Table of Contents

An Appraisal of the Effectiveness of Repetitions used in HIV and AIDS Posters

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Abstract
Public communication of HIV and AIDS matters is challenging, given the sensitivity and complexity of the topic, hence the employment of various linguistic strategies. This study appraises the effectiveness of repetitions employed as lexical devices in ten PSI Zimbabwe HIV and AIDS posters. These posters were selected using a purposive sampling technique, based on observed manifestations of linguistic redundancy. The study was guided by Halliday and Hasan's (1976) Cohesive model for conceptualising texts. Data was analysed using the Content Analysis method, through establishing the categories of repetitions used and their frequencies, followed by presenting numerical data in the form of tables. The results indicated that there was overuse of repetitions in HIV and AIDS posters, predominantly employing stylistic non-conceptual repetitions, as opposed to conceptual ones, promoting unwarranted redundancy and poor readability. Recommended is the minimal use of repetitions, particularly the non-conceptual ones, in order to eliminate redundancy and achieve effective communication.

Key words: *HIV and AIDS posters, repetition, appraisal, cohesion, effectiveness*

Introduction
Lexical repetition has been studied in various fields of linguistics, including stylistics, rhetoric, translation and discourse studies. From a linguistic perspective, repetition is a broad phenomenon that is of interest to phonologists, morphologists, syntacticians, psychologists, discourse analysts and pragmatists (Jucker, 1994). The focus of this study is on appraising the repetitions used in the discourse of HIV and AIDS posters. There are several types of communication that fall under the rubric of HIV and AIDS communication, varying from one community to another, based on specific intervention needs as exemplified below.

In Zimbabwe, modes of HIV and AIDS communication and their subcategories include: Mass media-print (press releases, articles such as newspapers, journals, newsletters and magazines); mass media-electronic platforms (websites postings, electronic forums, television and radio shows and airings, mobile or cellular phone text-messages, audio tapes, video tapes, DVDs, and CDs and

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documentaries and films); organisational-administration and programming (minutes of meetings, progress and evaluation reports of activities or projects or programmes, proposals, action and implementation plans, organisational profiles, contracts or terms of reference or memoranda of understanding, good or best practices and case studies, abstracts, conference papers, poster presentations and oral presentations); community and target specific-information, education and communication (IEC) (brochures, posters, and stickers, books and booklets, manuals and trainings packages, fact sheets, banners and drama scripts) and advocacy (position papers, sign on letters and petitions) (SAFAIDS, 2009).

This study is interested in the community and target specific-information, education and communication (IEC) category, notably posters produced by Population Services International/Zimbabwe (PSI Zimbabwe), under various themes intended for HIV and AIDS education. Posters were chosen as the subjects of the study based on the use of repetition as a lexical device. The selected posters display linguistic redundancy, employing repetition as their most discernible lexical feature, thereby motivating the study's interest. Since this study's focus is on the written texts of the poster messages, it systematically excludes the multimodal aspects of the texts, which constitute a rich area of investigation by a separate study.

The decision to carry out this study is an outcome of the observation that the repetitions used in HIV and AIDS materials are mostly ineffective as they result in unwarranted linguistic redundancy, as well as the perceived need to determine the basis of this problem. Repetition as a lexical device, has been criticised for its inclination to arouse humour, irony and redundancy, leading to reader/hearer fatigue, and mostly, for its cliché tendencies. Regrettably, it was observed that most of the repetitions used in HIV and AIDS communication materials give rise to some of these problems, hindering effective communication. As such, the general aim of this study is to appraise the lexical value of the repetitions employed in the selected HIV and AIDS poster messages. The following are the specific objectives:

- To determine, the types and consistencies of lexical repetitions used as cohesive devices in each of the selected HIV and AIDS posters.
- To establish the patterns of occurrence of these categories of repetitions across various poster messages.

- To evaluate the communicative efficacy of the repetitions employed in the studied posters, based on the basis of their use as lexical devices.

Significance of the Study

HIV and AIDS communication materials are among the key intervention programmes designed to prevent and manage HIV and AIDS through education in Zimbabwe and the sub-Saharan region, and their communicative efficacy depends on their level of comprehensiveness to their audiences. Studying cohesion in HIV and AIDS communication materials is therefore a worthwhile academic exercise that interrogates their linguistic soundness and whether or not they sufficiently achieve their communicative objectives. To determine cohesiveness in the selected posters, this study examined lexical repetition which is a subcategory of reiteration. The results of the study would indicate the extent to which the cohesive device of repetition is effectively used to achieve the intended communicative goals. Recommendations made based on these results are expected to improve the current linguistic tailoring of these messages. Also, although the topic of cohesion has largely been studied in academic discourse researches, there is hardly any research in Zimbabwe or in the African region that focuses on cohesion in HIV and AIDS information. Thus, the importance of studying cohesion in HIV and AIDS posters is clear given that the study makes a significant contribution towards filling the knowledge gap in this area.

Lexical Repetition: Definition, Function and Significance

Repetition is a subject of discussion in multiple disciplines, yet there seem to be dearth of literature on this topic (Curl, 2002 and Curl, Local and Walker, 2006). In general terms, research on repetition is less profound and Jackson (2016: 1) argues that it is "an understudied muddle". Most scholars who attempt to review the phenomenon of repetition often carry out a surface analysis, and to the best of the researcher's knowledge, very few scholars have engaged in an in-depth discussion of repetition. In addition to this concern, as Aitchison (1994) notes, there is no clear-cut definition of the term repetition, and hence what could be considered as repetition is vast. Aitchison, for instance, extricates various classifications of self repetition based on manner of production by the speakers. He posits that the phenomenon of repetition incorporates imitations (when children repeat), stuttering (when non-fluent speakers repeat), cohesion (when writers repeat), echolalia (when brain damaged individuals repeat statements), reduplication (when

morphemes repeat) and reiteration (when conversations repeat). As such, types of repetitive figures of speech include alliteration, assonance, iteration, parallelism, epizeuxis, rhyme and shadowing (Aitchison, 1994:16).

Although there are numerous definitions for the term repetition, Persson (1974) notes that when it comes to defining repetition, the term is quite self-explanatory. According to McArthur (1992: 826), repetition can be described as "…doing, saying or writing the same thing more than once". Similarly, Reynolds (1995: 185) states that "repetition is multiple instances of an idea or word…" and Tannen (2007:2) refers to it as "the recurrence of words and collocations of words in the same discourse". Aitchison (op.cit.) adds that, given that there are various types of repetitions, "language itself depends on repeated patterns" (1994: 15-16). According to these definitions, it is apparent that repetition refers to a systematic recurrence of linguistic items in a text. Tannen (1989) makes a significant proposition on delineating the scope of repetition when he asserts that repetition varies from restating exact words and phrases, paraphrasing other disparities involving repetition with a change in grammatical aspects such as person, tenses or word structure. Tannen is later echoed by Cuddon and Preston (1999: 742) who affirm that repetition "…may consist of sounds, particular syllables and words, phrases, stanzas, metrical patterns, ideas, allusions and shapes".

Repetition is broadly classified into 'self' repetition in which the speaker repeats what he/she has said and 'other' or 'allo' repetition where the speaker repeats what has been uttered by someone else (Tannen, 1989; Murata, 1995; Mlambo, 2009 and Johnstone., 1994). 'Self 'repetition is also known as 'same-speaker' repetition whereas 'other' repetition is termed 'second-speaker' (Norrick, 1987). In addition to these broad categories, Tannen further breaks down repetition into three types: exact repetition, repetition with variation and paraphrase. Exact repetition also known as "verbatim" or "full repetition" (Brody, 1994:5), encompasses repeating exactly the words that were previously uttered. Repetition with variation occurs when words are repeated with a slight change in their original structure and appearance. Paraphrase repetition occurs when the speaker expresses the same idea using different words or simply restating of a text (Tannen, 1989). Tannen's categories correspond to Johnstone (1994: 14) classification of exact and non-exact repetition. Whereas exact repetition is termed and interpreted the same by both scholars,

Johnstone's non-exact repetition is parallel to Tannen's paraphrase repetition.

As Bazzanella (2011) asserts, repetition varies in its form and function based on the context of use. Whereas it is true that there are abundant functions of repetition, Tannen (2007) notes that it is fruitless to attempt to capture all forms and functions. Hence, the focus here is on what is expounded by Tannen (1989) as the key functions of repetition. Tannen (ibid) states that there are four main functions of repetition: production, comprehension, connection and interaction. Whereas production, comprehension and connection functions are concerned with constructing meaning in speech, the interactional function serves a social purpose in conversations. For example, repetition creates meaning by acknowledging the speaker, expressing points, summarizing utterances and repeating words or sentences to show agreement or disagreement (Tannen, 1989: 51).

Tannen (1989) summarises some of the interactional functions of repetition to achieve social goals in conversations as follows: "participatory listenership, which shows that the person is listening and accepting what has been uttered; ratifying listenership, which occurs when the speaker incorporates the repeated phrase into their own narrative; humor; savouring through, which a speaker appreciates the humor in a situation; stalling, a function that allows time to interlocutor to find what to say next; expanding, which is the reformulation of an utterance followed by on-going talk; and repetition as participation, which helps develop the conversation" (Tannen, 1989:47–52). Therefore, the interactional function of repetition has a strictly social purpose, useful for establishing common ground amongst interlocutors, creating sustainable dialogue. Thus, drawing insight from the outlined functions of repetition, the current study sought to evaluate the stylistic value of those used in HIV and AIDS messages, with the view to ascertain their effectiveness in enhancing their communicative goal.

Although it is agreeable that repetition is a functional linguistic tool, there is however, a scholarly debate on its usefulness in interactional discourses. Some scholars (Halliday and Hasan, 1976; Leech and Short, 1981; Norrick, 1987; Tannen, 1987; Tyler, 1994; Murata, 1995; and Hsieh, 2011) argue that it is useful whereas some (Tannen, 1989; Simpson, 1994; Wilson and Sperber, 2002; Brody, 1986 and Norrick, 1987) are of the view that it spoils the communication process, and therefore undesirable. This debate is summarised by

Fowler when he postulates that "…we have instances of repetition that are good in themselves; we have repetition that are neither particularly bad in them, but that offend simply by recurrence" (Fowler, 1988: 211). Hence the observation that "Linguists are therefore faced with the paradox that repetition is widely used, yet widely avoided." (Aitchison, 1994: 18). It is significant at this stage of the study to assess the value of repetition by engaging in this debate as this partly constitutes the basis for the justification of the study's interest in this linguistic phenomenon. To follow up this debate there is need to present arguments from both scholarly positions.

Considering the good side of repetition, it is regarded as a useful linguistic phenomenon that enhances textual cohesion and helps facilitate fluency in speech (Halliday and Hasan, 1976; Leech and Short, 1981; Norrick, 1987; Tannen, 1987; Tyler, 1994; Murata, 1995; and Hsieh, 2011). Fluency is heightened by emphasis and reinforcement through repetition of words or phrases that have already been mentioned. Repetition is also useful in indicating cooperation and in some instances agreement among speakers created by repeating others' words signalling understanding and collaboration (Coates, 1996; Johnstone, 1994 and Tannen, 1989). Moreover, since it signals cooperation, repetition is viewed as a 'collaborative speech interaction' that has the tendency to build a positive relationship amongst conversational participants based on what Brown and Levinson (1987) refer to as positive politeness.

The down side of repetition includes the claim that it is redundant and inefficient in upholding a normal interaction. According to Brody (1986: 255), it falls "under the rubric of communicative redundancy". Redundancy is born out of the verbatim tendency of repetition which results in undesirable word for word recurrence of linguistic items in texts. As some scholars argue, it may lead to hearer or reader fatigue or in worse circumstances it may create unwarranted humour effect (Simpson, 1994). Similarly, repetition may have ironic effects and sarcastic meanings given that it imitates previous utterances (Tannen, 1989; Simpson, 1994 and Wilson and Sperber, 2002). However, Merritt (1994) argues that ironic negative connotations are likely to result only in cases where repetition of the same item is excessive and intense. Excessive repetition, according to Merritt, is boring as no new information is provided. Further, Norrick (1994) defends this position by accentuating that sometimes humour expressed through repetition is necessary as it helps cover up embarrassment, hence repetition should be viewed as a natural

phenomenon that facilitates communication in interactional discourse.

From the discussion above, the paradox of repetition is apparent, it is a double-edged linguistic manifestation which is both useful and undesirable in conversations. However, the undesirability of repetition arises mostly when this is overused leading to redundancy, sarcasm, irony or associated negative grammatical connotations, as Wilson and Sperber (2002) rightly put it. In this sense, it can be concluded that repetition warrants to be used moderately and tactfully to facilitate effective communication as it proves to be a valuable linguistic tool which interlocutors cannot do away with. Subsequently, this study is premised on the understanding that repetition needs to be used cautiously in order to enhance its communicative efficacy, particularly in non-stylistic texts.

Theoretical Framework

Halliday and Hassan's (1976) cohesive model is employed as a conceptual framework, used to conceptualise cohesion and its cohesive devices. Thus far, this model has made a great contribution towards the understanding of cohesion and coherence in English texts (Brown and Yule, 1983; Thompson, 2004). Cohesion in this article is defined as "relations of meaning that exist within the text, and that define it as a text" (Halliday and Hasan, 1976: 4).Various studies of written texts focus on determining cohesive signals that enhance the reader's perception of texts, and the present study is one such example. This study focuses on the use of repetition as a cohesive device in written texts, basing on Halliday and Hasan's linguistic scheme of cohesion. Halliday and Hasan's (1976) Cohesive model is premised on the assumption that a text is coherent with reference to its 'context of situation' (linguistic environment), as well as cohesive with respect to 'itself' (continuity of meaning). Hence, to produce a sound text, both coherence and cohesion are essential.

According to Halliday and Hasan's (1976) cohesive model, there are cohesive ties that exist within a text in which the interpretation of one linguistic item depends on another.Two broad categories of cohesive ties are presented, the grammatical and lexical. The grammatical textual ties incorporate relations of reference (exophoric and endophoric [anaphoric and cataphoric]), substitution, ellipsis (substitution by zero) and conjunction; whereas lexical ties include reiteration (e.g. repetition) and collocation. These five sub-categories of grammatical and lexical ties are used as parameters for measuring

cohesion in texts and are further broken down into several subcategories. Reference involves personal, demonstrative and comparative references; substitution includes nominal, verbal and clausal substitution; ellipsis consists of nominal, verbal and clausal ellipsis; conjunction comprises additive, adversative, causal and temporal conjunctions; and lexical cohesion includes the use of the same word, synonym, superordinate and general word. The presence or absence, or the manifestation of these cohesive ties denotes weather or not the texts under analysis are cohesive. According to Halliday and Hasan, cohesion in this context refers to "the continuity that exists between one part of the text and another" (1976: 299).

Halliday and Hasan's classification appears to be a valid and effective model for measuring cohesion in texts, hence this study adopts it. The study is interested in the notion of lexical cohesion and repetition in particular, which is a subcategory of reiteration. Guided by Halliday and Hasan's view of repetition as a cohesive device, the study's intention is to appraise its effectiveness in enhancing cohesion in selected HIV and AIDS posters. Also, since according to Halliday and Hasan (1976), cohesive devices are responsible for gluing the text together, semantically, the study evaluates the nature of repetitions used in these posters with a view of ascertaining their role in enhancing meaning. In order to collect data concerning the study of repetitions and to facilitate its analyses, the study employs various research methods as described in the next section.

Methodology
Sampling Method
Choosing a study sample is an important step in any research project given that it is not ethical, practical or efficient to study the whole population (Burns and Grove, 2001). Also, according to Burns and Grove, the selection of an appropriate method relies on the study's objectives. Qualitative research design normally requires a flexible sampling technique as its aim is to enlighten on understanding of certain complex social phenomena in order to answer the humanistic questions such as 'why' and 'how' of research. There are three key methods of sampling in qualitative studies such as the present; opportunistic (or convenience), theoretical and purposive sampling.

The study sample was drawn using the purposive sampling technique, also known as judgmental, selective or subjective sampling. A purposive sample is a non-probability sample selected

based on characteristics of a population and the aim of the study (Streubert and Carpenter, 1999). According to Streubert and Carpenter this is mostly used in qualitative studies and phenomenological inquiries. In this study, purposive sampling involved choosing a total of ten HIV and AIDS posters produced by PSI Zimbabwe, based on repetitive tendencies. Out of a wide range of HIV and AIDS posters produced under six major campaign programmes coordinated and launched by PSI Zimbabwe (Voluntary HIV Testing and Counselling, Prevention of Mother to child transmission, Protector Plus Condom, Sexual Networks, Male Circumcision, and Stigma), only those that display repetitive trends were selected for the study. This method allowed the researcher to select only those poster messages which discernible employ repetitions as lexical devices. As Patton (2001) puts it, purposeful sampling is useful as it allows the researcher to select only information rich cases for study purposes. It is also useful as it is shaped by the interests and aims of the study (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973).

PSI Zimbabwe is an organization that came into existence in 1996 and has collaborated with the Ministry of Health and Child Care to develop and scale up health innovations to improve public health. PSI was selected based on the fact that it spear-headed and is responsible for the launch of most of the HIV and AIDS campaigns in Zimbabwe up to date. Moreover, PSI systematically documents all the campaign and advocate information, making it conveniently retrievable for study and other purposes.

Data
Since the focus of the study is on the language used in selected PSI posters so as to appraise the use of repetitions, the written text of these posters comprises the data of the study. This includes words, phrases and sentences which embody the poster messages. As already mentioned, an analysis of written language systematically excludes semiotic features of the texts, which may be analyzed in a separate study.

Data Analysis Method
Content analysis is used as a data analysis method for exploring repetition in the studied HIV and AIDS posters. It is a common research method in the field of communication and media research (Krippendorff, 2004). The most prominent feature of content analysis as a method of research is that it gives a quantitative description of

the content of communication (Deacon et al, 1999 and Berelson, 1952, cited in Hansen et al, 1998). This is achieved through identifying trends or themes in the communication material, followed by categorizing, tabulating or classifying it into empirical data before interpreting it (Wimmer and Dominick, 1997). Thus, according to Wimmer and Dominick, content analysis basically involves scanning the content of communication to establish the presence or absence of particular themes, and then analyzing these to produce interpretive explanations of research phenomena. Despite the classifying feature of content analysis, Berg (1998) postulates the view that frequency in content analysis of a certain aspect or idea in a text is indicative of its persistence and hence is used to measure the same.

In this study, content analysis involved scanning through ten selected HIV and AIDS posters, in order to establish the categories of repetitions used and their frequencies. The results of the scanning process were then presented in the form of tables displaying numerical data, giving a quantitative description to the content of the poster messages. Numerical data were later interpreted using qualitative descriptions in order to accomplish the study's objectives.

Findings

This section presents the findings of the study whose purpose is to appraise the effectiveness of repetitions used in selected PSI Zimbabwe HIV and AIDS posters. Their effectiveness is determined by the extent to which they enhance communication within their contexts of use. Below is Table 1, showing the categories of repetitions and their frequencies as used in each of the ten studied posters. The posters are numbered along a 1-10 scale, each representing the following: Poster 1 (Get Real Poster); Poster 2 (Voluntary HIV and AIDS Testing Poster); Poster 3 (Prevention of Mother to Child Transmission 1); Poster 4 (Prevention of Mother to Child Transmission 2); Poster 5 (Seatbelt Condom Poster) Poster 6 (Sexual Networks Poster); Poster 7 (Umbrella Condom Poster); Poster 8 (Male Circumcision Poster 1); Poster 9 (Male Circumcision Poster 2) and Poster 10 (Stigma Poster). Tabulating thematic data is a typical content analysis method whose convenience is grounded on ease of analysis and interpretation.

Table 1: Showing the Categories of Repetitions in Ten HIV and AIDS Posters and their Frequencies

Repetition Category	Poster 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Synonyms	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
Anaphoric	2	3	2	2	2	2	6	4	2	3
Parallel	2	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	2	0
Root	4	2	2	2	0	0	2	0	2	4
Framing	2	2	2	6	0	2	0	0	2	0
Epiphoric	2	2	3	0	2	0	3	0	0	0
Alliteration	0	5	0	0	4	2	8	3	3	4
Polysyndeton	0	3	0	4	2	2	0	0	0	0
Mesodiplosis	0	2	0	6	0	3	3	0	6	0
Anadiplosis	0	4	4	4	0	2	0	0	0	0
Antistasis	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	2
Scattered	0	0	2	9	0	3	0	5	0	0
Total Repetitions	14	23	17	33	14	18	22	14	19	13

According to Table 1 above, there is a total of 12 categories of repetitions observed in the ten posters, namely; anaphoric, epiphoric, root, synonymy, framing, alliteration, antistasis, mesodiplosis, anadiplosis, parallelism, polysyndeton, and scattered. Anaphoric repetition is the repetition of a word or a phrase at the beginning of two or more consecutive sentences and epiphoric, the opposite of anaphoric, involves placing the same word or phrase at the end of consecutive phrases, clauses or sentences (Kemertelidze and Manjavidze, 2013). In root repetition, it is not the same words that are repeated, but the same root, hence it is conceptualised as the repetition of words in a different form (Preminger and Brogan, 1993). According to Short (2007) synonymous repetition occurs when one word or phrase is replaced by its synonym and framing repetition is a type of repetition that is arranged in the form of a frame (headline, body and tagline) (Leanne, 2009). Leanne explains that, the initial parts of a syntactical unit (in most cases headlines or first paragraphs) are repeated at the end of it (tagline).

In Osborn's (2006) view, alliteration involves repetition of the same sound (usually consonants) at the beginning of words close together, and antistasis is the repetition of words or phrases in the opposite sense. Whereas mesodiplosis repetition is defined as the recurrence of the same word in the middle of every sentence or clause, anadiplosis is viewed as a figure of speech which consists of the repetition of the same word or phrase at the end of one clause or sentence and at the beginning of the following (Kemertelidze and

Manjavidze, 2013). Parallelism is "the repetition of identical or similar syntactic patterns in adjacent phrases, clauses or sentences" (Preminger and Brogan, 1993: 877). Baldick, (2001) on the other hand defines polysyndeton repetition as a "term for repeated use of conjunctions to link together a succession of words, clauses, or sentences" (p. 199). Further, scattered repetition, as defined by Leanne (2009), is whereby a word, phrase, clause or sentence is restated throughout the text, several times, with no particular order of recurrence.

In terms of frequency, repetition is shown to be generally a prevalent linguistic feature of the studied posters as it appears at least 185 times. For instance, as indicated in Table 1, the minimum repetitions recorded in a single poster that is composed of an average of ten sentences is 13, and the maximum is 33. It is also revealed that there are multiple types of repetitions used in a single text and across different texts that were analysed. For instance, Table 1 shows that there is more than one type of repetition used in each poster message. The least number of repetition types recorded in one poster is 4 (Poster 8), and the highest is 9 (Poster 2 and 6). This is evidence of high frequent uses of various repetitions in individual posters. To find out the relative frequencies of the categories of repetitions employed across all ten posters, Table 2 below provides a summary of this information.

Table 2 Showing the Relative Frequencies of Categories of Repetitions used across Ten HIV and AIDS Posters

Categories of Repetitions	Frequency	Relative Frequency (%)
Synonymous	6	3.2
Anaphoric	28	15.1
Parallelism	8	4.2
Root	16	8.6
Framing	16	8.6
Epiphoric	12	6.5
Alliteration	29	15.7
Polysyndeton	11	6
Mesodiplosis	20	11
Anadiplosis	14	7.6
Antistasis	6	3.2
Scattered	19	10.3
Total	**185**	**100**

The frequencies of repetitions used in the ten posters vary as indicated in Table 2. However, there are some which are more dominantly used than others, such as alliteration (15.7%), anaphoric (15.1%), mesodiplosis (11%) and scattered (10.3%). The least frequently used repetitions recording below 5% are; synonymous (3.2%), antistasis (3.2%) and parallelism (4.2%).

Discussions

Given the high frequency of their occurrence within brief poster messages, it is correct to argue that there is overuse of lexical repetitions in the studied HIV and AIDS materials. An example is that of the *Male Circumcision* poster where a total of ten repetitive instances and eight types of repetitions are occurring in a single text consisting of five lines as follows:

<u>Reduces</u> the risk of cervical cancer in females
<u>Reduces</u> risk of cancer of the male organ.   (Anaphoric)

Reduces the <u>risk</u> of cervical <u>cancer</u> in females
Reduces <u>risk</u> of <u>cancer</u> of the male organ.   (Mesodiplosis)

Reduces the risk of cervical cancer in <u>females</u>
Reduces risk of cancer of the <u>male</u>organ.   (Antistasis)

<u>**Reduces the risk of cervical cancer in females**</u>
<u>**Reduces risk of cancer of the male organ.**</u>   (Parallelism)

Male circumcision is <u>S</u>imple, <u>S</u>afe and <u>S</u>mart.   (Alliteration)

After <u>**circumcision**</u>, abstain, be faithful or always use condoms.
Be smart get <u>**circumcised**</u> today!   (Root repetition)

Male circumcision is simple, safe and <u>**smart**</u>. (headline)
Be <u>**smart**</u>get circumcised today! (tagline)   (Framing repetition)

Male <u>**circumcision**</u> is simple, safe and smart.
After <u>**circumcision**</u>, abstain, be faithful
or always use condoms.   (Mesodiplosis)

The example above demonstrates multiple uses of unsolicited and hence superfluous repetitions within limited textual space, producing linguistic redundancy and other negative semantic connotations. Whereas recurrence of words, phrases, clauses or sentences may

have a lyrical effect and an emphatic role (Johnstone, 1994 and Tannen, 2007), in this case it gives rise to reader fatigue, given that these are non-stylistic texts and repetition of some words could have been avoided. Overemployment of repetitions is also evident in the *Sexual Networks* poster consisting of six lines, where a total of eleven repetition uses and five types of repetitions are present.

