57
2023

STUDIES IN AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

University of Warsaw 2023

STUDIES IN AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

Vol. 57 (2023)

STUDIES IN AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

Vol. 57 (2023)

University of Warsaw 2023

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

Cover design

Anna Gogolewska

English Language Editor

Michał Zagrodzki

ISSN 2545-2134; e-ISSN 2657-4187

Publication co-financed from the Ministry of Science and Higher Education grant and funds provided by the University of Warsaw authorities.
On-line version is available at http://www.salc.uw.edu.pl.

University of Warsaw Press
Smyczkowa 5/7, PL 02-678 Warsaw
wuw@uw.edu.pl
Sales Department: phone (+48 22) 55-31-333
E-mail: dz.handlowy@uw.edu.pl
Internet Bookshop: www.edu.pl

Layout

Anna Gogolewska

Printed by

Totem.com.pl

Contents

FROM THE EDITORS

The Journal is published annually and provides a forum for presentation of the latest research in various fields of African Studies. It promotes studies on African languages, literatures, and cultures. Scholars working in these areas are invited to submit the results of their work for publication. Preference is given to original research based on sources in African languages. The Journal comprises articles, monographs, and reviews, as well as lexicographic studies and other source materials. Occasionally, special issues are published devoted to particular topics. All papers are reviewed according to the Journal's criterions.

The Journal is indexed by:
- Scopus,
- The European Reference Index for the Humanities and the Social Sciences (ERIH Plus),
- Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ),
- Index Copernicus International (ICI),
- Central and Eeastern European Online Library (CEEOL),
- Central European Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities (CEJSH),
- Linguistic Bibliography Online (Brill),
- Central & Eastern European Academic Source (CEEAS) by EBSCO,
- EBSCO Discovery Service,
- InfoBase Index,
- Information Matrix for the Analysis of Journals (MIAR).

Guidelines for the authors are available on the Journal's website www.salc.uw.edu.pl. and at the end of every published issue. For more information please contact the Editor at salc@uw.edu.pl. The printed version of the Journal is distributed through subscriptions on the basis of exchange with academic centres. Please address the offers of journal exchange to:

Uniwersytet Warszawski
Wydział Orientalistyczny
Katedra Języków i Kultur Afryki
ul. Krakowskie Przedmieście 26/28
PL 00-927 Warszawa, POLAND

Studies in African
Languages and Cultures, Vol. 57, 2023
ISSN 2545-2134; e-ISSN 2657-4187

https://doi.org/10.32690/SALC57.1

ARTICLES

Nagmeldin Karamalla-Gaiballa
University of Warsaw
ORCID: 0000-0001-7613-3334

Hanna Rubinkowska-Anioł
University of Warsaw
ORCID: 0000-0001-7051-3969

Ethnic diversity and its impact on group identification in Darfur

Abstract

This study addresses historical and cultural problems of man's identity and ethnic origin in the Darfur region, famous for its cultural role throughout history. This subject deserves particular academic attention in order to understand the structure and identity of the Darfurian cultural features, their dimensions and characteristics viewed from different perspectives. The article explores the rich and complex centuries-old history of the Darfur region, including the rise and fall of various kingdoms and political entities, as well as the impact of external influences such as Arab immigration and the spread of Islam, besides studying the habitats of different ethnic groups, their culture, language, traditions, and the relationships between them. It shows that the cultural differences and identity based on being a member of a certain tribe are the key factors in shaping history and the complicated situation of Darfur today.

Keywords: Darfur, tribe, Sudan, Fur, Baggara, Dajo, Rizeigat, Tunjur, Zaghawa, Masalit

1. Introduction

This article aims at presenting basic factors related to tribal[1] diversity in Darfur which has influenced the political history and the contemporary situation in the region. Some crucial aspects of the history of civilization and political entities in Darfur are discussed through the lens of characteristics and the role of its people. It is an attempt to organise information on Darfur groups who describe the units of their social and political structures as "tribes" (Arab. *qabīla*[2]). The civilizations established by them and the cultures that have developed in the area since ancient times contributed to the creation of specific features distinguishing the region. Nowadays, this is reflected in the social and political situation, including conflicts. The authors of the article try to present the background of the ethnic and cultural situation and its political consequences, all the more so that we assume that the fact of diversity itself has an impact on human life and social interaction. We ask questions concerning the interaction between social structures and the development of the societies, including the interaction with the state. As a result of the history of the research on Darfur, a number of problems have been discussed which are common to the whole continent, among them the question of a sense of belonging to a community transcending tribal affiliations (e.g. as a citizen) and whether a process of such a development in the region is possible at all.

