is realised. The bolded part within compound words above is the initial character of intraword morpheme.

There are many compound words in Kiswahili. Some of Kiswahili acronyms have space separating their constituents' units and some have no space that separates them. Among the words identified in Example 11, compounds that would meet the criterion of initial character of intraword morphemes have no separating space. The researcher could not access any acronymic data that qualify this rule in Kiswahili. However, since Kiswahili has compound words, there is possibility of having such acronyms in trying to avoid short accidental matching for short constructions, achieving pronounceability or avoiding acronym similarity.

Rule Three: Match initials of intraword syllables

This rule is achieved by matching the initial character of an intraword syllable within the expansion with an identical character in the acronym. This rule is useful even though no evidence has been presented that people prefer matches on

syllable boundaries than on any other internal letters (Zahariev 2004: 24). Examples of matching on syllable prominence are such as "MTB" for "**M**oun**t**ain **B**ike" and "MKTG" for "**M**ar**k**e**t**in**g**" (Zahariev 2004: 25).

This rule is discussed by Massamba (2000) in studying acronyms in Kiswahili. In his third method of creating acronyms in Kiswahili, Massamba stipulates that acronyms can be formed by picking out the most prominent sounds of a particular name, for example "DSM" abbreviated from the name "Dar es Salaam" and "ZNZ" abbreviated from the name "Zanzibar". Other examples of this kind existing in Kiswahili are as exemplified hereunder:

Example 12

1. DOM	Dodoma
2. MZA	Mwanza
3. BKB	Bukoba
4. TMK	Temeke
5. KLM	Kilimanjaro
6. NRB	Nairobi

Source: Massamba 2000, Fieldwork 2015

Rule Four: Match group of consecutive characters

This rule involves the processes of matching a group of consecutive characters in a word in the expansion with an identical group of consecutive characters in the acronym. According to Zahariev, this rule can be combined with rules one, two, and three to account for groups of matching characters at the beginning of words, morphemes, and syllables. Group matching is a common occurrence in situations where whole syllables of words in the expansion can be found in the acronym. This method is achieved through syllabisms[3] and is said to be very productive in Russian, especially for Soviet terminology (Zahariev 2004: 26). An example provided by Zahariev (2004: 26) of acronym created according to this rule is "AVSCOM" for "**av**iation **s**ystems **com**mand"

From the above example, consecutive characters forming a group that is represented in an acronym are "com" from the word "command" of the construction or expression "aviation systems command".

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[3] It is "an acronym formed exclusively from the repeated application of group matching to complete syllables of words in the expansion matching syllables in the acronym" (Zahariev 2004: 26).

This method is common in creating Kiswahili acronyms. Most studies on Kiswahili acronyms insist on syllabism strategy in creating Kiswahili acronyms since Kiswahili syllable system enhances pronounceability feature of acronyms (see BAKITA 1994: 31, 2013: 29, Rubanza 2009: 68-71). Some examples existing in Kiswahili lexicon are such as:

Example 13

1. BAKITA (**Ba**raza la **Ki**swahili la **Ta**ifa) meaning 'National Kiswahili Council'.
2. BAMUTA (**Ba**raza la **Mu**ziki **Ta**nzania) meaning 'Music Council of Tanzania'.
3. BASATA (**Ba**raza la **Sa**naa **Ta**nzania) meaning 'National Arts Council of Tanzania'.
4. TAMISEMI (**Ta**wala za **Mi**koa na **Se**rikali za **Mi**taa) meaning 'Regional and Local Government Authorities'.

Rule Five: Match internal characters

This rule refers to matching of an internal character in a word in the expansion with an identical character in the acronym. This rule is the common denominator of all letters matching rules (Zahariev 2004: 26). It applies in situations where none of the rules one, two, three, and four are applicable. However, Zahariev (2004) does not provide example for this rule.

In Kiswahili, this method is also used in creating acronyms. However, studies on Kiswahili acronyms discussing this method are unavailable. Some examples existing in Kiswahili lexicon are such as:

Example 14

1. IDATU (**Ida**di ya Wa**tu**) meaning 'population'.
2. SIKANU (**Si**mu zenye **K**azi **Anu**wai) meaning 'Smartphone'.

Source: Fieldwork 2014, 2015

Underlined parts of words in Example 14 are internal characters used as matches in acronyms.

Rule Six: Symbolic matching

This rule refers to matching of a symbol, character and morpheme, group of characters, word or expression in the expansion with a character or group of characters in the acronym, following *ad hoc* rules. The rules used are usually recognisable by members of a professional, social or historic environment (Zahariev 2004: 27). Symbolic matching can sometimes be represented by the

application of creative spelling mechanisms during acronym creation. Some examples of symbolic matching are such as matching "U" with "you", "C" with "see", thus "CU" for "see you" and matching "X" with "Christ" as in "XMAS" for "ChristMAS" (Zahariev 2004: 28).

Numerals can as well be used in matching. Numerals are regarded as a special type of symbolic matching. A numeral indicates the number of matches of a given letter in the acronym. The examples of such matching include the following: "3M" for "**M**innesota **M**ining and **M**anufacturing Company", "C5R" for "**C**onsortium of **C**anadian **C**entres for **C**linical **C**ognitive **R**esearch" (Zahariev 2004: 28). This method of acronymisation is applicable in Kiswahili. Some evidence can be drawn from some days of the week which are compounded having two units "juma" meaning (week) and the number that represent the day of the week using number words as illustrated below:

Example 15

1.	J1	Jumamosi	('Saturday')
2.	J2	Jumapili	('Sunday')
3.	J3	Jumatatu	('Monday')
4.	J4	Jumanne	('Tuesday')
5.	J5	Jumatano	('Wednesday')

Source: Fieldwork 2014

Rule Seven: Consecutive matching

Characters in the acronym match consecutively, in the same direction as terms (symbols, characters, words expressions) in the expansion. For the words skipped in the expression, their characters are also skipped in the same direction in an acronym. However, in some languages (cf. German, Finish, and Russian) there are cases where the matching is not in a consecutive but rather in a reverse way called inversion (Zahariev 2004: 29). Kiswahili acronyms are created following this rule. Letters or characters selected to represent words in an acronym in Kiswahili are picked successively from left to right as illustrated in examples hereunder from a lower number to the higher number:

Example 16

1. **BA**raza la **VI**jana **CHA**dema, **BAVICHA** meaning 'CHADEMA Youth League'.
   1BA 2VI 3CHA

2. **U**moja wa **KA**tiba ya **WA**nanchi, **UKAWA** meaning'Coalition for Peoples' Constitution'.
   1U 2KA 3WA
3. **SHI**rika la **HA**bari **Ta**nzania, **SHIHATA** meaning'Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation'.
   1SHI 2HA 3TA

Source: Fieldwork 2014/2015

4.2. Word skipping rules

In creating acronyms, however, some word forms in a construction forming the acronym can be not represented in an acronym resulting from the expression. Zahariev demonstrates that creating acronyms for longer expressions, through successive matches of initials or other letters of all words within the expansion, that leads to excessively long acronyms, attracts the skipping in the acronym form of some words of the expression. It is a mechanism to avoid extremely long acronyms. To meet this, it is advised to skip specific words in the expansion where skipped words' letters are not represented in the acronym to be created (Zahariev 2004: 26). The following three consecutive rules are concerned with the word skipping criteria.

Rule Eight: Skip functional word

Function words can be left out in the expansion when matching with the acronym. According to Zahariev (2004: 26), function words have great skipping preference in all languages and domains. They can be skipped since they have no meaning in the expression but perform only grammatical function. Grammatical words or functional words are also regarded as noise words, hence mostly preferred for skipping (Zahariev 2004: 49). Functional words network together the semantic elements of the expansion (Zahariev 2004: 26).

In the process of creating acronyms in Kiswahili, the skipping of grammatical or functional words is also common. Rubanza (2009) exhibits this rule in Kiswahili by noting that it is not necessary for all words composing the expansion to be represented in an acronym form (Rubanza 2009: 68). Some Kiswahili acronyms formed by skipping functional words are as follows:

Example 17

BAKITA (Baraza **la** Kiswahili **la** Taifa)	meaning 'Kiswahili Council of Tanzania'.
UKAWA (Umoja **wa** Katiba **ya** Wananchi)	meaning 'Coalition for Peoples' Constitution'.
SHIHATA (Shirika **la** Habari Tanzania)	meaning 'Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation'.

Source: Fieldwork 2015

The bold words in the expansions above are functional or grammatical words. These functional words are not reflected or represented in Kiswahili acronymic forms 1, 2 and 3 below. However, it is evident that there are Kiswahili acronyms which are formed by including the representation or matching functional words as illustrated hereunder:

Example 18

1. CCM (Chama **cha** Mapinduzi) meaning 'Revolutionary Party'.
2. VVU (Virusi **vya** Ukimwi) meaning 'Human Immune Virus'.
3. WyEMU (Wizara **ya** Elimu na Mafunzo ya Ufundi) meaning 'Ministry of Education and Vocational Training'.

Source: BAKITA 2013, WyEMU 2014

The bold words in expansions above are functional or grammatical words. In Kiswahili acronymic forms 1, 2 and 3, these functional words are reflected or represented. Their initial character or letter is used in creating an acronymic form.

Rule Nine: Skip a word preceded by punctuation marks

According to Zahariev (2004: 27), apart from functional words, another word that can be skipped in an acronym representation is the word preceded by punctuation mark '/' (slash) or '-' (dash or hyphen). In languages such as English and French, words preceded by these punctuation marks '/' (slash) or '-' (dash or hyphen) have greater skipping preferences (Zahariev 2004: 27).

Regarding this rule of creating acronym, in Kiswahili the researcher could not access data. However, the rule itself makes a lot of sense since slash in many cases marks words that are optional, and which are mostly related in meaning. Furthermore, dash or hyphen is used to join words making them compounds, such as *vielelezo-picha* ('pictorial illustrations'). Thus, due to pronounceability of acronyms and limiting of length of the acronyms to be formed, matching for an acronym is done at the initial unit *vielelezo* while skipping the representation of the second unit *picha*. This can be as well applicable in Kiswahili.

Rule Ten: Skip some free content word

It is achieved by skipping altogether a word in the expansion when matching with the acronym. This is a common denominator of all word skipping rules. It is motivated by two factors. Firstly, it is commonly applicable in abbreviations of

longer expressions. And secondly, it is applied when that word to be skipped enhances pronounceability of the resulting acronym (Zahariev 2004: 27).

Word skipping in creating Kiswahili acronyms is pointed out by (Rubanza 2009: 69). However, he considers this method as a discrepancy in creating Kiswahili acronyms. Rubanza goes further, identifying Kiswahili word skipping in acronyms as exemplified below:

Example 19

MEMKWA (Mpango wa Elimu ya Msingi kwa **Watoto** Walioikosa) meaning 'Complementary Basic Education in Tanzania'.

MKURABITA (Mkakati wa Kurasimisha Raslimali na Biashara za **Wanyonge** Tanzania) meaning 'Property and Business Formalization Programme'.

Source: WyEMU 2014: v

The words that are in bold face from the data above are not matched in acronyms. These words are skipped. In the first acronym "MEMKWA" the researcher had hard time to decide which word form is not represented among the two words *Watoto* and *Walioikosa*. The criterion that the researcher uses to decide which word is skipped among the two is semantic criterion. From the construction or expansion, the word *walioikosa* ('those who missed it') is the key element of the program. The word *watoto* meaning 'children' is considered less important since those who missed that program are not necessarily still children when joining the program.

4.3. Other rules

Rules that fall in this category include:

Rule Eleven: Plural duplication

This rule is achieved by duplicating in the acronym of a letter in the expansion, when matching a plural form of a noun phrase (Zahariev 2004: 27). The rule is present in some languages, e.g. French and Spanish. It is noted that plural duplication is common in domains such as medical or scientific texts. Some examples from Latin are such as "aa" for "arteries" or "pp." for "pages". Another example in Spanish is "EEUU" for "Estados Union" (Zahariev 2004: 27).

In Kiswahili, so far, there is no evidence of acronyms supporting plural duplication rule. Furthermore, the researcher could not access any studies that discuss this rule.

Rule Twelve: Migration

This rule maintains that the matching in some languages ignores pronunciation features attached to the characters of the alphabet in the expression to be represented in the acronym form. This is because an acronym is meant to be a simplified form of the matching character in the expansion. In relation to this, Zahariev (2004: 28) posits:

> In languages where accents or other signs can be added to characters of the alphabet, characters in the expansion can *migrate* to unaccented counterparts in the acronym, such as in the French example [...] where "É" in the expansion migrates to "E" in the acronym.

The example referred to in the quotation above is "EDF" for "Électricité de France". In this case, "É" in the expansion is realised as "E" in the acronym.

Kiswahili acronyms fall under common practice in many languages that an acronymic form does not bear pronunciation features. However, this aspect of pronunciation features has not been noted in some studies focusing on Kiswahili acronyms. The researcher also did not access any Kiswahili acronyms that have any signs representing pronunciation features.

Rule Thirteen: Inflection

Acronyms in languages which are agglutinative with matches representing whole morphemes can be inflected. Inflection process in lexical items can occur at a level of morpheme unit. Kiswahili is an agglutinating language.

Acronymic forms in Kiswahili permit inflection process denoting some morphemes such as number (singular and plural) and abstraction (manner of doing things or practice of). Contextually, inflections in acronymic forms can be observed in:

Example 20

1. Kazi ya **ki**-TEHAMA (TEknolojia ya HAbari na MAwasiliano) inahitaji umakini.
   'The task that is ICT (Information and Communication Technology) wise requires attention.'
2. Ombi lako litashughulikiwa **ki**-SHIHATA (SHIrika la HAbari TAnzania.
   'Your request will be processed based on SHIHATA (Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation) regulations.'
3. Ataolewa na mume **m**-RC.
   'She will be married to an RC (Roman Catholic) husband.'
4. Mabinti zangu wote wameolewa na waume **wa**-RC.
   'All my daughters are married to RC (Roman Catholic) husbands.'