I decided to get real early so
I know how to maintain my HIV negative status
I have made it in life because of my family's support
I have invested my resources where
I get great good profits…   (Anaphoric)

I have made it in life because of my family's support
I have invested my resources where I get great good profits…
                                                                      (Parallelism)

I have made it in life because of my family's support
I have invested my resources where I **getgreatgood** profits
                                                                      (Alliteration)

I have made it in life because of **my** family's support
I have invested **my** resources where I get great good profits…
My family and **my** business.   (Mesodiplosis)

I decided to **get real early** so I know how to maintain my HIV negative status (headline)

Get Real Early. Visit a New Start Centre today. (tagline)
                                                                      (Framing)

Another example is that of the *Umbrella Condom* poster which reads: "I **love** my partner and I **love** my life/ **our** safety, **our** lives, **ourlove**, and **our** life". Here there is overuse of the word 'love' and the pronoun 'our', producing a witty effect. This playful use of language is evident in most of the studied materials. For instance, in the examples above, witticism is apparent where alliteration is used: "Simple, Safe and Smart" (*Male Circumcision* poster) and "get great good profits" (*Sexual Networks* poster). Thus, the examples above indicate not only the fact that there are high frequencies of repetition uses within brief texts, but that in most cases these repetitions, meant for emphasise, produce witticism. This is alarming given the urgency of HIV and AIDS information in Zimbabwe, designed to educate for the

purposes of eradicating the pandemic. Thus, overemployment of repetitions in non-stylistic texts such as HIV and AIDS messages, a form of public health announcements, impacts negatively on audience coherence.

Redundancy is generally defined as an unsettling excessive repetition of an idea or term in a text. Smith (1988) distinguishes between various types of redundancies, and indicates that these are present in the orthography (word or surface level), the syntax (grammatical level), the semantic (meaning level), or in a combination of these. Although Hsia (1977) argues that redundancy enhances communication and is essential as it improves text readability and hence understanding, this study maintains that orthography redundancy is unwanted as it gives rise to overuse of words and hence clichés. Orthography redundancy is likely to lead to information overload as it arbitrarily repeats words at a surface level.

In addition to overuse of repetitions in HIV and AIDS posters, an observation of positioning and placement indicates that various categories of repetitions are clustered in a single text. This means that diverse types of repetitions overlap each other within the same clause (phrases or sentences) such that each individual sentence or clause contributes to an occurrence of one or several types of repetitions. For example, in the *Get Real* poster, four types of repetitions are overlapping in the same text as follows:

<u>**You will**</u> learn ways to protect yourself, such as
being faithful to one uninfected partner.
<u>**You will**</u> also learn how to maintain your HIV
negative status as a couple.   (Anaphoric)

<u>**You will learn ways to protect yourself, such as**</u>
<u>**being faithful to one uninfected partner.**</u>
<u>**You will also learn how to maintain your HIV**</u>
<u>**negative status as a couple.**</u>   (Parallel)

You will <u>**learn**</u> ways to protect yourself, such as
being faithful to one uninfected partner.
You will also <u>**learn**</u> how to maintain your HIV
negative status as a couple.   (Mesodiplosis)

> You will learn ways to protect yourself, such as
> being faithful to one **uninfected** partner.
> You will also learn how to maintain your **HIV
> negativestatus** as a couple.   (Synonymous)

Another example of repetition clustering is shown in the *Prevention of Mother to Child Transmission* (1) poster, where there are eight instances of repetition uses within six clauses that constitute the message. The poster reads:

> **We decided to get real early for our baby. (headline)**
> **We now know how to ensure that our baby can be HIV negative.**
>
> An HIV **positive** mother can have an HIV **negativebaby**.
> At New Start Centres **you will** receive professional **counselling** and personal **advice** on prevention of HIV transmission to your **baby**.
>
> **You will** learn about free treatment options and safe infant feeding methods to ensure a healthy **baby**.
> **Get Real Early**. Visit a New Start Centre today. (tagline)

Anaphoric repetition is used in sentence 1 and 2, where the pronoun "We" is repeated at the beginning of the sentences. In the same sentences, parallelism (structural repetition) is demonstrated by the similarities of the forms of both sentences. Similarly, several types of repetitions are used in sentences 3, 4, and 5. For example, epiphoric repetition is presented by the repeated use of the noun 'baby' at the end of the three sentences. In addition, sentence 3 displays the use of antistasis repetition, embedded in the words; "positive" and "negative". Further, synonymous repetition is present in sentence 4, indicated by the interchangeable use of the synonyms "counselling" and "advice". Moreover, there is use framing repetition displayed in sentences 1 and 6 where the phrase "get real early" is repeatedly used. In this analysis, given the examples above, it can be argued that the overlapping repetitions within the same texts are indicative of the overwhelming usage of the repetitive style in the analysed materials.

Further, the frequently employed repetitions in the studied HIV and AIDS materials are word for word repetitions (non-conceptual, as opposed to conceptual repetitions), which are stylistic and useful for

enhancing the style and form of the text. According to Tannen (1989), word for word repetition of language constitutes what is known as exact repetitions, whose purpose is to ensure comprehension, referred to as emphatic function (Murata, 1995). Non-conceptual repetitions include, alliteration, anaphoric, scattered, anadiplosis, polysyndeton, epiphoric, framing, root and mesodiplosis. At this point it is important to distinguish between conceptual and non-conceptual repetitions. According to Cushing (1994), conceptual repetitions repeat aspects such as meaning, themes, ideas, discourse forms, voice, tense, aspect, speaker or prosody, depending on the type of repetition, rather than mere words. They repeat by replacing a word with another one which has an equivalent meaning. Non-conceptual repetitions disregard meaning and focus on vocal or written symbols, as they broadly repeat utterances (Cushing, 1994 and Johnstone, 1994).

Anaphoric repetition is one example of non-conceptual repetitions, used in the *Prevention of Mother to Child Transmission* (2) poster. It reads: "__We__ took a positive step to protect our baby from HIV/ __We__ were also taught how to keep her safe during breast feeding/ __We__'re proud we took the right steps to protect our baby". In this message the consistent repetition of the pronoun 'we' is not adding any new meaning to the text, but is causing unnecessary redundancy. The sentences could have been combined to avoid pointless repetition. Another example of non-conceptual repetition is alliteration, used in the *Protector Plus Condom* poster in the following lines: "We use __P__rotector __P__lus for our __l__ove and our __l__ife/ __P__rotector __P__lus for the __l__ove of your life!". The essence of alliteration here is word play achieved through repeating syllables, producing flowery language. A third example of non-conceptual repetition is scattered repetition as observed in the *Male Circumcision* (1) poster that reads:

> MC protects you against __HIV__…After MC…making it difficult for __HIV__ and STIs to penetrate. MC does not provide 100% protection against __HIV__

> …__HIV__prevention methods including…Defend Yourself from __HIV__.

In this poster there is repeated use of the term HIV, scattered everywhere in the text, without introducing new information or enhancing textual meaning. This certainly leads to linguistic redundancy. Framing is another dominant form of non-conceptual

repetitions that appears to be present in the majority of the studied posters. It incorporates restating in taglines, particular words and phrases used in the headlines of the poster messages. Examples of repetitions forming frames, employed in text headlines and taglines are illustrated below: "New **Life** Post Test Support Centre" (headline)/ "**Life** is worth it, so live it" (tagline) (*Voluntary HIV Testing and Counselling* Poster); "I am a winner because I have been **circumcised**" (headline) / "Defend yourself from HIV. Get **Circumcised**" (tagline) (*Get Real* Poster); "We took **positive steps** to **protect** our **baby from HIV**" (headline) / "Take **positive steps** today and **protect** your **baby from HIV**" (tagline) (*Prevention of Mother to child Transmission* (2) Poster); "Male circumcision is simple, safe and **smart**" (headline) / "Be **smart** get circumcised today!" (tagline) (Male Circumcision Poster) and "We decided to **get real early** for our baby" (headline) / "**Get real early**…" (tagline) (*Prevention of Mother to child Transmission* (1) Poster). In addition, the phrase "Get Real Early" forms framing repetition in the *Sexual Networks* Poster where it features in the headline and in the tagline of the massage. Framing repetition, amongst other non-conceptual ones, is certainly a prominent linguistic feature of HIV and AIDS posters.

Basing on the deliberations made thus far, it is apparent that there is dominant use of non-conceptual repetitions, perhaps meant to enhance the style and form of the texts, in order to appeal to audiences. Although, as already mentioned, it is true that these are powerful instruments for enriching style in artistic texts, it is also true that they are inappropriate for non-creative discourses such as health information texts. Thus, whereas word for word repetitions are useful for genres such as poetry and prose where meaning is achieved through creative style, in non-stylistic texts they are interpreted as linguistic redundancy and are likely to result in target audience dispossessions. Again, as proposed by Tannen (1989), word for word repetitions can effectively achieve their emphatic role if they only repeat the key words that carry the intended message, rather than repetition of words for the sake of repetition, as appears to be the case in the studied materials.

Moreover, whilst HIV and AIDS materials predominantly employ non-conceptual repetitions, conceptual repetitions are used minimally. These include, parallelism (4.2%) synonymous (3.2%) and antistasis (3.2%) which are the least employed categories of repetitions in this study. An example of parallelism conceptual repetition is observed in the *Prevention of Mother to Child*

Transmission (1) Poster which reads: "<u>**We decided to get real early**</u> <u>**for our baby/ We now know how to ensure that our baby can be HIV**</u> <u>**negative**</u>". Another example is drawn from the *Sexual Networks* poster: "<u>**I have made it in life because of my family's support/ I have**</u> <u>**invested my resources where I get good profits...**</u>". A third example comes from the *Stigma* poster which reads:

> <u>**I have felt and seen a lot of suffering and discrimination**</u> <u>**because people are ignorant about HIV**</u>.

> <u>**I have been living positively with HIV over 15 years and I**</u> <u>**help provide support to others**</u>.

In these examples, as the term parallelism signals, only the syntactic patterns in adjacent sentences are repeated, as opposed to words themselves. This form of repetition is useful for developing the structure of the text as well as avoiding word for word repetitions which lead to linguistic redundancies. Examples of synonymous conceptual repetitions include the following: "Visit a New Start Centre today to receive professional **<u>counselling</u>** and personal **<u>advice</u>**" (*Get Real* poster); and "We're proud we took the **<u>right</u>** steps to protect our baby/ Take **<u>positive</u>** steps today-and protect your baby from HIV" (*Prevention of Mother to Child Transmission* (2) Poster). Synonymous repetitions work by replacing a word or phrase in an utterance with an equivalent as shown in the above examples. Again, these are crucial for eliminating linguistic redundancy whilst they enhance textual meaning. For instance, 'right' is repeated as 'positive' in the example above, enhancing semantic meaning.

Antistasis repetitions also function in similar ways. However, this type of repetition is the least used amongst all categories identified in the studied texts. Examples of antistasis repetitions are found in the *Stigma* poster's popular slogan, "Don't be **<u>negative</u>** about being **<u>positive</u>**" and similarly in the *Prevention of Mother to Child Transmission* (1) Poster where it says "An HIV **<u>positive</u>** mother can have an HIV **<u>negative</u>** baby". These antistasis repetitions are produced by repeating words in the opposite sense. The focus on sense or meaning qualifies this category of repetition as conceptual. In antistasis, meaning is built through arousing irony by use of contraries to force the reader to look and think deeper on issues, as seen in the negative/positive sense relations in the above examples.

The conceptual repetitions used in the studied messages have an emphatic function as they emphasise on the development of textual concepts and ideas. Although they are rarely used, these cautiously emphasise and reinforce ideas through repetition of intended meanings carried in the poster messages as opposed to mere word for word repetitions, observed in the non-conceptual categories. Conceptual repetitions reinforce by drawing attention to a concept and arousing emotion (Persson, 1974). As part of their emphatic role, and as indicated in the cited examples, these focus on repeating meaning, ideas, discourse structures and other extra linguistic elements rather than the actual words of an utterance. In addition, clichés are minimized through use of conceptual repetitions, making communication clearer and motivating to read. Hence, whenever meaning enhancement is intended in HIV and AIDS materials, conceptual repetitions would be the most suitable for this task. Nevertheless, it is unfortunate to note that, as indicated above, these materials are more preoccupied with stylistic non-conceptual repetitions, hindering meaning development.

Conclusions

Summing up the arguments raised above, it is important to note some key points that emerged during the implementation of the objectives of the study. Firstly, it was established that each of the studied posters employs abundant and varied types of repetitions. It was also founded that there are numerous types of repetitions used across all the studied materials, namely; synonymous, anaphoric, parallelism, root, framing, epiphoric, alliteration, polysyndeton, mesodiplosis, anadiplosis, antistasis and scattered. These are further categorised into conceptual (those which repeat meaning) and non-conceptual (word for word repetitions), and it was discovered that HIV and AIDS materials employ more non-conceptual repetitions than conceptual ones. Amongst the mostly employedd non-conceptual repetitions are alliterations, anaphoric and scattered repetitions; and the least used conceptual repetitions are antistasis, parallelism and synonymous.

The study concludes that there is overemployment of repetitive language in HIV and AIDS posters, which gives rise to unnecessary linguistic redundancy. Redundancy is unwanted as it leads to poor readability of texts and negatively impacts on text coherence. In line with this argument, it was indicated that although excessive repetitive language is a rich stylistic technique for artistic authorship, it is inappropriate for non-stylistic texts such as the

studied public health information posters. Another important conclusion drawn is that the predominantly used non-conceptual repetitions are less effective as they are mere repetitions of words irrespective of the meanings of the expressions. Contrarily, the less commonly employed, conceptual repetitions, are more effective as they shift focus from simple repeating words for emphatic purposes. These replicate aspects such as meaning, themes, ideas, discourse forms, voice, tense, aspect, speaker or prosody, thereby enhancing and developing textual meaning.

To fortify the view of conceptual repetitions as effective repetitive forms, and non-conceptual ones as less effective in developing textual meaning, Biber et al. (1999) and Aitchison (1994) distinguish effective repetitions as those that serve a lexical function to enhance meaning of a text, and ineffective repetitions as those that do not add any meaning value. Similarly, Holmes and Stubbe (2003) and Hsieh (2011) assert that effective repetition involves intensifying meaning by adding new information to the text. Hence, as conceptual repetitions enrich the semantic base of the text, non-conceptual repetitions employed in HIV and AIDS posters have little lexical value as they do not heighten meaning, however, as already explained, these are powerful strategies for enhancing form in artistic texts.

Recommendations

Whilst it is appreciated that repetition in HIV and AIDS information is widely used for emphatic purposes, given the persuasive objective of this type of communication, the study recommends cautious use of this linguistic device so as to enhance simplicity as well as avoid textual redundancy. This partly entails generally limiting use of repetitive language whenever permissible, bearing in mind that these are not literary texts. This may be achieved through a systematic method of authorship that considers need and necessity of this device rather than a mere arbitrary use as would be the case in creative writing.

Also, given that there is predominant use of non-conceptual repetitions in HIV and AIDS materials, as opposed to conceptual ones, resulting in linguistic redundancies, suggested is the reversal of this practice. This necessitates the need to employ more conceptual repetitions and less non-conceptual ones in order to allow content to take precedence over structure, especially given the informative role of HIV and AIDS communication. Conceptual

repetitions are instrumental in intensifying meaning and understanding of the text, hence using more of these would certainly support the informative role of these messages and would help achieve their specific communicative goals.

In essence, embracing conceptual repetitions would permit producers of HIV and AIDS communication materials to elaborate, explain and emphasise or stress the truth of propositional content as well as convince the readers of specific viewpoints, without adverse negative semantic associations. The augmentation of conceptual repetitions should be done without entirely excluding the non-conceptual ones, considering, as already mentioned, the latter's universal stylistic significance.

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Adaptation of Loanwords in Chasu

Justin Msuya and Abel Y. Mreta***

Abstract

It is generally agreed that, in a multilingual context, the incorporation of foreign words into a native language is inevitable. However, owing to variations in languages' systems (phonology, morphology, syntax), each language has its own strategies for adapting loanwords to its system. This paper presents the strategies through which loanwords are integrated into Chasu vocabulary. The data were obtained from Kamusi ya Chasu-Kiingereza-Kiswahili (Mreta 2008) and the fieldwork conducted in Rundugai and Chemka villages in Kilimanjaro Region. The paper is guided by two theoretical approaches, namely the Theory of Constraint and Repair Strategy (TCRS) (Paradis & Lacharité, 1997) and Assimilation Theory (McMahon, 1994; Campbell, 1998; Winford 2003). The paper shows that loanwords are subjected to both phonological and morphological modifications when they are borrowed by Chasu. It is posited that the influx of loanwords in Chasu will eventually lead to the introduction of foreign phonemes into the language's phonemic system.

Key words: *loanwords, phonological adjustments, morphological adjustments, phonemic system, Chasu*

Introduction

Borrowing is a common tendency across languages, especially in a contact situation. In fact, it is a common phenomenon for a language to incorporate words from other languages and treat them as part of its own vocabulary (Campbell, 1998; Winford, 2003). In most cases, words are borrowed directly (from the source language) or indirectly (trans-lingual borrowing). In either way, the ultimate purpose for borrowing is to fill the existing gap in the lexicon (Winford, ibid.). Since languages differ significantly in their system, in most cases loanwords are subjected into morphological and phonological transformation in order to conform to the structure of the recipient language. However, based on the language in question, the adaptation strategies are sometimes language specific. Each language has developed its own system of incorporating loanwords into its vocabulary.

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This paper presents the strategies used for adapting loanwords into Chasu. Specifically, the paper focuses on the morphological and phonological strategies employed when adapting loanwords (that is, nouns and verbs) in Chasu. It is important to note that in this paper, justification will be provided for cases which the purpose for adaption or adoption is contrary to filling lexical gap.

Chasu is a Bantu language spoken along the mountain ranges called Pare Mountains located on the Northeastern part of Tanzania in Mwanga and Same Districts in Kilimanjaro Region (Mreta, 1998). The literature shows that there are two dialects of Chasu, namely the northern dialect (Kiathu/Chathu, as referred to by its speakers) and the southern dialect (referred to as Kimpare). However, due to the vastness of the area in the South, several varieties such as Kisuji, Kimbaga, Kimamba and Kigonja emerged (Mreta, 1998; Msuya, 2014). Guthrie (1948) classified Chasu in zone G (Shambala group) and coded it G.22. In this classification, North Pare is designated G.22A and South Pare as G.22B (see Maho, 2009). However, in this paper, the focus is on the Northern dialect.

Sociolinguistic studies in the Chasu community indicate that 5% of the speakers are monolingual in Chasu, 63% are bilingual, that is, Chasu and Swahili and 32% are trilingual which means they speak Chasu, Swahili and English (Yohana, 2009). In terms of usage, like other Bantu languages, Chasu is used as a means of communication at homes, in religious contexts and in informal settings such as markets, in funerals and in some socio-cultural and socio-political activities such as *kieko* (for initiation), *vughimbi* (for marrying), *ndethi* (for cursing) and *maatha* (for litigation) (Msuya, 2014).

Like many other languages, Chasu co-exists with other Ethnic Community Languages (ECLs), namely Swahili, Shambala and Gweno among others. On this ground, there have been a contact between Chasu and the mentioned languages which led to the incorporation of foreign vocabularies into Chasu (Mreta, 2000). Campbell (1998: 57) posits that 'It is common for one language to take words from another language and make them part of its own vocabulary.'

Before embarking on the strategies through which loanwords are integrated into Chasu, it is important to present briefly both phonemic system and nominal morphology of Chasu.

Phonemic System of Chasu
Consonants Phonemes

Chasu has 29 consonants including pre-nasalized ones. The majority of these consonants have the recognized IPA symbols, except for the pre-nasalized ones. This is because the pre-nasalized sounds are commonly found in African languages only. The Chasu consonants phonemes are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Chasu Consonant Phonemes

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives/Implosives	p ɓ			t ɗ	ɟ	k g	
Nasals	M			n	ɲ	ŋ	
Pre-nasalized	Mb	Mv	Ndh	nd	nɟ	ng	
Trills				ɾ			
Fricatives	B	F	θð		ʃ	ɣ	h
Affricates					ʧ		
Laterals				l			
Approximants	W				j		

Adapted from: Mreta (1998)

The following is a list of all Chasu phonemes with their corresponding orthography.

Phonetic symbol	Orthographic system	Example and its gloss	Phonetic symbol	Othographic system	Example and its gloss
p	p	*puta* 'smoke'	Ð	dh	*dhomana* 'encounter,'
ɓ	b	*béka* 'be broken'	ʃ	sh	*shínjía* 'sleep'
t	t	*tára* 'count'	ɣ	gh	*ghabha* 'divide'
ɗ	d	*díha* 'grunt, cry in pain'	H	h	*híra* 'act, do'
ɟ	j	*jewa* 'clear', 'white'	ʧ	ch	*chánwa* 'a drink'
k	k	*kéla* 'suppress, defeat'	L	l	*lúgwi* 'door'
g	g	*gwa* 'fall, drop'	W	w	*wela* 'grunt'
m	m	*mthí* 'day, daytime'	J	y	*yáa* 'spend night'
n	n	*nungúri* 'porcupine'	mb	mb	*mbuta* 'water jar'
ŋ	ng'	*ng'ola* 'uproot'	mv	mv	*mvono* 'affluence'
ɲ	ny	*nyényéfu* 'hiccup'	nd	nd	*ndori* 'few'
ɾ	r	*rihá* 'pay'	ndh	ndh	*ndhata* 'stick'
ß	bh	*bhábhá* 'bitter, sour'	ng	ng	*nguto* 'leopard'
f	f	*fuhi* 'brief, short'	nj	nj	*njughá* 'iron balls'

Phonetic symbol	Orthographic system	Example and its gloss	Phonetic symbol	Othographic system	Example and its gloss
p	p	*puta* 'smoke'	Đ	dh	*dhomana* 'encounter,'
ɓ	b	*béka* 'be broken'	ʃ	sh	*shínjía* 'sleep'
t	t	*tára* 'count'	ɣ	gh	*ghabha* 'divide'
ɗ	d	*díha* 'grunt, cry in pain'	H	h	*híra* 'act, do'
ɟ	j	*jewa* 'clear', 'white'	ʧ	ch	*chánwa* 'a drink'
k	k	*kéla* 'suppress, defeat'	L	l	*lúgwi* 'door'
g	g	*gwa* 'fall, drop'	W	w	*wela* 'grunt'
m	m	*mthí* 'day, daytime'	J	y	*yáa* 'spend night'
n	n	*nungúri* 'porcupine'	mb	mb	*mbuta* 'water jar'
ŋ	ng'	*ng'ola* 'uproot'	mv	mv	*mvono* 'affluence'
ɲ	ny	*nyényéfu* 'hiccup'	nd	nd	*ndori* 'few'
ɾ	r	*rihá* 'pay'	ndh	ndh	*ndhata* 'stick'
ß	bh	*bhábhá* 'bitter, sour'	ng	ng	*nguto* 'leopard'
f	f	*fuhi* 'brief, short'	nj	nj	*njughá* 'iron balls'
θ	th	*thúa* 'refuse'			

As it can be seen, Chasu lacks some consonant phonemes, which are found in other ECLs. In fact, it lacks some fricatives such as /v/, /s/, and /z/. Note, however, that although the language has no voiced labio-dental fricative /v/, there is a pre-nasalized consonant /mv/. This situation raised a question whether /mv/ is a native or foreign sound. Winford (2003: 53) posits that due to lexical borrowing, sometimes-new sounds and morphemes can be introduced into the borrowing language. On this ground, it is arguable that this sound has been introduced into the language through loanwords such as *mvua* 'rain' from Swahili. However, there are very few words with this sound such as the following: *mvu* 'wasp', *mvumo* 'Borassus palm'; *mvwa* 'thorn' (Mreta, 2008).

Vowel Phonemes

Chasu has five basic vowel phonemes, which are similar to those in most Bantu languages such as Kiswahili, Kigweno among others. In Chasu, the vowels can occur word initially, medially (before or after a consonant or another vowel) or finally. These vowels include; /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/ and /u/ as presented in the vowel trapezium.

Chasu Vowel Trapezium

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	
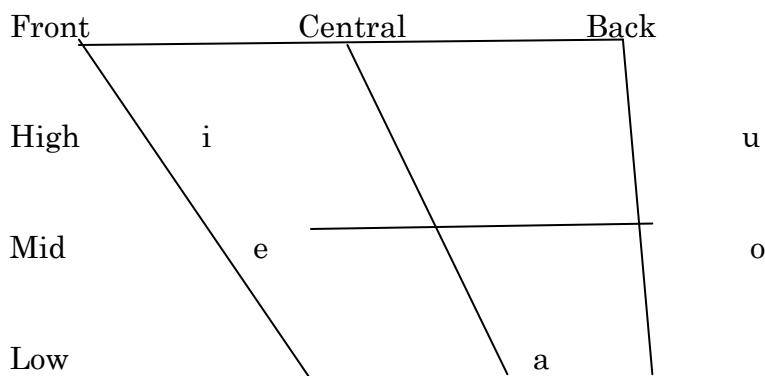
Adapted from: Mreta (1998)

Nominal Morphology

Chasu nouns are typical of the Bantu nominal system. In fact, like in other Bantu languages, Chasu nouns are categorized into classes on the basis of their semantic saliency. However, in cases where semantics fails, the morphological and syntactic factors are taken into consideration. Some of the classes (for instance, 1-2, 3-4, 5-6, 7-8, 9-10 and 12-13) are in pairs, that is, singular and plural counterparts while others (such as 11, 14, 15 and 16) are not. Since Chasu has no pre prefix, the structure of a noun consists of a prefix and a stem.Each class is identified by a specific prefix, which functions as a class marker. Table 2 presents Chasu noun classes.

Table 2: Chasu Nominal: Morphology and its Agreement

CL	Prefix	Examples	Gloss	S/aff	O/aff	Adj.agr	Semantic Features
1 1a 2	m(u)- Ø ßa -	*mndu* *éngá* *ßandu*	person aunt persons	é- /á- é- /á- ßé- /ßá-	-m(u)- /-mw- -m(u)- -ßá-	m- m- ßá-	Humans and their professions Kinship relations
3 4	m(u)- mi-	*mʃitu* *miʃitu*	forest forests	ú- í-	-ú- -í-	m- mi-	Body parts, vegetation, tree and inanimate objects
5 6	i- ma-	*iðiko* *maðiko*	kitchen kitchens	lí- á- / é-	-lí- -á-	i- ma	Body parts, miscellaneous objects, fruits and animals
7 8	ki- ßi-	*kiratu* *ßiratu*	shoe shoes	ʧ (í)/ -í ßí-/ßj-	-ki- - ßí-	ʧ(e) ßj-	Miscellaneous object and artifacts, animals, body parts, pejoratives and human traits and/or disabilities
9 10	N- N-	*ɲoki* *ɲoki*	bee bees	i- ji-	-i- - ji-	je j(e)	Animal, inanimate nouns
11	lu-	*lumi*	tongue	lú-	-lú-	lú-	Thin and long objects, abstract things

12	ka-	*kaguro*	a small dog	ká- / ké-	-ká-	ká-	Diminutives
13	ɓu-	*ɓuguro*	a small dogs	ɓú-	-ɓú-	ɓú-	
14	ɓu-	*ɓukea*	Theft	ɓú-	-ɓú-	ɓú-	Abstract things
15	ku-	*kuɾu*	Foot	kú/kw	-kú-	kw	Verbal nouns, some nouns with a prefix ku-
16	ha-	*hae*	distant	há- / hé-	-há-	hé-	Locative nouns

It should be noted that, in Chasu class 13 and 14 have the same class marker that is, a prefix ßu-. However, the prefix ßu- in class 13 is a plural marker of a prefix ka- in class 12, which is mainly used for diminutive nouns. On the contrary, the prefix ßu- in class 14 is used specifically for abstract nouns.