The social and cultural diversity as such is characteristic for the whole continent, thus the questions on the situation in Darfur are relevant also for different parts of Africa, the more so that specifically in the region a whole range of diversity occurs: language diversity, identity based on mythical origin, different attitude towards land and resources, towards livelihood security, etc. This makes Darfur a good example and area for conducting research on the subject. The scholarly literature in Arabic on the topic covers different perspectives to those offered by the literature in European languages. This article aims at analyses of these perspectives, confronting them with other scientific findings and attempts to present a broadened view on the subject.

---

[1] The authors use the term "tribe" with full awareness of its complicated history and the discussion it aroused. An attempt to address the question of tribe is made further in the text.

[2] In the article anglicised spelling was adopted for names of tribes, geographical places, some persons and other items which are commonly found in literature in these forms, while scientific transcription of Arabic language was used for everything else.

In terms of scholarly interest in the subject the literature is rather limited in number. The researchers dealing with Darfurian peoples and cultures focus on geographical and environmental conditions, social life, as well as economic and political issues both in terms of the current situation and the historical outline. Among the crucial works are volumes by MacMichael in which important information about the situation in Darfur in the beginning of the 20th century is collected. *A history of the Arabs in Sudan: And some account of the people who preceded them and of the tribes inhabiting Dárfūr* was first published in 1922. It reports the results of an ethnological research and provides detailed histories of the origins, movements, and degrees of relation between the indigenous groups in Sudan, based on oral histories collected from the interviews with local people, and on Sudanese genealogical records known in Arabic as *nisba* ('relation'). In MacMichael's *Brands used by the chief camel-owning tribes of Kordofán (a supplement to 'The tribes of northern and central Kordofán')*, first published in 1913, the history of the province is presented based mostly on genealogical information collected during interviews MacMichael conducted with local people during his long tenure in Kordofan. The ethnography's focus on local history and the history of different ethnic groups in Kordofan remains the primary source for the province's local history.

Among the contemporary studies O'Fahey's *The Darfur Sultanate: A history*, published in 2008, delves into Darfur's history until 1916. Also the works by de Waal (2005) and Flint & de Waal (2008) are of importance.

It is worth mentioning the work of the well-known Sudanese researcher Muḥammad Sulaymān (2010), and his book *Sudan: The war of resources and identity* in Arabic. The book provides highly accurate information about Darfur, including its geographical location, demographic composition, ethnic groups, and the intersecting relations between them, as well as the nature of the climate. Muhammad dedicates a significant portion of his book to ecological transformations in the region, the environmental degradation, and their connection to the increasing frequency of conflicts in the area, illustrated with explanatory charts. He explores social environment of the ethnic groups, their ecological classification, nomadic paths and movement, and the specific locations witnessing higher rates of conflict over time and place. Another noteworthy publications dealing with the subject are those by Ząbek (i.a. 1998), which are based on the author's own field research.

According to the experts, there are about three thousand peoples and tribes on the African continent, and each of them possesses a remarkable richness in its own local cultures, customs, and traditions (Martin 2011). In addition, according

to Nketia, a Ghanian ethnomusicologist and composer, also the language situation in the whole continent is very complex (Nketia 1968: 157-171). Language groups form their own divisions, sometimes coinciding with the accepted ethnic divisions, sometimes forming different kind of entities. Societies and civilizations experience non-stop processes of change and it is not different in Africa, including in the Darfur region. Beyond any doubt, the era of colonisation brought extra triggers for the exchange of social and cultural values. However, even though African customs and traditions have been influenced by different factors and processes occurring in the world, tribal affiliation, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, remains an important factor as well as a source of pride for the people of the continent (Ismāʿil 2023: 306-307).

2. The question of tribe

It is beyond the aim of this article to discuss the complicated problem of the terminology applied to the social divisions in Darfurian societies. However, some clarification is needed.

Specific characteristics distinguish African numerous social and political groups, which by the Africans and the researchers are called "ethnic groups", "peoples" and/or "tribes"[3]. Such unlimited diversity and multiculturalism rarely exist in other continents. Discussing the situation in Africa in general, and in Darfur in particular, the researchers face problems with terminology. Among different terms "tribe" is a controversial one, and also difficult to define. As Sangmpam in his illuminating considerations writes: "The term 'tribe' is generally contested and rejected, often mildly in the Americas and Asia and more vociferously in Africa. In its eight-volume *General history of Africa*, UNESCO prohibited the use of the term 'tribe'" (Sangmpam 2017: 8). However, what he proposes in conclusion of his book is that both concepts – of the tribe and ethnicity – are important in Africa, as they differ and none of them should be dropped in scholarly discussions. Moreover, he claims that "the literature fails to explain the particularity of tribal allegiance and its saliency. This failure cries out for an alternative effort to develop a social theory of the high saliency of tribal allegiance in SSA [Sub-Saharan Africa]" (Sangmpam 2017: 91).