5. Babu yangu alikuwa **m**-TANU damu.
   'My grandfather was a real TANU (Tanganyika African National Union) member.'
6. Hawa wazee walikuwa **wa**-TANU haswa.
   'These old men were really TANU members.'

The bold parts in examples above are the inflections attached to Kiswahili acronymic forms denoting certain grammatical functions. Examples 1 and 2 are abstract prefixes denoting a morpheme of 'manner of' and examples 3 to 6 are number prefixes indicating singular and plural morphemes.

Rule Fourteen: Inversion

This rule indicates exceptions to rule thirteen. It states that the symbols or characters in an acronym should match terms in the expansion in a reverse order. This rule is not much applicable in English. Even the occurrences of this rule in English are debatable.

This rule of acronym creation has not been evident in Kiswahili acronymic corpus so far. The researcher could not access acronyms that are created through a reverse order when picking characters of words from a construction to form an acronym. Inversion rule is based on three claims as follows:

a) Syntactic inversion

Acronym inversion occurs in the abbreviation of expressions containing "discontinuous overlapping syntactic constituents" (Zahariev 2004: 29). The example of syntactic inversion is "MFBM" for "**Thousand B**oard **F**eet **M**easure". However, "M" is a symbolic match to "thousand", the reason why the whole word is underlined instead of any specific letters.

The overlap nature can be captured in a parse tree diagram as exemplified in Fig. 1 below:

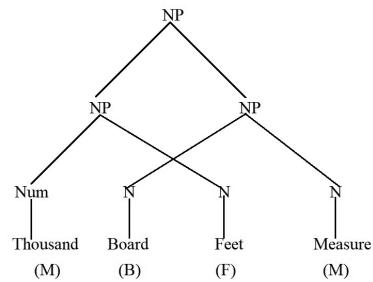


Fig. 1. Discontinuous overlapping syntactic constituents

Source: Zahariev 2004: 30

The researcher could not access any acronym data that are created through syntactic reverse order when picking characters of words from a construction to form an acronym.

b) Morphological inversion

This occurs in languages with fecund compound morphology. Inversion occurs because of the difference between the intraword morpheme order and the word phrase order for the abbreviated expression. It results from rephrasing exaggerated multiword compounds or rewording the order of the expression which adheres to regular attributes-to-head intraword morpheme order

(Zahariev 2004: 29).

The German example supplied in Zahariev (2004: 29) to support this process is "EFA" for "**E**uropäisches **A**bkommen zum Schutz von **F**ernsehsendungen" ('European Agreement on the Protection of Television Broadcasts'), but if rephrased or reordered would be "**E**uropäisches **F**ernsehsendungsschutz**a**bkommen" ('European telecast protection agreement') which matches in a natural or original order of the acronym "EFA". Therefore, the acronym creation in this case would be based in a context when the expression is reworded.

The researcher could not access any acronym data that are created with the morphological inversion. Most Kiswahili compounds are relatively short compared to those created in German or other Bantu languages, such as Orunyambo (Gordian 2010: 77). Kiswahili compounds contain two to three compound units or constituents and thus referred to as simple compounds as opposed to complex compounds (Gordian 2010: 77). Complex compounds may have alternative construction resulting from reordering the compounded units with the use of morphological inversion. Therefore, the length aspect of compounds contributes to possibility of "exaggerated" or "complex" compound constructions which permit reordering by way of morphological inversion in acronym creation (cf. Zahariev 2004, 2010).

c) Accidental inversion

It occurs in situations where there are various alternate expressions semantically equal. But only one of these expressions, based on the highest pronounceability criterion rather than that of popularity, is used to form an acronym (Zahariev 2004: 29).

An expression "**Eu**ropaeisches **G**ericht **E**rster **I**nstanz" ('European Court of First Instance') is semantically equivalent to "Gericht **E**rster **I**nstanz der **Eu**ropaeischen

Gemeinschaften" ('Court of First Instance of the European Communities') which is the official and most frequently used expression. However, the expression "**Eu**ropaeisches **G**ericht **E**rster **I**nstanz" ('European Court of First Instance') is used as an alternative in creation of the acronym, which results in an acronym with increased pronounceability: "EuGeI", compared to the "GEIEu" for "Gericht **E**rster **I**nstanz der **Eu**ropaeischen Gemeinschaften" ('Court of First Instance of the European Communities') when matched consecutively as per rule thirteen. Therefore, the accidental matching is done by taking the acronym formed from an expression that would result in highly pronounceable acronym and match it with the expression that is popular and formal but would not result in an acronym with highest pronounceability, as in "EuGeI" "Gericht **E**rster **I**nstanz der **Eu**ropaeischen Gemeinschaften" ('Court of First Instance of the European Communities') (Zahariev 2004: 30).

Generally, there are no examples of Kiswahili acronyms that account for rule fourteen and its three claims. So far, the researcher could not access any data of acronyms in Kiswahili that would seem to support the rule fourteen. However, we cannot conclude that accidental inversion cannot happen in Kiswahili since there is evidence that there are more than one semantically equivalent expressions existing in Kiswahili, as identified in Massamba (2000: 231), who discusses some challenges of creating Kiswahili acronyms as follows:

> The English "Gross National Product" is in some literature translated as "Jumla ya Pato la Taifa" (cf. TUKI's English-Kiswahili Dictionary, 1996: 342). The same concept is also sometimes referred to as "Zao Ghafi la Taifa" (cf. BAKITA: *Tafsiri sanifu*. Vol. 3, 1978). In Zanzibar the same concept is referred to as "Jumla ya Maduhuli". In other words, the same concept is represented by three different names and has, consequently, three different acronyms, namely "JPT", "ZGT", and "JM".

In such situation, it may happen that one can opt to use one acronym form from among the three as identified in the quotation above and then decide to accompany that acronym with any of the three identified expressions since their meaning is the same. Therefore, despite the fact that the researcher could not identify any example of accidental inversion, it does not guarantee the conclusion that the process does not exist in Kiswahili.

Rule Fifteen: Import

This rule is about importing acronyms directly from other languages rather than creating them from translated expansions. According to Zahariev (2004: 30)

acronym import is very common with technical acronyms. This rule is based on the universality claim, according to which the acronyms are a phenomenon that crosses most languages. The rules for acronym creation are common. However, their ordering and their relative importance (weight) can differ from one language to another (Zahariev 2004: 31).

The import of acronyms can be equated to borrowing. In respect to borrowing or importing acronym from other language to Kiswahili, Rubanza (2009: 70) observes that:

[...] akronimu kutoka lugha ya Kiingereza kwenda lugha ya Kiswahili zina athari kadhaa katika lugha ya Kiswahili. Pamoja na kuwa mchakato mzima unatajirisha lugha ya Kiswahili kimsamiati katika dhana mbalimbali kitaifa na kimataifa[...] ('[...] acronyms from English to Kiswahili have various impacts to Kiswahili. Although the entire process lexically enriches Kiswahili in various concepts nationally and internationally [...]')

Rubanza (2009: 70) goes on to argue that:

Ni jambo la kawaida kwa lugha kukopa maneno kutoka katika lugha nyingine [...] Vivyo hivyo akronimu zinaweza kukopwa kutoka lugha moja kwenda lugha nyingine. ('It is a common phenomenon for languages to borrow words from other languages [...] Likewise, acronyms can be borrowed or imported from one language to the other.')

There are various ways of achieving that acronym import. The imported acronym can be used to form an equivalent acronym. The process is achieved by translating the expression or expansion and then using that expansion equivalent in the receptor language to form the equivalent acronym form for the receptor language (cf. Rubanza 2009: 69). Examples for this category of acronyms were provided earlier in Example 7. More examples include:

Example 21

TABLE 5. Translated acronym and expansion equivalents from English to Kiswahili

No.	English acronym	Expression	Equivalent in Kiswahili	Expression
1.	AIDS	**A**cquired **I**mmuno**d**eficiency **S**yndrome	UKIMWI	**U**pungufu wa **Ki**nga **Mwi**lini
2.	HIV	**H**uman **I**mmune **V**irus	VVU	**V**irusi **v**ya **U**kimwi

No.	English acronym	Expression	Equivalent in Kiswahili	Expression
3.	PMO-RALG	**P**rime **M**inister's **O**ffice **R**egional **A**dministration and **L**ocal **G**overnment	OWM-TAMISEMI	**O**fisi ya **W**aziri **M**kuu-**Ta**wala za **Mi**koa na **Se**rikali za **Mi**taa
4.	TBC	**Ta**nzania **B**roadcasting **C**orporation	SHIHATA	**Shi**rika la **Ha**bari **Ta**nzania
5.	TASLI	**Ta**nzania **A**ssociation of **S**ign **L**anguage **I**nterpreters	CHAWALATA	**Cha**ma cha **Wa**kalimani wa **L**ugha za **A**lama **Ta**nzania

Source: Fieldwork 2014

Another mechanism of importing acronyms into Kiswahili is adapting them. An acronym form borrowed from a source language, particularly English, to Kiswahili is transformed and localised by changing the orthographic spelling based on the pronunciation criterion. The way an acronym is pronounced is used as a basis to have the orthographic spelling in the form of consonant vowel syllable structure system. For example, an English acronym "CD" ("Compact Disk") in *Kamusi ya Kiswahili Sanifu* (KKS) is adapted and lemmatised as "sidii" as illustrated in examples 22 and 23.

Example 22

sidii /sidi:/ nm (-) [i-/zi-] diski ndogo ya kuhifadhi taarifa mbalimbali kama maandishi, musiki, au picha. (>Kng)

Source: TUKI 2013:511

Example 23

disii /disi:/ nm (ma-) [a-/wa-] Mkuu wa Wilaya. (>Kng)

Source: TUKI 2013:88

The word "disii" is a result of an English acronym "DC" ("District Commissioner") that is adapted in Kiswahili lexicon and lemmatised in KKS as presented above.

Further, acronym borrowing into Kiswahili is through adopting them. An acronym form borrowed from a source language, particularly English, to Kiswahili is maintained form-wise and used in Kiswahili texts and conversations as it is. In written text, the equivalent expansion form is introduced, and the acronym

form follows (mostly in brackets). There are many examples of this category of acronyms in Kiswahili (cf. Example 11). The following are more examples of English acronyms adopted into Kiswahili:

Example 24

TABLE 6. Kiswahili borrowed/adopted acronyms from English

No.	Acronym	Expansion	Expansion equivalent
1.	DPP	Director of Public Prosecutions	Mkurugenzi wa Uendeshaji Mashitaka wa Serikali
2.	VAT	value-added tax	Kodi ya Ongezeko la thamani
3.	UN	United Nation	Umoja wa Mataifa
4.	FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation	Shirika la Chakula na Kilimo
5.	WHO	World Health Organisation	Shirika la Afya Duniani
6.	IMF	International Monetary Fund	Shirika la Fedha Duniani
7.	BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation	Shirika la Utangazaji la Uingereza (BBC)
8.	ITV	Independent Television	Kituo cha Televisheni cha ITV/Televisheni ya ITV
9.	OUT	Open University of Tanzania	Chuo Kikuu Huria cha Tanzania
10.	TIN	Taxpayer Identification Number	Namba ya Mlipa Kodi
11.	UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization	Shirika la Umoja wa Mataifa la Elimu, Sayansi na Utamaduni
12.	UNICEF	United Nations Children's Emergency Fund	Hazina ya Dharura ya Watoto ya Umoja wa Mataifa
13.	UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees	Tume ya Wakimbizi ya Umoja wa Mataifa

Source: Massamba 2000, Longhorn 2011, Kikerby 2002

5. Conclusion

From the discussion above one can argue that the UTAF is useful in creating acronyms in Kiswahili and other Bantu languages. However, based on the presented data we can say that not all rules are applicable. Some rules are

nonexistent in Kiswahili since there are no Kiswahili acronymic forms that seem to prove such rules. It should be noted, however, that there are few rules and claims which have no Kiswahili examples whilst some of them are likely to be evident in Kiswahili in future as highlighted in the discussion and some do not even promise to happen in Kiswahili.

Some rules that are raised in Kiswahili acronym studies regarding acronym creation, but not stipulated in the UTAF, are: 1) ordering the words forming an acronym according to the name, activity, and owner, 2) selecting only one word from the expansion that is thought to carry the theme or the main content of the construction as per section three above (BAKITA 1994: 30-32, 2013: 28-30).

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Elnara Putayeva
Department of Language and Culture (Linguoculturology)
Azerbaijan University of Languages, Baku

African elements (Africanisms) in modern American English

Abstract

The article deals with the influence of words of African origin on the formation of American English (AE) word stock. It provides new interpretation of Africanisms and shows the significance of this part of vocabulary in determining the characteristics of the American culture. The investigation is based on the existing sources (mainly lexicographic works) and is aimed at their new structural and functional analysis. As a result of the research, it became clear that most of the words of African origin were introduced to English spoken in America in the 17th century and some in the 18th and 19th centuries. The number of words and expressions from African languages that were introduced was closely related to African Americans' way of living, their spiritual beliefs, rituals, attitudes, and various objects used by them such as weapons. The word stock of the English language was enriched due to the assimilation of loanwords from languages of Africans living in America. A significant contribution to AE is the great amount of words naming animals, fruit and foodstuff, names of states, rivers and lakes, cities and towns.