Theoretical Consideration

As stated in the previous section, loanwords are subjected to both phonological and morphological adjustment to conform to the recipient language's (RL) system. Thus, for proper and systematic analysis of data, this paper is guided by two theoretical approaches namely, The Theory of Constraint and Repair Strategy (TCRS) (Paradis & Lacharité, 1997) and Assimilation Theory (McMahon, 1994; Campbell, 1998; Winford, 2003). This theory holds that the presence of universal and non-universal phonological constraints across languages trigger the application of repair strategy especially when those constraints are violated. As such, the language can either delete or insert a segment. The TCRS is more relevant to phonological adaptation. However, it cannot explain some of the phonological changes such as gliding and phonemic change.

The latter theory holds that in contact situation, speakers of the RL import words, some of which acquire phonological and morphological habits of their language. The theory posits further that, the strategies used to assimilate loanwords are not entirely irregular (see McMahon, 1994). Some of the strategies used in this theory include deletion, substitution, epenthesis, vowel lengthening, stress arrangement among other. Nevertheless, the theory does not pinpoint the specific strategies to be in different contact situation.

It is important to note that despite their weaknesses, the reason for using both theories is to capture both phonological and morphological strategies employed. That is, TCRS is used to explain phonological strategies while Assimilation is used to capture morphological strategies.

Methodology

Data for this study were obtained from two sources, that is, Kamusi ya Chasu-Kiingereza-Kiswahili (Mreta, 2008), in which a list of 687 words were selectedplus the fieldwork conducted in Chemka and Rundugai villages in Hai District in Kilimanjaro Region. In the former case, since the dictionary does not distinguish loanwords from

native vocabulary, only words that were suspected to have been borrowed were selected. Then, the words were crosschecked with the list of proto Bantu vocabularies to ensure that they were not cognates. This is because, identifying loanwords from other Bantu languages is in most cases problematic since they are sometimes indistinguishable from cognates (Schadeberg, 2009). After crosschecking the words, the native speakers were consulted to verify whether the words are actual loans, native vocabulary and whether they have equivalents in the language. This helped in identifying the purpose of adapting loanwords, that is, to fill lexical gap or for prestige.

Adaptation Strategies
Phonological Adaptation
As stated earlier, due to phonological variations across languages, languages have developed various strategies to accommodate loanwords into their native vocabulary. These strategies are largely motivated by phonotactic constraints, phonemic reasons and partly by morphological reasons. In Chasu, loanwords are incorporated into the language through the following strategies.

Epenthesis
Epenthesis is another common strategy for adapting loanwords into Chasu. It involves the insertion of a sound segment within a word. The segment inserted is in most cases a vowel, consonant, or syllable. In Chasu, the epenthetic segment is sometimes inserted due to phonotactic constrains. For example, the language does not allow consonant clusters such as 'bl', 'gl' 'ks' 'lh', and 'sk'. Therefore, all loanwords with such consonant clusters are subjected to this process. This is exemplified in (1a-c) using loanwords from English. In these words, a vowel is inserted to break the illicit consonant cluster.

	Loanword	<	English	<	Kiswahili	Gloss
(1)	a. *iburangéti*	<	*blanket*	<	*blanketi*	'blanket'
	b. *buluu*	<	*blue*	<	*bluu*	'blue'
	c. *gilathi*	<	*glass*	<	*glasi*	'glass'

In other cases, epenthesis is used for restructuring purposes, that is, to make a loanword conform to the language's syllable structure and sounds like a native one (thus ensuring minimal perceptual correspondence). Although Chasu allows words with various syllable structures such as V, CV, CVC among others, it seems that the most preferred structure is CV. On this basis, a consonant or vowel is

inserted into loanwords in order to adhere to this structure as in Swahili loanwords in (2a-c) below. Nevertheless, it is important to note that in both cases, the inserted segment triggers off no semantic changes in a word.

		Loanword	<	Kiswahili	Gloss
(2)	a.	*tumbura*	<	*tumbua*	'pierce'
	b.	*kiratu*	<	*kiatu*	'shoe'
	c.	*kibiyóngo*	<	*kibiongo*	'hunch'

Deletion

Loanwords are also incorporated into Chasu through the deletion of segment(s) at any position of a word. The deleted segment can be a vowel, a consonant or a syllable. However, unlike in other Bantu languages such as Swahili in which the deleted segments (especially consonants) are normally germinate (cf. Mwita, 2009); and Nandi, which normally deletes consonants, which are not in its phonemic inventory (cf. Boen 2014); in Chasu the justification for deletion is somewhat contradictory. The plausible justification for deletion is due to either historical reasons (cf. Mreta, 1998) or morphological reasons. Nevertheless, historical reasons can only be used to account for the deletion of /l/.

		Loanword	<	Kiswahili	Gloss
(3)	a.	*kiio*	<	*kilio*	'mourning'
	b.	*mwaí*	<	*mwali*	'bride'
	c.	*kionda*	<	*kidonda*	'injury/ulcer'
	d.	*mbéu*	<	*mbegu*	'seeds'

As it can be seen, Chasu normally deletes intervocalic consonants (especially /l/) between identical vowels due to feature identity between liquids and vowels as in (3a). However, the data show that /l/ is deleted in the intervocalic position regardless of whether the vowels are identical or not as indicated in (3b).

In other cases, for instance (3) (c) and (d), the deletion of segments is uncertain since they cannot be accounted for on either phonological or morphological basis. This suggests what Peperkamp (2004) refers to as 'unnecessary modification' in which the adaptation strategies repair no ill-formed structure.

Adoption

There are instances in which the loanword(s) undergo no changes when they are adopted into Chasu. In this situation, a loanword retains its (syllable) structure, pronunciation as well as the meaning (i.e. the words remain as they were in the donor language). However, in this case, when the adopted words are used in Chasu, they are treated as part of the native vocabulary as exemplified in (4a–d).

		Loanword	<	Kiswahili	Gloss
(4)	a.	*chafu*	<	*chafu*	'dirty'
	b.	*chai*	<	*chai*	'tea'
	c.	*waya*	<	*waya*	'wire'
	d.	*urithi*	<	*urithi*	'inheritance'

Note, however, that the adoption is not a peculiar case in Chasu alone, but also in other languages such as Swahili, Gorowa and Iraqw (see Harvey & Mreta, 2016).

Tone Assignment

Chasu is inherently a tonal language with two levels of tone (high and low tone) assigned to vowels and syllabic nasals. The words borrowed from non-tonal language are assigned tones as a means of incorporating them into Chasu's native vocabulary, as well as conforming to the language's tonal system. As pointed out earlier, since the majority of words are borrowed from Swahili, which by its nature is non-tonal, all loanwords (except the adopted ones) are assigned various tones as illustrated in examples (5a–d).

		Loanword	<	Kiswahili	Gloss
(5)	a.	*dhúlúmá*	<	*dhuluma*	'unjust'
	b.	*kágúa*	<	*kagua*	'inspect'
	c.	*pámbá*	<	*pamba*	'cotton'
	d.	*hélá*	<	*hela*	'money'

Most frequently, the assignment of tone in loanwords (as in (5a–d)) triggers off no semantic change. However, in some cases, especially when a loanword has more than one meaning, the assignment or reposition of tone, results in semantic broadening. For example, Modern Swahili Dictionary (2004) shows that words such as *ngoma*[1] 'drum', *kaka*[2] 'brother' and *kana*[3] 'deny' have multiple meanings.

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[1] Ngoma 'drum; dance'.
[2] Kaka 'a shell (of an egg or matchbox); whitlow; elder brother'.
[3] Kana 'denounce; tiller; as if, as though'.

But, in Chasu, of all the meaning of the loanwords, the one which is the most frequently used is retained and the language introduces a new meaning. In each example in (6), the first meaning is the original one, while the second is the added meaning due to tone assignment.

	Loanword	<	Gloss	Kiswahili	Gloss
(6) a.	*ngoma*	<	'drum'	*ngoma*	'drum'
	Ngómá	<	'spirit (of a dead person)		
b.	*káka*	<	'brother'	*kaka*	'brother'
	káká	<	'grandfather'		
c.	*kána*	<	deny'	*kana*	'deny'
	kaná <		'or'		

It is important to note that since the language has two tones, only high tone is marked. This also applies to loanwords adapted via tone assignment.

Substitution (Transphonemization)

This refers to a process in which a foreign phoneme is substituted by a native one. This is also a common strategy for adapting loanwords into Chasu due to the fact that languages differ tremendously in their phonemic inventories. In Chasu, transphonemization is applied for various reasons. On the one hand, some sounds are transphonemized, not because they are not in the phonemic inventory of the language but due phonological processes such a spirantisation. For example, voiceless palatal affricate [ʧ] from Swahili loans is sometimes realized as voiceless dental fricative [θ].

	Loanword	<	Kiswahili	Gloss
(7) a.	*mbiθí*	<	*mbiʧi*	'raw'
b.	*θóma*	<	*ʧoma*	'read'
c.	*kiθaká*	<	*kiʧaka*	'thicket'
d.	*θákaa*	<	*ʧakaa*	'wear out'

In some cases, voiced velar plosive [g] from Swahili etymon becomes voiced velar fricative [ɣ] when adapted into Chasu, especially when it is preceded by a nasal sound [m] and followed by a vowel, or when it occurs intervocalically, as indicated in (8a–d).

		Loanword	<	Kiswahili	Gloss
(8)	a.	*mɣeni*	<	*mgeni*	'guest'
	b.	*mboɣo*	<	*mbogo*	'buffalo'

c.	*mboɤa*	<	*mboga*	'side-dish'
d.	*mɤongo*	<	*mgongo*	'backbone'

Voiceless bilabial plosives [p] from Swahili etymon often change to glottal fricative [h] when they are used into Chasu as in (9a–e) below.

		Loanword	<	Kiswahili	Gloss
(9)	a.	*mhaka*	<	*mpaka*	'border'
	b.	*heta*	<	*peta*	'winnow'
	c.	*táhika*	<	*tapika*	'vomit'
	d.	*mhini*	<	*mpini*	'handle'
	e.	*fuhi*	<	*fupi*	'short'

Words that have descended from a common source (i.e., common origin) normally demonstrate regular systematic correspondences and usually, display semantic similarities. These examples clearly indicate that phoneme /h/ is a reflex of sound /p/. The sense of borrowing from one language to the other does not apply here.

In addition, voiced palatal plosive [ɟ] becomes voiced dental fricative [ð] when it occurs either intervocalically or between a consonant and a vowel, and it never occurs in the initial position. It is important to note that in example 10 (b–d), the vocabularies were adapted to fill the lexical gap, except for a word *máði* 'water' in example 10 (a). The justification for adapting *máði* 'water' could be for prestige. This is because, there is a native vocabulary *mbombe* for water.

		Loanword	<	Kiswahili	Gloss
(10)	a.	*máði*	<	*maɟi*	'water'
	b.	*nðia*	<	*nɟia*	'path'
	c.	*mði*	<	*mɟi*	'town'
	d.	*kuða*	<	*kuɟa*	'to come'

In light of these examples in (7a–d), (8a–e), (9a–e), (10a–d), it can be argued that in addition to the phonological process (i.e. spirantisation), substitution is also a result of the nativization process. This means that language needs to ensure minimal perceptual correspondence as well as to reduce the habit of adoption.

In other cases, lateral approximant [l] from loanwords becomes a trill [r] when they are adapted into Chasu. This can be accounted for, by historical reasons. Literature shows that historically, Chasu has lost intervocalic consonants between identical vowels (cf. Mreta 1998:

46). Therefore, loanwords with the same features undergo the same process as indicated in (11a-c) using Swahili loanwords.

		Loanword	<	Kiswahili	Gloss
(11)	a.	mchere	<	mchele	'rice'
	b.	mwiri	<	mwili	'body'
	c.	mbiri	<	mbili	'two'

However, it seems that there are instances in which this kind of substitution is not supported by historical reasons. For example in (12a), /l/ changes to /r/ in intervocalic position (but the vowels are not identical). Again, in (12b) and (c) it changes into /r/ in initial position. On this ground, it is arguable that in addition to historical reason, it is plausible that the language does not favor loanwords with /l/ sound. Therefore, all loans with this sound in either position are automatically subjected into this process unless, the word has been adopted as in (12d) or other processes have already happened as in (12e).

		Loanword	<	Kiswahili	Gloss
(12)	a.	mari	<	mali	'wealth'
	b.	ringana	<	lingana	'match'
	c.	rinda	<	linda	'guard'
But:	d.	meli	<	meli	'ship'
But:	e.	mθalába	<	msalaba	'cross'

On the other hand, transphonemization is also used to replace the sounds, which are not in the phonemic inventory of Chasu. As pointed out in section 2.1.1, Chasu lacks some consonant phonemes such a fricative /v/, /s/, and /z/. In this case, these phonemes are substituted with the nearest equivalent phonemes into the language either in terms of place of articulation or manner of articulation. Most commonly, the voiceless alveolar fricative [s] from loanwords becomes voiceless dental fricative [θ] and the voiced alveolar fricative [z] becomes voiced dental fricative [ð] in Chasu. Consider the following loanwords from Swahili in (13a–f).

		Loanword	<	Kiswahili	Gloss
(13)	a.	θikia	<	sikia	'listen'
	b.	karataθi	<	karatasi	'paper'
	c.	leθeni	<	leseni	'license'
	d.	naðí	<	nazi	'coconut'
	e.	ðeruðéru	<	zeruzeru	'albino'

    f.   *kiðáði*   <   *kizazi*   'uterus'

In other cases, a voiced alveolar fricative [z] from loanwords becomes voiced palatal plosive [ɟ] as exemplified in (14a) and (b); and voiced labiodental fricative /v/ becomes voiced bilabial fricative [ß] as illustrated in (14c) and (d).

		Loanword	<	Kiswahili	Gloss
(14)	a.	*mweɟi*	<	*mwezi*	'moon/month'
	b.	*ɟika*	<	*zika*	'burry'
	c.	*ßuna*	<	*vuna*	'harvest'
	d.	*waßu*	<	*wavu*	'net'

Besides, in cases where several of the mentioned phonemes (s, v, and z) are present in a single loanword, they are substituted all together as in (15a) and (b).

		Loanword	<	Kiswahili	Gloss
(15)	a.	*θindikiɟa*	<	*sindikiza*	'accompany'
	b.	*ßiðia*	<	*vizia*	'ambush'

It is worth noting that except when loanwords are adopted, transphonemization affects all loanwords with the mentioned phonemes regardless of the position of the sound. More importantly, it should be understood that transphonemization commonly operates to consonants and not vowels. This is because the vowel system of Chasu is similar to that of Swahili, from which most of the words are adapted.

Combination of Strategies
As already discussed and demonstrated in the previous parts, some words are adapted into Chasu by employing one strategy. However, there are instances in which a combination of strategies is employed in a single lexical item as a means of incorporating it into Chasu vocabulary. These strategies are employed due to the same reasons as those stipulated in the previous parts. The strategies include the following:

Prosthesis + transphonemization + tone assignment
Some of the Swahili etymons are adapted into Chasu by both addition and substitution of sound segment, as well as assigning a tone. In this process, the inserted segment is in most cases a vowel as exemplified in (16a–d).

		Loanword	**<**	**Kiswahili**	**Gloss**
(16)	a.	*iɓéngu*	<	*wengu*	'spleen'
	b.	*igeréɗa*	<	*gereza*	'prison'
	c.	*iθandúku*	<	*sanduku*	'box'
	d.	*ikoθá*	<	*kosa*	'misdeed/error'

Prosthesis + transphonemization + anaptyxis

This strategy is similar to the previous one (3.1.7.1) except it lacks tone assignment. Besides, unlike the former strategy, in this strategy, a sound segment is inserted initially and medially. The inserted segment is either a consonant or vowel as in (17). However, words adapted through this strategy are very rare.

	Loanword	**<**	**Kiswahili**	**Gloss**
(17)	*ipapaju*	<	*papai*	'pawpaw'

Prosthesis + transphonemization

In some cases, loanwords are adapted into Chasu through addition and substitution of foreign phonemes (cf. section 3.1.2 and 3.1.6). A native phoneme (normally a vowel) is added as a morphological requirement, that is, gender assignment, while the foreign phonemes are substituted so as to conform to language's phonemic inventory. This is illustrated using Swahili loans in (18a) and (b).

		Loanword	**<**	**Kiswahili**	**Gloss**
(18)	a.	*ifeneθi*	<	*fenesi*	'jackfruit'
	b.	*inanaθi*	<	*nanasi*	'pineapple'

Syncope + transphonemization

While the former strategy involves both insertion and substitution, in this strategy loanwords are adapted through elision and substitution of a sound segment. The elision of segment is due to phonological reasons such as to reduce feature redundancy as in (19a) and phonotactic constrains as in (19b). In (19b), /h/ has been deleted because Chasu does not allow the cluster 'lh'. For the case of substitution, non-native phoneme, for example the English palatal stop /c/ becomes velar stop /k/ in Chasu as in (20), while the Swahili voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ and voiced alveolar fricative /z/ become dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/, respectively as indicated in (19a) and (b).

		Loanword	**<**	**Kiswahili**	**Gloss**
(19)	a.	*Kingeréɗa*	<	*Kiingereza*	'English'

b.	*Aliamiθi*	<	*Alhamisi*	'Thursday'
	Loanword	<	**English**	**Gloss**
(20)	*kastiroli*	<	*castor oil*	'Castor oil'

It is important to note that the arrangement of these strategies does not in any case imply that these changes follow a particular order. In fact, it is uncertain whether the restructuring process occurs simultaneously or sequentially.

Morphological Adaptation

As pointed out earlier in section 2.2, like in other Bantu languages, in Chasu, nouns are grouped into classes commonly known as noun classes. In this regard, all loanwords are assigned different classes in order to conform to Chasu's noun class system. Loanwords are adapted into Chasu through the following process:

Prefixation

This involves the addition of a morpheme to the initial position of a root or stem. Prefixation is commonly used to adapt nouns, which have [Ø] class marker from both Bantu and non-Bantu languages. Although most of Bantu loans have a class marker, there are others (possibly of Arabic origin), which lack class markers. Therefore, when these loans are adapted into Chasu, they are assigned different class markers and classified into the respective classes. The most commonly added prefixes (class markers) are; i-, ßu-, ka-, and lu-. This is because these prefixes represent different class markers in Chasu noun class system. The addition of these prefixes into loanwords is determined by the semantic saliency of a given word. Consider the Swahili loans in (21a–e).

	Loanword	<	**Class**	**Kiswahili**	**Class**	**Gloss**
(21) a.	*i-θíkio*	<	5/6	*sikio*	5/6	'ear'
b.	*i-báta*	<	5/6	*bata*	1/2	'duck'
c.	*i-émbe*	<	5/6	*embe*	5/6	'mango'
d.	*i-dirísha*	<	5/6	*dirisha*	5/6	'window'
e.	kadama	<	12/13	ndama	1/2	'a new born calf'

It is evident that all nouns in (21a–d) have the semantic characteristics of class 5/6, while a noun in (21e) has the characteristics of class 12/13 in Chasu. Note that the added prefix is normally the one, which is in singular form. There are instances in which loan allocation on the basis of prefixation does not adhere to

semantic characteristics of a given class (that is, class 12/13) as in (22).

	Loanword	<	Class	Kiswahili	Class	Gloss
(22)	*ka-póchi*	<	12/13	*pochi*	9/10	'leather purse'

The addition of prefix ka- in (22) is not in any way motivated by the semantic characteristics of class 12/13, but it could be either due to loan translation of the word *'pochi'* or individual preferences. Interestingly, although the noun takes the agreement pattern of the respective class (in this case class 12/13), it is not inherently diminutive in nature as it can be seen on the gloss. Compare the meaning of the noun in (22) with those in (21e) and (23).

	Loanword	<	Class	Kiswahili	Class	Gloss
(23)	*ka-bánda*	<	12/13	*kibanda*	7/8	'small house'

In light of these examples, it is plausible to argue that there are exceptions (although rare) in which the added class marker in a loanword does not fully assimilate it into a respective class.

Substitution

Loanwords are also assigned classes by substituting a foreign class marker (from other Bantu languages) with that of Chasu. Although this is not frequently applied compared to prefixation, it is used in some Swahili loans as indicated in (24a-d).

		Loanword	<	Class	Kiswahili	Class	Gloss
(24)	a.	*lúmi*	<	11	*ulimi*	11/12	'tongue'
	b.	*lungo*	<	*ungo*	11/12	'winnowing tray'	
	c.	*ßufundi*	<	14	*ufundi*	11/12	'skill'
	d.	*ßushirikina*	<	14	*ushirikina*	11/12	
		'superstition'					

As it can be seen, the Swahili class marker u- has been replaced by lu- and ßu- respectively. Like in prefixation, the replacement of u- by lu- and ßu- has been triggered off by the semantic characteristics of a loanword. Specifically, loanwords in (24a) and (b) have the semantic features of class 11 which trigger the use of the prefix lu-, while loanwords in (24c) and (d) have the features of class 14, hence the use of prefix ßu- which is a class 14 marker. It is important to note that substitution is possible only if a noun has semantic features and agreement patterns of a given class.

Some loanwords are assigned classes without employing either prefixation or substitution. In these cases, the class assignment is triggered off by their semantic characteristics, agreement patterns or class markers.

Semantic Features and Agreement Patterns

Loanwords are assigned classes if they exhibit features which are semantically salient to a particular class, for instance being animate as in (25a) and (b) or inanimate as in (25c) and (d). In addition to semantic their characteristics, a loanword should also have the agreement pattern of a respective class. This is used to classify loanwords in all classes as exemplified in (25a-d).

	Loanword	<	Class	Kiswahili	Class	Gloss
(25)	a. *aθikofu*	<	1/2	*askofu*	1/2	'bishop'
	b. *mwálímu*	<	1/2	*mwalimu*	1/2	'teacher'
	c. *barua*	<	9/10	*barua*	9/10	'letter'
	d. *ðawádi*	<	9/10	*zawadi*	9/10	'gift'

Although this strategy involves the use of both semantic and agreement patterns, the primarily attention is paid on the agreement pattern.

Class Marker

Despite the fact that Bantu languages differ in their noun class system (especially in terms of class marker) some loanwords have prefixes, which coincidentally resemble those of Chasu. In this regard, a loanword with class marker similar to that of Chasu is classified into the respective class by default. This is evident in Swahili loans in (26).

	Loanword	<	Class	Kiswahili	Class	Gloss
(26)	a. *ki-biriti*	<	7/8	*kibiriti*	7/8	'matchbox'
	b. *ki-chánja*	<	7/8	*kichanja*	7/8	'wickerwork stand for utensils'
	c. *ki-ratu*	<	7/8	*kiatu*	7/8	'shoe'

All nouns in (26a–c) are classified in class 7/8 in Chasu by virtue of having typical class 7/8 markers. It is important to note, however, that this is not normally the general rule for classification since it is evident that there are cases in which a loanword has a given class prefix but it is assigned a different class. Besides, not all initial

syllables in words act as class markers. Consider the following Swahili loans in (27).

	Loanword	<	Class	Kiswahili	Class	Gloss
(27) a.	*kufúli*	<	9/10	*kufuli*	9/10	'padlock'
b.	*kúra*	<	9/10	*kura*	9/10	votes'
c.	*karánga*	<	9/10	*karanga*	9/10	'groundnuts'

As it can be seen, one can be tempted to generalize that nouns in (27a) and (b) have a typical class 15 marker while in (27c) it has class 12/13 marker. Therefore, on the basis of their initial syllables, which resemble class markers, one is likely to classify these nouns in class 12/13 (for (27a) and (b)) and class 15 (for (27c)), respectively. However, on the basis of their agreement patterns, they are classified in class 9/10 as illustrated in (28).

(28)　　a.　　　*karánga kaβunwa*
　　　　　　　karánga　　　ka-βun-w-a
　　　　　　　9-groundnuts12AGR-harvest-PASS-FV
　　　　　　　'Groundnuts have been harvested'

　　　　　b.　　　**karánga βaβunwa*
　　　　　　　karánga　　　　　　βa-βun-w-a
　　　　　　　10-groundnuts　　　13AGR-harvest-PASS-FV
　　　　　　　'Groundnuts have been harvested'

　　　　　c.　　　*karánga jaβunwa*
　　　　　　　karánga　　　　　　ɟa-βun-w-a
　　　　　　　9-groundnuts9-AGR- harvest-PASS-FV
　　　　　　　'Groundnuts have been harvested'

　　　　　d.　　　*karánga ɟaβunwa*
　　　　　　　karánga　　　　　　ɟa-βun-wa
　　　　　　　10-groundnuts　　　10-AGR- harvest-PASS-FV
　　　　　　　'Groundnuts have been harvested'

The ungrammaticality of (28a) and (b) resulted from the inconsistent agreement between class 9/10 and 12/13. In Chasu and Bantu languages in general, nouns normally agree with the prefixes in the same class. More importantly, even in the same class, the prefix with the subject or object marker should be of the same nature, that is, if the prefix is in singular so should the object or subject marker.

In light of the mentioned strategies (prefixation, substitution among others), it can be argued that in Chasu, loanwords are assigned classes primarily on the basis of their agreement pattern. Other factors such as semantic and morphological (class marker) criteria are used as supplements. More importantly, most loanwords are hosted in class 9/10, 7/8, 5/6 among others.