In Africa, the term "tribe" is important and often in use, and what is essential to these considerations, this term is the key word in Africa and is applied when the

[3] For the discussion of the complicated use of the terms, including different perspectives deriving from British and French scholarly experience and attitude, see Vorbrich (2012).

question about group's or one's identity is posed. This term is associated with extreme connotations – with African pride and at the same time with pejorative view on African peoples (Wiley 2013). Apart from the term "tribe", in contemporary literature on Africa there are many references to "tribalism" which is perceived mostly as a destructive factor, be it in processes of democratisation or state-building.

The term "tribe" expresses two different areas or dimensions, even if there seems to be a degree of connection between them. On the one hand, anthropologists applied the term to characterize a type of traditional human society associated with man since the beginning of his first precursors, prior to more complex political entities or states. Thus the term "tribe" in some narrations indicates that it distinguishes a specific phase of the systems of human societies. This resulted in the understanding of the term as a description of something connected with the past and/or the earlier stage of development. Undoubtedly, the tribe constitutes a substantial brick of bricks of the first human society. Its intertwined customs and traditions were associated with the idea of the first tribe, its members and its tribal heritage, with all its complexities and accumulations throughout history (Uld Šayḫ 2013: 15). In this understanding of the term the idea of continuation as well as historical and cultural roots is well integrated.

The groups living in Darfur speak Arabic, in which the term *qabīla* is being used, meaning 'the unit' of the group identification. This Arabic term has been customarily translated in the English-language literature as "tribe". What is also relevant in these considerations, the term has religious connotations as it is used in al-Qur'ān. Thus, it is perceived as the solely legitimate term (both in its Arabic and English version) for the purpose in question.

In order to understand the value of the tribes in the Arabic and Muslim vision, al-Qur'ān in Sūrat al-Ḥuğurāt is saying: "O people, indeed We created you from a male and a female, we made you into nations and tribes, so that you might know each other. Indeed, the most honorable of you in the sight of God is the most righteous" (al-Ḥuğurāt: 13). That shows positive connotation of the term "tribe" in Islam. It is also necessary to be aware of the changes which occurred in the meaning of the term in the pre-Islam and Islam eras, as well as contemporarily. However, the topic being fascinating by itself is too broad to be discussed in this article. Also, it needs to be stressed that the term in the Arabic sources is applied with positive meaning. Many Arab writers applied it within the titles of their books. Hence, special branch of traditional research was developed, which concentrates on Arabic tribes, called "Arabic Genealogy" (Ismāʿil 2023).

2. Posing vital questions

Taking into consideration the situation in the region which will be presented, important questions arise referring to interactions among the peoples/tribes living in the area and their interaction with the state. Firstly, the immense social, cultural, and linguistic differentiation of the region is beyond the question. Peoples in Darfur not only speak different languages and look differently. They also have different attitude towards using the land, providing the means for living, etc. The differentiation as such makes an important factor in shaping conditions and rules for communication and coexistence in the area. The area – the land the tribes share – is the most important element which forces different groups to search for the solutions to coexist. One of the most often applied solutions is conflict: wars for the grazing lands, for water, etc., i.e. for the resources. However, different, peaceful solutions are also adopted, for example based on trade, religion or on intermarriage and alliances (Āl Ḍahab 2007). Looking at the history of Darfur one can claim that in this region conflicting elements prevail. However, the answer to the question about the reasons of this state of affairs is an extremely complicated one and different explanations can be suggested. The thorough analysis of the ethnic/tribal/cultural situation presented in this article is one of the clues for searching the answer. The situation in Darfur also needs to be analysed through processes taking place not only contemporary or in the perspective of history of colonisation, but within the context of *longue durée*, thus taking into consideration events and processes dating back to the earliest times. Only from this perspective searching for explanation why the idea of state did not develop in Darfur in a way that nowadays allows smooth functioning within one state elsewhere. All the more so because – as in the case of sultanates, e.g. the sultanate of Tunjur – the political organisations like "early states" developed in the area over the centuries. Another vital element to be considered in terms of political relations are migrations. The dynamics of migrations in the region stands out even in the continent of high migration rate (Carbone 2017: 58). Migrations are among conflicting factors and in case of Darfur clashes between people on the move belong to the picture of contemporary situation where working out peaceful solutions seems to be an extremely difficult task.