Keywords: American English (AE), Africanisms, African languages, American culture, loanwords

1. Introduction

Language is part of culture. It is the primary mean of communication. Language is a type of guide to reality, and the medium of expression for the society. No

language can exist in isolation from other languages. In its historical development the English language has derived a lot of loanwords from other languages. The article deals with the problem which has a significant importance in the lexicology of American English (AE), i.e. the influence of Africanisms, or "the words of African origin" on the word stock. Thus, the fact is indisputable that AE was under the influence of members of African cultural-linguistic groups who had been enslaved to work in what would become the USA. This article is about the influence of these newly acquired words on AE and American cultural heritage. Numerous examples are provided of Africanisms in AE referring to religion, music, cuisine, cattle breeding, agriculture, folklore, and some other fields of communication. Both enslaved and free Africans and Afro-Americans had a great impact on the formation of the word stock of AE and gave color and variety to the speech of its native speakers.

One of the features of the English language, as well as many other languages, is assimilating new words from different languages into the vocabulary. At various stages of its development, English has received a number of new words mostly from Latin, Greek, French, Spanish, Italian, etc. The influence of the Renaissance with the French language hegemony greatly enriched the English lexicon. The political power gained over time has made the English language more accessible irrespective of geographic barriers. The influence of various languages spoken by the people in British colonies on the English language began to be felt gradually since the 16th century.

One of these influences was the variation created by Africanisms in the language. Firstly, it is important to define the meaning of the term "Africanism". An Africanism is any cultural or linguistic property of African origin surviving in the Americas or in the African Diaspora (Collin 2006: 38). The study of Africanisms in the USA has been the subject of much debate over the elements of African culture in North America, as for some researchers, Africanisms survived in North America by a process of cultural transfer, cultural blinding, and cultural transformations. African nations, unlike European ones, were deprived of their freedom to transfer their kinship structures, courts, music, and military. The term "Africanism" refers to the traces of African languages and cultural property preserved on the North American continent. The settling of African slaves in North America and the establishment of links between the continents contributed to the exchange of language and culture. African Americans are considered citizens and residents of African descent in the United States (Mufwene 1993). Many African Americans are descendants of the West African-born Blacks who lived in the USA during the slavery times (O'Connor et al. 2013). The group of people who arrived

in America in August 1619 have been described as "the first Africans to set foot on the North American continent" but that is incorrect. For example, as historian Henry Louis Gates Jr. has pointed out, Juan Garrido became the first documented black person to arrive in what would become the USA, when he accompanied Juan Ponce de León in search of the Fountain of Youth in 1513, and they ended up in present-day Florida, around St. Augustine. The first newcomers were brought in 1526 to the colony of San Miguel de Guadalpe and they arrived at Point Comfort, Virginia, not Jamestown (Waxman 2019). Later this practice continued and thousands of black Africans were brought to the Caribbean to work as slaves. Peoples of African origin that were first influenced by American culture were those represented by Mande and Wolof, the ethnic groups from Senegambia region, and the impact that these peoples have had on the ever--evolving American English and culture of the 17th century are still felt today. Words of Wolof origin in American English include e.g. *bug* 'insect', *dig* 'understand', *guy* 'boy, fellow', *honky* 'red-eared person', *juke* 'box', *fuzz* 'police', *hippie* 'bohemian', *phony* 'fake', *rooty-tooty* 'foolish' and others (Dalgish 1982).

The initial arrival of Africans in the New World, after being forcefully taken from their homeland, marked the beginning of a totally new way of life in enslavement. The linguistic borrowings are linked to the adaptation processes and may be regarded as a transformation of cultural beliefs and attitudes. This transformation, mostly out of necessity, revealed new forms of spiritual and social expressions in the speech of African Americans. These African American expressions are now an integral part of the American vocabulary. In fact, the African Americans' immeasurable contributions to all aspects of American life (family structure, politics, economics, cuisine, and the arts) demand recognition and respect of all Americans. Historians, archeologists, and anthropologists have tried to uncover any new information helping to understand the diverse cultural transformation of Africans and these efforts can only be beneficial to Americans. However, non-African linguists continue to appropriate these and claim, in some cases, that linguistic features that demonstrably date back well over 100 years were started by white people in the 1980s. As Kambon & Duha (2017) indicated the commonly used term "African-American" is a marker of the integrationist tradition among black people in the USA (Kamron & Duha 2017). However, they claimed that some words and constructions before being absorbed into colloquial American speech were a reflection of the anti-American African tradition in which Africans maintained a distinct African identity in the face of enslavement, oppression, and European and Asiatic linguistic and cultural hegemony. In recent investigations it has been demonstrated that varieties of speech of African

Americans have maintained aspects of African languages throughout the continent while remaining distinct from Standard American English. Thus, anti-American African (AAA) is preferred to other terms in the literature such as so-called African American Vernacular English/Black English. Thus, it is worth noting that some words and constructions of African origin are still not fully accepted in Standard American English and can be found predominantly in Colloquial English (Kamron & Duha 2017: 85-7).

The purpose of the study was to determine the importance of loanwords from African languages, as well as to show the significance of Africanisms in AE and American culture, to present new interpretations of Africanisms, etc. It will also contribute to a wider picture of the significant role that people of African origin played in the process of shaping American culture. In the current paper, I propose to examine factors that have an impact on the formation of AE and relevant culture of linguistic groups living in the USA. These influences are definitely related to the factors under which that very formation process had taken place. For this purpose, I investigated the following subthemes:

1. Initial resources of loanwords,
2. Semantic references of Africanisms,
3. Reasons of restriction in vocabulary stock,
4. Cultural principles giving way to realization of the diversity in culture.

2. Sources and methods

Surveys were mainly used in this study, the purpose of which was to describe the characteristics of loanwords derived from languages of African origin. The study was designed as a systematic review. The chosen methods were aimed at summarizing analyses and synthesizing current knowledge by selecting studies in this field. Systematic reviews focus on synthesizing the findings of many different studies in a way that is transparent and accountable.

In the process of research and preparation of the article, general scientific methods of studying information sources were used in order to clarify and concretize the process and conditions of forming the American English, and to discuss various approaches to the research of the term of “Americanisms”. The first direction in the definition of Americanism is called the diachronic, historical or genetic approach, where any lexical unit of American origin, regardless of the area of modern development, can be called an Americanism. Following this approach as reflected in the dictionaries of American English (prepared under the direction

of William A. Craigie in 1936 or by Mitford Mathews in 1952) all lexical units recorded in American speech for the first time are considered to be Americanisms, regardless of its version in which any of them is currently being developed (Lartseva 2014b: 55-59). The second approach is called the synchronic or functional approach, which advocates the interpretation of any lexical unit used by Americans, regardless of their origin, as Americanisms. Cheryukanova (2003), Schweitzer (1963), Pankin (2011), Filippov (2011) and other linguists are considered to be supporters of this direction (Lartseva 2014a: 48). The third approach is a combination of the previous two approaches (diachronic and synchronic), and is supported by Visov (2001), Algeo (2001), Tomaxin (1982), Crystal (1975) and others (Lartseva 2014b: 55-59). An important place was occupied by the structural and functional analysis, which made it possible to identify the essence and structure of the process of forming the American English, and on this basis, to concentrate on the various conditions of this process in the activities of different linguistic groups and languages existing in the USA.

Discourse analysis has become an increasingly preferred method in many spheres, as it lies in the border of stylistics and rhetorical analysis. The form of analysis implies the close study of social and discursive situations that often disagree with the traditional scope of arguments. It is interesting to note that from a methodological point of view, while research on loanwords, cognitive or otherwise, has been able to focus on its subject matter without necessarily considering facts, things are quite different when cultural transition comes under analysis. I adopted a thematic analysis approach, i.e. I preferred to stay as close as possible to the actual words in the data. Thematic analysis method was used to closely examine the data to identify different patterns.

This article deals with the problem which played a significant role in the formation process of AE and American culture – that is the influence of the words of African origin. The article is dedicated to the influence of these new words on American English and American cultural heritage. While investigating this theme, one can realize that a lot of research has already been carried out in this area. A great number of books have already been written on this topic including, i.a., Puckett's *Black names in America*: *Origins and usage* (1975), Kellersberger Vass' *The Bantu speaking heritage of the United States* (1979), Dalgish's *Dictionary of Africanisms*: *Contributions of sub-Saharan Africa to the English language* (1982), Holloway's *Africanisms in American culture* (1990), and Holloway and Vass's *The African heritage of American English* (1993).

One of the first investigators in the field of the study of Africanisms in American culture was Herskovits (1895-1963) who wrote several books and monographs

on the cultural continuity from African cultures as expressed in African-American communities. Also Pucket who became famous for his publication of *Folk beliefs of the Southern Negro* (1926), the first anthropological study of African traits found in the Southern society. This book presented 10,000 folk beliefs of southern Blacks that revealed African features in the African American customs, folk and religious beliefs. Other early studies examining African carryovers were those by Woodson and Du Bois called *The African background outlined* (1936). Here, the authors examined technical skills, arts, folklore, and spirituality among the Africans and especially put the light on African influences in religion, drama, music, dance and poetry.

3. Africanisms in American English

3.1. Africanisms as a contribution to AE lexical stock

A study of the lexicon and semantics of AAE (African American English) should reveal information about the type of meaning that is associated with different lexical items (words and phrases) in the language system, and it should also reveal information about uncommon meaning of variants. When speakers know a language system, they have access to the lexicon of that system, so speakers who know AAE know the unique meanings of elements in the lexicon of that system. In such cases, speakers have two lexicons, one for African American-specific words and phrases and another for general American English, or they have only one lexicon in which both groups of words and phrases are listed. Whatever the structure, the African American and general American English lexicons vary. There are lexical items that sound the same but have different meanings. For example, the word *kitchen* is used by African Americans in the same way it is used commonly by other speakers of American English, but it is also used uniquely by African Americans to refer to the hair at the nape of the neck.

Africans made relevant contributions in agricultural system, dance, folklore, food culture, and language. African cultural retentions were found at various levels of the plantation workforce. As it was mentioned above, some of the earliest groups to have a major impact on American culture were Mande and Wolof, people from nowadays Gambia and Senegal. The dominant groups of Africans arrived at South Carolina were Senegambian by origin. They were the first Africans to have retained some elements from their language and culture within the developing language and culture of America. The acculturation process was mutual as well as reciprocal: Africans assimilated white culture and planters adopted some aspects of African customs and traditions, including African

methods of cultivation, African cuisine, breeding cattle, and the use of herbals to treat different diseases. The other important indigenous groups from Africa which made a great contribution to American culture are speakers of various Bantu languages. Bantu musical contributions include: *banjos, drums, diddley bows, jugs, gongs, bells, rattles,* and the *lokoimni,* a five-stringed harp. Living in relative isolation from other groups, they were able to maintain a strong sense of unity and to retain a cultural vitality that laid foundation for the development of African American culture. The banjo occupies its own distinct place in the transmission of cultural heritage. This is the musical instrument commonly known as *mbanza* in Africa (Zimbabwe, Gambia, Guinea, Angola, etc.). Until the middle of the 19th century it was greatly loved by black people (Ward 2003). However, sometimes there have been attempts to discredit and underestimate African cultures by various means. For example, in the explanatory dictionary, *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), the word *banjo* is described as similar in form to the *bandurriay* used by both Spanish and Portuguese (Holloway & Vass 1993). It was a way to show that Africans did not have their own musical instrument and they „had stolen it" from the Europeans. It is worth adding that in 1781 Jefferson wrote: "The instrument proper to them [African American] is the *banjar*, brought from Africa, and which is the [form] of the guitar, its chords being precisely the four lower chords of the guitar" (Holloway 1993). This quote once again proves that this instrument was brought by Africans.

Another example is that although the word *jazz* is derived from the word *jaja* used in West Africa and has the meaning 'to dance', OED does not present the true origin of the word but relates it to Portuguese (Holloway & Vass 1993). The same can be said about the *phony* 'fake', a version of the Mandinka-based *foni* word used in English.

In his article "What Africa has given America?" Herskovits (1990) answered this question by saying "jazz, R&B, and gospel". In addition to these musical genres, the list of other musical instruments that make up the vocabulary includes *diddle bows, mouth bows, Quilts, washtub bass, gongs, rattles, idiophones, loco,* and some other words including the names of tools (Holloway 1990). What North America has taken from Africa are coffee, peanuts, guinea melon, watermelon, yams, and sesame seeds. To these, African Americans added African cooking methods and a group of African foods that included collard greens, dandelion greens, turnip greens, and black-eyed peas (Collin 2006: 40-41).

Fulani peoples were responsible for introducing open grazing patterns, now practiced throughout the American cattle industry. This practice is used worldwide in cattle culture today. Open grazing made practical use of an abundance of land

and a limited labour force. The 18th century descriptions of West African animal husbandry bear a striking resemblance to what appeared in Carolina and later in the American dairy and cattle industries. The harvesting of cattle and cattle drives to centers of distribution were also adaptations of African innovations. The historian Peter Wood[1] has argued that the word *cowboy* originated from this early relationship between cattle and Africans in the colonial period, when African labour and skills were closely associated with cattle breeding. Africans stationed at cow pens with herding responsibilities were referred to as *cowboys*, just as Africans who worked in the "big house" were known as *houseboys*. Much of the early language associated with cowboy culture had a strong African flavour. A related term of cowboy culture is *buckaroo,* an Efik/Ibibio word also derived from *mbakara*. Another African word that found its way into popular cowboy songs is *dogie* which grew out of the Kimbundu and Swahili words *kidogo* 'a little something' and *dodo* 'small'. Africanisms are not exclusive to African American culture, but contributed to an emerging American culture. One area that has been largely ignored in the debate over African cultural survival in the USA is the survival of African culture among white Americans. Lots of Africanisms have entered southern culture as a whole, including the *banjo*, the elaborate etiquette of the South with respect for elders, its use of terms of endearment and kinship in speaking to the neighbours, and its general emphasis on politeness. White Southerners have adopted African speech patterns and have retained Africanisms from *baton twirling* and *cheerleading* to such expressions and words as: *bodacious*, *bozo*, *cooter*, *goober*, *hullabaloo*, *hully-gully*, *jazz*, *moola*, *pamper*, *buddy*, *tote*, etc. These are only some of the ways in which African cultures contributed to what was to become American culture. Americans share a dual cultural experience – European on one side and African on the other (Collin 2006: 41).