Conclusion

This paper has presented the strategies employed by Chasu to adapt loanwords. It was revealed that most commonly loanwords are adapted phonologically and morphologically. And, in some few cases they are adopted with their structure and meaning intact. The paper established that phonologically, words with phonemes that do not conform to language's phonemic inventory are substituted with the native phonemes while other loanwords are subjected into other processes such as deletion, addition for naturalization as well as conforming to the language's phonotactic constraints. It is also evident that the ultimate purpose for adapting loanwords into Chasu is to fill lexical gap. Based on the number of adapted and adopted words, the paper postulates that there is the likelihood of introduction of new phoneme into Chasu phonemic system. The paper also revealed that morphologically, loanwords (especially nouns) are assigned classes on the basis of their agreement pattern (in supplement to semantic saliency) regardless of the presence or absence of a given class marker. In addition, prefixation and substitution was noted to play a crucial role in class assignment.

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What a Video Queen is to a Male Artist: the Social-Semiotic Analysis of Music Videos and Lyrics in Tanzania

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Abstract

This paper is set to examine the representation of women by male artists in bongo flava. It aims at disclosing the discursive practices taking place between men and women in the music industry. The study used Teo van Leeuwen's social semiotics to analyze the data through exclusion, role, specific and general, and categorization. The linguistic analysis showed that a woman is subservient to man; she is permissive with her body, allowing the camera to focus on her boobs and buttocks. The dancing styles and flaunting are to attract the viewing audience. In the lyrics she is a harlot, slut, lunatic, killer, involved in commercial sex, unsettling in relationships and all she sees is money. Interviews with male artists show her as a means to the male artists' end, she is ready to do anything for money because she is a prostitute. Focused group participants, being unsophisticated viewers, do not take this woman to be a special kind of woman; she represents other women rather than the ones she is categorized with. She is a product of the habitus whose socio-cultural and economic situation needs to be interrogated.

Key words: *bongo flava, bongo movie, discursive practices, video queen, social semiotic analysis, Tanzania; wadangaji*

Introduction

This study examines the representation of women by male artists in Tanzanian rap-cum-sing music popularly known as *bongo flava* to disclose the discursive practices taking place between men and women. The representation of women has been an issue to which attention has been given in political issues (e.g., Strachan *et al.,* 2015), advertisements (e.g., Shartiely, 2005) in Kiswahili novels (e.g. Ndulute, 1996) and media (e.g., Ward, 2002). Women are considered as weak and inferior to men partly due to the favor that the social practice now gives men. For example, a Kerewe woman, be it an adult or young, is supposed to greet a man kneeling, as a sign of respect for man. Another example resides in Kiswahili language, the use of words like "oa" (marry) and "olewa" (be married) which depict that men are active while women are passive (McMillan, 1988 cited in Shartiely, 2005). The use of these two words in Kiswahili eliminates reciprocity, which accelerates the woman's helplessness in

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marriage, in the sense that she is seen as an object, and receiver of action. This way, she is denied agency in the question of marriage, which is a very important institution in family life. Ng'imba (forthcoming) finds that even women mainly speak unfavorably of womanhood, promoting ideals of domesticity, subordination, dependency, subservience and objectivity.

The music also portrays women in a way that reveals a gap between men and women, especially on moral aspects (Richards, 2012). It is often said to construct and perpetuate gender roles in traditional and stereotypical manners in both lyrics and videos. Subordination, domination, sexuality, and aggression in music videos are made evident by an unequal number of males and females. They predominantly display and reinforce stereotypical notions of women as sexual objects, and to a slighter degree, females are shown to be subordinate while males are aggressive (Goffman, 1976). According to Wallis, music videos represent women in a more fragile and submissive manner revealed through sexual self-touch, suggestive dancing and sultry looks prevailing in the belief that sexually suggestive behavior is normal and appropriate for women but not necessarily for men (Wallis, 2010). The presentation of women dancing suggestively creates an idea that women are sexual objects ready to be consumed by men (ibid). In most performances men are performing in suits while women appear in provocative lingerie. Omari says, "women are portrayed as dishonest, voiceless and careless individuals who have little intelligence, unfaithful, adulterous, and prostitutes who use their bodies as objects to earn their living" (Omari, 2009:91). So we have chosen to examine this relationship through *bongo flava* because it is still male-dominated (Sylvester, 2005) and through music we are likely to learn what exists in musicians' societies. Van Leeuwen (1996) holds that language used in music plays a great role in representing social actions impersonally. He adds that lyrics and videos represent different concepts, people and events. We need now to investigate how the music industry uses its semiotic resources to present women. This paper is divided into the introduction, methodology, source of images and lyrics, how the video queen is presented in images and how the video queen is presented through lyrics, the reaction of the audience on what happens in the videos, how male artists view the video queen, discussing the image of the video queen, and lastly, the conclusion.

Methodology: Social-Semiotic Analysis

Since this study involves the examination of lyrics and images, van Leeuwen's Social Semiotic Analysis seemed a perfect perspective. Van Leeuwen regards images as the most complete and explicit way of explaining things, while words become supplements, comments, footnotes and labels (van Leeuwen, 2008: 136). Van Leeuwen prefers the term "semiotic resources" for it avoids the impression that 'what a sign stands for' is somehow pre-given, and not affected by its use (2005:3). Semiotic resources are more meaningful than speech, writing and picture making. They include gestures, music and the "less obvious ones such as food, dress and everyday objects, all of which carry cultural value and significance" (van Leeuwen, 2005: xi). These are "signifiers, observable actions and objects that have been drawn into the domain of social communication. They have a *theoretical* semiotic potential constituted by all their past uses and all their potential uses and an *actual* semiotic potential constituted by those past uses that are known to and considered relevant by the users of the resource, and by such potential uses as might be uncovered by the users on the basis of their specific needs and interests. Such uses take place in a social context, and this context may either have rules or best practices that regulate how specific semiotic resources can be used, or leave the users relatively free in their use of the resource" (van Leeuwen, 2005:4). This theory is important because of the close link that exists between discourse and society, and that various semiotic resources are being significant in communicating and making meaning. In this theory meanings are read into the images by the viewer, rather than being set into the image by the producer (van Leeuwen, 2008) and are to be studied within a social context (Hodge & Kress, 1988:12).

This work is perfectly a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which may be defined as concerned with analyzing doubtful as well as transparent "structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language" (Wodak, 2001:3). Moreover, it aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signaled, constituted, legitimized and so on by language use. Basing on the notion of critical analysis, language is a social fact that serves to legitimize relations of organized power (Habermas, 1975: 259). Social background, relationship and peoples' position in their society help them to create meanings in their interaction with texts. Crucially, there are three important concepts in CDA that seem to be inevitable: the concept of power, the concept of history,

and the concept of ideology (Wodak, 2001:3). Fairclough (1989:17) says that language is centrally involved in power, the struggle for power and that it is so involved through its ideological properties.

Van Leeuwen's version of Critical Discourse Analysis of visual representation deals with how people are depicted in a text. The factors to be considered are such as exclusion, roles, specific and generic, individual and groups as well as categorization. *Exclusion* includes or excludes participants to suit their interests and purposes in relation to the audiences for whom they are intended (van Leeuwen, 1996:38). Exclusion may be known or unknown to the audiences. This relies on the analysis of resources like wearing style, dancing style and the focus of the image. *Role* considers the roles which social actors are given to play in representations looking at who is the agent and who is the patient in relation to the given action in the text (van Leeuwen, 1996:42). The roles assigned to participants are analysed by considering the social relation between those participants and their effects in the text. *Specific and generic* factors consider the question of whether people are specifically or generically depicted in the text and see if their individuality can seem to disappear behind what categorizes them (van Leeuwen, 2008:143). The analysis is based on resources like hairstyles, makeup and accessories. Another factor pertains to *individuals and groups* whereby the analysis is based on the features carried by an individual in the text that represent the group. The representation of the group by an individual creates the sense that they are all the same (van Leeuwen, 2008:144). As we are going to see later, participants to the focus group discussion too take what is seen of the woman on the television to reflect the subjugation in society. They don't take it as a concern of a certain group of ladies. The last factor is *categorization*, which deals with how participants appear in the discourse together with the connotation that they stimulate. It uses standardized exaggerations of participants' features to connote the negative or positive associations, which the represented sociocultural group evokes for the sociocultural group for which the representation is chiefly formed (van Leeuwen, 2008:146).

Halliday and Hassan (1989) say that in social semiotics the concern is particularly with the relationships between language and social structure, considering the social structure as one aspect of the social system. Van Leeuwen (1996) adds that for a semiotic resource to have an impact it must make meaning among people in a particular social context. So in general social semiotics resources cannot exist

without recourse to the social situation, that is why people will assign different meanings to resources, depending on their social situation and what they wish to share with other members of the society.

Sources of Images and Lyrics

The study was based on five artistic works considering content and form. Three songs were dealt with in audio forms only, and two songs were dealt with in their audio-visual forms. The three songs were: Bado Nipo Nipo (by Mwana FA), Nitakupwelepweta (by Yamoto Band) and Sina Muda (by Nay wa Mitego). The two videos were: Asanteni kwa Kuja (by Mwana FA) and Kokoro (by Rich Mavoko ft Diamond). Semi-structured discussions were conducted with 3 groups of 5 people each. Participants were chosen, both males and females, ranging from nineteen to forty five years of age because this age group is highly considered as *Bongo Flava* fans. We decided to group the participants into 3 different groups in which two groups (one for females and the other for males) were made up of people aged 19-30 years old, and one group consisted of people aged 31-45 years (for both female and males). This categorization was done in order to make participants to freely express their opinions.

Table 1: Description of Participants in Focus Group Discussion

Participant Category	Mt. Meru University Staff	Mt. Meru University Students	Total
Female 19-30 years	-	5	5
Male 19-30 years	-	5	5
Female & Male 31-45 years	5 (3 females and 2 males)	-	5
Total	5	10	15

Source: Researchers (2017)

The factors used to analyze visual representation were exclusion in which we analyzed dressing styles, dancing style and focus. The roles assigned to participants were analyzed; specific and generic references were also depicted. The last factor was individual and groups in which the analysis based on the way women were represented. Then we went for the words that artists used in their songs with or without women. According to van Leeuwen, words would become supplements, comments, footnotes and labels of the representation. Ransom (2015) too says that words provide facts and explanations while images provide interpretations, suggestions and

connotations. Therefore, people get information through words and pictures.

How the Video Queen is Presented in Images

Exclusion

According to male artists, the choice of the video queen is based on one's sexual appeal, willingness to participate and not being too rigid with instructions from directors. In short, inclusion involved only those likely to make the video a hit. Inclusion went further to include parts of the body and movements. These were like wearing style, dancing style and the focus on some parts of the body.

Women are portrayed as indecent *dressing* stylists. This excludes them from proper dressers. In plate (a) below, a woman is half naked alongside a man properly dressed.

(a)

The woman in both images is improperly dressed, excluding her from a group of decent people. What she looks like online is not what we are likely to see her offline. It is not easy to say that she represents other women, but it is possible to see how her weakened willingness to fit makes her accept such dressing styles. The gap between her and the ladies offline is too wide. A man on the chair with a woman laying her body on the floor cleaning his shoes is not what happens in society.

The woman is *dancing* seductively and provocatively. She performs different dancing styles that portray her as a sexual teaser or sexual

tool. An example is on plate (a). Men are groping sensitive and romantic parts (buttocks) of the woman (Plate b). This kind of dancing style is just for men's pleasure as it is observed in the images where men give a satisfied look after groping women's buttocks.

(a)

Source: Kokoro [video]

Source: Kokoro [video]

The *focus of the camera* is directed to particular body parts of the woman. The focus includes the backsides (buttocks), half covered breasts and seductive faces as in plates (a) and (b). So the focus is to impress viewers, mostly men.

(a)

Source: Asanteni kwa Kuja [video]

(b)

Source: Asanteni kwa Kuja [video]

Role

In this aspect, the analysis focuses on the participants' agency. We need to assume that in a study like this, van Leeuwen would not use agency in the most literal sense, to mean one who acts, and contrast it to being a *patient* (i.e., one who is acted upon). If it were just this, we would simply say that the male artist and the video queen are positioned as boss and servant. In order to understand better the roles performed in the music, we take agency to refer to the choices made by people as they take action, often as they attempt to realize specific goals (Varien & Potter, 2008). This includes choices that are non-reflexive and generated by their habitus, which are the patterns of thoughts and action that they acquire by virtue of being raised in a particular social milieu (Bourdieu, 1990). Agency is predicated on our

intentions, particularly the capacity to engage in second-order reflections on our own desires and beliefs (Jurist, 2000:127-8). Based on this aspect, we begin by looking at participation at two levels, offline and on video. What is more relevant to our definition of agency would be that what happens in real-life (readers and viewers won't see this through images, but it is a reflection of the material past, and this) promotes or makes possible what is seen on video. That is, participation on video is a culmination of other thing happening offline. So apart from what is happening on the screen we will seek recourse of what happens in the real world.

Under what situation do women join the music industry as support artists or just dancers? Do they just 'decide' to occupy these positions because they are financially attractive opportunities? Are these positions socially appealing? Females on focus group discussion say they rarely like doing what they see happening on the video screen but they end up accepting the post of video vixen or video queen because it makes them famous and may end up leading to better gigs. Some say that if they don't accept the post someone else will take it, so they accept the invitation to participate however cheap. Lastly, they say, it is a credit to be invited to participate since it reflects superiority on facial and physic characteristics. But they need to promote themselves to get there. What this means, therefore, whatever they do on the video is likely to be the wish of the artist and the producer upon satisfying himself of some criteria. So what do we see on video?

The woman is portrayed as a sexual instrument in the music videos by displaying sexually teasing and seductive facial expression as observed in plate (a) but also portrayed as a subordinate before man by playing the subservient role alongside man as observed in plate (b). She has been assigned a role that makes her look inferior to man. For example, the man is on a chair in the middle of two women, acting like a king, and women look like sexual teasers.

(a)

Source: Kokoro [video]

Specific and Generic

There is also the question of whether people are depicted specifically or generically (van Leeuwen, 2008:141). Making the song a hit and getting money seems the only preoccupation. Image-wise, they sometimes (as the plates show below) cover their faces through hairdo, makeup and dresses. Whatever they do they want it to appear as a social practice of some kind, which erodes their individuality. Here, they are interpreted to be the adornment accessories alongside luxurious and expensive cars as observed in plate (a). They are fond of trending stylish accessories like artificial hairs, glasses, earrings and makeup, and they would like to appear in sexy poses.

(a)

Source: Asante kwa Kuja [video]

(b)

The woman portrays the generic behavior as a luxurious instrument for eye-catch and attention. She is always paired alongside lavish instruments, fond of superficial fashionable accessories such as earrings, trending hair styles, dresses or glasses as well the sexy poses for men's sexual attention. The woman has been used in these videos in a way that shows her role as nothing but decorating the video for man's pleasure. This kind of representation stimulates the connotation that all women are the same since the one in the video represents the whole group of women in society.

Categorization

This deals with how participants appear in the discourse together with the connotation that they stimulate (van Leeuwen, 2008:146). The woman through her suggestive dancing in her lingerie, plus her permissiveness with her body is negatively associated as a prostitute, and she seems to transmit these negative traits to the entire group of women. She resembles the ladies of her type one would see in non-Tanzanian videos. If one watched videos muted they would mistake

her for a foreigner. To most young Tanzanians it is 'cool' to be foreign, so it is positive. On the other hand, those familiar with nightlife would take video queens for night lifers, which is what male artists clearly categorize these ladies as. Generally, she is not categorized with other 'normal' women, she is another kind of woman, and the difference is far from just dress and hairdo. She is negatively categorized as *mdangaji* (prostitute).

How the Video Queen is Presented in the Lyrics

The choice of words and the meanings behind those words represent the woman negatively. They call her as *kuku wa kizungu* 'broilers', *demu* 'harlot' *kicheche* 'slut' and at some point call her *mwendawazimu* 'lunatic'.

Participant roles assigned to video queens show that *marafiki wanauzana* 'friends sell one another', *wanamegwa kama kawa* 'they are normally fucked as a rule of the day' or *watahongwa* 'they will always get bribed'. All these constructions might be pointing to the woman's diminished agency that make her susceptible to being 'sold' like goods, having sex and being very open to bribes. They add that v*idemu wakishaolewa ndo tiketi ya kupotea* 'getting married is a ticket for these harlots to establish new relationships and damn the current one', and *hawafikirii mapenzi wanachoona ni mkwanja tu* 'they don't think about love, what they see is only money'. May be it is because of this that Mwana FA says that women are not people that should be trusted.

Yamoto Band reminds the woman that she has a *rambo* 'a big inelastic vagina' likening the woman's parts with a plastic bag which in Tanzania goes famously as Rambo. And what Yamoto Band says is that women are not fit for love, after all, most of them carry *dumu la petroli*, which is a metaphoric expression for being HIV positive.

Reactions from the Audience on what Happens in the Video

Female participants to the focus group discussion said they are hurt by the choice of words by these male artists but they don't know what to do to stop them. They are pained to see that women have been represented negatively, especially through their dressing and dancing style, and being so permissive with their bodies. They said that women's appearances in the videos are mainly the idea of the owner of the music but society tends to judge a woman without a second thought on the woman's lack of agency in the movies. Finally, these participants say that the image of a woman created in the video is exaggeratingly a reflection of the inequality between men

and women in society. For example, whereas men are superior to women, men do not sit with their shoes on while women lay their bodies on the floor to clean men's shoes. It is hard to see, outside the performance industry, men fully and neatly dressed while women accompanying them are half-naked.

On the other hand, male participants in the focus group discussion don't believe a woman can either buy a car or erect a building without a man's hand. Men say the root of women's negative representation begins from religious writings. The Bible and Quran show that men are valued more than women. Genesis 2:21-22, for example, has a woman created from man's rib, a thing that marks dependency. Men say that women are thus treated as sexual tools because they assent to it. It is not an accident that the focus of the camera is very selective on the most attractive parts and eye-catching breasts and buttocks. The focus of the camera is meant to impress male viewers.

How Male Artists View the Video Queen

From the analysis of images and lyrics above, we went further to engage in conversation some male artists themselves. This helped to check the strength of our analysis of images and lyrics. It helped to see the gap between a linguistic analysis and the situation on the ground. MS, a male artist, calls these women morally 'dirty beings', "we call them *wadangaji*, which is a trending Kiswahili term for prostitutes who grab various platforms in town to get attention." These would post their nasty dancing clips on say instagram in their near-nudity to a newly released song which hasn't yet been video recorded. When the followership on social media soars, they are likely to be picked to participate in the same song when the video is prepared. He says artists want women for the promotion of their music business, and sometimes sex as a bonus, and the ladies want the artists to promote themselves on a video shoot.

Wadangaji come into three groups, namely the bongo movie groupies "the Madam type". The demand for these is higher. They would mention 3,000,000/= to 500,000 Tanzanian shillings but because they are jobless, even 400,000/= works in many situations. The second group has those who only use social media to promote themselves. Once they win more followers and their value goes up they graduate into the top class, to rub shoulders with bongo movie groupies. JJ says, "for example, that lady [name withheld] was a nobody before the video shoot with Belle Nine. After that single video shoot in

which she flaunted hard with scanty dressing, she became a superstar, and went from video to video. From then on, she caught better fish in her body market". These would take 300,000/= to 200,000 Tanzanian shillings for a video shoot. The third group has those who want to 'show faces' hoping to reach bigger audiences. Sometimes they would ask only for liquor, food, dresses and fare to the location. They seek liquor to "kill the shame", and sometimes they benefit from a little sex. Scant dressing is an agreement, and sometimes it is the ladies that suggest these in order to attract the viewing audience. The more the attraction, the better the deal. We touch them as we want because it is part of the deal, it is all agreed". JJ concludes, "so these women are a means to our success, just like we are a means to their short-lived pleasure. Sometimes, though, they get better gigs after our videos". Artists were unanimous that anybody who does not want to go near nude on the camera does not enter this contract. They conclude by saying that "this is a win-win party for the willing". The male artists were very careful to draw a line between the video queens and other women. They say their kind of women are shameless and ghettofied in every sense.

Discussing the Overall Image of the Video Queen
This study set out to analyze the representation of women in *Bongo Flava* in order to see the view the male artists have on women. Through video images, women have been drawn as sexual tools supposed to be used for men's pleasure. The camera focus has been on the buttocks and breasts, parts that highly stimulate men sexually. Also women's dancing styles show that they are for eye-catch and decorations of the videos. They are even used in videos that do not carry themes about women, e.g. *Asanteni kwa Kuja*.

Through lyrics the woman is an unbecoming person, a harlot and/or sometimes a lunatic of sorts. She is easily duped by friends and is sold from one relationship to another, and having sex is the easiest thing she can partake in. She is generally someone people should not trust, and what she sees, according to artists, is money. Even when she is too old, she would go for someone too young just for the money. She will stop at nothing, even if it means infecting men with sexually transmitted diseases.

The woman is used as a means through which man should reach an end. She is a cheap impoverished decorator for the man's business. On the other side, it seems like the male artist cannot see the woman before seeing himself as the ameliorator. He is echoing Phyllis

Whitley's "Remember, *Christians, Negroes,* black as Cain, may be refin'd, and join th' angelic train" (Jackson, 1989: 45). In the performance the women's 'natural' lack of agency makes them echo the same, begging man to better their socio-economic situation. This seems to justify men's limitless abusive body survey. In other words, it is the poverty of the woman (and the entire society offline) that makes it possible for man to do what he does online. All these start with the erasure of the woman's agency in society.

We are now in a position to intrude their social space to interrogate why the woman we see on the TV screen and the subjugator behind her should be hastily condemned. There are some questions we ask ourselves about why the woman is needed even in a song that has nothing to say about women. Suppose we did not have an audience so interested in seeing what a woman exposes on the video, would we see any of the flaunting we are seeing on the video screens? The video queen is *mdangaji, anamegwa kama kawa, hafikirii mapenzi anachoona ni mkwanja tu* most probably because it is the only choice for her to live for the moment. Peter Bourdieu says that some choices that are generated by our habitus are patterns of thoughts and action that we acquire by virtue of being raised in a particular social milieu (Bourdieu, 1990:80–97). If we are to go by Bourdieu's view, and we must, the problem is much bigger and we won't have to be heard screaming feminism instead of seeing the bigger picture. Wanting cash so bad wouldn't be a *mdangaji* thing without first being part of a Tanzanian reality. In this Machiavellian world, everybody needs some money, more money, and *vixen-ship* is just one of the many businesses for the willing. We all need to rectify our own socio-cultural economic situation. We should all, however, be wary of rituals of artists as video kings and queens and the representations that follow on the media that contribute to the ceaseless reconstruction of what we have come to call gender inequality. Men and women in focus group discussions reflect this. They take things for real (even though the artists draw lines between good women and their kind of women) and men still believe the woman cannot succeed without a man's support. In a sense, the inequalities we see and perceive on the video (from whichever angle we see them), become machines for producing the real inequality in society. Even though most of what we see on the video screens is not common in society today, this might be telling us that what we see is still at its infant stage in Tanzania and would soon get its ugly head up. But more importantly, what all this is telling is that we are piously watching as our decadence is shifting posts at a speed of light.

Conclusion

The paper succeeded to disclose the discursive practices taking place between men and women *bongo flava music* by examining the representation of women by male artists in music industry. This paper began with the assumption that what is seen on the screen is a result of women subjugation by man, as some studies had led us to see inequalities in other social-cultural aspects, in political, advertisements and in the media. We therefore went ahead to see if we could see a similar thing in *bongo flava*. We followed Theo van Leeuwen's Social Semiotics Analysis to examine videos and lyrics. We went further to engage the viewing audiences and some male artists who had used women in their video performances. This data triangulation was meant to see whether our linguistic analysis was in line with what is happening in the social space. The linguistic analysis showed that a woman was ready to do all to make men happy. She was too permissive with her body and allowing the camera to focus on her boobs and buttocks. She danced suggestively to attract a male viewing audience. In the lyrics she was slut*,* lunatic, involved in commercial sex, unsettling in relationships, and all she saw was money. Finally, she was a killer. Male artists said she was a means to some beneficial end, but most of all, she was a prostitute. Male and female participants do not take this woman to be a special kind of woman; to them she represents other women rather than the ones she is categorized with. This study sees this kind of woman as a product of her habitus whose socio-cultural and economic situation needs to be rectified.

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Onomatopoeic Ideophone-gesture Couplings in Kuria

*Binagi Daudi Rioba**

Abstract

There has been a general consensus that ideophones tend to occur in synchrony with depictive gestures in a manner that the two enhance each other. However, there have been conflicting views with regard to this synchrony, particularly withregard toonomatopoeic ideophones. While several studies reveal that onomatopoeic ideophones are merely simplistic and rarely accompanied by depictive gestures, analytical studies to ascertain these findings are scant. However, data from Kuria show that onomatopoeic ideophones are not only numerous in number but also accompanied by depictive gestures by 68%. Findings also reveal that onomatopoeic ideophones in Kuria are divided into two categories: those with sound modality alone and those that have multiple modalities with sound being a dominant modality. This paper argues that in establishing modality, native speakers' intuition and body language, as reflected in verbal and gestural information, should be taken into account. The paper concludes that the Kuria onomatopoeic ideophones are accompanied by depictive gestures at a higher rate than previously reported in the literature.

Key words: *ideophones,depiction,depictive gestures, onomatopoeic ideophones, modality, Kuria*

Introduction

Ideophones are marked words which depict sensory imagery (Dingemanse, 2012). Because of their perfomative nature, ideophones are regarded as 'verbal gestures' (Nuckolls, 2001) and 'vocal gestures' (McGregor, 2002). Some examples of ideophones are: *kananana* 'quiet' (Dingemanse, 2011a, for Siwu), *mara mara* 'to do roughly, disorderly' (Mreta, 2012, for Chasu) and *chepe chepe* 'to be soaked to the skin' (Lusekelo, 2013, for Swahili). Data from the present study reveal that ideophones are also evident in Kuria; some of them include *bhrruu* 'sound made by flapped bird's wings', *kukuku* 'sound made by an earthquake', *bharraa* 'a flash of lightning', *hwee* 'too long/tall', *bhutu* 'disconnected/resolved completely', etc. Ideophones in Kuria are divided into two: those whose sounds or structures are a product of imitation (onomatopoeic), for example, *bhrruu, kukuku* and those which evoke images of aspects such as intensity, magnitude,duration or different sensory experiences like sight, smell, touch, etc., for example, *bharraa*, *hwee* and *bhutu*. In Kuria, Onomatopoeic Ideophones (henceforth, OIs) are further divided into

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two namely: single-modality OIs (henceforth, SMOIs) and multiple-modality OIs (Henceforth, MMOIs). SMOIs encode only sound modality as seen in appendix 1 while MMOIs encode sound as an obligatory modality and another modality (ies) as shown in appendix 2.