All the elements of the situation in the region mentioned above are strongly associated with the ethnical/tribal diversity and history related to this diversity. Thus, the information collected and provided below aim at constructing a base for further research in search for answers to the above questions.

3. Darfur: Ethnic diversity and some historical facts

The Darfur region lies in the far west of Sudan, extending from latitudes 16 to 10 degrees north and longitudes 22 to 27 degrees east, covering 549,000 km^2. Its western border is marked by the border of Sudan with Chad and the Central African Republic. The estimated population is over 8 million (Flint & De Waal 2008). The term Sahel (originally *sāḥil* meaning 'coast' in Arabic) is a narrow transitional band between the desert and the woody savannah stretching across Africa's width, from Senegal in the west to the Red Sea in the east. The climatic and natural conditions in North Darfur are similar to the ecological belt of the dry savannah that is part of the Sahel zone in Africa, distinguished in nature and topography (Takana 2016: 90). The Sahel has a semi-arid climate, with a dry season of eight to eleven months a year. Its landscape is distinguished by baobabs, acacia trees and sparse grass covers developed over the last half-century. The area is subject to excessive soil erosion caused by natural climatic fluctuations, overgrazing, and agriculture (Birtū 2009).

The researchers point out that the Darfur region, in particular, is unique, as it is characterized by unique human and ethnic diversity (Paul 2011). The cultural diversity developed according to the ethnic and ancestral diversity between the local population and immigrants living in this region over time. It can be said that the Darfur region represents a microcosm of the state of Sudan itself (the motherland), as the whole country is characterized by remarkable racial and ethnic diversity (de Waal 2005).

A group of modern researchers reached an important conclusion which indicates that about 10% of the population in northern Sudan today originally came from the regions of western Chad (Delmet 1994: 473-481) or from the regions in northern Nigeria. In Darfur some groups of inhabitants are perceived as "non-black people". They are among the oldest local populations. These elements mostly came from successive human migrations that included different ethnicities (Choucair 1981: 152-154). Some groups probably came from the northern regions, while other groups came from the west. There were also migrations from the east, as Darfur was a passage for human groups between the north and south of the continent and between the regions of the Nile Sudan and central Sudan, especially the lands of Chad (Choucair 1981: 155-160).

The region was divided in 1994, according to the tenth constitutional decree, into three states: North Darfur with its capital El Fasher, West Darfur with its capital El Geneina, and South Darfur with its capital Nyala (ʿAluww 2007). The

population of Darfur, estimated now to number more than 8 million, belong to more than 100 tribes, people speak more than 14 languages, and all profess Islam, mostly following the Maliki school of thought. These tribes can be divided into tribes of Arab origin and those of African origin. It is important here to point out that the word "Arab" represents a cultural identity rather than an ethnic one (Ząbek 1998). Therefore, it refers to those who speak the Arabic language and who mixed with the local non-Arab population through a long historical process. They carry features similar to the features of Africans more than the features of the inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula (Aḥmad & Manger 2006: 60-63). While some members of Arab groups claim that they are the only "racially pure", it needs to be said that Arabness refers primarily to the cultural heritage, not the "racial origin" or ethnicity. Thus, the name "Arab" usually denotes the Arabic-speaking population due to the interaction of historical processes in various local groups of non-Arab origin in African Sudan (Young 2006: 5-8).

The peoples of Darfur who make up ca. 10% of the population of Sudan are Fur, the largest tribe in the region considered, with its branches, the second largest ethnicity in Sudan after the Arabs. After the Fur come the tribes: Zaghawa, Masalit, Berti, Tama, Barhak, Fellata, Medoub, Tunjur, Qamar, and Dajo (al-ʿAwād 2007: 202).

As for the Arab tribes, the most important of them are Rizeigat, Ta'aisha, Banu Fadl, Ziyadia, Misseriya, Maharaja, Banu Halaba, Ma'alia, Mahamid, Hotiyyah, and Ratariyya (al-ʿAwād 2007: 203).

According to historians, Darfur was known in the world even before Islam. The ancient Egyptians and Romans had contacts with this country. Even one of the pharaohs' commanders, Hrkov, was said to have stayed in the Medoub mountains. Romans sought to maintain trade relations via the famous trans-Saharan route called the "Forty Days Road" (Arab. *ad-darb al-arbaʿīn*), connecting the cities of Kutum in Darfur and Asyut in Egypt (Islamstory 2007).