3.2. Restrictions and barriers to the penetration of African vocabulary into AE

There were two different reasons for restriction of the vocabulary that occurred during the colonial period. New concepts have become familiar in connection with the discovery of new lands. For example, the English-speaking explorers had to use the words *chimpanzee* and *gorilla* when they stepped on the New World as there were no alternative words in the language to name animals they had never encountered before. Although some devotees did not think that the

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[1] The author of *Black majority: Negroes in colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (1974).

transfer of words from the colonial peoples to English was a "prestigious" event, they could not prevent English from acquiring new words from the languages of indigenous people. The purpose of the speech barrier was the idea that the English language was "higher" (in terms of prestige) and that the languages spoken by colonized and enslaved people were "lower".

On the other hand, another reason why few African languages were expelled from interaction was spread of various infectious diseases in African countries. Thus, some infectious diseases prevalent in Africa in the 17th and 18th centuries prevented the English from communicating with the Africans who had come to the area for trade. This, in turn, hampered the communication between language carriers. It is not surprising that at that time only a few words were translated into English from Swahili, passing through the language of traders on the East African coast (Wolfram 2000: 40-42).

Since the Africans continued to influence the English language, studies show that over a half-century period more than half a million people have been brought to the colonies in America. In a passage from a traveler to the State of Carolina in the early 18th century we come across such a sentence: "Given that the population of 14 000 is white and 32 000 is dark, this country is more like the Zanzibar (Holloway 1993: 27).

The colonialists in America were always trying to destroy the linguistic "legacy" of Africans. The process was so fast that it became necessary to preserve and trace any facts about the Africans past. Studies by Holloway and Vass suggest that about 70% of Africanisms present in Modern English language were acquired during that period (Holloway & Vass 1993).

A turning point was Stono Rebellion (1739) led by an Angolan named Jemmy. A band of twenty slaves organized the rebellion on the banks of the Stono River. After breaking into Hutchinson's store the band armed with guns called for their liberty. As they marched, overseers were killed and reluctant slaves were forced to join the company. The band reached the Edisto River where white colonists descended upon them, killing most of the rebels. The survivors were sold off to the West Indies. After the Stono Rebellion, South Carolina authorities made attempts to reduce provocations for rebellion. In a colony that already had more Blacks than Whites, the Assembly imposed a prohibitive duty on the importation of new slaves from Africa and the West Indies. The Assembly enacted a new law requiring a ratio of one White for every ten Blacks on every plantation and passed the Negro Act of 1740 which prohibited enslaved people from growing their own crops, assembling in groups, earning money except given by their owners or learning to read (Sutherland 2018).

3.3. Africanisms as African cultural heritage

It is an undeniable fact that the vocabulary of a language plays an important role as a path to the universe of knowledge of its speakers and to their worldview. Words are taken as labels of aspects of culture and thus are index of the cultural world of society. If a language does not have a term for some notion, it means that that very thing is probably not important in that culture (Humboldt 1988). From a relativist point of view, there is no particular language or culture that names everything or covers the whole amount of knowledge of the world (Nettle & Romaine 2000: 50-57). When Africans were enslaved in Africa and carried to the New World, they brought with them names as the means to identify their environment and themselves. In Table 1 some words naming animals (beginning with the letter "k") taken from dialects of Gullah[2] are presented as examples:

TABLE 1. Words naming animals in dialects of Gullah

Borrowed word	Meaning
kambaboli	a gray bird
kandi	a rabbit
kanka	a large fish
kekele	a marsh bird
kimbi	a hawk
kimbimbi	a quail
kinkwawi	a partridge
kulu	a blue and white marsh bird
kusu	a parrot
kuta	a tortoise

Source: Mphande 2006

There are many sources documenting African names in American history and culture, including documents of enslaved Africans, ship logs, court records, and historical accounts. and relations of rebellions of the enslaved and witch trials. Most of these names are of either West African or Central African origin and

[2] Gullah – the communities of the Sea Islands of South Carolina.

some have since changed their linguistic forms, although many have retained their African form. It is possible to give some examples: okra was grown by slaves in Brazil from the 16th century and was known under various names such as *quiabo* (currently in use) or its variations *gombo*, *quigombo*, *quingombo*, *quingobo*, *quimbombo*, *quingongo*, and *quibombo*. All these forms are derived from the Bantu languages (Kimbundu, Kikongo, Chokwe) of the Angola region and were brought to the New World through the Portuguese.

Two large groups of the words under discussion were African words used in the speech of the Mande and Bantu people. The Mande people were ethnic minorities living in the Senegambia region and brought to the USA as slaves. They were doing pottery and handicrafts. Based on the analysis carried out by Holloway and Vass, the enslaved people from these linguistic groups were able to influence American culture as more and more they became involved in work in house and on plantation (Holloway & Vass 1993).

African folktales have allowed American English to borrow new words from the languages of African nations. In the main plot line of the tales of these various peoples, the weak animals triumphed over powerful animals. In this way, the enslaved Africans sought to express their conviction that they would be free in the future. The enslaved Africans, trying to express their feelings and emotions in poems and songs, unconsciously spread their culture, thus facilitating new words to penetrate into AE. The main cause for this may be the widespread distribution of fiction stories and songs of various genres among American-born populations – Hausa, Fulani, Mandinka, etc., who bring up American children. The tales such as "Brother Rabbit" ("Brer Rabbit"), "Brother Wolf" ("Brer Wolf"), "Brother Fox" ("Brer Fox") and "Uncle Rumus" are just a few of such adapted African folk tales. "Brer Rabbit", "Brer Wolf", "Brer Bear" and "Sis' Nanny Goat" were part of the heritage the Wolof shared with other West African peoples such as the Hausa, Fula (Fulani), and Mandinka. The hare (rabbit) stories are found in parts of Nigeria, Angola, and East Africa. Among the Yoruba, Igbo, and Edo (Bini) peoples of Nigeria we have the spider (*ananse*) tales, found throughout much of West Africa including Ghana, Liberia, and Sierra Leone. On the other hand, slaves speaking Bantu languages were working in fields and thus it was not possible to observe their influence on the culture of Whites. However, their isolation during this period allowed them to preserve their culture without external influence. As demonstrated by the findings of Halloway and Vass (1993), Africans have been able to transform their former cultures into African American cuisine, music, language, religion, dance, philosophy, and art.

As a result, the Mande and Bantu-speaking peoples were able to introduce a number of African words into the American English. These words, in addition to covering different groups of meanings, have influenced the English language at various stages in the historical development of the language. These include words that cover musical instruments and genres, agriculture and livestock, culinary, religion, folklore, and more. Examples include: *collard greens, dandelion greens, turnip, black-eyed peas, okra, banana, kidney peas, peanuts, millet, sorghum, yams*, and many more. Such words are mainly considered to be related to American agriculture.

The first words to be included in the American English vocabulary in the domain of livestock are *cowboy* and the related words. For example, one can observe the spread of these borrowings in some written sources where *bronco* 'horse-carving slave', *kiddog* 'small instrument', and *dodo* 'small tool' are used.

Azawakh is a trained dog species living in West and North Africa, *basenji* is a dog species that lives in Central Africa. Other such words are: *gerenuk* 'antelope', *jumbo* 'elephant', *macaque* 'monkey', *zebra* 'zebra'. South American cuisine includes *gumbo, okra, couscous, mkatra, foutra, injera, ugali, cambuulo, kuku paka,* and more. Although it is thought that such dishes were originally attributed to American cuisine, these names are clear examples of African linguistic influence.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* has a strong anti-racist impact in a few words accepted as African. For example: the word *mojo* is used in the commentary by Holloway and Vass (1993) as "a thing of magic power and influence" but in OED it has been interpreted as "a symbol of sorcery in Africa". Another example is the *juju* which has been described as an unrealistic object in West Africa respected by the indigenous peoples, and *voodoo* is considered to be a special magical rite for the Blacks. In the OED these explanations have been interpreted as a kind of barbaric ritual (Holloway 1993).

Describing the early development of African American speech poses a linguistic and historical challenge. For linguists, the reference to limited historical records written for purposes other than linguistic documentation is always contradictory. Writing was not a legal skill for early African Americans in the North America, which made early accounts problematic and questionable in terms of distinctness.

When African slaves were first brought to America nearly 500 years ago, they did not have intention to find a better way of life, they did not seek heaven in the economic system of the country, and it was not their own choice or will to be there. Those who came first were indentured servants who served their masters

for some years and were then sent to further live their own lifestyle. Slavery, which became legal in 1661, deprived African Americans of all civil rights. But later on slavery was abolished with the Emancipation Proclamation in 1865 and it brought some peace to the society. Contrary to some requirements, only a minority of the white population owned slaves, but the whole system was based on a well-ordered society, with well-defined classes where members of each "group" were considered to be the non-slaveholding farmers, the businessmen, the farmers, the freed Africans, and the slaves.

Culture refers to the totality of a people's ways of life and includes the basic conditions of existence, behaviour, style of life, values, preferences, and the creative expressions. The way of life for African Americans in what is now the USA was not different in major respects from the ways of other ethnic minorities. The strength of the African American people might be considered to be found within their family, within its segregated communities, and within the individuals. For years, African Americans have been masters of internal and external hostilities. Other historical responses included advocacy and direct confrontation. All these responses represented various ways of surviving and living, and doing efforts to maintain a sense of "balance".

One may ask a question: Who and what is the African American like, culturally, socially, and in the oppressive context of the racial domination? The democratic multiculturalists insist that African American studies are not a discipline like physics or psychology but a broad intellectual dialogue and exchange which incorporate divergent perspectives and concerns. Compounding the challenges for the study of the Black experience is the fact that the social composition of the African American community itself has changed greatly since the 1960s. One cannot really speak of a "common racial experience" which parallels the universal opposition Blacks felt when confronted by legal racial segregation. Moreover, the contemporary Black experience can no longer be defined by a single set of socioeconomic, political, and/or cultural characteristics. Social scientists estimate that the size of the black middle class, for example, has increased by more than 400 percent in the past three decades (Ongiri 2010: 102). For the middle third of the African American population, its recent experience has been a gradual deterioration in its material, educational, and social conditions.

The cultural diversity within the black community in the USA arises from multiple factors, including skin tone, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, and place of origin. The cultural diversity within the white community in the USA primarily arises from the individuals' ethnic affiliation (e.g. Polish, Irish, Italian, etc.) (Alstine et al. 2015: 127).

These place-based group boundaries serve as markers for race group interactions in both "black" and "white" America.

3.4. African traces of the lexical transfer

Many names of food in English come from African languages. The *yam* was the most common food of Africans on ships forcedly travelling to the Americas. Actually, most Americans assume a *yam* to be a sweet potato. The word *yam* is of West African origin. Two languages spoken there have similar versions of the word. In Fulani, the word is *nyami* and it means 'to eat'. In Jamaican Patois – an English-based language with African influences – the word *nyam* still means 'to eat' (Patwell 1992: 8193). In the late 1500s, the Portuguese changed the word to *inhame* and later the Spanish further transformed it to *iñame* (Holloway & Vass 1993). Its first usage in English was recorded as *ignam*e. By the mid-1600s, the English spelling had changed to *yam*.

A name of a vegetable of an African origin is *okra*. Okra is a green plant which is often used in soups and similar dishes. The original word was *okuru* from the Igbo language of Nigeria. Okra was taken to the USA in the early 1700s. During colonialism different cultures mixed becoming a Creole culture. Nowadays, okra is considered to be the main part of Creole cooking, especially its most known dish *gumbo*. The next word is *banana* which is believed to come from Wolof, a West African language of Senegal, Gambia, and Mauritania. In Wolof, the word is pronounced [banana]. But most of the researchers also relate this word to *bana* with the same meaning from the Mande language of Liberia.

Along with the names of food, American English has also borrowed other categories of words from African languages. An example can be the word *jumbo*. In American English the word *jumbo* is an adjective which means 'very large, or big of its type'. Today, the word can be found in many places where different types of products are sold, in supermarkets, stores, and even in restaurants. This word came into usage in an extraordinary way. *Jumbo* was the name of an African bull elephant that was a zoo animal and a circus performer. At his largest he stood 3.6 meters tall. After his death, his name became a synonym for "huge" (Smallwood 2015). But in the early 1820s, *jumbo* was used as a slang word to refer to a big, clumsy person or a huge thing. Some dictionaries define the word *nzamba* as 'elephant', although this may be an outdated meaning. Many common words are believed to be of African origin (cf. Wikipedia: English words of African origin 2020). Table 2 presents the examples of selected borrowed words and their language of origin.

TABLE 2. Examples of borrowed words and their language of origin

Borrowed word	Language of origin	Initial meaning
tango	Ibibio	to dance
merengue	Fulfulde	to shake, to tremble
kwashiorkor	Ga	swollen stomach
mumbo-jumbo	Mandingo	incomprehensible talk
jamboree	Swahili	celebration by emancipated slaves

Special group of names that are considered to be taken from languages of African people refer to dance. For example *tango*, which is the name of a rhythmic dance mostly associated with Latin America, is proven to owe its etymology to Ibibio, a language spoken in southeastern parts of Nigeria. It's considered to be derived from the Ibibio word *tamgu* which can be translated as 'to dance'. *Merengue* is a well-known Caribbean dance, which is reputedly a misrepresentation of the Fulani *merereki*, the word meaning 'to shake' or 'tremble' (Vazquez & Fuller 2020). Other common words with African roots, widely used in American English, are: *kwashiorkor* from the Ghanaian language Ga, meaning 'swollen stomach', *mumbo-jumbo* ('incomprehensible talk', derived from Mandingo, which is mostly spoken in Mali, Gambia, Liberia, Guinea), or *jamboree* (from Swahili, meaning 'celebration by emancipated slaves') (Kperogi 2015: 85).