Literature reveal that ideophones have been generally widely studied (see Fortune, 1962; Samarin, 1971; Moshi, 1993; Nuckolls, 2001; McGregor, 2002; Noss, 2004; Dingemanse, 2011a, 2013, 2015; Mreta, 2012; Lusekelo, 2013, Hatton, 2016; Kroeger, 2016, among others).However, a lot is still not adequately researched. One of the areas worth further exploration includes the relationship that holds between gestures and ideophones.Although it has generally been agreed that there is a strong cross-linguistic relationship between ideophones and depictive gestures§ (see Moshi, 1993; Dingemanse, 2011a, 2012, 2013, 2015; Kroeger, 2015; Hatton, 2016), this assertion appears to be too general as there are still specific issues worth investigating as regards the ideophone-gesture relationship.One of them has to do with the extent to which OIs tend to co-occur with depictive gestures.Hatton (2016) observes that only 27% of OIs were accompanied by gestures in Paskaza Quichua (henceforth, PQ) data. She further observes that even though OIs have been stigmatized as simple in other languages, they are performed and treated similarly in all ways except in gestural accompaniment in PQ. Since in other studies (cf. Moshi, 1993; Kita, 1993; Dingemanse, 2011a, 2013, 2015; Kroeger, 2016, Hatton, 2016, among others), synchrony between OIs and depictive gestures is not clearly established, there is a need to carry out a thorough investigation to ascertain the relationship in Kuria.

This study's goal is twofold: first, to establish what counts as an OI in Kuria based on ideophones" sensory types; second, to establish the rate at which OIs are accompanied by depictive gestures in Kuria. This is becausealthough ideophones and iconic gestures are two sides of the same coin in the process of depiction (Dingemanse, 2013), this relationship appears to have been mainly studied on non-onomatopoeic (synesthetic) ideophones which implies that OIs have been marginalized in this context. It is for this reason that the present study seeks to challenge the widely held views that OIs are simplistic, fewer and that they are far less commonly accompanied by depictive gestures compared to non-onomatopoeic ideophones.

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§ These gestures depict aspects of the same scene that are represented by the speech (Dingemanse, 2013).

This paper is divided into five sections, namely: Introduction, Ideophone-Gesture relationship, Onomatopoeic Ideophone- Gesture Relationship, Methodology, Results and Discussion and finally Conclusion.

Ideophone-Gesture Relationship

Even though research on the ideophone-gesture relationship is not new (cf. Samarin, 1971; Diffloth, 1972; Kunene, 1978), empirical studies on the area are recent and inadequate (see Kita, 1993, 1997; Moshi, 1993; Nuckolls, 1996, 2000, 2001; Reiter, 2012; Dingemanse, 2011a, 2013; Kroeger, 2016; Hatton, 2016). Dingemanse (2013) observes that although studies conducted on ideophone-gesture relationship during pre-video era are acute, most of them still appear to be anecdotal observations. Dingemanse (ibid) goes further arguing that recent studies have paved the way to our understanding of the ideophone-gesture relationship, though their focus has been mostly on gestures found in the explanations of ideophones. Dingemanse (2011a, 2013) reveals that gestures in ideophones used in everyday conversation are not as pervasive as those in other genres like narratives and retelling. Kita (1993), for example, found that 94% of ideophones in the Japanese corpus of cartoon retellings was accompanied by gestures, while only 38% and 53% of all ideophones in Siwu (Dingemanse, 2013) co-occurred with gestures in everyday speech and retelling respectively. In PQ, 94.4% of synesthetic ideophones are accompanied by gestures while only 5.6% are unaccompanied. What Dingemanse's study shares with other studies is the fact that there is a stronger coupling between ideophones and iconic gestures than any other gesture type (cf. Kunene, 1965; Kita, 1993, 1997; Reiter, 2012, among others).

In a nutshell, there appears to be a general agreement with regard to there being a strong relationship between ideophones and iconic gestures and that iconic gestures are more pervasive in narratives and folk-tales than in other genres such as everyday conversation, explanations, descriptions, etc. However, what is not clear in the literature is what qualifies as an OI and the relationship that holds between OIs and iconic gestures.

Onomatopoeic Ideophone-Gesture Relationship

In the literature reviewed, onomatopoeic ideophone-gesture relationships have had very little partaking. This is probably because OIs have been marginalized as simple and mere sound mimics irrespective of their being ideophones (Hatton, 2016). The

subcategory of OIs has also been narrowed to exclude OIs with multiple modalities. Hatton (2016), for example, regards an ideophone *patak* flying through the air'as a synesthetic ideophone though it depicts both sound and motion. In Kuria, an ideophone *bhrruu*, which has similar meaning with *patak*, is an OI as will be evident in a discussion section. To Hatton (ibid), an OI must depict an audio phenomenon only.

Hatton (2016) cites studies in which degrading labels have been given to onomatopoeic ideophones. The labels include "sound mimicking words" (Reiter, 2012; McGregory, 2002), "non-linguistic sounds" (Güldemann, 2008, p. 283) and "imitative sounds" (Hinton et al., 1994, p. 3).To cement this perception, Dingemanse (2011a) observes that onomatopoeic ideophones are of little importance in Siwu corpus as they constitute only 8% of ideophone inventory. He adds that onomatopoeic ideophones are not only rare and simplistic in Siwu but also deviant from prototypical ideophones in many respects.

Even though OIs appear to have not caught the attention of scholars probably because of their so called periphery, the knowledge of the existence of these words is not new. Some earlier scholars such as Fortune (1962) noted their existence in Shona: "They [ideophones] are frequently found in folktales. Many of them are onomatopoeic...."

Similarly, in defining ideophones, Noss (2004), cited in Dingemanse, 2011a, also recognized them though he used the word 'noise' in explaining onomatopoeic ideophones: "Ideophones are a class of words that represent the full range of sensual experience including sound, sight, smell, taste and feeling. Not only do they imitate *noises* (onomatopoeia), they also express action and emotion....." Both Fortune and Noss do not appear to give unequal treatment to these two categories of ideophones. They show, rather, that OIs are part and parcel of the class of ideophones.

In defining OI, scholars have come up with mixed views. While Mreta (2012) observes that *chubwí* 'submerged in water with a quick splash' is not an onomatopoeic ideophone in Chasu, Lusekelo (2013) views *chubwi* 'to fall down in water' as an OI in Swahili. Similarly, Hatton (2016) does not treat *tuglu tuglu* 'jaguar drinking a tapir's blood after breaking its neck with a bite' as an OI. In the present study, *tuglu tuglu* would be regarded as an OI since it is similar to an OI *ng'oto ng'oto* 'drinking fluids quickly' in Kuria.Another area of

conflict involves whether or not de-ideophonized onomatopoeic nouns such as *nyau* 'noise made by a cat', *mbwa* 'noise made by a dog' (Mreta, 2012), *pikipiki* 'sound made by a motorbike' (Lusekelo, 2013) and *kpɔɔkɔ* 'duck' (Dingemanse, 2011a) are really OI. While Mreta (ibid) and Lusekelo (ibid) treat these words as OI, Dingemanse (ibid) considers an ideophone such as *kpɔɔkɔ* as a de-ideophonized noun. Data from Kuria is in line with Dingemanse's view in that a noun *etotoma* 'a motorbike', which is derived from an ideophone *totototo* 'a sound of a motorbike', is not an ideophone. Similarly, neither is the verb *totoma* 'to produce a sound *tototo*', an ideophone. Instead, it is *tototo* that is an OI. These conflicting views make it difficult to establish what qualifies as an OI. In Kuria though, a clear distinction has been made as regards the distinction between OI and synesthetic ideophones.

What is also implicit in the literature reviewed is that there have not been adequate and detailed studies on the connection between onomatopoeic ideophones and depictive gestures. Even though Hatton (2016) studied the relationship between OIs and depictive gestures in PQ, she does not clearly draw a demarcation between between OIs and synesthetic ideophones. To her, OIs are restricted to sound modality only. This could be the reason why only 27% of OIs in her data exhibit depictive gestures.

In a similar vein, Kroeger's (2016) study is general in the sense that it merely focuses on iconic gestures and how important they are to iconic words (ideophones). On top of that, looking carefully at the nature of ideophones that Kroeger (ibid) used, one notes that most of them have to do with visual modality and that there is nowhere in his paper where onomatopoeic ideophone-gesture synchrony in Korea is established. Similarly, Moshi (1993) does not discriminate between onomatopoeic ideophones and ideophone proper when she reveals an ideophone-gesture accompaniment in KiVunjo-Chaga. In her study, one may be led to conclude that a depictive gesture goes with any ideophone irrespective of its sensory type.

The gap that this paper intends to fill is twofold. First, it is to show that, in Kuria onomatopoeic ideophones are not as simplistic and fewer as earlier thought. This is because they are numerous, complex and are also, most of them, accompanied by depictive gestures and/or other features of depiction in the folk definitions. By not being simplistic we mean that onomatopoeic ideophones in Kuria are accompanied by depictive gestures and/or other depictive features

exhibited by synesthetic ideophones. Also, in Kuria, most of OIs encode multiple modalities, a fact that is not clearly established in the available literature (see, for example, Mreta, 2012; Hatton, 2016). In passing and adumbrating, Lee (1992), quoted in Kroeger (2016) observes that in Korea, ideophones can depict manner and sound at the same time. An example from Korea involves an ideophone *pʰalakpʰalak* 'the way a flag is flapping in the wind'. However, Lee (ibid) does not establish sound as the modality for *pʰalakpʰalak.* Multiple encoding of modalities is also backed up by the implicational hierarchy in which movement tends to accompany sound in sensory input (Dingemanse, 2012). Multiple encoding of modalities also features in Kroeger's (2016) study where 20% of the ideophones given by the two respondents encoded multiple modalities. The important question to ask is: if *pʰalakpʰalak* is not an OI, what will it be? However, Kroeger (ibid) is silent about whether *pʰalakpʰalak* is an OI or not. This silence is also reflected in the implicational hierarchy. This fact echoes in Hatton's (2016) study in which *tuglu tuglu* 'jaguar drinking a tapir's blood after breaking its neck with a bite' is not treated as an OI in PQ although it encodes sound as well.

This study goes an extra step noting that a subcategory of OIs is not restricted to sound imitation only but also other modalities headed by sound modality. The study also argues that most OIs are accompanied by depictive gestures and other depictive features contrary to what past findings reveal.

Methodology
Data for this paper was collected through introspection, stimulus-based elicitation and folk definitions from six informants from Muriba and Kenyamanyori Wards in Tarime district in Tanzania. The researcher met respondents at their homes. Data collection involved two tasks: (1) to collect ideophones as words (2) to collect the meanings of ideophones (folk definitions). Through introspection, the researcher provided a few ideophones, as a sample, which prompted more ideophones from the respondents. As for elicitation, the researcher used pictures, audio files and videos reflecting people's colours, heights, appearances, movements, etc. to prompt respondents to use ideophones. More ideophones also came from the surroundings in times of rains, thunder and lightning, heavy winds, etc. The sample list of ideophones from elicitation and introspection made it possible for the respondents to give more ideophones since they were already aware of what the researcher was looking for (see

also Dingemanse, 2011a). Other ideophones were also elicited as respondents gave explanations for ideophones already identified. In collecting meanings of ideophones (folk definitions) respondents were asked questions like: What is *hweee*? How is *bhrruu* used? Can you tell me the meaning of *twi?*etc. At times, for clarity, the researcher would ask the respondents to make a clear distinction between ideophones whose meanings appeared to overlap. Also, when information about an ideophone in question was insufficient, the researcher would prompt respondents to provide more information. All sessions were video-recorded to capture both verbal and gestural information emanating from the ideophones in question. Folk definitions made it possible for the respondents to use the object language, making it easier for the native speakers to freely give effective verbal and gestural information that is very close to everyday use of ideophones among the Kuria.

Results and Discussion
(i) Categories of Onomatopoeic Ideophones
Data from Kuria reveal that OIs can be classified into two groups: SMOIs which encode sound (auditory) modality alone and MMOIs which encode sound and other modalities with sound being the dominant modality. In the current paper, SMOIs are not accompanied by iconic gestures while their counterparts (MMOIs) are accompanied by depictive gestures.

(a) SMOIs
As pointed out above, SMOIs tend to appeal to our sense of sound only. Two strategies were used to establish sound as the only modality among the SMOIs. The first strategy was through explicit or implicit verbal explanations from the respondents while the second strategy was a lack of gesture. The lack of gesture could be observed as the respondents defined ideophones live or in recorded videos. The first strategy is evident in Kuria examples 1-4 where the native speakers identified sound modality in SMOIs explicitly and implicitly. It should also be born in mind that, in examples 1-4 no apparent gesture was used. This applies as well for ideophones in appendix 1.In every example in the paper, ideophones are italicized.

(1) Lebhe naraye nyumba moyo; hano orayi nigha *ghorroo ghorroo*
     'Someone is sleeping in that house; if you go in there you will hear *ghorrooghorroo*'

(2) Lebhe nkoghonera are igha *ghorroo,* omonto wa kebhara araighwa*.*

'Someone snores *ghorroo* such that s/he can be heard from outside'
(3) Ikirunguri ghetoghotere igha *togho togho*

'The porridge boiled *togho togho.'*
(4) Ubhukima ngotoghota bhore igha *togho togho,* namanche amaru ghakeemo.

'Ugali sizzles *toghotogho* when it still contains much water'.
The examples 1-4 indicate that SMOIs have only one modality, which is sound. This is because respondents could explicitly identify the modality as revealed in examples 1 and 2 where a word 'hear' has been used. On the other hand, in examples 3 and 4, context was used to establish sound as the modality for the ideophone in question. When the modality was not explicitly identified, the researcher would explicitly ask the respondents to identify the modality through a question like 'is *toghotogho* the movement, manner or sound that ugali exhibits when it is being cooked?' In this situation, the respondents' response would be, 'no, *toghotogho* is the sound made when ugali sizzles'.

The second strategy that was employed to establish sound as the only modality was to observe whether or not respondents used depictive gestures to accompany OIs in question. Even though the lack-of-gesture strategy worked well for most OIs, it posed a challenge to some ideophones. In this situation, majority rule was used to decide the modality. Examples 5 and 6 show two respondents who used ideophones with gestures even though the ideophones are presumed to be SMOIs. Each example is followed by an illustration of how the respondent gestured for the ideophone. The letter 'G' represents a gesture.

(5) Eghento keraye ghisundagheye igha *ghorroo ghorroo*
      'Something is asleep and is snoring *ghorroo ghorroo'*

G: The respondent pointed up his index finger then moved it back and forth as a demonstration of a snoring pattern (rhythm).
(6) Ubhukima bhotoghotere igha *toghotogho,* tabhurugha bhono.

'Ugali sizzles *toghotogho,* just cook it'.

G: The respondent stretched his arm, his palm down, and made quick up and down movements to depict ugali that sizzles.

Despite the fact that the two respondents in 5 and 6 used gestures for the two ideophones, it is safe to conclude that *ghorroo* and *togho togho* exhibit a single (auditory) modality, given the number of respondents who did not gesture (N=5). The findings are interesting though, because the two respondents appear to be the most active and talkative, something which indicates the interplay between personality and one's use of depictive gestures. Figures 1 and 2 illustrate gestural use for *togho togho* and *ghorroo ghorroo* respectively.

Figure 1: *togho togho* **Figure 2:** *ghorroo ghorroo*

(b) MMOIs

As pointed out earlier, MMOIs contain more than one modality; sound being the dominant/head modality. Modalities which accompany the dominant (sound) modality may include sensory types such as visual, motion, smell, manner, etc. as captured in both verbal and gestural information in folk definitions. We can establish that an OI exhibits multiple modalities when it is accompanied by depictive gestures and, at times, accompanied by explicit or implicit verbal explanations. Examples 7 and 8 below show how depictive gestures can be used alongside implicit verbal explanations to establish multiple modalities in which sound is the dominant modality. Each example comes from a different respondent:

(7)   Ikinyunyi kibhurukere igha *bhrruu*

'The bird flew *bhrruu'*

G: Nchagwa stretched her both hands and then raised them abruptly depicting a bird flapping its wings as it flies.

In the example 7, the ideophone *bhrruu* encodes simultaneously both sound and movement modalities. When giving the folk definition for *bhrruu*, the respondent could not explicitly identify sound as one of the modalities; the researcher had to explicitly ask the respondent to ascertain the modality that was not involved in the gesture. Example 8 comes from another respondent:

(8)   Ikinyunyi kibhurukere igha *bhrruu*, nibhambokere
       'The bird flew *bhrruu*, causing me to tremble'

G: She raises her both hands quickly, palms facing up, as a demonstration of abrupt and energetic act of flying.

In example 8 the ideophone *bhrruu* encodes simultaneously both sound and movement modalities. When giving the folk definition for *bhrruu*, the respondent could not explicitly identify sound as one of the modalities; the researcher had to explicitly ask the respondent to ascertain the modality that was not involved in the gesture. To be sure of the modality, the researcher asked the respondent 'does *bhrruu* come from something with feathers?' The response from the respondent was: '*Uwe tukwighwa igha bhrruu*? 'Don't you hear *bhrruu*?' This is an indication that *bhrruu* encodes both sound and movement modalities and therefore an MMOI.

Looking at the two examples (7&8), one notes that the respondents employed roughly similar gestures except that while Nchagwa gestured with her both hands throughout, Matinde gestured with both her hands for the first time (Figure 4) and then with her left hand for the second time (figure 5). However, in every case, the ideophone *bhrruu* appears to encode both sound and movement modalities but sound being the dominant/head sensory type. In both examples, no explicit explanation was given in the identification of sound modality. The researcher had to explicitly ask the respondents to do the identification. However, movement modality was identified by way of depictive gestures. The reason why an aspect of movement is packaged with sound is that without movement (flapping of bird's wings as it abruptly and energetically flies); there can be no such a sound as *bhrruu*. In other words, at a conceptual level, sound is the

by-product of the movement involved in flying. This is also backed up by implicational hierarchy (Dingemanse, 2012) and findings by Hutton (2016) and Kroeger (2016). Figure 3 indicates gestural use for *bhrruu* by Nchagwa while figure 4 and 5 indicates gestural use for *bhrruu* by Matinde.
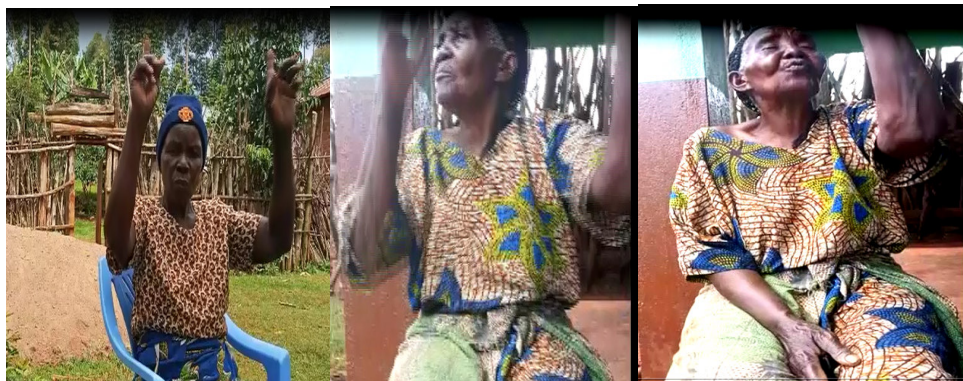

Figure 3   **Figure** 4   **Figure** 5

In other instances, sound would be explicitly identified verbally while modalities other than sound would be evident by way of depictive gestures. This is evident in the examples 9 to15: Figure 6, 7 and 8 show gestural use for *bhobhobhobhobho.*

(9)   *Bhobhobho* mbore omorro ghokoghamba hano ghooka

        '*Bhobhobho*is the sound made by fire'

 G: both hands raised and then shaken as a visual demonstration of
        a big fire.

Figure 6   **Figure** 7   **Figure** 8   **Figures** 9

Even those most respondents (figures 6, 7&8) used a depictive gesture for *bhobhobhobho*, one respondent (see figure 9) hardly used

gesture. One would probably attribute this lack of gesture with her reserved nature since her lack of gestural use is also observed in figures 17 and 27.

Example (10) and figures 10-13 indicate how sound and accompanying modalities were identified.
(10) Omote ghora ghoghoye ghoghambere igha *suku*
   'The tree fell down with a thud *suku'*

   G: Both hands/one hand raised and then lowered abruptly demonstrating the falling of something heavy.

Figure 10   **Figure** 11   **Figure** 12   **Figure** 13

In example (10), the use of the word *ghoghambere* 'produced a sound/ with a thud' is indicative that sound is the dominant modality for *suku* while figures 10-13 indicate that movement modality accompanies sound modality.

Another use of depictive gesture involved an ideophone *kukuku in* (11).
(11)   Nighure ikirighiti keraheta igha *kukuku*
      'I heard an earthquake *kukuku*
G: Both hands/one hand shaken as an illustration of an earthquake

Figures 14, 15, 16 and 17 illustrate the performance of *kukuku* by way of gesture.

Figure 14   **Figure** 15   **Figure** 16   **Figure** 17

Figure 17 is very interesting because the respondent never used any sort of gesture when an ideophone *kukuku* was used. This lack of gesture is also observed in figures 9 and 27 when Maria, unlike the other three respondents, hardly used gesture when *bhobhobhobho* and *kekeke* were used. Example (12) show how the word 'heard' was used in the identification of sound modality for *siki*. The ideophone is similar in meaning with *suku* in (10) since both have to do with the sound made when something falls down. The only difference is that when something falls *siki*, unlike *suku*, it lands in an upright position. Figures 18-21 show how respondents gestured for *siki*.

(12)   Naighure keyo kerasekera igha *siki*
     'I heard something dropping *siki*'
     G: Both hands/one hand raised quickly and then lowered, with palm(s) facing down as a demonstration of something falling down while upright.

Figure 18   **Figure** 19   **Figure** 20   **Figure** 21

Worth noting is the fact that two ideophones may share a gesture especially if their meanings are closely related. Evidence is drawn from gestures in figure11 for *suku*, and figures 18-21 for *siki* in whichthe gestures are analogous.

Another use of gesture involves and ideophone *bhrruu* in figures 22-25 while example (13) reveals how the word 'heard' is used to establish sound modality in *bhrruu*.

(13)   Twighure eghento keraheta igha *bhrruu*
         'We heard something passing by *bhrruu'*
   G: Both hands hands raised up quickly and energetically as an indication of a bird flapping its wings as it flies

Figure 22   **Figure** 23   **Figure** 24   **Figure** 25

In all cases of gestural use in figures 22-25, respondents gestured almost in the same way reflecting how familiar and common the act involving *bhrruu* is.

In example 14, the respondent explicitly mentioned auditory domain for *kekeke* saying "it is the sound of a tree waved by the wind". Gestures for this ideophone appear, on surface, to be strikingly different. However, most of the gestures are underlyingly the same. Figures 26, 28 and 29 are similar in that the three respondents shook their body parts. While Siriti (figure 29) shook his body from his waist up, Kibure (Figure 28) shook his clenched fists. On the other hand, Nyamasati (Figure 26) crisscrossed his hands and then swayed them. Nyamasati's gesture appears different, on surface, because he used a specific example of a tree whose branches make noise because they have been pulled apart. It is also interesting to find out that Maria (figure 27) did not use gesture at all as was the case in figures 9 and 17. In fact she turned her face away as if shying away from the video camera.

(14) Omote ghoghekeye igha *kekeke*
'The tree produced a noise *kekeke*'
G: Crisscrossed hands raised and swayed/Body or body part trembled.

Figure 26   **Figure** 27   **Figure** 28   **Figure** 29

Another OI in Kuria worth discussing is *tu* 'sound of a bullet'or 'sound made when a boil is broken'.Although this ideophone appears to merely mimic a sound in a real world, its real use is a different story as the ideophone is accompanied by a depictive gesture. In (15) and (16) below, Siriti did a performance as he explained it. He loosely clenched his fists and then moved them forward very quickly as a demonstration of rapid and violent motion of a bullet. What is also interesting in this polysemous ideophone is that the gestures for the two related senses were generally the same.

(15)   Tokaighwa irisasi ratema igha *tu*
''We heard bulletsounding *tu*'
(16)   Ilihute ndetondokere igha *tu*
'The boil broke *tu* letting pus out'

Figure 6 *tu*

Examples (15) and (16) are a demonstration that *tu* is not a mere sound mimic but rather an ideophone that is accompanied by depictive gestures, expressive features and intonational foregrounding just like some other non-onomatopoeic ideophones.

Additionally, the ideophone *tu* reveals that polysemy plays a key role in ideophonization as meaning in 16 is derived from the basic meaning in 15. In cognitive semantics, metaphorical senses result from meaning extension or meaning chain (Evance & Green, 2006). Worth noting is the fact that the sense in 16 utilizes a similar gesture employed in the basic sense in 15.

(ii)   Onomatopoeic Ideophone-Depictive Gesture Couplings

Data from Kuria reveals that out of 47 OIs collected, 32 (68%) OIs were accompanied by depictive gestures while only 15 (32%) were unaccompanied. These findings conflict with the existing literature (cf. Hatton, 2016) where only 27% of OIs were accompanied by gestures in PQ. The findings are also in opposition to Dingemanse's (2013) findings in which OIs in Siwu are a handful and also lack important characteristics of prototypical ideophones. It is also worth noting that the use of gesture in this study was a bit influenced by individual respondents. There appears to be a connection between talkativeness and/or a high level of physical activity and use of gestures. The two respondents (Siriti, Nyamasati), for example, who seemed to be the most active and talkative appeared to be more verbose and better users of gestures than their counterparts Matinde, Nchagwa and Kibhure who appeared to be average users of gestures. Maria, another respondent, was rarely observed to use gestures. She seemed to be restrained and less active due to her perceptually reserved nature. However, this finding is not only expected to feature in OIs but also in any other ideophone type. This fact was also observed by dingemanse when eliciting folk definitions from respondents (see Dingemanse, 2013).

Conclusion

This paper attempted to show the position of OIs in Kuria as well as synchrony between these ideophones and iconic gestures. Findings reveal that OIs are divided into two groups, namely SMOIs and MMOIs. SMOIs encode sound modality only while MMOIs encode sound as a head modality and other modality (ies) as peripheral modalities. This indicates that ideophones in Kuria are not restricted to auditory modality alone. Findings also reveal a tighter connection between OIs and iconic gestures where of 47 OIs sorted out from

ideophones collected, 32 (68%) ideophones were accompanied by depictive gestures while only 15 (32%) were unaccompanied. These findings are strikingly different since in the literature reviewed, there has been no evidence for this higher onomatopoeic ideophone-gesture connection. It should be noted that although single modality OIs were not accompanied by depictive gestures (32%), they still exhibit expressive features, intonational foregrounding and /or supra-sensory attributes which are key to ideophony. This counters the argument that OIs are simplistic, fewer or share fewer features with prototypical ideophones.

The present study contributes the following in the literature: First, it reveals that in some languages, OIs are numerous. Second, there are OIs which are composite in terms of modality. Third, the use of native speakers' intuitions, explanations as well as gestures is of fundamental importance in establishing modality. Fourth, the use of gestures is relatively independent of the modality of an ideophone. Finally, respondents tend to differ in the extent to which they use gestures.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Single-Modality Onomatopoeic Ideophones

S/N	Ideophone	Meaning
1	*Ghorroo*	sound made during sleep as one is snoring
2	*ng'orroo*	the croaking of a frog
3	*togho togho*	sound made by food (e.g. ugali) or vegetables before they cook
4	*Chwii*	sound made by a chick/ a type of a cough
5	*tarrraa tototo tarrra*	sound made when one is emptying bowels due to diarrhoea
6	*Bhwii*	sound when one farts
7	*Torroo*	sound made by a big fart
8	*Rruu*	i)sound made by a certain type of vegetables boiling ii) sound made by a milling machine, bulldozer, a thrown stone, etc
9	*tubhwi/tibhu*	sound made when an object is dropped in water
10	*chiri chiri*	sound made by a drizzling/sprinkling rain that takes long to stop
11	*choro choro*	sound of a heavy rain that takes short time to stop
12	*charraa*	sound made by a baby passing a fluid stool
13	*ffff*	sound made by a furious bull
14	*ghau ghau*	sound made when an animal/person is chewing something dry or hard
15	*ng'arung'aru*	i)the noise for grazing ii)noise made when eating lustfully or gluttonously

Source: Fieldwork, 2018

Appendix 2: Multiple Modality-Onomatopoeic Ideophones

	Ideophone	Meaning
1	*Bhrruu*	sound made by a bird furiously flapping its wings as it flies.
2	*Hwaaa*	sound made by massive movement of water.
3	*Chrruu*	i) sound made when milking a cow ii) sound made when something drains water.
4	*Kukuku*	sound made by earthquake.
5	*righi righi*	sound made by something shaken by earthquake.
6	*Suku*	sound made when something heavy falls on the ground with a thud.
7	*ng'oto ng'oto*	sound made when swallowing liquids quickly.
8	*mughutu mughutu*	sound made from the act of swallowing foods or liquids lustfully/gluttonously.
9	*ng'oto kongoro ng'oto kongoro*	sound made when someone ill/incapacitated swallows liquids in strange or dangerous way.
10	*kru kru*	sound made when one scratches one's skin/ sound of a weeding process.
11	*kap kap*	sound made by steps of a fast moving person.
12	*Chwa*	sound made when beating a child with a thin stick as a way to discipline him/her.
13	*Chwaa*	sound made by an accelerating body like a car, bicycle, etc.
14	*mata mata*	sound made when one walks barefoot on a muddy ground.
15	*Kekeke*	sound of something that shakes/vibrate because it is loose, old or faulty
16	*Kangacha*	i) noisemade by thunder when lightning has struck something ii) noise made when glass or solid material breaks after colliding with something hard.
17	*Chanchagha*	noise made by thunder when lightning has not struck anything/ noise made by the falling of a big tree.
18	*ghurughuru/bhurubhuru*	sound made by rats as they move about in a barn, etc.
19	*Ta*	sound resulting from bursting a louse.

20	*Bhaghata*	sound made by a slap/thunder/breaking firewood.
21	*Kubhu*	sound of a door shut with a bang/slam.
22	*Charraa*	sound made when tearing something like a cloth.
23	*Parraa*	sound made by a breaking pot/plastic/glass material.
24	*Too*	sound made when someone is hit by a thick/heavy stick or wooden cudgel.
25	*Kughuru kughuru/kubhu kubhu*	sound made by the steps of animals running as a group, e.g. cattle, etc.
26	*Tu*	sound of a bullet.
27	*mata mata*	sound made by someone walking barefoot.
28	*tibhu tibhu*	noise made by a liquid being poured in a container with a narrow opening.
29	*gheche gheche*	sound made as broken bones get assembled
30	*Siki*	sound produced when a person or something falls down while upright.
31	*Chabhachabha*	sound made by heavy rain that stops shortly.
32	*Hoo*	i)noise made by massive movement of water/rain ii) noise made by an accelerating object such as a car

Source: Fieldwork, 2018

Tribal Concealment: A Nomenclatorial Analysis of Herdsmen Discourse in Nigeria Media

*Joshua Sunday Ayantayo**

Abstract

The Fulani herdsmen are nomad who settled in different locations throughout the country peacefully. The peaceful coexistence between the Fulani herdsmen and farmers/villagers have been tampered with in the recent time due to the constant quarrel and attack between and among the sects. The attack is somewhat monopolised by the Fulani herdsmen. This has make it look like a Fulani herdsmen attack on their host.Playing their oversight role in the society, the media is reporting the conflict between the sects and arrogating the attack to the Fulani herdsmen. Tactically, media has dropped Fulani from the phrase "Fulani herdsmen" and conceal the tribes' name while reporting the conflict. There are existing works on the study of herdsmen/farmers' conflict in the academic but there is none that studied tribal concealment in the discourse. This work therefore considered this a huge vacuum that needs to be filled by studied different strategies used to conceal Fulani as a tribe in the discourse and examine the implication of such concealments. Data are collected from two major Nigerian newspapers, the Vanguard and Punch newspapers. The work is content based analysis. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is adopted as the model and the work is analysed qualitatively. Concealment strategies like lexical replacement, nominalization, passivisation, hedging, use of pronouns and name dropping are identified. The work also discovered that the concealment has social, political and academic implication.

Key words: *Fulani, concealment, nomenclatorial, herdsmen discourse, media*

Introduction

The media is saddled with the moral and professional responsibility of reporting any event in the society. In their reports, they use different strategies to either background or foreground any participant or information they wish to background or foreground in the discourse. As much as the media keeps people in the society informed, they also escalate happenings beyond limit. This sometimes result in opinion and ideological formation that may make or mar the peace of the society. In herdsmen/farmers' conflict discourse, the media is playing significant role in reporting the conflict.

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Fulani herdsmen and farmers have been living together for decades with little or no quarrel which are easily settled by village heads, when occurred. According to Stride and Ifeka, (1973), Fulani migrated to Nigeria about the 6th and 7th century AD. Iloeje (1972) reports that they migrated from the north as invaders at different periods from the 13th century to the 19th. The Fulani migration history from the north suggested that they came into the country either from Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger or even the Senegambia region. Their usual mode of operation is to settle in any village where they find grass for their animals and cohabit with the villagers who are mostly farmers. Conflict ensue between the two sects when the herds graze on the crops of their host farmers. According to Dominic (2017:45), grazing constitutes a problem to local farmers, because in the process of finding feed (fodder) the cattle would ravage the farm produce in a manner that is painful to the farmer when considering the labour and loss of produce thus pitch them into warfare. This warfare has claimed several lives and properties. The herders on the other hand claimed that they lost their cattle to rustlers. This claim and counter claims are source of the conflict between the two sects. As a result of this, the peaceful cohabitation enjoyed by these sects have been tampered with. This mostly affects states like, Nasarawa, Ondo, Oyo, Taraba, Plateau, Delta, Kaduna and Benue States *(Vanguard 22nd June, 2016, Sahara Reporters, 20th February, 2017 2017, PM News, 28th February, 2018, the Guardian Newspaper, 16th March, 2018, and The Punch Newspaper, 17th October, 2016 and 3rd January, 2018).* These states constitute the flash points of the herdsmen attack especially in the last two years. This has been ascribed to various reasons. While some claimed that it is political others think it is an ethnic rivalry. By and large, lives and properties are being exterminated on a daily basis. In reporting this news, the media conspicuously background the name of the major tribe in this discourse.

Animal rearing is a profession ascribed majorly Fulani as a tribe in Nigeria, unlike other tribes such as the Tiv in Benue state who are known for crop farming. This is justified inEniola, (2007) cited in Bello (2013)that Fulani owns over 90% of the nation's (Nigeria) livestock population which accounts forone-third of agricultural GDP and 3.2% of the nation's GDP. This informs the phrase 'Fulani herdsmen'. They are so refer without acrimony. However, the name Fulani is being remove from the phrase in recent reports by the media. The media, in their reports tactically background this for a number of reasons. Some of the reason is to save the public self-

image of the Fulani and also to prevent aggravation of the crisis. Some also claim that they are doing this because the incumbent president is of Fulani extraction. In another parlance, it is said that Fulani are not the only tribe rearing animals. Some claimed that there are some rich men in Nigeria that rears animal but only hired Fulani to monitor it for them base on their expertise. Consequently, it will be wrong to ascribe the conflict to Fulani alone. Some even believe that the attack is not Fulani's attack, it is orchestrated by some hoodlums. However, the Miyetti Allah cattle breeders association of Nigeria (MACBAN) which is the umbrella body for the Fulani herdsmen had severally claimed responsibility for the attack.

There are existing work in the academic which studied herdsmen/farmers' conflict from different approaches. For example, the livelihood issue in herdsmen-farmers among farming communities in Kogi state, Nigeria was studied by Dimelu et al (2017). Okwor (2016) examines the political economy of the farmers and herdsmenconflict in the contemporary period. Okoli (2016) also studies the phenomenon of herdsmen militancy and states that ecological factor are the causes of the conflict. Ibrahim et al. (2015) study the herdsmen-farmers' relationship in Benue state. The authors use Geographic Information Systems (GIS) in their study. In another approach, Alhassan (2013) historically studies the relationship between the two sects.Tenuche and Ifatimehin (2009) also investigates the traditional relationship between the farmers and herdsmen using sociological approach. These studies identify different causes of the conflict between the herdsmen and the villagers/farmers. Causessuch as intolerance, disobedient to laws, lack of concern for others means of living, ecological, climate change and other natural phenomenon were identified by these scholars. These works are excellent and brilliant contribution to the study of the conflicts both in the academics and the contemporary society. However, none of the work examines tribal concealment in the discourse. This is the thrust of the present work.

Aims and Objectives

The major aim of this work is to do a nomenclatural analysis of herdsmen discourse in Nigerian media paying attention to how a tribal name is concealed in the discourse. Our objectives include the following.
1. To identify different concealment strategies used.
2. To explain the motivations for the concealment strategies.
3. To examine various implications of the strategies.

Research Questions

This work is a contribution to the study of herdsmen discourse in the media. Consequently, we should be able to answer the following questions at the end of the work.

1. What are the different concealment strategies used?
2. Why are the strategies used?
3. What are the implications of the strategies?

Theoretical Framework

The chosen model for this analysis is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). This is because it helps to unravel inherent meaning concealedin any discourse. It investigates words in relation to other words in the same context and reveal hidden ideologies in the discourse. CDA is concerned with the investigation of the relationship between language use and social events. Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) explain that CDA engages in concrete, linguistic textual analysis of language use in social interaction. CDA therefore becomes a strong analytical tool to unravel hidden meanings in language use and social relation. There are various approaches to CDA by different scholars, such as Norman Fairclough, Teun Van Dijk,Van Leeuwen and Jorgensen and Phillips etc. However, this work adoptsvan Dijk's socio-cognitive approach to CDA. This approach studies language in relation to socio-cognitive skills of participants in any discourse. According to van Dijk (1993: 258), language used in conveying ideologies is the worldview which constitute social cognition.

Apparently, CDA as an analytical tool can be seen as a multidisciplinary model. The socio-cognitive approach investigates the cognitive process involved in participants' interactions. The contributions of Van Dijk have been enormous. Van Dijkapproach to CDA is anchored on the assumption that the topics that people discuss about represent what exist in their minds. Consequently, topics of national interest, like national (in)security, religious (in)tolerance, youth restiveness, etc. are deposited on the participant's minds, and are deservedly reported on the pages of newspapers. Sequel to this, Tomasello (2009) opines that language is a social convention through which human beings direct one another's attention to various aspects of their shared environment. Based on this, language users manipulate, direct or redirect the thoughts of others, create agenda and create an entirely different but dominantly circulated assumption which tends to replace reality over a period of time. According to Al-Sharoufi, (2013: 10) manipulation is a

premeditated discourse mainly aimed to instigate people to take certain actions that serve the writer's ideology. This work therefore adopts the socio-cognitive approach because the tribal concealment strategies help to register ideologies, about the concealed tribe in the mind of readers.

Review of Relevant Literature

It is expedient to take a cursory look at existing literature related to the subject of this research. We shall therefore review relevant literature in this section and establish gaps in the academics that this work intends to fill.

Dimelu et al. (2017) use unstructured interview and focused group discussion (FGD) while studying livelihood issues in herdsmen-farmers' conflict among farming communities in Kogi state. In the study, the authors assessed causes and effects of herdsmen-farmers' conflicts on livelihood of agrarian communities in Kogi State. The author selected 135 crop farmers for the research. Having revealed that farmers in the studied area are small scale farmers, whose livelihood depends on their farm produce, it was gathered from the farmers that violation of laws/tradition, livelihood interference and cultural factors were the source of the conflict between the two group (herdsmen and farmers). Dimelu et al (2017) show that the conflict was caused by people's disobedience to existing law and tradition. Geographic Information Systems (GIS) was used by Ibrahim et al. (2015) to assess farmer-pastoralist conflict in Nigeria. The work investigates the controversy over land use conflict as the bane of farmer-pastoralist conflict in Nigeria. The work adopts geographical theory while we are adopting critical discourse analysis. Ibrahim et al. (2015) reveal that between 1976 and 1995, all land uses gain, attesting to the increase in population and competition over dwindling resources. The work also reveals that crop farming has encroached to the grazing areas. This resulted in serious conflict.

John (2014) reports that media are subjective in their report of herdsmen attack. He argued that they are bias in reporting the evil perpetrated by the herdsmen. Examining the predicaments of the pastoralists and farmers and the true stories behind their conflicts, John reveals that most of the media report only foreground cases where the herders accused the farmer of wrong doings but ignore the agitation of the farmers.He submits that the deliberate action of the media to background the loss of the farmers in the attack aggravated the crisis.

Akinyetun (2016) examines why Fulani has ignored their staff which they are known for in controlling their herds and resulted to the use of gun. He assesses the activities of the herdsmen as a businessmen. Akinyetun argues that the outcome of the action of the herders may result to routinization of violence, reprisal attacks, and offshoot of another deadly sect among othersSimeon (2017) attempts to unravel the cause of the new behaviour of the herdsmen. The author adopts qualitative analysis to analyse collected data from a primary and secondary source. The author observes that, if the menace of herdsmen attack is not curbed early, it will endanger the security situation of the country.

Tenuche and Ifatimehin (2009) investigate the traditional relationship between farmers and Fulani herdsmen in the continuous conflict experienced in Kogistate. The study further queries how the incessant conflict affects the security of lives in the area. The researchers relied on in-depth interview and source for other materials from articles, books and other reports to leverage on the interview. In their findings, it was revealed that one of the source of the crisis can be traced to the land tenure system. Okwor (2016) examines the political economy of the conflict between farmers and Fulani herdsmen in the Contemporary era of climate change in Nigeria. It points out the causes of the constant clash between farmers and Fulani herdsmen. The researcher uses focus group discussion (FGD) and interview to gather data. In gathering his data, the author interviewed Berom farmers, Fulani herdsmen, NGO and relevant government institutions to get accurate and primary information. The study examines the perspectives of the Berom farmers and the Fulani herdsmen living in the environment to arrive at a logical conclusion and bring out cogent evident to support the claim for the reasons behind the conflict.

Alhassan (2013) studies and describes the historical hostile relationship that exist between the herdsmen and crop farmers in the North-Estern Nigeria. The work adopts quantitative method of analysis. Random sampling procedure and structured questionnaire were adopted to elicit data. The research identifies different causes of the quarrel which include; destruction of crop, burning of range land, increasing rate of cattle theft and so on. The resultant effects of the conflict ranges from economic to physical and socio-psychological. The conflict of survival between the herdsmen and the farmers was the thrust of Abbass (2014). The author opines that conflict is a

serious battle that kept reoccurring in the affected areas. He states that the Fulanis are not ready to surrender until lasting solution is proffered because their livelihood depends on their cattle. He traces the source of the conflict to ecological, growing population and encroachment of pastoral paths by Fadama farmers.

Okoli and Atelhe (2014) examine the conflict between herdsmen and farmers and situate the cause, reason and effect of the crisis. The authors adopt qualitative analysis to analyse primary and secondary information anchored on the political-ecological perspective. The authorsagreed that the conflict is prolonged due to ecological factor. This is a political ecology approach to the study of the conflict between herders and farmers in which the source of the conflict is traced to politics, economy and social aspect of the actors' lives. Okoli (2016) also examines herdsmen militancy in the central northern Nigeria. Okoli is of the opinion that the region is vulnerable to inter-ethnic crisis and has the highest case of the crisis in Nigeria. The author argues that the herders/farmers conflict is as a result of ecological contest between the two factions.

The reviewed works are excellence and great contribution to the study of herdsmen/farmer conflict in Nigeria. Different approaches have been channelled towards the investigation of the conflict ranging from; historical, sociological, ecological, legal, news framing and political approaches. The menace of herdsmen attack is rampant which makes it deserve multifaceted approach. Despite the huge and relevant contribution of the existing works towards this, none of them considered the role of the media in the crisis especially in representing a particular tribe. This is the thrust of this paper. This work propose to examine how Fulani as a significant tribe in the discourse is conspicuously backgrounded.

Methodology
This work is a content based analysis, therefore we adopt qualitative analysis. The work adopts critical discourse analysis as a model. This work will reveal concealed tribal name in media report of herdsmen/farmers' conflict in Nigeria using CDA. The work will critically examining different linguistic tools used by the media to conceal tribal name in the discourse. We shall investigate such concealment strategies as lexical replacement, passivisation, use of pronouns, nominalisation,hedge and name dropping.The work will investigate how these are used to conceal tribal name in the herdsmen attack discourse in Nigerian media.

Data for this research are collected from two major Nigeria dailies. They arethe Vanguard and the Punch newspapers. The electronic versionof the papers is adopted. The electronic version is preferred because it has a wider coverage compare to the print version. We followed the uniform resource locator (URL) of the newspapers to collect relevant data. The data were retrieved through the navigational search link of the newspapers using captions like;*herdsmen-farmer clash in Nigeria, herdsmen attack, and herdsmen and farmers in Nigeria*as the search term. We sampled over five hundred data that basically deals with reports on herdsmen attack. The data covers a period from May, 2016 to May, 2018. This is because the period witnessed the peak of the attack in Nigeria and attract media attention than before, locally and internationally.

The work adopts Purposive sampling in gathering the data. Headlines, news reports and opinion news that are relevant to this work are deliberately selected. The work adopts purposive sampling because it allows manual assessment of the media representation of the attack which reflect different thoughts, sentiments, subjectivities and bias. These are generally used to detect news and reports where tribal name is concealed by the media in reporting the issue under investigation. The work examines the data by investigating different lexical items and grammatical expressions used, in order to reveal different strategies used to conceal the name. This is done by examining words in relation to other words in the same linguistic environment.

Data Presentation and Analysis
This section present data for analysis in order to achieve our aim and objectives.

Concealment Strategies
Concealment strategies are strategies used to withhold information from people. The user may use it to present information in an unclear way. While working on the concealment strategies used in the hospital premises, Odebunmi (2011) defines concealment strategy as the act of withholding information from clients. The author identifies four different reasons why doctors use concealment strategies. The reasons are preventive, palliative, cultural-compliant and confidentiality. Concealment strategies may be used in ideological formation especially in the media. The media is fond of using concealment strategy when representing a particular sect of

the society. Consequently, we want to submit that concealment strategies are also used to explain ideological issues in media discourse. They either do this to background the 'good' or 'bad' of the sect or to foreground their 'bad' or 'good'. In herdsmen discourse, such concealment strategies as; passivisation, lexical replacement, nominalization, hedging, name dropping and use of pronoun are identified.

In media report of herdsmen/farmers' conflict in Nigeria, Nigerian media adopts different strategies for different reasons. One of such strategies is concealment strategies. Different ideologies are concealed through different strategies. Social actors are at various point, concealed for different reasons as well. These concealment strategies have different implications for the society, readers, actors in the discourse, media and the government. In this work, we propose to investigate how a particular tribal name is concealed in the discourse. This section presents different strategies used taking instances from media report.

Lexical Replacement

The first noticeable strategy used to conceal Fulani name in the discourse is lexical replacement. In the discourse, other words are used to replace Fulani in their representation in the media. This helps to background the actor's name (Fulani) in the discourse. It makes the tribe's name obscure to readers as if they are not involved. Different words are used to mean different thing in the discourse, in attempt to background the tribal name. In some instances, Fulani is well represented but in most instances negative words are used to replace the tribal name in the discourse to foreground the evil action but background the actor. This is because of the bad effect of the attack. Richardson (2007:47), states that words convey the imprint of society and of value judgements in particular- they convey connoted as well as denoted meaning. Richardson explains further that all types of words, but particularly nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs carry connoted meaning in addition to denoted meanings. These category of words are often refer to as content or lexical words. In the following instances, content words are mostly used to replace the tribal name. This is to enact different meanings and form different ideologies.

> 1. There was a robbery attack on the highway by herdsmen. They attacked travellers and two of the victims are still

being treated in the hospital. Already, there are concerted efforts by all the Police divisions in that axis towards making sure that **the hoodlums** do not go scot-free.

https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/04/herdsmen-attack-motorists-delta-injure-5/

2. **The militant herdsmen** arrived Mondo settlement about 1am and started shooting sporadically at displaced persons who were asleep in the church which also has a primary school building. "Seven people were confirmed killed among them men, women and children. Many sustained injuries others are still missing.**The attackers** also burnt several houses and farmland, as we speak the entire area has been deserted.

https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/04/herdsmen-attack-another-benue-church-kill-seven-idps/

3. A grandmother, Victoria Akinseye, was raped in August 2017 by **two** herdsmen while working on her farm in Ore, Odigbo council area of Ondo State. Narrating the incident to newsmen, the 72-year-old had said, "I was working on my farm when **two men** attacked me from behind, held my neck such that I couldn't ask for help. They tore my clothes and took turns to rape me." She said a fellow farmer saw her where the herdsmen had abandoned her after the rape and took her home. https://punchng.com/five-herdsmen-attacks-that-shocked-nigerians/

4. Vanguard gathered that **the invaders** also left scores injured while several houses and huts in community were set ablaze. According to our source, **the marauding**

herdsmen resorted to sacking the community after their entreaty to be allowed into the community with their cattle to graze was turned down by the youths and elders of the area. Later Saturday night around 11pm **armed herdsmen** stormed Agagbe and started shooting sporadically burning down the property of the people and injuring many

https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/04/eig ht-feared-dead-scores-injured-fresh-attack-gwer-west-community-herdsmen/

5. Nigerian and the people of Ondo State were thrown into a rude shock when a former Minister of Finance, Samuel Oluyemisi Falae, simply known as Olu Falae, was kidnapped by **seven herdsmen** from his farm in Ondo State on September, 21, 2015. His abductors demanded N100m as ransom. The elder statesman, who was then 77 years old, was released three days later. He claimed he was tortured. **The seven** were later apprehended, tried and sentenced to life imprisonment.
https://punchng.com/five-herdsmen-attacks-that-shocked-nigerians/

In the above excerpts, words such as **hoodlums, militants, attackers, seven, two, armed, marauding, invaders, dreaded** are used to replace Fulani in the discourse. Majority of the data sampled in the two selected newspapers have these representations. These lexical replacements are used to conceal the tribe's name from being known in the discourse. This is an attempt to present the action negatively to the society and exclude the tribe. With this replacement, the tribe (actor) becomes opaque to readers of the news. This will dissociate the tribal name from the cognitive memory of the society and save the tribe from the discourse. This is explain in Van Dijk (2003) that language and cognition works together. It therefore removes the cognition that mediates between society and discourse (Van Dijk, 1985). These words has different meanings but with similar

semantic relations. Except for the word seven which is used to state the number of the actors at the time of the attack, other words have negative connotations. This inform one of the reasons for the concealment of the tribe because their action is antihuman. Reporters adopt this to save the public self-image of the actor and strengthen the belief that Fulani is not the perpetrator but strangers.

Passivisation

Passivisation is a syntactic process where the active sentence is transformed to a passive sentence to conceal the actor of the action in the sentence. Amer (2013) asserts that Passivisation helps journalists manipulate and mystify the responsibility and agency of the warring parties. In a passivized sentence, therole of social actors are treated as objects or they receive benefit from the processes/activities in a positive or negative way. Social actors may be given a passivized role in order to background them and make them less known to the society. This also helps to background their role in any event. Depending on the choice of the writer, thepassivized agent may be deleted or retained. When it is deleted, readers may have to read further to be able to identify the agent of the action. In what follows, we shall exemplify this taking instances from the media report of herdsmen attack in Nigeria.

6. A source in the area disclosed that those wounded were travelling along the road when they **were hit** by bullets, adding that the driver of the vehicle **was also attacked** with cutlasses on his right hand. The source said: "People were running in different directions before the Police and soldiers came to the scene.

   https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/04 /herdsmen-attack-motorists-delta-injure-5/

7. Five persons **were killed** on Thursday night by Fulani herdsmen at Okokolo village in Agatu Local Government Area of Benue State.

https://punchng.com/five-gruesome-fulani-herdsmen-attacks-since-january-2016/

8. The climax of it started on 10th December 2017 when innocent aged women **were attacked and macheted** in-between Moro and Eegelu villages for their refusal to submit themselves to be raped

https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/02/herdsmen-attack-ogun-communities-sack-30-schools/

9. The Stephanos Foundation says no fewer than 75 people **were killed** while 23 others **were injured** following attacks by suspected Fulani herdsmen in two communities in Irigwe Kingdom, Bassa Local Government Area of Plateau State. According to the foundation, about 13,726 persons have been displaced from the communities after the hoodlums burnt 489 houses during the attacks which occurred between September 8 and October 17, 2017.

http://punchng.com/2017/10/27/herdsmen-attacks-75-killed-13726-displaced-plateau

In the above excerpts, actor of the action is backgrounded through passivisation. Passivized verbs such as **were hit, was also attacked, were feared dead, were attacked and machete and were killed, were injured**are used to concealed the actors. This is done to background the actor from the discourse in order to present the action to the people and leave readers guessing the actor. Actions such as killing, dead, and attacking, are presented as if no actor perform them. They are presented without actor. With this, the writer has successfully hide the tribe from the discourse and leave the readers guessing who the actor is/are. The actor in this type of representation are not

known to the reader and so, it becomes a great deal to apportion blame. It is difficult to hold anybody responsible for the action. This is the aim of the media. They may report by stating the actor, even in a passive form. The statements are also possible in active form rather than the passive form but the reporter chose the passive form to conceal the tribal name. The media do not want any tribe help for the action, hence the concealment of tribal name. This reveals the fact that there is the socio-cognitive approach to language use(Van Dijk, 1985). It is an attempt to remove the tribe's name from the herders discourse as relates to the attack.