4. Conclusions

The cultural principles of the USA owe much of their creativity and originality to African, Latino, American Indian, and Asian elements. Multiculturalism suggests that the cross-cultural literacy and realization of the diversity is critical in understanding the essence of the American experience thoroughly. Common multiculturalism seeks to highlight the cultural and social diversity of the USA's population, trying to make people more sensitive to differences such as race, gender, age, language, and physical ability.

American English went under some influences of African people who had been enslaved to work in what would become the USA. This research article was aimed to demonstrate the influence of these newly acquired words on American English and American cultural heritage. In the article I tried to present a number of examples of Africanisms in American English referring to religion, music, cuisine,

cattle breeding, agriculture, folklore, and some other fields of communication. I came to the conclusion that both enslaved and free African peoples and Afro-Americans had a great impact on the formation of the word stock of AE and American culture, and enriched the speech of its native speakers.

However, over the last ten years many immigrants and refugees from Africa have entered into a "competition" with the Afro-Americans in addition to having different cultural and political backgrounds. Similar problems occur in relations between African-Americans and the African population in Africa, where the Afro-Americans are not only disturbed by the cultural and psychological diversity of those who are supposedly their descendants, but are often kept by them at a distance, considered essentially as Americans (Bolaffi et al. 2003: 6).

The study and research of African influences in America are being collected into the stories of historical plots. The stories and statements reflect the views of the communities they serve and the enterprises that manage them. The addition of Africanisms to the interpretation might change the way visitors assess the notion and possibly attract new visitors. The degree and extent of vernacular cultural contexts is formed by Africanisms of African descendants and their collective culture in the USA. As Africanisms are currently researched and added new interpretations by many researchers, most investigators are encouraged to evaluate their cultural resources for African American culture.

As mentioned above, I conclude that in some cases, the isolation of Africans from the local population and the penetration of American families allows to observe the interlingual relations. The people of African descent, living in isolation, protected their language and culture, at least to some extent, from external influences. However, the members of the immigrant ethnic groups that interacted with the natives contributed to the enrichment of American English. Thus, in this case, since there were no relevant words in the language to express many concepts, new words were taken from the languages spoken by these groups and adapted in accordance with the rules and norms of American English. American English has been enriched by the borrowed words and has formed a unique vocabulary. These words are considered to be a clear example of the centuries-old historical ties and interactions of people representing various African ethnic groups. When we look at the semantic features of the words derived from the languages of African linguistic groups, we see that words related to the lifestyle, plants and animals, toponyms, food and transport names, and words of religious and spiritual character highly predominate. The borrowings which have been discussed in this paper have had a profound influence on the formation of American English, as well as were a direct contribution to the enrichment of the

vocabulary. Notwithstanding, words are not the only means of creating variation in language, it is their derivations that have created diversity in the language and made American English both distinct from the other world's Englishes and at the same time variable.

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Agnieszka Podolecka
University of Warsaw
University of South Africa

Spiritual healers in the Basotho society: An overview of "traditional" beliefs in Christianised Lesotho*

Abstract

This article investigates the place of *lehuela*s or *sangoma*s in Basotho society, their vocation, work, and relationship with Christian churches. *Lethuela*s, also called *sangoma*s or shamans, are healers, diviners, and/or mediums. Thanks to the country's mountainous isolation, their vocation and work can be observed in its most primal and unspoilt version, passed down for generations without much influence of outside shamanic traditions or New Age forms of shamanism encountered in other Southern African countries. The article includes the data gathered during the field studies conducted in March 2013 and January 2019 in four regions of Lesotho: the capital city of Maseru (250 000 inhabitants), the Nazaretha/Roma region, the villages and tiny settlements in the western part of the Maloti Mountains, and the Butha-Buthe district in the north of the country.

Keywords: African spirituality, *sangoma, lethuela, lingaka*, shamanism, healing, divination, ancestral spirits, Lesotho

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1. Introduction

*Lethuela*s or *sangomas* and *lingakas* are spiritual healers who provide services to Basotho people[1]. Their job is also preserving the culture, passing down tribal history, and preparing young people to the adult and married life. *Lethuela* is a local term, but in relations with non-Sotho people, the Zulu term *izangoma* (usually called *sangoma*) tends to be used instead, simply because it is more familiar. *Lethuela*s/*sangoma*s are believed to be called to their profession by ancestral spirits[2]. Their wisdom is transmitted from generation to generation orally. The first accounts of Basotho religious beliefs come from the 19th century. We owe them to Eugène Casalis and Thomas Arbousset, French Protestant missionaries, who arrived in Lesotho in 1833. They translated the Bible into Sesotho, which accelerated conversion. They also founded the Lesotho Evangelical Church (Beckner & Casalis 2015: 74). In *The Basutos: Or twenty-three years in South Africa* (1861) Casalis described Basotho religious beliefs, such as in spirits and their life after death and reincarnation, Basotho religious practices and practitioners, *ngaka*s ("traditional"[3] doctors), sacrifices offered to the ancestors, and finally Christianisation (Casalis 1861: 239-250, 286). These subjects were also described by Dieterlen and Kohler in *Les Bassoutos d'autrefois* (1912), subsequently by Ashton in *Medicine, magic and sorcery among the Southern Sotho* (1943) and *The Basuto: A social study of traditional and modern Lesotho* (1952), and more recently by authors like Van Wyk (1996) and Rakotsoane (2001).

Lesotho was established as a country in 1829 by Moshoeshoe I (1786-1870) who in 1868 made his lands a British protectorate (Scott 2013: 269-270). Lesotho became independent in 1966. Most people living there are Basotho, which means "Sotho speakers". Sesotho is also spoken in the Republic of South Africa, Botswana, and Namibia. About 90% of the Basotho say they are Christians (divided almost in equal number into Protestants and Roman Catholics), the remaining 10% are Muslims, Hindus, Baha'i, or practise indigenous religions[4].

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1 In seSotho sg. *lethuela*, pl. *mathuela*. I use English version for pl.: *lethuelas* and *sangomas*.

2 When I describe *sangomas'* calling or their esoteric duties, I write from their perspective, hence I do not use the phrase "are believed to" each time. *Sangomas* and people who believe in their powers have no doubt that *sangomas*, like shamans from other cultures, can contact spiritual realm and gain knowledge from spirits that inhabit it. The matter of placing *sangomas* within shamanic discourse will be discussed later in this article.

3 I put the word in quotation marks because the expression "traditional" is a term invented by the colonists who called the African native beliefs "traditional religions" in contrast to Christianity (Shaw 1990: 339).

4 http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/lesotho-population/

However, the Christians have not necessarily stopped believing in the protection and mediumship of the ancestral spirits[5]. Like other Bantu people in all the countries of Southern Africa, the Basotho revere their deceased ancestors and whenever the need arises they consult different healers, diviners, and clairvoyants. *Lethuela*s/*sangoma*s can be found literally everywhere – in the capital Maseru, in the small towns, and in settlements that can hardly be called villages.

The aim of this article is to analyse the place of *lethuelas*/*sangomas* in the Basotho society, explain what *lethuela*s are, who and how can become a *lethuela*, and how their beliefs and practices fit the Christianised society. I consider *lethuela*s and *sangoma*s within the context of shamanism because they have the same abilities, duties, and prerogatives as shamans in other parts of the world and because it is strongly believed that they are called to their vocation by spirits. In the Republic of South Africa and neighbouring Botswana and Namibia one can observe that sangomahood (*ubungoma*) has been influenced by shamanic traditions from other parts of the world and that it is also influenced by New Age thinking[6]. However, this does not hold for Lesotho, which has not yet become part of the global Internet village. Many rural areas have not been electrified, hence Internet is hardly accessible, though some people use it on their cell phones. Where it is used, for example in Maseru, my informants told me that they had no interest in pursuing other traditions – they trust their ancestors. Many people do not speak English or any other foreign language, which is another limit on their potential for international communication. In this article I present "traditional" healers, who are depositaries of ancient spiritual traditions, and their work within a Christian society. I also explain who the "traditional" or spiritual healers are, the scope of their work, their patients and clients, and how they fit into the global phenomenon of shamanism. My information comes from other researchers and from my field studies.

2. Methodology

If one decides to carry out research on a culture which is very different from their own, they should remember that their life experience, pre-cognitive assumptions, and the way they have been educated (especially in the modern Western system) will influence the way they understand subjects' actions and thought

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[5] Van Wyk states that most Sotho *sangomas* belong to the Apostolic Church but I met many who are Catholic or Protestant (Van Wyk 1996: 39-40).

[6] More information in Podolecka (2016).

patterns. Geertz explains that culture is a framework for people's behaviour, and every situation should be placed within the context – both of the culture of the studied subjects and of the researcher's culture – which will show the true meaning of the situation (Geertz 1993: 14-15). In this article I will try to examine *lethuela*s/*sangoma*s and other "traditional" spiritual healers within their frame of reference, as far as it is possible for a Polish researcher trained in the Western system of education to do. During my field studies I always show respect for my informants and try to present the results of my studies as objectively as possible. Where I have not been allowed to reveal the identity of my informants, I call him or her "Informant".

I conducted my research in Lesotho during two field visits in March 2013 and January 2019. I worked in four parts of Lesotho: the capital city of Maseru (250 000 inhabitants), the Nazaretha/Roma region, the villages and tiny settlements in the western part of the Maloti Mountains, and the Butha-Buthe district in the north of the country. I met *lethuela*s/*sangoma*s in places so remote that they were inaccessible by car, and I had to horse ride or climb for several hours to reach them. In many cases I was the very first white person to whom they had spoken, and the first academic who asked them about their work. Many live in mud huts without running water, electricity or a heating system even though in their climate three months a year there are snow and sub-zero temperatures. They do not travel and they have never been abroad. They live the lives of their forefathers, not influenced much by Western civilisation, apart from Christianity, which was brought to them by English and French missionaries long since departed and replaced by local exponents of the Sesotho culture. Their sangoma-hood takes the most primal form imaginable, and they found it difficult and challenging to pass on information about it to me, as they had never been asked about their vocation and work before – people just come for their help but never ask questions, so many *lethuela*s/*sangoma*s had to strain their memories to remember their calling or training three or more decades ago.

In my work with informants, I applied research methods taken from comparative religious studies, ethnography, and anthropology. I collected the best primary sources by means of participant observation and open and semi-structured interviews. I also used constant comparative method categorizing and comparing qualitative data derived from everyday experience. I constructed interview questions in a manner which helped obtain spontaneous and detailed information from the interviewees. In contrast to many *sangoma*s in the Republic of South Africa who are tired of academics, my Sotho informants were very open and

co-operative. They did their best to explain to me the way sangomahood works, and what they feel when they are immersed in the spiritual realm. I interviewed altogether over 30 *lethuleas*/*sangomas* in Lesotho. I asked each of them if they chose their vocation themselves, if not – who and how called them to it, how their *sangomas* sickness looked like, how long was their training, how they co-operated with spirits, who are their clients/patients, and what kind of advice do they give. Their answers were used to write this article.

In 2019 in the Malealea district and in Maseru I used local guides. It turned to be a very useful experience because my guides asked questions that I did not think about. I focused on verifying if *lethuelas*/*sangomas* were not fake, if they really went through the calling sickness and how they learnt during their apprenticeship. My guides focused on contacts with spirits, they wished to know if they could "successfully" speak to them, which meant getting answers from spirits. All 20 *lethuelas* in both regions answered that the best way to reach spirits without *lethuela*'s help is to be in constant touch with the ancestors: offer them food, talk to them every day, pray for their peace and deeply believe in these activities. Then the ancestors may send the answers in dreams. My guides also asked about the accuracy of the ancestors' advice, if their words really helped people. All informants were adamant that the spirits' help was needed and accurate, even if sometimes the spirits spoke in metaphors. In such case, it is a *lethuelas*' duty to understand the metaphor and explain it to their patients/clients. This inter-cultural co-operation helped me better understand the phenomenon of spiritual healing and guidance and its importance for the Basotho people.

3. "Traditional" healing

According to Sechaba consultants, about 40% of the Basotho say they visit "traditional" (non-allopathic) healers for health care, and 10% see spiritual healers (Makoa 2000: 2, Moetsana-Poka 2016: 6). Theoretically, the health care provided by the state is free, but many people do not qualify, and Western medicines are mostly imported and too expensive. As many cannot afford doctors' fees, they go to healers who accept crops as payment. Additionally, "traditional" healers take a holistic attitude towards patients and may diagnose the cause of a disease as mistreating the ancestors or some other spiritual reason. Healers may register with the Lesotho Universal Medicine Men and Herbalist Council (LUMMHC), but most healers do not, because it would mean costly travelling without bringing

any real benefit. Hence there are no reliable statistics indicating the number of healers working in Lesotho[7].

"Traditional" healing is based on a holistic approach to health, which assumes that the soul, body and mind should be in harmony with each other. After death. souls become spirits and may stay to help or harm their families. This belief is widely spread in sub-Saharan Africa. Hammond-Took explains that the term "spirit" is "a way to refer to the belief in intelligent agencies that are typically invisible and intangible but who have the power to affect the lives of the living" (Hammond-Took 1986: 158). He also states that there are several kinds of spirits. He calls the first group "communicating ancestors". They come from the family (fathers, grandfathers, clan founders etc.), they are benevolent and act as mentors and protectors, particularly against the machinations of witches, but they are liable to complain of neglect, especially neglect of ritual performance and then they can cause misfortune of their descendants (Hammond-Took 1986: 159). Other spirits can be witches, both dead and alive, and witches' familiars, i.e. animal forms of witches' spirits. However, Hammond-Took points to the fact that many academics do not consider witches and their familiars "real spirits" (Hammond-Took 1986: 161). This is an information that I also received from all my informants: witches can curse people but when *lethuela*s/*sangoma*s speak about spirits, they mean either ancestral ones of clan-founders, who may not be related to their clients but are connected to the clan and hence they can be asked for advice and help. If a witchcraft is a cause of someone's misfortune, ancestral spirits can be asked how to deal with the problem. There are also "spirits of affliction [who] are associated with possession cults that have appeared over the last eighty years or so, mainly in the Transvaal, Natal and Mozambique. They have been explicitly recorded for Tsonga, Ndau, Venda, Pedi, Lobedu, Kgaga and Zulu" (Hammond-Took 1986: 162). My Basotho informants never mentioned them, also no researcher describes a possession cult sects.

Although belief in spiritual guidance and help is common among the Bantu peoples, it may not be native to the Basotho. Rakotsoane claims that belief in the ability of the spirits to help or harm people is not native to the Basotho, as

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[7] We cannot establish if *lingakas* and *lethuelas* are mostly men and *sangomas* women. It is believed in SA that about 90% of *sangomas* are females but there are no statistics. There are also no statistics for *lethuelas* and my informants were not able to tell me if there are more men or women among them. An informant from Maseru, who runs a traditional school for boys where they learn history and culture of Basotho and get circumcised, told me that he knew as many men as women and there are schools like his one for girls which are run by female *lethuelas*/*sangomas* (he used both terms).

there are no mentions of such a belief in the old *likoma* songs (Rakotsoane 1996: 3). However, he agrees that prayers to ancestors are still being said, and ancestors are being asked to convey the prayers to older ancestors, the god Molimo or God (Rakotsoane 1996: 9). Van Wyk states that in the past diviners were called *linohe* and – unlike *sangoma*s – they used to deal only with spiritual problems but were not herbalists or healers. The combination of the two, which is characteristic of contemporary *lethuela*s/*sangoma*s in Lesotho and other countries, is a result of outside influence, especially Zulu (Van Wyk 1996: 39, Rakotsoane 1996: 3). Regardless of whether the belief is native or imported, it is now an important aspect of the lives of the Basotho, and thanks to this belief *sangoma*s have clients.

Sefotho names two types of healers: herbalists (*ngaka-chitja*) and diviners (*ngaka, selaoli*). He argues: "Basotho traditional healers fall into two main categories under the generic name *lingaka* – meaning doctors". The presence of the first group of healers' in communities is quiet and exemplified by their command of respect and sometimes fear (Sefotho 2016: 254). These are "diviners", "medicine men" who throw bones and concoct herbs for healing (Sanders 1989: 523). The second group is loud, and their origin can be traced back to the Tugela River, where the first healers (called *mathuela*) were trained (Rakotsoane 2001: 186). Traditional healers are "called" to belong to a network that is linked to and constantly consults the world of the ancestors. Basotho traditional healers can be men or women who enter the healing profession at different ages. Traditionally, most healers were men, but this has changed significantly in recent times (Moteetee & Van Wyk 2011). Traditional healers in Basotho society diagnose and treat various diseases as well as prevent casting of evil spells on those who consult them (Sefotho 2016: 253-268, 264).

Sefotho also observes that to become a *lingaka*, a person must be called by his or her ancestral spirits, suffer a sickness (a dysfunction of body and mind) that can be healed only by apprenticeship, and then undergo an initiation. Then the whole process of healing patients is helped by the spirits (Sefotho 2016: 254-255, 260). This is the same system as in case of *lethuea*ls/*sangoma*s.

Mokotso lists several types of healers, calling some of them witches: "In Sesotho culture there is a difference between a witch (*moloi*), diviner (*selaoli*), and doctor (*ngaka*), but all of them acquire inherent mystical powers and ability to use mystical medicinal substances. The difference is that a witch (*moloi*) uses his/her inherent mystical powers and knowledge of medicinal substances to harm others while a traditional doctor (*ngaka*) uses his/her knowledge of medicinal substances for the welfare of the people" (Mokotso 2015: 210).

*Lingaka*s are Basotho healers who are mainly herbalists but can also communicate with ancestors to gain knowledge how to heal people. They provide medicines and charms to protect people from evil. They are believed to have the "ability to confront and reveal witchcraft as they are needed to restore physical and moral composure to the sick and conflicted"[8]. A *lilaoli* (pl. *selaoli*) is usually an ancestors' messenger "who only reveals the unknown and gives explanations to the supernatural phenomena" (Mokotso 2015: 210). During my studies I did not manage to find any *lilaoli, moloi, lingaka* or anyone who knew such persons. Therefore, I shall focus on *lethuela*s and *sangoma*s.

4. Who are the *lethuelas* and *sangomas*?

The term *sangoma* which *lethuela*s use in their relations with non-Sotho people comes from Zulu ethnic group. Moteetee and Van Wyk argue that the "concept of a sangoma is foreign to the Lesotho culture and it was introduced by the Thembus who originated from what was then known as the Cape Colony (Motlamelle 1938, after Ashton 1967), perhaps currently the Eastern Cape Province. The language in which *sangomas* practise their craft points to the foreign origins of this tradition" (Moteetee & Van Wyk 2011: 211). My informants told me that the word *sangoma* indeed came from isiZulu and confirmed that *lethuela*s used different means of divination and contacting spirits than Zulus, but on the other hand, both *lethuela*s and *sangoma*s have the same process of being called, of training and working, and now their working methods are similar and often identical (i.e. using bones to contact spirits). Hence, they feel part of the same tradition of helping people by means of contact with the ancestors, and they believe that referring to themselves as *sangoma*s can only help them attract non-Sotho clients, because this term is more widely known than *lethuela*. Also during their training they contact the same animal spirits, e.g. water snakes (Rakotsoane 1996: 88)[9]. Van Wyk uses the terms *lethuela* and *sangoma* interchangeably (Van Wyk 1996: 39) and so will I in this paper.

Sangomas are first and foremost healers but also diviners, clairvoyants, and soothsayers. They are depositaries of an esoteric wisdom that helps them make contact with the spiritual realm which is inaccessible to ordinary people. They are contacted by people in need, who suffer health problems, lack job or have other life problems. They are central figures in their communities and play vital roles in all the decision-making. They have always advised kings and chiefs in

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[8] Sg. *ngaka*, pl. *lingaka*, *bongaka* means 'divination/healing' (Coplan 1991: 4).

[9] The same sentiment was presented by all my informants.

all Southern African cultures. Moshoeshoe I, the first king of Lesotho, availed himself of the advice of a *sangoma* who lived in the king's household[10].

5. Religious background of Sotho *lethuelas*/*sangomas*

Even though Lesotho has been Christianised, *lethuela*s/*sangoma*s continue to enjoy respect. Their belief in the powers of ancestral spirits and peoples' belief in the power of *sangoma*s come from pre-Christian times. We can see in the attitude of the Christian churches in Lesotho how deeply these beliefs are rooted in contemporary Basotho society. I came across only one Church which disapproved of *sangoma*s, and it was a tiny mission from the USA run by white Americans. But even they accepted the fact that the *sangoma*s practise an effective herb lore and those who prefer herbal medications to Western medicine could be treated by *sangoma*s without sin[11]. There are pastors or priests who do not enjoy *sangomas* in their full ritual attire during Sunday masses but the official attitude towards *sangomas* is positive, which will be discussed in part 10 "Christian churches' attitude towards *lethuela*s/*sangoma*s".

As in many Southern Bantu religions, Basotho native beliefs are based on a monistic belief in cause and effect (Rakotsane 1996: 1). This means that whatever happens in life – sickness, misfortune, happiness – is the result of former actions, either those of a living person or those of his/her deceased ancestors. "This is the kind of perspective that gives rise to a personal-impersonal [view of the] nature of the Supreme Being. The real is neither strongly personal nor strongly impersonal. As a vital force, it may be more manifest in ancestors than in kings, more manifest in animals that inanimate objects" (Rakotsane 1996: 1). The supreme being of Basotho was called Khanyapa. It was a huge water snake or snake-like animal which dwelled in rivers, streams and lakes, and is still a powerful symbol for most Southern Bantu peoples. It is believed to cause the much-wanted rain and bring the dead back to life[12]. Today the water snake is still believed to visit *sangoma*s, especially during their *ukutwasa* training – many Sotho *sangomas* told me this[13].

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[10] Information acquired at Thaba Bosiu historical site, January 2019.

[11] Private conversation with the leader of Jesus 4 Africa Church, January 2019.

[12] Snake worship (*ophiolatreia*) is one of the most popular kinds of worship in Africa and other world cultures. In case of Southern Bantu people it is connected to water rituals, prayers for rain, and ancestors' presence (Rakotsoane 1996: 1, 51).

[13] The calling and training is called *ukutwasa* or *ukuthwasa* and the apprentice is called *twasa* or *thwasa*. I use the first transcription.

The word for God in Sesotho is *Molimo*, exactly the same word as for the supreme ancestor. The plural form *balimo* is used for the ancestral spirits. The word is almost the same as in Setswana: *modimo* and plural *badimo*. Rakotsoane recalls a saying "one's parent is one's God" and interprets it to mean that people are called to revere their parents and elders but also indicates that God is like a parent to humans (Rakotsoane 1996: 25). This saying can be interpreted in the Christian way of seeing God, but as it is probably older that Christianity in Lesotho, it may also support the view of my *sangoma* informants: God is our father, therefore he is *Molimo,* the Great Ancestor. Interestingly, the Sesotho word for the sky is *lelimo*. Rakotsane claims that when Christians introduced the idea of God in heaven to the Basotho, they associated *lelimo* (heaven) with *Molimo* (God, the supreme being) and *balimo* (ancestors) (Rakotsoane 1996: 41).

It would be impossible to separate the concept of God from the First or Supreme Ancestor. I asked every single informant about this, and the answer was always the same, though they had to think it over, as no one had ever put this question to them before, and they had never asked it themselves. In fact, the answer is very interesting from the point of view of Western Christianity, especially the Roman Catholic Church, which makes a point of calling Jesus not only the Son of God but also God Himself. When asked about God and Jesus, all my informants told me that Jesus was definitely the *Molimo*. Many explained to me: the proof that Jesus is the *Molimo*, our Great Ancestor, is the fact that he appeared to his followers after his death – only a powerful ancestor can make himself visible in a physical form. Also, Jesus called other people his brothers and sisters, and emphasised that we all had a Father in heaven. Therefore Jesus must be our *Molimo*[14]. When I asked about Jahweh, God the Father, they said that he had never come down to Earth to show his true appearance. He is so distant, so inconceivable and beyond human imagination, that there is no sense in wondering about him. However, when I insisted on a definition of Jahweh, my informants said that he could be called the *Molimo* as well because he is the Father, the one who created humankind and all living beings, hence he is our ancestor, too[15]. Regardless of when the belief in the presence of ancestors came to the Basotho religion, it occurs in the religious beliefs of all Bantu ethnic groups and is so strong that it determines the way Christianity and all the Christian denominations are understood in Lesotho.

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[14] Private conversations, January 2019.
[15] Private conversations, January 2019.

6. The *lethuelas*/*sangomas*' calling and training

Becoming a *lethuela* or a *sangoma* is not a matter of choice – all the *sangomas* I have ever met in Southern Africa and all the researchers' informants state this quite clearly. The only exception is Natefe S., whose mother and grandmother were *sangomas.* He had dreamed of stepping into their shoes and ever since childhood had kept asking his ancestors for a calling. His desire was finally granted when he was 19, and he is the only *sangoma* on record not to have suffered from the *sangoma* sickness. He was trained mostly in dreams and visions by his ancestral spirits and the water snake[16]. The rest of his training was done by his mother and grandmother. Natefe's case is an exception, other informants report a horrible sickness which forced them to accept the *sangoma*'s profession and lifestyle.

There are numerous studies on *sangomas,* and they all state that the sickness is the beginning of a new way of life. It starts as a disorder of the body and mind and is a process in which a person is re-created. Through visions and conversations with the dead and the deities, the person leaves the world of the profane and enters the realm of the sacred. The ancestors possess the chosen person and do not leave him/her with a choice – rejecting the calling from the ancestors can lead to death. Mahubelo S. told me that two of her apprentices disregarded the calling for too long and came to her too late to be saved, both died soon after finding their teacher[17].

Though, at the beginning many *sangomas* find contact with the spirits unwelcome, a time comes when the person accepts the calling and the possession, and the spirits become his or her teachers. They lead the person to his or her teacher and help him or her to acquire knowledge. The person becomes a *twasa*. The training process which is called *ukutwasa* becomes a process of healing. The spirits visit a *twasa* and give him or her their instructions, they teach, explain, and help. Usually there are several spirits who guide a *twasa,* and all my informants told me that during the process a *twasa* established a closer relationship with some of the spirits or deities than with others[18].

In South Africa and Botswana, where I also conducted field studies, *ukutwasa* lasts at least two years. In Lesotho the situation is different – the average time is

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[16] Private conversation, March 2013. The cases of snake guidance and teachings were also reported to scholars (see Berglund 1976: 144, Farrer 1879: 137, Gatti 1962: 195).
[17] Private conversation, January 2019.
[18] March 2013, January 2019.

six months[19]. The exception is Mathobeli P., who studied for 6 years in South Africa under apartheid, and had to take breaks to earn money and move to new places. *Ukutwasa* is not cheap, teachers have to devote their time to their *twasas* and usually let them live in their abode. Usually families accept the calling of their relative and pay for his or her training with chickens and crops from their fields. In the remotest parts of Lesotho, where people have no income, the payment comes from their households.

The spirits are usually deceased members of the *twasa*'s family. Pitso M. told me that at the beginning it was one of his uncles, which was not surprising because this uncle was a *sangoma* and before he died he said he would call Pitso. He appeared in Pitso's dreams, showed him where to go and find his old white beads and shells. He also sent Pitso a vision of his future teacher and the place where she lived. It was a vision of a woman with white beads in her hair walking in a river[20]. After some time, other paternal ancestors joined in. At first, Pitso was not willing to accept his calling, so the ancestors sent the sickness upon him. He felt very weak, had pain in many parts of his body, and could not concentrate. He soon understood that accepting the calling was the only option, he found the lady from his vision and became a *twasa* and then a *sangoma*. During his apprenticeship Pitso learnt about the therapeutic properties of all the plants that grow in Lesotho, where to collect them, and how to use them for the benefit of his patients. He also established a good relationship with his ancestors, and they no longer possess him, but he can call upon them at any time and they will come to help[21].