Nominalisation

This is another syntactic process where the verb is given a nominal role to conceal the noun (actor) in the sentence. The action word is raised to the status of a noun. When the verb is made the subject of the sentence by raising its status to that of a nominal category, the actor is backgrounded while the action is foregrounded. Nominalisation allows exclusion of the social actors as it makes no trace or reference to the social actors (Amer, 2013:87).

> 10. THE lawmaker representing Ivo State Constituency at the Ebonyi State House of Assembly, Hon. Oliver Osi, yesterday condemned **the attack** on one of his constituents and farmer, Mr Daniel Ngwoke following a clash between herdsmen and the farmer at Akaeze in Ivo Local Government Area of the state. Armed herdsmen He further called on his people to defend themselves in line with the laws of the land as no amount of cow can be compared with the sacredness of human life. The incident, Vanguard gathered caused hue and cry in the victim's community as the state government immediately set up a 10-man committee to investigate the immediate and remote causes of **the clash** and report accordingly

https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/03/he
rdsmen-attack-lawmaker-urges-ebonyi-
community-defend/

11. **The attack** meted out on the peaceful
    farmers of Ivo Local Government Area
    of the state came as a shock to me
    because, so many measures had been
    put in place to ensure cooperation and
    peace between us and the herdsmen.
    It is like there is something in them
    that instigates them to cause violence,
    killings and destruction

https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/03/he
rdsmen-attack-lawmaker-urges-ebonyi-
community-defend/

12. **The Benue State attacks** began on
    January 1, 2018 and are still ongoing.
    The government placed the official
    figure of fatalities at 73, but various
    reports estimated that actual figure
    may be over a hundred. **The severity
    ofthe attack** had prompted President
    Muhammadu Buhari to order the
    relocation of the Inspector General of
    Police, Ibrahim Idris, to Benue.

https://punchng.com/five-herdsmen-
attacks-that-shocked-nigerians/

13. Eighty is the number we can say for
    now, **the attacks** have not stopped,"
    Benue State Emergency Management
    Agency executive secretary Emmanuel
    Shior told AFP by telephone. Shior
    said **the killings** had displaced
    thousands of people in the districts of
    Guma and Logo who are now seeking
    shelter in four camps. The number (of
    internally displaced people) is 80,000
    now because **the killings** have

> continued, some of the people in other states are running to Benue," Shior said from the Benue state capital, Makurdi. We suspect these people are reacting against the open grazing prohibition put in place by the governor of Benue state."
> https://punchng.com/breaking-death-toll-from-benue-herdsmenfarmers-clashes-reaches-80/

In the instances above, verbs such as kill, attack and clash are raised to the status of noun to mask the actor of the action. This is made possible through pre-modification of the verbs with article 'the' which is the attribute of a nominal category. With pre-modification, the verbs turn to noun to exclude the actor in the discourse. The verbs turn to 'the attack', 'the clash', 'the killing' in the constructions. This conceal the real actor which is the Fulani herdsmen. It is a possibility for the reporters to mention the tribal name as the actor in the report. Here, the tribal name is concealed through nominalisation. The action is foregrounded here rather than the actor to prevent the tribe away from the herdsmen discourse in the society. This will help to prevent the tribe from being mentioned in the negative way in the society. While the actors remain unknown to readers, the action is pronounced by giving it actor's role. It is also an attempt to save the actor from being held responsible for the action in the society. This is also an attempt to protect the oneness of Nigeria society. This remove the tribes name from the memory of readers and the society.

Hedging

Hedge is used to dissociate self from the truthfulness or otherwise of a statement. Following Hyland (1998a:1), hedging refers to any linguistic means used to indicate either a lack of complete commitment to the truth value of an accompanying proposition, or a desire not to express that commitment categorically. Hedging as a linguistic strategy may be used to facilitate turn-taking, show politeness and mitigate *face*-threats. Speakers make use of this to lessen threat to public self-image of others. Sometimes, hedge is expressed to conceal information. This is done through vagueness. Neary-Sundquist(2013:151) states that vague language is often produced through the use of hedges, which are single- or multi-word expressions used to indicate uncertainty about the propositional

content of an utterance or to diminish its impact. In herdsmen/farmers' discourse in Nigerian media, hedge isused to conceal a particular tribe, Fulani. This is seen in the following instances.

14. **Suspected herdsmen** early Thursday, allegedly invaded the Africa Church, Mbamondo Ukemberagya Logo local government area of Benue state killing seven persons who were taking refuge in the church after being displaced by the raging herdsmen crisis in the area.

https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/04/he rdsmen-attack-another-benue-church-kill-seven-idps/

15. June 2015 recorded 97 deaths arising from **suspected Fulani herdsmen** attacks; September recorded three; October, 18; November, 22; December, 28; February 2016, 300; April 2016, 55; and May 2016, two. Last December, no fewer than 22 persons were reportedly killed when **suspected Fulani herdsmen** attacked Kwata in Jos South Local government area of Plateau State.
https://punchng.com/b-haram-fulani-herdsmen-kill-3000-buhari/

16. KILLERS **Suspected** to be Fulani herdsmen at the weekend launched a fresh attack on Tiv communities at different locations in the southern senatorial district of Nasarawa state. **The suspected killers** were said to have carried out the attacks simultaneously in Awe, Keana, Obi and Doma Local Government Areas of the state, leaving about 32 killed and 19 others with severe gun and matchet

injuries. At the time of this report, over 10,000 Tiv villagers are currently trapped in Obi Local Government Area following the coordinated attacks by **the suspected** herdsmen

https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/04/973946/

17. THE reckless adventure of **persons suspected** to be Fulani herdsmen are on the increase and unsettling. In search of grazing pastures according to them, they have left their footprint in practically every host community in the country that has had the misfortune of having them as visitors.

https://punchng.com/five-gruesome-fulani-herdsmen-attacks-since-january-2016/

In the above instances, the writers did not want to be held responsible for calling or referring to Fulani as herdsmen or pointing accusing finger at a particular tribe or group of people. It is possible for the reporter to refer to the herdsmen as 'Fulani herdsmen' or to state that 'Fulani herdsmen attack' but in order not to accuse a particular tribe, the writer decided to hedge with the use of lexical item. The writers adopted the word **'suspected'**. This word is common to law enforcement agent or lawyers to prevent jumping into conclusion on the culprit. It is often said in the legal parlance that until a court of competent jurisdiction pronounce a person guilty, the person is still innocent and therefore refers to as a suspect. These writers also adopt this to prevent the public from knowing the real perpetrator of the action. This will also lessen threat to the face of the tribe in the society. With this strategy, the general public, government and readers of the newspapers will be left in the dark as to the real culprit. This is done to avoid presenting the negative of the tribe but of the action. The media does not want to been seen presenting the tribe in a negative way to the society. They want social equality among tribes. This is also in tandem with the social cognitive approach to discourse by Van Dijk (1985).

Name Dropping

Name dropping is a strategic way pointing at a particular person or entity in any act. There are different way of naming a person or a group or persons in discourse. In discursive act, a person is referred through his/her action and the knowledge of discussants. This will form the way he/she will be seen in the society. Richardson (2007:49) opines that the way that people named in news discourse can have significant impact on the way in which they are viewed. When a person is described in a negative manner in discourse the person is seen as such by the society. In herdsmen discourse, everyone in the society is condemning the actions of the herdsmen. This is because of the antihuman actions of killing, maiming, kidnapping and other evil act they are performing. People therefore do not want to be associated with such acts. Tribal name is therefore dropped totally by the media. For example,

18. **Herdsmen** attack motorists in Delta, injure 5
19. **Herdsmen,** armed with AK-47 guns and cutlasses, weekend, reportedly blocked the Umuachi-Afor axis of the Ughelli/Asaba Expressway, Ndokwa East Local Government Area, Delta State, inflicting bullet wounds on five travellers. **Herdsmen** on rampage. The herdsmen, who emerged from a nearby bush, stormed the road at about 6.30p.m., shooting at random for over 30 minutes. Panic-stricken motorists travelling from Asaba were forced to speed off for refuge at Umuachi-Ogo community, while those travelling from the opposite direction drove to Kwale and other neighbouring communities.

https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/04/herdsmen-attack-motorists-delta-injure-5/

20. A major crisis confronting the nation at the moment are the continued hostilities, wickedness and havoc being wreaked by **herdsmen** in various parts of the country with recent cases

being recorded in the Middle Belt region. Many people believe that with the poor handling of the menace and the audacity of **the herdsmen**, they could well be described as a new terrorist group distinct from the Boko Haram, Al-Shabab and the Islamic State in Iran and Syria and other militant groups.

https://punchng.com/ending-deadly-herdsmen-attacks/

21. Shortly after, **the herders** were seen with thousands of cow trying to enter the village which the people resisted. "They later came back and claimed that the cows had been killed but the people insisted that there was nothing like that. They insisted that it was a ploy by **the herders** to curry sympathy to allow them entry into the community.

https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/04/eight-feared-dead-scores-injured-fresh-attack-gwer-west-community-herdsmen/

22. A major crisis confronting the nation at the moment are the continued hostilities, wickedness and havoc being wreaked by **herdsmen** in various parts of the country with recent cases being recorded in the Middle Belt region. Many people believe that with the poor handling of the menace and the audacity of **the herdsmen**, they could well be described as a new terrorist group distinct from the Boko Haram, Al-Shabab and the Islamic State in Iran and Syria and other militant groups.

In Nigeria, it is a known fact that the only tribe that is majorly associated with pastoralism is Fulani. This is because they are the professional herders in the country. According to Eniola, (2007) cited in Bello (2013), the Fulani own over 90% of the nation's (Nigeria) livestock population which accounts forone-third of agricultural GDP and 3.2% of the nation's GDP. This informs the reason the herdsmen are popularly refer to as "Fulani herdsmen" without any iota of hatred. This name they have been known for decades. Immediately the attack became popular and is widely condemned, they started rejecting the name and the media also tactically dropped the tribe's name from the phrase. In the media today, it is common to see herdsmen or herders as seen in the excerpts above, without the appellation "Fulani". This is an attempt to save the tribe's public self-image. This also prevent the society from ascribing any attack by the herdsmen to Fulani as an important tribe in the country. The successful dropping of this tribal name from the phrase is a strategy to conceal the tribe's name in the discourse. To this end, no tribe is publicly affiliated with the actions of the herdsmen. In other words, the conflict is now between herdsmen and farmers/villagers instead of having it between "Fulani herdsmen and farmers/villagers". However, the media is avoiding presenting the 'bad' of the tribe and the 'good' of others. We are able to reveal this through Van Dijk social cognitive approach to CDA.

Use of Pronouns

Pronoun is significant in its role to avoid repeating a name in discourse. This is done to avoid monotony. It is also use to deemphasise the involvement of a person in a discourse. According to Cornish (1986), Pronoun involves the avoidance of redundancy or repetition by the use of a semantically attenuated expression in place of a full lexical expression initially used. In the herdsmen discourse, it is not only used to avoid repetition but also to conceal tribal name. Emphasising a particular tribe in a discourse gives prominence to the tribe and put the tribe at the centre of the discourse. For this reason, pronoun is to replace the actor. In the following instances, pronoun in judiciously used to conceal Fulani as a tribe from the discourse.

23. FULANI herdsmen are the new face of
    terrorism in Nigeria. Having

graduated from carrying bows and arrows, **their** deadly arsenal now boasts sophisticated weapons, including AK-47 assault rifle which **they** deploy against host communities across the country. In **their** latest atrocity, hundreds of cattle herders descended on Ukpabi Nimbo, Uzo-Uwani Local Government Area of Enugu State last week, leaving a bloody trail. In all, the herdsmen killed 46 people, injuring several others. **They** burnt down houses and vehicles in the village. This is callous.

https://punchng.com/treating-violent-fulani-herdsmen-terrorists/

24. The attack meted out on the peaceful farmers of Ivo Local Government Area of the state came as a shock to me because, so many measures had been put in place to ensure cooperation and peace between us and **the herdsmen**. It is like there is something in **them** that instigates them to cause violence, killings and destruction.**They** have to live up to the expectation of the people.

https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/03/herdsmen-attack-lawmaker-urges-ebonyi-community-defend/

25. THE reckless adventure of persons suspected to be **Fulani herdsmen** are on the increase and unsettling. In search of grazing pastures according to **them**, **they** have left their footprint in practically every host community in the country that has had the misfortune of having **them** as visitors. **They** have rendered some

villages in Benue State 'a gaping wound, spewing forth a river of human blood' as described in the editorial of the *PUNCH* on March 13.

https://punchng.com/five-gruesome-fulani-herdsmen-attacks-since-january-2016/

In the instances above, pronouns such as '**they**''**their**'and '**them**' are used to refer to Fulani herdsmen. In the excerpts 23 to 25, '**they**''**their**' and '**them**' are co-referential to Fulani herdsmen. Although the tribe's name has been mentioned earlier, the attempt to use pronoun is however to deemphasize mentioning the name. With this strategy, the tribe is less referred to in the discourse and therefore will be less threaten in the public. The Fulani is excluded through the use of pronoun to avoid being seen as 'bad'. The media has been able to present the news without referring to a particular tribe in a bad way, hence they chose to conceal the tribe with the use of pronoun to deemphasize the tribe from the discourse.

Implications of the Concealment Strategies

In media discourse, concealment strategies are used for various reasons. Chief in the reasons is ideological formation. It is done to either foreground or background 'their' good or bad. Concealment strategy which according to Odebunmi (2011) is the act of withholding information from clients is used for palliative or preventive measure. In this discourse for example, it is used mostly for palliative measure. This strategy however has some implications in the society. This implications ranging from social to political and cultural implications. There are implications for the government, the discourse analyst, the media and the readers. The implications are also for the general public. The tribal concealment strategies used in the herdsmen/farmers' conflict discourse in the media have the following implications; social, political and academic implications.

Social Implication

In any discourse, the first thing to consider is how the discourse affects participants in the discourse. The discourse presents participants to the society. In discourse of this nature, there are ideological issues to be dealt with. The in- and out-group dichotomy is usually seen in this type of discourse. The discourse normally present to the public the good or bad aspect of any discussant. In ideological formation, the 'bad' of others are foregrounded while the

'bad' of self is backgrounded. In the same vein, the 'good' of others is backgrounded while the 'good' of self is foregrounded. Following Ramanathan and Bee (2015:65) ideologies emphasise the good and bad to portray a positive belief and deemphasise the good and bad to portray negativity. The way a person or group of persons is/are represented in discourse determines their social construction. Van dijk (2000:44) submits that negative ideologies emphasis 'their bad things' and de-emphasis 'their good things'. In other words, the bad of others is emphasised while their good is de-emphasised. This public portrayal either threaten or save face. This ideological representation is registered in the memory of the general public.

The nomenclatorial concealment of Fulani in this discourse has a social implication for the tribe concealed. It serves as a palliative measure in the society to background their name in the 'bad' of the herdsmen. This would have threatened the public self-image of the tribe. The concealment helps to boost their image in the public. It also has a social implication for the media practitioners. It makes them appear unbiased in the society. The tribe concealed will not see them as 'enemy'. This allows them to be indifferent to apportioning blame.
The society is forced to see the tribe as innocent. This will be against the belief and assumption that the tribe is warmonger. It will therefore promote peaceful coexistence with the tribe. The tribe may be accepted in the society. This is important because the tribe is found in any part of the country. The representation also gives the society a peace of mind and alertness towards their environment by identify any strange face that may breach the security connection.

Political Implication
Another implication of the strategies is political implication. Nigeria is divided into different geopolitical zones. The tribe in question is from the northern geopolitical zone. This is the zone that is ruling the country at the moment. The incumbent president is of Fulani extraction. He is proposing another tenure in office. With this proposal, he needs the support of the general public. Representation of his tribe as the attacker or killer of other tribe in the country may have a damning implication on his political career. Negative representation of the tribe may also have a negative historical record for the tribe in the future. It will always be a point of reference that when the country has a Fulani president, the tribe killed and maimed other tribe in the country. This is also used to demystify the ethnic agenda ideology that is in the public domain. It is in the public

domain that the Fulani is using herdsmen attack to wipe other tribes in Nigeria because the president belongs to them.

The implication for the government is that the government is able to possibly narrow its security horizon and be focused. This is because it helps the government to look beyond tribal conflict and face the conflict as a national security issue. On the other hand, this concealment strategy may mislead the government on which area to divert attention. If the concealment is a political agenda or security agenda to divert the attention of the security agents, it may be a serious threat to the national security. This will make it difficult for the securities to track down the culprits.

Academic Exercise

For discourse analyst, tribal concealment strategies in media discourse of herdsmen/farmer's conflict are useful material for research. The strategies help to research and situate different CDA approaches in the academic within the discourse. It helps to investigate the socio-cognitive approach of Van Dijk and the language and social discourse of Fairclough. Through the tribal concealment, researchers will be mandated to investigate the effect of the discourse in the society. CDA experts will striveto reveal the mental representation of the discourse and that of the tribe in the society. The concealment strategy also reveal certain ideologies in the society. This is significant to discourse analyst because it helps to investigate what is meant but not written. The inference from the media intension also serves as an academic exploit for discourse analysts. The implication for discourse analyst is that it helps to see how media is able to save public self-image of an important tribe in the country.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This work examines concealment strategies in the media. The focus is on the tribal concealment. Ourobservation is that in herdsmen/framers' conflict report in the media, the media has successfully background a particular tribal name in the discourse. We observed that Fulani as a tribe in the country is known for pastoralism and therefore refers to as Fulani herdsmen. However, in the media representation of the conflict, the name is conspicuously background. Consequently, we investigate various strategies used in concealing the tribal name. The work reveals that cognition mediates between society and discourse. This is seen in the response of the society to the concealment of **Fulani** from the herdsmen discourse. As

can be seen, the tribes name is successfully deleted from the discourse.

In this research, we discovered that there are various concealment strategies used for various reasons. Six concealment strategies are identified with three different implications for the media, discourse analyst, society, government and news readers. They strategies include; lexical replacement, nominalisation, passivisation, hedging, use of pronoun, and name dropping. These strategies are used to save the public self-image of the tribe (Fulani). It is also used to prevent the media from being seen as the enemy of the tribe. The media also conceal the tribe so as not to hold the tribe responsible for the attack. The media also do not want to take on the role of the court by pronouncing them guilty. This work revealed that the media acknowledged the assumption and power of cognition in society and discourse. This could have caused further crisis in the society, if not well managed.

This research reveals that the concealment has a number of implications. Among such implications are political, social and academic implications. The social implication protects the media and the tribe in the society. It helps to perceive the tribe as innocent in the society. The political implication is chiefly for the tribe and the incumbent. This helps to save the tribe politically. The academic implication for discourse analysts. We observe that the strategies became a useful tools for discourse analysts. It helps to situate critical discourse analysis within media discourse especially as it relates to the herdsmen discourse in Nigeria.

While we acknowledge the media effort in the use of concealment strategies to save faces, we also wish to warn that too much of it may be misleading, especially to the security agents in a discourse of this nature. We therefore suggest that they should be tactical about it without losing the content of their reports.

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Language Maintenance in the Face of Identity Shift – Some Insights from Ilorin, Nigeria

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Abstract

This paper investigated the influence of politics on the linguistic and ethnic identities of some Ilorin people of Yoruba ancestry and showed the variations that exist in individuals' degrees of allegiances to that ancestry. It paid particular attention to ethnic converts; individuals who have crossed ethnic boundaries while at the same time, maintaining linguistic allegiance to their ancestral ethnicity. Survey and ethnographic methods were used. Proportional sampling method was used for the selection of 100 questionnaire respondents from the three local government areas constituting Ilorin. Structured interviews which were conducted with 15 purposively selected respondents with sufficient knowledge of their identities and community were ethnographically analysed. A uniform pattern of linguistic identity was established in favour of the Yoruba language but not so for the Yoruba ethnic identity. A mosaic pattern of identity was established as 53.3% which constitutes eight of the fifteen respondents, preferred a civic identity; 26.7% of the respondents preferred their sole ancestral ethnic identity; Yoruba; two respondents which constituted 13.3% of the respondents preferred hybrid ethnic identities; Yoruba-Ilorin while there was also the case of an ethnic converts who claimed non-ancestral ethnic belongingness (6.7%). Heritage language maintenance did not translate into the maintenance of ancestral ethnicity for a number of respondents as political allegiance was central to their ethnic claims. Non-allegiance to an ancestry whose language is dominant in Ilorin demonstrates that humans are not at the mercy of their heritage languages even when such languages are the dominant medium of expression for their community.

Key words: *heritage language, ethnic identity, allegiance, belongingness*

Introduction

Beyond its primary role as an instrument of communication, language also plays a significant role in the way that individuals identify themselves and also in that they are identified and/or perceived by others. That is, language equally shapes people's perceptions of themselves and others in their environments. Edwards (2009) posits that since language is central to human condition, and since many have argued that it is the most salient

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distinguishing aspect of the human species, it seems likely that any study of identity must surely include some consideration of it.

Deckert and Vickers (2011) describe identity as a non-static quality of an individual, which is also a flexible, fluid, and multi-aspected co-construction that is only partially (if at all, in some instances) representative of an individual's sense of self. Co-construction according to Jacoby and Ochs (1995:171) is the "joint construction of a form, interpretation, stance, action, activity, identity, institution, skill, ideology, emotion or other culturally meaningful reality". Deckert and Vickers further explain that though the co-construction implies that more than one individual is responsible for the construction, it does not however also imply that all of the constructions are necessarily affiliative or supportive. Identity then is co-constructed in ongoing interactions in relation to the specific contexts (relational, social, cultural, ethnic, political, etc.) in which the particular interaction is occurring. This shows that there could be wide gaps between peoples' real identities and those perceived and even projected by the co-constructors or "others". The foregoing therefore illustrate the point that, language is an important tool in the construction manifestation and perception of identity, its role in identity formation makes it a critical component of this study as well. The subject of this paper is the examination of the influence of politics on the linguistic and ethnic identities of Ilorin people of Yoruba ancestry and to bring to the fore, the variations that exist in individuals' degrees of allegiances to those identities. That is, the paper seeks to investigate how a group's maintenance of their ancestral language did not translate into the maintenance of their ancestral ethnicity by all members of the group. The role that politics has played in the coming into being of that asymmetry is equally of great importance.

A Brief History of Ilorin and its People

Politics and by extension, different political leaderships (represented by the traditional leadership system with its pervading influence on modern governance) has contributed in no small measure to the complexities of identity patterns in Ilorin. The reason is that, in the 19th Century, the city experienced a leadership change from the Yoruba traditional leadership system headed by an *Oba* to the Emirate system headed by an Emir.

The history of Ilorin, especially the one on the ethnic identity of its founder, has different accounts. Despite its geographical location on

the Southern axis of Nigeria, Ilorin is politically and administratively considered a northern city (recognised to be in the north-central geo-political zone of Nigeria) and that label also applies to the whole of Kwara State. On the differences in the accounts of its founders, Omo-Ikokoro (1911), for example, claims that the founder of Ilorin was a Baruba hermit (from Bussa Kingdom in present- day Niger State) before he was later joined by Ojo, a Yoruba man who was an itinerant hunter from Oyo-Ile. According to Omo-Ikokoro (1911), Ojo, also known as Ayinla, was reported to have found a well-positioned rock near the place where the Baruba man lived and the rock was found remarkably suitable for sharpening tools. He then decided to erect a transit camp at the site where he found the rock. This rock, being a good metal sharpener, was called *Ìlo-Irin*, (meaning iron sharpener) by the Yoruba. The name Ilorin is therefore believed to be a contraction of *Ìlo-Irin.*

Another account on the founder of Ilorin is that offered by Johnson (1921), which asserts that a Yoruba man by the name Laderin founded Ilorin around 18th century thus making Laderin, the builder of Ilorin. According to Johnson (1921:199):

> The late Afonja was a native of Ilorin. The city was built by his great grandfather, Laderin, whose posterity bore rule in her in succession to the fourth generation. Laderin, the founder was succeeded by Pasin, his son, a valiant chief... Alagbin the son of Pasin succeeded his father and in turn, handed the government to his valiant son, Afonja, with whom the rule ended.

Johnson further adds that Ilorin is sometimes spoken of as Afonja's Ilorin. This he says is because he was the most renowned of her rulers, and not only so, but also because it was he who made it into the large city that it is now. Therefore, the Yoruba people had been established in Ilorin long before the arrival of the Fulani. Johnson (1921:193) equally asserts that "Afonja invited a Fulani Moslem priest named Alimi to Ilorin to act as his priest who in responding to Afonja's call came with his Hausa slaves and made Ilorin his home". According to Hermon-Hodge (1929), little is known of the pre-Fulani history of Ilorin. Indeed, all but the period immediately preceding the Fulani conquest is wrapped in obscurity.

An equally important personality in the founding of Ilorin whose ancestry has also been a major source of debate is Solagberu. Solagberu and his followers resided at Okesuna, one of the four indigenous political quarters of Ilorin. Solagberu was an Islamic cleric who commanded a very large following and was an active gladiator in Ilorin during the era of Afonja. According to Johnson (1921), Solagberu was a Yoruba man while Jimoh (1994) reports that he was a Kanuri man (also known as Beri-beri) whose actual name, Al-Tahir, was overshadowed by the nickname "Solagberu" given to him by the Yoruba people. The third gladiator in the modern history of Ilorin was Alimi Al-Salih (popularly referred to as Shehu Alimi), a Fulani Muslim scholar who was invited to Ilorin by Afonja. He later became the head of the Fulani dynasty in Ilorin. It is interesting to note that Ilorin, like Johnson (1921) noted, is often referred to as "Ilorin Afonja" i.e Afonja's Ilorin while it is also referred to it as "Ilorin, *Geri* Alimi" i.e. Ilorin, Alimi's town.