Rastaka T. was called at a time of need. He was 22 and he could not find a job, his parents were very poor and the harvest was very small that year, so they sent him to some relatives for several weeks. He was not a welcome guest and was refused food, to force him to return to his parents. He was hungry and could not see a solution to his problems. Then his ancestors appeared to him in a dream and told him to return home and find a *sangoma* to teach him. He refused to do so and the *sangoma* sickness started, his whole body was ill: he felt pain in every muscle, headaches became a daily problem and he could not take any food. He heard voices no one else could hear and started to lose his sight.

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[19] Sefotho says training lasts 6-12 months (Sefotho 2016: 260).

[20] White beads are *sangomas'* symbol in Lesotho; *twasas* get them as a graduation gift and wear them to show people that they are *sangomas* and are ready to help. The white colour symbolises light and divinity (private conversations, January 2019).

[21] Private conversation, January 2019.

When he was almost blind, he accepted his fate, found a teacher and started his training. During *ukutwasa* he recovered his sight and learnt how to co-operate peacefully with the spirits. They were his paternal and maternal ancestors and they supported him on his progress to sangomahood. They no longer talk to him, unless he needs their assistance[22].

Tselane M. was so sick that she kept fainting. It started in her teens and neither she nor her parents knew what could be the reason. Western doctors did not offer any help. There were times when she felt better and during one such time she married in the traditional way when she was 16[23]. Thereafter her health deteriorated rapidly: she was weak during the day and she was sleep-walking at night. One night she came across an old lady who woke her up from her trance and told her that she was experiencing the *sangoma* calling. She became Tselane's teacher, she taught her herbs, Sotho history, how to communicate with spirits, and how to deal with patients. Tselane's training lasted 7 months, then she went to a *sangoma* school for a final month and graduation. Her husband understood the situation, accepted her calling and helped her pay for tuition. He also accepted that during twasahood *twasas* are not allowed sex, even with their husbands. They must also be on a special diet which excludes some kinds of meat, cheese, and vegetables. When Tselane came back home after initiation, she was healthy and strong. She is happy that ancestors chose her though she does not know why they did it. She never asked and she never will, she accepts their decision without any doubts.

The calling happens not only to young people. Matsepo is a very respected *sangoma* in her region, she trained many other *sangomas* and the lesser ones send patients to her when they cannot find a cure for them. She was fifty when she was called by the ancestral spirits, though she was just six when her first contact with ancestors occurred. Since childhood she could hear spirits and often she felt sick. Ancestors did not call her into sangomahood but they were present in her life and helped her during difficult times. She remembers being beaten by her mother who suspected her of thieving. At night she had a dream that revealed the location of the missing objects and she was able to lead her

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[22] Private conversation, January 2019.

[23] There are 3 kinds of marriage in Lesotho, all recognised by law: magistrate marriage, Church marriage, and traditional marriage, which means that two families agree to the union of their children and the man's family pays for the wife, usually in cattle. A *sangoma* can be asked for blessing but it is not necessary. Young people, usually from rural areas, ask for the land to build a hut and work the field. The land is granted for free and they do not have to pay taxes. Land is usually so small that it barely allows to grow crops for the family.

mother to them. Such situations were happening all her life and her family suspected it could be the *sangoma* calling yet she did not feel the calling until she was fifty, already married and a mother. It started during a trip to RSA. She took a relative to a doctor in Bloemfontain. The doctor could not heal her relative and told her to find a *sangoma*. That night Matsepo had a dream that revealed her where to go. Thus she found the *sangoma* to heal her relative and learnt from another dream that this person should be her teacher. She saw herself as a *twasa* in a vision and told the *sangoma* about it. The *sangoma* was surprised but agreed to teach her[24]. During *ukutwasa* Matsepo felt strong and healthy for the first time in her life. She embraced the calling, studied hard to learn medical plants and how to co-operate with spirits to help patients. She is very happy that she was chosen for this vocation, even though it happened so late in her life. "Ancestors always have their reasons, maybe only at 50 I was really ready", she said[25].

There are rare situations in which *twasas* do not have teachers but are taught by spirits. This was the case with the mentioned above Natefe S. who learnt not only from *sangoma* ancestors but from the river snake deity. Thabiso M. was also taught by spirits for several weeks before he found his teacher. Thabiso had no intention of becoming a *sangoma*, he wanted to be a teacher. However, he started having disturbing dreams and then visions during the day and he became sick. He could not concentrate, he was losing sight and could not see the writing so he had to quit school. He had a vision about his teacher but he refused to go to him. He was Catholic and he was scared, and people around him thought he was crazy. The spirits showed him herbs and taught him how to use them to make *muti*[26]. After several weeks of spirits' training, he finally decided to find his teacher who was expecting him. He went through six months of training during which he learnt healing, communication with spirits, *sangoma* ethics, and history of Sotho people. Ancestors granted him his wish to become a teacher – he runs an initiation school for boys[27].

During *ukutwasa*, apprentices have to be absolutely obedient to their teachers and spirits and they must reject all their personal views and desires. This is

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[24] There are no statistical data as to how many teachers expect their *twasas*, some tell me their teacher was waiting for them, some are surprised by the appearance of a potential *twasa* at their doorstep.

[25] Private conversation, January 2019.

[26] Muti is a variety of herbal medicines which – in certain cases – may include animal parts. Sesotho word for *muti* is *moriana* but the term *muti* is widely used (private conversations with *lethuelas/sangomas*, January 2019).

[27] Private conversation, January 2019.

a hardship that all *twasas* go through, no matter how old or rich they are when called or what their skin colour is – obedience is required to crash an ego, to leave one's pride and habits behind and become a new person. All my *sangomas* informants confirm the importance of casting away the ego. These are the basic requirements in all shamanic training: the sickness that leads to the teacher, rejecting ego, and changing from a profane person to the one who co-operates with spirits and spiritual realm. Accepting the calling and the vocation means humility towards spirits, teachers, nature, and patients. Mathobeli P. told me she had to walk on her knees for two kilometres from her hut to her teacher during her initiation to prove the humility and surrender to spirits' will. Other *sangoma*s confirm the tradition of kneeling and showing humility[28].

*Twasa*s learn different means to contact spirits. It is a very personal process in Lesotho. In comparison, Zulu *sangomas* use bones to communicate with spirits[29]. Piso M. uses bones to get answers. In Lesotho bones are used relatively rarely, many *sangomas* just go into deep meditation and seek spirits in this way. Some of them, like Malefetsane M., feel ancestors with them all the time. When patients come to him and he cannot recognise a sickness, he just asks the ancestors for help and hears the answer. Tsotleho M. does not use any tools, he feels ancestors are with him all the time. Mathobeli P. uses a piece of reed to hear the answer. She prays and calls upon spirits, she asks questions and hears the answer through the reed. Such communication was also observed in RSA, though it is relatively rare. Thabiso M. uses a steel stick to poke his patients. He also uses the Bible, he prays to God and opens the book, and he finds answers in the verses. This is in addition to asking ancestors for help, thus he combines ancient methods with Christian beliefs in the holiness of the Bible[30]. Many *sangomas* in the Southern parts of Africa do this: they pray to God and call upon ancestors to help them heal their patients[31].

Sangomas have their specialisations like many professionals. Some specialise in herbs, others in trance healing (they get into a trance, put their hands on patients, "mould" their bodies into healthy ones), some specialise in divination. Divination is often used for healing but it can be used for predicting the future

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[28] Private conversations, March 2013, January 2019; also conversation with *sangomas* in other countries, 2012-2019.

[29] Divination bones consist of actual bones of sacrificial animals and small objects like shells, stones, and coins. In Sesotho they are called *litaola* (Moliehi 2013: 84 and my *sangoma* informants).

[30] Private conversations, March 2013, January 2019.

[31] My research in last 10 years and Van Wyk (1996: 39).

and showing clients actions they should take to achieve their goals. Mathabang K. told me that she had had a divining talent since childhood. When she was in a primary school she had prophetic dreams about people she knew. She received the calling when she was about 30 and during her twasahood she learnt divination. Her tools were coins as representations of people and situations. She would cast them before her and the client, and from the pattern of coins she would read the situation. She does not need to use them anymore as she can always ask ancestors for help.

7. Graduation or initiation of a *lethuela*/*sangoma*

Ukutwasa is finished with *hlope* – an initiation, also called graduation, that is witnessed by all *sangomas* from the region and many guests[32]. This is a kind of exam during which *twasa*s must prove their ability to contact spirits, recognise sickness, and find proper remedy for it. Often some things are hidden and *twasas* must find them intuitively or thanks to spirits' guidance[33]. Cattle (usually white goats) are slaughtered for the ancestors and *twasas* give gifts (usually blankets) to their tutors and receive *sangoma* insignia – in Lesotho these are white beads which are worn on the head, neck or wrist. White is the colour of *sangomas*, their beads and sacrificial goats are white. For the ceremonies and rituals and also for visiting sacred places *sangomas* wear long skirts or a cloth that covers their bodies from waist down. This is a matter of respect towards spirits and other *sangomas*.

Graduation is a big occasion. Van Wyk states that often a cow is sacrificed for the initiation feast (Van Wyk 1996: 42). Such an expensive animal is used by those who can afford it, in other cases the sacrificial animals are goats. It is a public event and its aim is not only to check if a *twasa* has learnt enough to handle patients and clients but also to introduce a new *sangoma* into society. All *sangoma*s from the region come for the graduation and ask ancestors for blessing the initiate. Prayers and ritual dancing are public, for everyone to see. Animals are slaughtered and the new *sangoma* is given a bladder to put on his/her head. This tradition is widely used by Zulus, among Basotho it does not happen every time. The bladder's filling is believed to be bitter for humans but sweet for ancestors. The skin, the gall bladder and bones become the future *sangoma*'s

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[32] Private conversations, January 2019.

[33] "The use of this term 'graduation' by *sangomas* themselves, rather than the often heard 'initiation', points to their own sense of professionalism" (Thornton 2009: 18). Still, the term "initiation" is used by many other scholars and my *sangoma* informants.

tools of work, the means of communication with spirits. The meat of the slaughtered animals is cooked and *sangomas* share it with families and other guests (Berglund 1976: 127, 154, Kohler 1941: 17, Van Wyk 1996: 42).

Even though it is believed that the calling must be accepted, many *sangomas* who put an effort and money into training and being initiated, quit the profession after some time. Thornton states that about 80% of *sangomas* stop practising their calling. He is an example himself. When he became a single father, he had to earn more and was unable to do so as a *sangoma* so he focused on his academic career[34]. I asked my informants in Lesotho how many *sangomas* stoped practising. They did not know the number but confirmed that some *sangomas* quit. The reasons are various: ancestors may leave a person, *sangoma* may have too little talent or he/she can negotiate with ancestors to let him/her go back to a normal, mundane life. Modiehi is such a person. She received her calling at the age of 30 when she was in separation from her husband and already a mother. She served as a faithful *sangoma* for almost 30 years. In 2018 her beads' string broke and the beads fell on the floor. It was a sign from ancestors that they were happy with her work as a *sangoma* and that they released her from her duties. She was happy as a *sangoma* and she is happy now when she can live a life without patients and without worrying about people's problems. Clients still come to her, as they had done for previous decades, but she does not call upon ancestors and she does not want to use *muti* anymore. She uses water, she prays over it and changes it into holy water. She blesses people with it and believes that if people pray to God, God will help them achieve what they need. However, if sick people come and ask for *muti*, she mixes herbs because she still has the knowledge to do it. Even though Modiehi quit being a *sangoma* but she is still respected by her community.

8. *Lethuelas*/*sangomas* as healers

The biggest responsibility of *sangomas* is healing – these words I heard from all my informants in all countries I carried out field work during last decade. *Sangomas*' healing is holistic which means that only a combination of healthy spirit, body and mind can produce a healthy human being. In Sotho and other Southern African cultures sickness has always been treated in holistic terms: body, mind and soul are ill together, not separately. The physical sicknesses usually have non-physical reasons – like abusing ancestral spirits, a curse or unbalance in

[34] Private conversation, February 2018.

somebody's soul. *Sangomas* uncover the physical and the spiritual causes of illnesses and find solutions to cure. This holistic approach to life and health makes *sangoma*s doctors, psychologists, and priests in one (Van Wyk 1996: 39, Maiello 2008: 248, Chidester 1992: 18, Podolecka 2016: 147). Because the reasons of sicknesses are often esoteric (e.g. workings of spirits), the process of healing is likewise – healing talent is considered a gift from ancestors. As ancestors are those who call *sangoma*s to their vocation and work, they are also responsible for providing them with knowledge and tools, both via leading people to proper teachers and via direct dreams and visions in which ancestors teach[35].

"The definition of traditional [not Western] medicine implies a culturally appropriate ethnic health care system which makes use of plant and animal (and sometimes mineral) material in its healing and consulting pharmacopeia to treat physiological and psychological ailments. It also includes the use of these items for ceremonial, spiritual and religious purposes associated with the ethnic healing process" (Beilis, Esterhuizen, 2005: 15). The healing process is a combination of prayers, calling upon ancestors and Jesus Christ for help, getting into a trance, conducting healing ceremonies in sacred places such as caves or waterfalls, applying cleansing rituals, using *muti* herbal medicines), and by sacrifices. Places sacred for Basotho are often behind Lesotho's borders but in case of serious illness or other problematic life obstacles, Basotho travel to RSA. One of the most popular places is Motoulong, the Fertility Cave, near Clarens, Free State, where *sangoma*s live alongside charismatic and Pentecostal Christian priests[36]. The cave is huge and actual houses are built there. I visited the place and saw both the inhabitants and pilgrims. Many come from Lesotho for training and for various rituals.

Coplan carried out field studies among Basotho in many sacred places. He has observed a similar situation at Badimong cave where *sangoma*s lived in little huts and shrines and protected sacred caves and grottoes. "Some enclosures are inhabited for weeks or even months by those whom the ancestors have

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[35] All my *sangoma* informants and Rakotsoane (1996: 27).

[36] *Motoulong* means "a place of beating drums" which points to sangomas' drum music and rituals. San paintings adorn some rocks and San shamans use drums for ritual reasons as well (Mensele 2011: 15). The place is also called Fertility Cave because it is believed that barren women can be cleansed from bad energy there and can get pregnant. The cave consists of main high-ceilinged cavern and 7 little grottoes. There is over 2 metre high rock pillar in the main cavern. Women light candles and walk around it to purify their thoughts. Main rituals are done in this place. Then women meditate in grottoes for 7 days. After this time, they believe they will get pregnant (information gathered from *sangomas* and charismatic priests in the Fertility Cave, January 2019).

'arrested', and whom only the ancestors can declare cured of their afflictions and release. Others are used for services on special celebration and feast occasions, such as Easter, and by a range of healers, diviners, prophets and churches of every type known to southern Bantu people" (Coplan 2010: 982). This is a perfect example of the combination of Sotho ancient religious beliefs and Christianity which together make a unique form of deep esoteric belief in spirits' presence in the lives of the living.

Sangomas use various herbs, roots, shrubs, tree trunks, and local plants for healing purposes. The most popular one is *impheph*o which is considered the most sacred plant[37]. It is collected on wild meadows and dried, and for ritual purposes it is lit by fire. Aromatic smoke is widely used to cleanse people and their surroundings, both in the physical meaning (i.e. their houses) and esoteric ones (i.e. the surrounding aura). The smoke is also inhaled by *sangomas* and is often given to patients to inhale. Other herbs and plants are usually mixed together to produce *muti*, a medicine that can be drunk or inhaled. *Impheph*o and *muti* are also used when a baby is born, for blessing during marriage rituals, at every initiation for *sangomas* and in initiation schools for boys and girls. It is also used to cleanse houses of bad energy, to call on spirits and for many other reasons.

In the 21st century sacred places are still believed to possess powers that can help – even educated people living in big towns like Maseru succumb to *lethuelas/ sangomas'* help when in need, and pay in chickens or money for travels to places where their issues may be solved. This shows the power of belief in esoteric reasons of misfortunes and esoteric powers of *sangoma*s who are trusted to help solving problems. Basotho are not separated from other ethnic groups, especially those who live close to the South African border. Monica Lukhele Mangengenene who takes permanent residence at Badimong and is the leading diviner, healer, and multi-lingual spokesperson says that her roots go so deep down the history that she had Tswana, Zulu, Xhosa, and even white ancestors (Coplan 2010: 982). This is very much in line with what I heard from my *sangoma* informants. The belief in mixing ethnicity and the travels of souls are also explanation for the calling of white *sangoma*s, the phenomenon that took place even in colonial times but rapidly increased in numbers when apartheid was collapsing[38].

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[37] *Impheph*o's Latin name is *helichrysum odoratissimum*. It is an aromatic, multi-branched herb with small yellow flowers.

[38] My *sangoma* informants told me that the calling of white people was nothing new, it just was not recognised during colonial or apartheid times (numerous private conversations in last 10 years).

Today white *sangoma*s are trained by black ones and the latter are trained by whites – a phenomenon not popular in Lesotho because of barely existing number of white population but definitely not rare among Basotho living in RSA. White *sangoma*s are – like their Sotho counterparts – first and foremost holistic healers, they undergo the same training and also treat their patients using esoteric methods of discovering sickness and finding cure.

Johan Classens who is a white *sangoma* trained in Zulu tradition had Basotho trainees, and with some of them he lived in the Fertility Cave. He built a hut in the cave and spent several months among other *sangoma*s and charismatic and pentecostal priests there. When I visited the place with him, he was greeted by the Sotho *sangoma*s and asked what had happened with Basotho he trained. Local *sangoma*s were interested how his trainees were doing after becoming fully fledged *sangoma*s[39].

9. *Lethuela*s/*sangoma*s as part of global phenomenon of shamanism

There is no binding definition of shamanism. Taksami, a Siberian-born ethnographer, calls it a historical phenomenon present in Siberian religious beliefs, others perceive shamanism as a religion or a set of primitive beliefs and rituals, while still others as a way of life (Price 2001: 3). Eliade understands shamanism as a kind of religion because shamans have connection to deities, are mystics, and perform priestly duties. They are special kinds of priests because they are masters of ecstasy, they can be possessed by spirits and deities but they can also control the possession (Eliade 2011: 28-30). Before Christianisation *sangoma*s and their counterparts in various Bantu cultures were the depositaries of sacred and religious wisdom. It was their task to pass religious beliefs down the generations and care for the spiritual growth of their people. Today, pre-Christian beliefs are hard to find but *sangoma*s still preserve the knowledge about ancestral guidance and use this knowledge to contact spirits and help people. Also, like Siberian and other shamans, they are considered important figures in their societies. The first Basotho king, Moshoeshoe I, kept a *sangoma* at his court and listened to his advice and so do Basotho till today.

*Lethuela*s/*sangoma*s calling is very similar to shamanic one. There is no psychiatric explanation of *sangoma* or shamanic sickness. It may take different forms in

[39] Private conversations, December 2018.

various cultures but the process always requires personal sacrifice, rejecting old ways of life, and submission to ancestors or deities. Eliade recalls how among Siberian, North and Southern American and Australian peoples a novice is guided by visions from "another realm". It may seem impossible and absurd for Westerners but the sickness is a real experience, and a traumatic one, and a person who goes through it strongly believes in its reality. The ethnic group in which it happens also believes that visions and dreams are true – they justify the calling and validate the shaman's role as a person who moved from profane to sacrum (Eliade 2011: 51, 53). This applies to *lethuela*s/*sangoma*s as well, they have the same abilities and duties as Siberian shamans. Hence I argue that they are part of the shamanic phenomenon.

10. Christian churches' attitude towards *lethuelas*/*sangomas*

Christianity arrived in Lesotho in 1833 with the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS) who came to help the London Missionary Society (LMS). The converting process was based on the racist and prejudiced belief that Africans were heathens without any supreme god. Christian missionaries managed to convince Sotho people that their beliefs are dangerous for their souls, barbaric, Satanist, and primitive, while Christianity brings them enlightenment and a better life. Native religion was denied the status of religion and quickly Basotho started believing their oppressors (Mensele 2011: 16). The results were devastating for the Sotho culture. Their original religion survived in bits and pieces to be picked up by *sangoma*s. Missionaries managed not only to introduce Christianity to Lesotho but also to divide the nation so far united in their belief in ancestral protection – Lesotho remains almost half Catholic half protestant since that time. "Missionaries didn't bring Jesus, they brought their culture, and they uprooted people. Only now do churches in Lesotho understand that ancient belief in ancestors is not in contradiction with Christianity, and only now do they see that there is no sense in fighting for believers – what different is it if you go to a Catholic church one Sunday and Evangelical another week? Christianity should be about love and inclusiveness, about reading the Bible and following Jesus' example, not about dividing people"[40].

During my research in Lesotho I spoke to priests of several Christian denominations and to the head of the Christian Council of Lesotho which comprises

[40] Khosi E. Makubakube, president of Christian Council of Lesotho, private conversation, January 2019.

7 churches: the Roman Catholic Church[41], the Lesotho Evangelical Church for South Africa (LECSA), the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the Assembles of God in Lesotho, the Anglican Church of Lesotho, the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, and the Weslean Methodist Church (it broke away from the Methodist Church of Southern Africa in 2018 for financial reasons but kept the credo)[42]. The council's official attitude towards *sangomas* is positive. Its president Khosi E. Makubakube told me that all churches in the Council were inclusive and – in spite of intolerance in other countries – they welcomed *sangomas*, homosexuals, and people who decided to live in traditional kind of marriage without the church wedlock. When asked how the Council perceives *sangomas*, he said: "*Sangomas* have a gift from God, they see and hear things that ordinary people don't, they are like ancient prophets. God sends *sangoma*s to people to heal holistically, to see what is wrong in their lives, what must be changed and repaired and then, when the mind and soul are healthy, the body also heals. Before Christianity, Basotho were united, they believed in ancestors' powers. Then, when white priests came, ancestors were almost forgotten, they went back to God. Now, that the priests are Basotho, ancestors are back. They help us communicate with God like saints. Many are the saints. Now two realities, two traditions reconcile and *sangoma*s help us communicate with ancestors when we don't know how to do it. So why should any church reject them? Rejection comes from a lack of wisdom. And this is not my personal view, this is what our Council believes"[43].

The Council does not condemn rites and rituals that *sangoma*s have managed to preserve. The most important one is introducing boys into manhood and the circumcision ritual. Though not present in Christianity, this centuries-old African tradition is cultivated till today and in recent years it gains enthusiasts. Thabiso M. allowed me to witness a part of training for the boys. Thabiso lives in Nazaretha region and runs a school for boys[44]. They quit their government schools for six months when they are about 14-16 and come to his house to learn everything that a Sotho man should know: how to farm the land, how to manage cattle, how to speak to his wife and be understood (sic!), how to contact ancestors and care for them by special offerings so that they will care for him and his family. Boys

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[41] Lesotho is the only country in the world where Roman Catholic Church is not just a partner but a full member of the ecumenical body of the Christian Council (Makubakube, January 2019).

[42] Makubakube, January 2019.

[43] Makubakube, January 2019.

[44] Initiation schools are called *mophatong/lebollong* (Moliehi 2013: 82).

learn through songs, poems, lectures and tales of the elders living nearby. The boys I met were mainly Christians but still their families decided to send them to the boys training and those teenagers were proud of being part of this tradition. Nearby there was a similar school for girls, when female *sangoma*s taught but Thabiso was also invited to give occasional teaching[45]. Thabiso told me that the tradition of initiation schools was becoming more and more popular and that sometimes he had students in their thirties, men who did not receive such education in their teen years but who want to complete their education. In 2013 he had a fifty year old student. He also said that *sangoma*s would be present in these young people's lives: they would help women go through pregnancy, they would be asked to help an easy birth, to help in farming the land or finding a job. In the 21st century Basotho go back to their roots and combine tradition with Christianity and modernity.

The situation is not perfect though, some prejudice still happens. Hamubelo S. told me that her priest had serious problems with accepting her *sangoma* calling. She asked ancestors what to do and they said that God was one and no man could take his place to judge people. They suggested changing church from Roman Catholic to Apostolic one and said she would be closer to God there. However, the change did not help, the priests were not welcoming either. Finally she went to another Catholic and then to Anglican Church where she was finally accepted. Makubakube said I was against Church Council advice[46].

Many *sangomas* admit their peaceful co-operation with priests. Matsepo S. is Anglican and though at first the priest was not happy to see his faithful Christian become a *sangoma*, he gradually accepted it and even started coming to her for medicines. The new priest even sends sick people to her. Maliholo S. was part of the Dutch Reformed Church when her calling started in 1974. She spoke to her priest and he was not enthusiastic because he was afraid that she would renounce Jesus. When he saw that she stayed in the church and she was helping people, he accepted her calling. All his successors have had a good relationship with her and were her patients. Malefetsane has a more difficult situation as his priest in the Seventh Day Adventist Church does not accept his sangomahood. He was not rejected though and he is accepted in church and attends masses regularly. All my other *sangoma* informants are active members at their church community and have good relationships with their priests[47]. Some

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[45] Boys schools are also called "circumcision schools". There is no circumcision of girls (private conversation with Thabiso M., January 2019).

[46] Makubakube, January 2019.

[47] Private conversations, March 2013, January 2019.

*sangoma*s leave their church if they are mistreated, e.g. Tsabiso S. is still Christian but does not follow the Roman Catholic Church anymore and does not seek a new church. Many *sangomas* start their healing or divination process with a prayer to Jesus who is considered the Great Ancestor and the messenger of God. It is believed that *sangomas*' gift for divination and helping people comes from God, therefore it is appropriate to pray to God or Jesus[48].

11. Conclusions

The analysis of the vocation, work, and reception of spiritual healers/diviners, especially *lethuela*s/*sangoma*s, in Christianised Lesotho shows co-existence of ancient traditions with various forms of Christianity. These faiths permeate each other creating new forms of spirituality. Though the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches tried to eradicate native beliefs, they did not succeed, and after 200 years of their presence in Lesotho most churches have come to the conclusion that old spirituality does not defy Christianity. The faith in ancestors' presence and interference in the lives of the living is still strong and Basotho seek ancestors' help when in need; at the same time most of them belong to Christian churches. *Lethuela*s/*sangoma*s and other "traditional" healers combine their medical knowledge based on plant medicines with spiritual healing involving ancestral spirits. This holistic approach earns them permanent respect and high position in the Sotho society. They also contribute to keeping old traditions alive and they are hardly influenced by non-Bantu traditions. However, even though I think that Sotho sangomahood is the purest in the entire region of Southern Africa, I still believe it is a part of the global phenomenon called shamanism. Shamans, like *lethuela*s/*sangoma*s, are called to their profession, undergo the sickness which changes their bodies and minds, heal through apprenticeship learning and they have the same abilities (contacting the spiritual realm and seeking help there), duties and prerogatives[49]. In the 21st century Lesotho we can observe the co-existence of ancient traditions with various forms of Christianity. These forms of faith permeate each other creating new forms of spirituality.

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[48] Moliehi 2013: 84 and my *sangoma* informants, January 2019.

[49] For more information why *sangomas* are part of shamanism see Podolecka (2016).

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