Due to the afore-mentioned contentious issues on the founders of Ilorin, Danmole (2012) posits that it would be safe to treat these historical accounts with caution. In Danmole's (2012) opinion, a thorough assessment of a variety of literature which exists on the origin and subsequent development of Ilorin before an emirate was established in the 19th century shows that they are full of obscurities.

The people of Ilorin are of diverse ethnic backgrounds. Apart from the Yoruba people whom Jimoh describes (1994:55) as the "aboriginal Yorubas", there are also Hausa, Fulani, Nupe, Kannike, Kanuri and Baruba peoples in Ilorin. Jimoh further explains that with the passage of time, the city became multifarious following the influx of multiple cultural and sub-cultural groups. Each group lived semi-autonomously in their different quarters with their ethnic heads. The Yoruba people lived in Idi-Ape with their head. The Hausa, Nupe, Gwandu, Baruba and Kemberi people lived in the Gambari quarters with their head. The Fulani people lived in the Fulani quarters with their head while the Kanuri people lived in Okesuna with their head. However, unlike the earliest times when each ethnic group strictly resided in its own quarters, intermarriage and migration of aborigines to different quarters within and outside the emirate have dissolved ethnic borders such that people are no longer restricted to their traditional quarters anymore (Saliu and Jawondo; 2006, Danmole; 2012). It is however important to add that this study aligns with the accounts which posit that Ilorin was founded by a Yoruba person because it is the most plausible position

in the literature on the founder of Ilorin. The fact that the community is below the River Niger also lends credence to the present study's stance as the position of Nigerian communities in relation to the Rivers Niger and Benue was the basis for the classification of the communities into Northern and Southern protectorates in 1914.

The Language Situation in Ilorin

Ilorin, the capital city of Kwara State like most capital cities in Nigeria plays host to people from different ethnic backgrounds both within and outside Nigeria. As a result of this, languages spoken in Ilorin include but are not limited to English, Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba, Fulfulde, Batonou, Ninzo, Eggon, Ijaw, Itsekiri, Arabic, Nupe, French amongst others.

As the language of the immediate environment, the Yoruba Language is taught as a school subject in Ilorin. This is with a view to complying with the National Policy on Education (NPE) which according to Igboanusi (2008), provides for a multilingual policy involving the learning of a child's L1 or language of the immediate community (LIC), one of the three major or national languages (i.e. Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba) and English. Since the language of the immediate environment is in this case, one of the national languages, it therefore follows that two of these languages are taught as subjects in Ilorin schools. These are the English and the Yoruba languages.

Ilorin's indigenous ethnic languages are those that are native to its early settlers and these include the Yoruba, Hausa, Fulfulde and Kanuri Languages. Today, the Yoruba language is the first language of the city. However, the Hausa language still subtly thrives in Gambari in Ilorin where it is often acquired as a second language but rarely as a first language while Fulfulde is on the verge of extinction because it is only spoken as a first language by Fulani people who come to the capital city from villages like Gaa-Alaanu in Moro Local Government Area which is outside of the capital city. The gradual process of language loss led to the death of other indigenous languages like Kanuri in the Emirate though they are still spoken as first languages in other parts of Nigeria. Even in the palace where the Emir is Fulani by ancestry, the Yoruba language is the language of the palace and past Emirs are known to have borne Yoruba names. For example, the current Emir is Alhaji Ibrahim Kólápò Zulu Gambari.

Besides the general prevalence of the Yoruba language in Ilorin, other languages spoken are: English (the language of Western Education from primary to tertiary levels and which is also used in the home by some parents as L1 to their children), Arabic, Hausa, Fulfulde, Batonou, Nupe and French languages. It should however be added that the English language, apart from being Nigeria's official language, has also acquired the status of a Nigerian language because it has become the first language in some Nigerian homes. Hence, the English language is the community's language for administration, education, government, mass media amongst other formal functions.

The presence of Arabic in Ilorin is closely related to Ilorin's association with Islam, which is the faith practised by the overwhelming majority of Ilorin people. The language is also used as the medium of instruction in Islamic institutions of learning. French is taught as a subject in both primary and secondary schools but mostly, in privately-owned schools and offered as a course of study in tertiary institutions located within the city. The use of Hausa is still mostly perceivable in Gambari Quarters where few of those of Hausa ancestry learn it as a second language. The Yoruba language is the dominant language in most mosques and local markets while churches predominantly use the English language and in a few cases, the Yoruba language or the predominant Nigerian language of the congregation. The English language and Nigerian Pidgin are the languages for inter-ethnic communication. Batonou and Nupe are also spoken by people from the northern part of Kwara State who are resident in Ilorin for interpersonal communication.

Review of Related Studies

This paper is anchored upon the fact that different ethnic groups have different political and historical experiences and the link between language and identity cannot be the same for all ethnic groups or even for individuals within the same ethnic group as their different political and historical experiences are bound to shape their identity constructions, perceptions and manifestations in different ways. Hence, just as the relationship between language and identity would vary from one group to another, so would it be for individuals.

With the changes of season and weather comes growth and death, blossoming and weakening. Therefore, just like language shift is a downward language movement (Baker, 2003; 58), (ethnic) identity shift is the downward movement in the sense of attachment of a

people to their ancestral ethnicity. Although language and identity shift happen together in a lot of cases as evident in the case of the Suba people of Kenya and the Nkoroo people of Rivers State, Nigeria, they need not necessarily be conceived of as phenomena that go hand in hand. As shall be shown later in this study, identity shift can take place without language shift. In essence, identity shift can occur even when there is a relative stability in the number and distribution of the speakers of a language, its proficient usage by children and adults, and its retention in specific domains (e.g. home, school, religion) due to intervening social and political factors.

Recognising the controversial nature of the relationship between language, ethnicity and identity, Bamgbose (1991) suggests four possible positions. The positions as summarised by Nwagbo (2014) are as follows: that language is a powerful factor in the determination of ethnicity; that language is dispensable in the construction of group identity and that race, political class affiliation are more important factors in the determination of ethnicity; that language is merely one of the cultural elements or symbols which determine ethnicity and not the only one and lastly; that the relationship between language and ethnicity varies depending on the state of the group involved.

Bamgbose's (1991) second position that language is dispensable in the construction of group identity and that race, political class affiliation are more important factors in the determination of ethnicity strongly holds true for the Ikwerre people of Rivers State, Nigeria, as the Ikwerre people offer another reason that language should not be straightforwardly equated with ethnicity and identity. Many Ikwerre people usually insist that they are not Igbo people despite the mutual intelligibility between what they now consider the Ikwerre language (the same speech form is considered the Ikwerre dialect of the Igbo language by other speakers of the Igbo language) and other dialects of Igbo. Ikwerre first names and names of traditional gods for example are same as those in other dialects of Igbo but the Ikwerre people insist on a distinct ethnic identity – the Ikwerre. In fact, the 1979 constitution gave official recognition to the Ikwerre people as a separate ethnic group in Nigeria.

Bamgbose's position above tallies with Fishman's (1998) who states that "ethnicity" is used to signify the macro-group "belongingness" or "identificational dimension of culture", whether that of individuals or of aggregates per se. He adds that ethnicity is narrower than

culture and more perspectival than culture as there are many aspects of culture that are not (or are no longer) viewed as aggregratively identificational. This perspectival quality of ethnicity means that its specification or attribution is fundamentally subjective, variable and very possibly, non-consensual. Fishman offers an example in which some individuals who are described as *X*ians by others (who consider themselves to be *Y*ians) may actually not consider themselves to be *X*ians at all. And some of those who do not consider themselves *X*ians now, may come to consider themselves *X*ians five or ten years from now, or in the next generation. Finally, for some of those who do consider themselves as *X*ians, their Xianship may be much more central or salient in consciousness and self-identity than it is for others. This variability in perceived and experienced ethnicity also leads to variability in its association with language.

That languages and the identities they carry with them generally imply a boundary-marking function whereby the same identity prevails where and for as long as the same language is spoken has been questioned by Tabouret-Keller (1998) who submits that it certainly is no longer true today. He however adds that the longer a territorial identity is perceived as embedded in the use of an idiom - more often than not subsumed under a unique term that might designate the territory, the people, and their language - the stronger the representation of a highly focused unit of internal coherence. The strength of such a representation does not depend on permanent variation and change in language use. On the contrary, it helps to overlook these in favour of a unique identity supported by this unique term.

In a similar vein, Fishman (1998) adds that it is obvious that there should be some link between language and ethnicity since the major symbolic system of the human species must be associated with the perceived dimensions of human aggregation. If people group themselves into differently speaking collectivities, as they naturally must as long as large numbers of monolinguals exist, then their languages become both symbolic of as well as the basis for that grouping. However, just as ethnicity itself is perspectival and situational, and therefore variable in saliency, so the link between language and ethnicity is also variable. For some, (and in some historical and situational contexts) language is the prime indicator and expression of their own and another's ethnicity; for others,

language is both merely marginal and optional (i.e., detachable) vis-a-vis their ethnicity (and that of "others" as well).

The situation in Ilorin leans strongly towards Bamgbose's proposition that language is sometimes dispensable in the construction of group identity and that race and political class affiliation are more important factors in the determination of ethnicity. It however becomes pertinent to add that, the dispensability of language in the construction of identity in this paper concerns the behaviour of individuals within the group and not the group as a whole.

Theoretical Framework: Revised SIT/ELIT

Oakes (2001) reviewed the Social Identity Theory (SIT) and the Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory (ELIT) and made some modifications to both theories leading to the birth of a revised framework encompassing the features of both the SIT and ELIT and even much more. In essence, the modified framework not only built on the strengths of both the SIT and ELIT, it also introduced the additional elements of integration, bilingualism and biculturalism. It is this modified framework that will be adopted in the analysis of the data generated in the course of this research. The modified framework is the Revised SIT/ELIT.

Part of the modification done to the SIT/ELIT by Oakes is the reclassification of the notions of social mobility and social creativity into those of convergence and divergence. He also broadens the scope of linguistic and non-linguistic boundaries in order to be able to use them to account for the negotiation process which takes place between different dimensions of national identity. Lastly, he introduces the concept of different linguistic arenas.

According to Oakes (2001:41), "the notions of convergence and divergence have their roots in Speech Accommodation Theory" (Giles, 1973; Giles et al., 1977; Giles and Coupland 1991) which later became known as Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles et al., 1987) to enable it encompass non-verbal as well as discursive dimensions of social interaction. Giles and Coupland (1991:63) describe communicative convergence "as a strategy whereby individuals adapt to each other's communicative behaviours in terms of a wide range of linguistic/prosodic/non-vocal features, including speech rate, pausal phenomenon and utterance length, phonological variants, smiling, gaze and so on". Within the framework of the

Revised SIT/ELIT, Oakes (2001:42) posits that convergence is used "to refer to some form of cultural movement towards the majority outgroup". Convergence as an additional element of Revised SIT/ELIT will be needful for the present study as a means of highlighting and discussing those areas where respondents demonstrate preference or ownership of features or behaviours that are known to belong to outgroups indigenous to the emirate. In addition however, the present study shows that cultural movement is not necessarily always towards the majority outgroup; members of the majority outgroup also converge culturally towards the minority out-group.

On the contrary, divergence refers to a situation whereby individuals or minority group members choose to emphasize their group's communicative style thereby accentuating differences between them and the dominant outgroup. The difference between the notions of social mobility and creativity and that of convergence and divergence is that whereas the former fails to recognise the possibility of mutual acculturation and or integration, the latter expands the former to accommodate instances where majority and minority groups mutually embrace each other's features without necessarily putting their ingroups' features at disadvantages. This new concept gives recognition to intermediate states of acculturation and/or integration on the part of both groups involved unlike in the original SIT/ELIT formulation where such is taken to imply complete assimilation. In essence, the convergence/divergence concept recognises the possibility of individuals retaining elements of their original group identity even while converging towards the other's identity. This mechanism will be useful for the present study in that it will enable one to account for areas of distinctiveness between respondents from different ancestral groups. This will show how members of different groups have maintained or accentuated certain features which serve as a point of difference between them and other groups within the same geographical entity regardless of the extent of acculturation that has taken place over the years.

Minority groups can adopt convergence mechanisms such as assimilation, acculturation/integration and overcommunication of dominant group's culture (in the case of bicultural individuals). Divergence mechanisms from dominant out-group include the re-definition of previously negatively-viewed symbols, creation of new, positively-viewed symbols, selection of an alternative, less favourable

out-group for comparison and undercommunication of dominant group's culture.

The scopes of linguistic and non-linguistic boundaries were broadened to encompass hard and soft boundaries and these two in turn, rest upon the concepts of social mobility. The interaction of the notions of hard and soft boundaries creates four types of categories which are: hard linguistic boundary, hard non-linguistic boundary, soft linguistic boundary and soft non-linguistic boundary. Groups with hard linguistic boundaries have distinctive languages, those with hard non-linguistic boundaries have other distinctive identity markers like religion and culture, groups with soft linguistic boundaries adopt others' languages yet, they retain other ethnic features while groups with soft non-linguistic boundaries adopt other ethnic features besides the language of the dominant out-group.

The Hutterites and Amish in North America according to Oakes (2001) are examples of ethnic groups in Category A: they have a distinctive language (hard linguistic boundary) and religion (hard non-linguistic boundary). Category B would include the Irish, who have adopted another language which is English (soft linguistic boundary) yet, they retain other ethnic characteristics (hard non-linguistic boundary) which distinguish them from the English people. Following from this, it is obvious that the loss of language need not therefore imply the loss of identity (Edwards 1992; Liebkind 1996). It should also mean that the loss of other identity markers besides language should equally not imply a loss of identity.

The newly introduced concept of different arenas for the construction of national identity recognises the fact that even when different groups converge and diverge simultaneously on different dimensions, they can also do so within different arenas such as on ethnic, national and global scales. These arenas can be considered as existing independently of one another while they can also overlap. In the case of the former, such independent existence is possible because the status of a group may differ from one arena to the next such that a group may be dominant at the national arena but considered a minority at the continental and global levels.

Presentation and Analysis of Research Findings
It is important to state that, the analysis of respondents' responses obtained through questionnaire as will be shown in this section will be accompanied by findings from structured interviews. The reason

for combining these research methods is to see if there will be any form of disparity in the responses gathered through both means and in case there is not, to see if the outcomes are mutually reaffirming. In essence, both instruments will be used in order to check the extent of the reliability of information collected for this purpose of this research.

Table 6.1(a): A Table Showing the Relationship between Respondents' Mother Tongue/First Language and Local Government Area

			Local Government Area			
			Ilorin South	Ilorin East	Ilorin West	Total
Your mother tongue/First language	The Yoruba language	Count	30	30	40	100
		% of Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	The Hausa language	Count	0	0	0	0
		% of Total	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	Fulfulde	Count	0	0	0	0
		% of Total	0.0%	0.0%	0.0 %	0.0%
	The English language	Count	0	0	0	0
		% of Total	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	Others	Count	0	0	0	0
		% of Total	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Total		Count	30	30	40	100
		% of Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The table above shows that the Yoruba language is the first language/mother tongue for all respondents from the three local government areas in the city. This equally goes to show that Yoruba is the language of the city. This linguistic allegiance to the Yoruba language expressed through responses to the questionnaire is also corroborated by interview respondents as shown in the following responses:

Researcher:	Which language is your first language?
Moshood:	The Yoruba language.
Researcher:	Which language is your mother tongue?
Moshood:	The Yoruba language too.
Researcher:	What LGA are you from?
Moshood:	Ilorin East LGA.
Researcher:	Which language is your first language?
Tawa:	The Yoruba language.

Researcher:	Which language is your mother tongue?
Tawa:	It is still the Yoruba language.
Researcher:	Which LGA do you hail from?
Tawa:	Ilorin West.
Researcher:	What is your first language?
Tinuke:	My first language is the Yoruba language.
Researcher:	What about your mother tongue?
Tinuke:	The Yoruba language is also my mother tongue.
Researcher:	Which LGA do you hail from?
Tinuke:	I am from Ilorin West LGA.
Researcher:	What is your first language?
Ameenat:	The Yoruba language.
Researcher:	Which language is your mother tongue?
Ameenat:	My mother tongue is also the Yoruba language.
Researcher:	Which LGA do you hail from?
Ameenat:	Ilorin West LGA.
Researcher:	Which language is your first language?
Ismail:	My first language is the Yoruba language.
Researcher:	What about your mother tongue?
Ismail:	My mother tongue is also the Yoruba language.
Researcher:	Which LGA do you come from?
Ismail:	Ilorin West LGA.
Researcher:	Which language is your first language?
Yahya:	My first language is the Yoruba language.
Researcher:	What about your mother tongue?
Yahya:	It is also the Yoruba language.
Researcher:	Which LGA do you come from?
Yahya:	Ilorin West LGA.
Researcher:	What is your first language?
Mohammed:	The Yoruba language.

Researcher:	Is the Yoruba language also your mother tongue?
Mohammed:	Yes, the Yoruba language is also my mother tongue.
Researcher:	Which LGA do you come from?
Mohammed:	Ilorin East LGA.
Researcher:	Which language is your first language?
Taiwo:	The Yoruba language.
Researcher:	Which one is your mother tongue?
Taiwo:	The Yoruba language.
Researcher:	Which LGA do you come from?
Taiwo:	Ilorin South LGA.
Researcher:	Which language is your first language?
Zainab:	The Yoruba language.
Researcher:	Which one is your mother tongue?
Zainab:	The Yoruba language.
Researcher:	Which LGA do you come from?
Zainab:	Ilorin South LGA.
Researcher:	Which language is your first language?
Ibrahim:	The Yoruba language.
Researcher:	Which one is your mother tongue?
Ibrahim:	The Yoruba language.
Researcher:	Which LGA do you come from?
Ibrahim:	Ilorin East LGA.

These interview extracts corroborate findings from the quantitative data in that it shows the prevalence of the Yoruba language as the first language/mother tongue across the city. Having established a uniformed pattern of linguistic identity for all respondents, it is imperative to to juxtapose this with their constructions of their ethnic identities. Hence, the following reveal respondents' constructions of their ethnic identities.

Table 6.1(b): A Table Showing the Relationship between Respondents' Mother Tongue/First Language and Preferred Ethnic Nationlaity

		If asked to describe your ethnic nationality, please indicate your first, second and third priority by writing first, second in the provided boxes				Total
		No response	Northerner[1]	Southwesterner	Other	
The Yoruba language	Count	0	38	62	0	100
	% of Total	0.0%	38.0%	62.0%	0.0%	100.0%
The Hausa language	Count	0	0	0	0	0
	% of Total	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Fulfulde	Count	0	0	0	0	0
	% of Total	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
The English language	Count	0	0	0	0	0
	% of Total	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Total	Count	0	0	0	0	100
	% of Total	0.0%	38.0%	62.0%	0.0%	100.0%

As seen in the table above, ethnic identity is represented in terms of belongingness to the region where the ethnic group could be found in Nigeria and in this case, linguistic identity has no significant correlation with ethnic identity. This is because, the overwhelming favourable disposition towards the Yoruba language (100.0%) was not replicated on the question that bothered on respondents' ethnic nationalities where 38.0% of all respondents denied the Yoruba ethnic identity by claiming they were not southwesterners.

On the other hand, the majority of respondents (62.0%) considered themselves southwesterners despite 100.0% linguistic allegiance to the Yoruba language and this clearly demonstrates the variance between linguistic and ethnic identities in Ilorin. With this analysis, language cannot be considered the marker of ethnic identity for Ilorin people. The following are respondents' interview responses to the question of their ethnic belongingness.

My mother tongue is Yoruba Language but I would not describe myself as a Yoruba person. I prefer to identify myself as an Ilorin person although I am of Yoruba ancestry… My family progenitors are from Igbeti but I strongly prefer the Ilorin identity... (Moshood).

My mother tongue is Yoruba Language but I cannot describe myself as a Yoruba person. I prefer to identify as Yoruba-Ilorin. (Tawa).

My mother tongue is Yoruba Language but I prefer to identify as Yoruba-Ilorin. My progenitors are of Yoruba ancestry... (Ameenat).
My first language and mother tongue is the Yoruba language because I am an Ilorin person of Yoruba ancestry… I prefer to identify as a Yoruba person... (Mohammad).

My first language is Yoruba and so is my mother tongue. I am a Yoruba person from Ilorin... (Taiwo).

My first language and mother tongue is Yoruba. I would not identify myself as a Yoruba person. Rather, I would identify as an Ilorin person... (Ismail).

My first language and mother tongue is the Yoruba language... I am a Fulani person. (Yahya)

The question is, why would a people that constitute the majority ethnic group in a community that is native to them maintain their linguistic identity but discard their ethnic identity? The answer to this according to Oakes (2001), lies in the notions of convergence and divergence which have their roots in Speech Accommodation Theory (Giles, 1973; Giles et al., 1977; Giles and Coupland 1991). Speech Accommodation Theory which later became known as Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles et al., 1987) to enable it encompass non-verbal as well as discursive dimensions of social interaction. Giles and Coupland (1991:63) describes communicative convergence "as a strategy whereby individuals adapt to each other's communicative behaviours in terms of a wide range of linguistic/prosodic/non-vocal features, including speech rate, pausal phenomenon and utterance length, phonological variants, smiling, gaze and so on". Oakes (2001:42) posits that convergence is used "to refer to some form of cultural movement towards the majority out-group". This convergence mechanism enables one to understand respondents' demonstration of preference or ownership of features or behaviours that are known to belong to out-groups which are also indigenous to the city.

A slight point of departure between the present research and Oakes' position however is that, the present study shows that cultural movement is not necessarily always towards the majority out-group; members of the majority out-group also converge culturally towards the minority out-group. In essence, the present study expands the scope of convergence to cater to those uncommon occasions in which members of a majority group move towards minority out-groups in terms of ethnic identification. The present study therefore establishes the need to differentiate between the usages of the terms "dominant and majority" and "dominated and minority". That is, the interchangeable use of "dominant and majority" and "dominated and minority" is not always correct. The reason is that "dominant/non-dominant/dominated" is a function of access to power or otherwise while "majority/minority" has to do with the numerical strength or weakness of a group. The fact that in most societies, the group with the higher population is also usually the one with access to power does not mean that it is a phenomenon that is obtainable in all communities. In essence, dominant is not always synonymous with majority and dominated is not always synonymous with minority as well. For instance, in South Africa, Afrikaner is the dominant ethnic group while their language, Afrikaans, is the dominant language despite the fact that Afrikaner is not the group with the majority population. Therefore, a group in a community could be a dominant/minority, a dominated/minority, a non/dominant majority or a dominated/majority.

Giles and Coupland, (1991) posit that this level of acculturation as demonstrated by convergence, enables some Ilorin people of Yoruba ancestry to construct for themselves, non-Yoruba identities which reflects a lack of emotional attachment to their ancestral ethnicity thus, giving huge credence to Glaser (2007:267) who posits that "language ability can certainly be assumed to be less important for a sense of belonging than ancestral connections". The position of this paper is therefore in consonance with Woodbury (1993) who asserts that the analyses of language shift have constituted an interesting argument against the thesis that lexico-grammatical language shift engenders full-scale assimilation. The case of identity shift experienced by some of the respondents discussed above, happened in spite of language maintenance. Therefore, ability to maintain an ancestral language does not automatically translate into an ability to maintain an ancestral ethnic identity by groups or individuals.

It is however worthy of note to add that, there were variations in the levels of respondents' ethnic conversion. For example, Moshood, identified as Ilorin in spite of his Yoruba ancestry. Though there is no such ethnic group as Ilorin but Moshood's construction of an Ilorin identity instead of his ancestral Yoruba identity is an indication that he did not want to associate himslef with his ancestral ethnicity. Moshood's case proves that being of a particular ancestry and being able to speak the language of that ancestry does not guarantee a sense of attachment to that ancestry. Thus, variations in the degrees of convergence affected the way ethnic converts handled their ancestral ethnicity and their "new" identities.

The most radical case of ethnic conversion in this research is that of Yahya. Unlike other respondents who acknowledged their ancestral backgrounds but simultaneously constructed for themselves different ethnic identities, Yahya's case was different. This was because not only did he express belongingness to the Fulani ethnic group, but also wrongly claimed that his fore-bears were Fulani people and went ahead to express preference for the northern region. This sort of overcommunication (by Yahya) to his desired ethnic group showed the extent to which he is willing to go just to deny his ancestral ethnicity. Attitude similar to Yahya's was noted regarding individual Sorbian identities by Elle (1992b); Ela (1998a). In their works, more than half of those in the Protestant area who indicated Sorbian language ability identified themselves as German, even though a majority of them came from Sorbian or mixed homes.

Conclusion

Politics, like any social factor, plays an important role in identity construction and manifestation. With its intervening role in Ilorin's history, people of the same ethnic background now have different nomenclatures for referring to themselves. Hence, within the same ethnic group, language does not play a central role for everyone in identity construction. This is not to however completely rule out the significance of language as an identity marker, rather, it is its centrality to identity that this paper argues should be treated with caution; other identity markers are equally as important as language in the ethnic identity construction of groups of people.

The significance of the dichotomy between majority/minority and dominant/dominated was also brought to the fore. While the former is strictly a matter of the number of a group, the latter is on the other hand, a matter of access to the instrument of power through

political leadership (even if it were political influence from the past). What this means is that a group could be the dominant group without necessarily having a superior numerical strength in the community because such a group has access to power and vice-versa. This demonstrates the extent to which access to power and authority can affect either positively or negatively, the status of an ethnic group within a multi-ethnic community. It therefore follows from this that the transient nature of power affects the status of any group as the change of power could also determine the group with the dominant status.

Recommendations

The study recommends the recognition of the significance of all ethnic identity markers in general such that no identity marker is deemed as synonymous with identity. This is because in a world where all identity markers have become more and more fleeting in nature, attaching central significance to any identity marker would lead to the erroneous conclusion that identities are gained and lost when identity markers are gained and lost as well. The study therefore, recommends that no identity marker should be considered as central to identity because of the influence of various social and political factors on identity construction, perception and manifestation.

NOTE: The use of "northerner" and "southwesterner" to refer to ethnic nationalities here is because in Ilorin, those two words correlate with people's perception of all ethnic nationalities from the North and Yoruba people respectively. The need for the target respondents to easily understand the concept necessitated these usages.

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