The diversity of climate and natural conditions in Darfur attracted different peoples to settle in different parts of the area. For example, the Fur Tora tribes settled in Jabal Marra[4], and the Tunjur, Zaghawa, and Khuzam settled in northern Darfur. Each of the tribal leaders ruled independently of the central authority.

---

[4] Jebel Marra is a group of volcanic peaks as high as 3,000 meters spanning the three states of North Darfur, West Darfur, and Central Darfur. It contains the second highest peak in Sudan. The Marra plateau covers 12,000 km^2 from Tobago Hills to Tebella Plateau. The Marra plateau contains montane woodland (Vail 1972: 251-265).

They also regulated their relations with each other on their own (Sulaymān 2010: 115-118).

The lack of natural barriers has been conducive to successive, lasting migrations over the centuries. The influx of successive pastoral peoples, both from the east and west, seeking security and new areas with better water and fodder resources for animal husbandry contributed to the spread of the knowledge of iron smelting and blacksmithing, as well as other crafts and crops. Long-distance trade and cultural contacts between different regions and ethnic groups developed here, creating cities and statehood (Prunier 2005: 197-198).

The history of human activity in Darfur in early periods has not found much interest from researchers until now. According to local narrations, the first to rule the region were the Dajo. Tunjur replaced the Dajo as rulers of the region (Aḥmad & Manger 2006a: 1-23). As for the Sultanate of Fur, it emerged in the middle of the 17th century, under the leadership of Sultan Suleiman. He is a descendant of the Kira dynasty, which removed the Tunjur from power and then ruled Darfur until 1916 (Aḥmad & Manger 2006a: 52).

The intense migrations that characterize the Darfur region due to the movement of Arab and African tribes impact its history, customs, and traditions. These migrations brought cultural, social, economic, and religious influences and caused radical changes (Flint 2010: 203). From 1650 to 1874, a solid sovereign state called the Sultanate of Darfur existed in what is now Darfur (Takana 2016). It was an independent Islamic kingdom ruled by sultans, with its own currency and a state system similar to a federal one. The sultan was subject to individual tribal leaders, who, however, ruled independently in their areas and were utterly independent until the period of incorporation into Sudan, a province created by Egypt in 1821, at the time a part of the Ottoman Empire (Beauregard 1987: 1898-1934).

The Darfur area was neglected for many years, contributing to its increasing isolation from the rest of the country. Differences in the level of development between the region and the rest of the country concerned not only the economic plan but also political rights and cultural development. Regional administrative law, which has been in place in Sudan since 1982, has, in practice, maintained Darfur's economic backwardness and increased its political isolation (Flint & De Waal 2008: 103, 301).

Nowadays Darfur borders four countries: South Sudan, Libya, Chad, and Central African Republic. Because of the region's geography which are lowlands in the area of the borders, there are no natural barriers that would prevent the movement of people. Thus there are common tribes between Darfur and their

neighbours. The fact that tribes of Darfur spread in several countries influenced, among others, the formation of the Darfur crisis and its subsequent repercussions.

4. Distribution of the Darfur population

The geographical distribution of the population and its social and tribal divisions are also significant here. However, the administrative structure of the region is complex and hierarchical, Darfur remains one of the least integrated parts of Sudan and the most difficult to manage. This is due to its distance from the centre and poor communication with the capital. Rough roads linking the region to the other parts of the country and the condition of the railways that stretch across South Darfur underscore Darfur's isolation from the rest of the country.

Livelihoods in Darfur correspond to ethnic divisions. The group of Arab origin are nomads, engaged in raising cattle and camels, while the population of the non-Arab groups, except the Zaghawa people, lead a lifestyle based predominantly on traditional agriculture. Although the entire region is called Darfur (Arab. *dār Fūr*), which means 'house' or 'land' or 'homeland' (*dār*) of the Fur people, it is divided into other sub-areas (Flint 2010: 48). Thus, each "house" (*dār*) is a specific social, political, and cultural identity. What is important here is the collective cultural heritage located in space. Therefore, despite the formal division of the region into provinces, councils, and other units, the traditional division into "houses" (*dār*) remains the most important in the context of ethnic groups (Tubiana et al. 2012). Darfur province is traditionally divided into three main houses: Dar Zaghawa in the west and north, Dar Fur in the centre, and Dar Rizeigat in the south. Besides these, other small "houses" belong to smaller tribes (Young et al. 2009).

There are many branches of Rizeigat in Sudan. The Rizeigat tribe is divided into three: the Mahamid, the Mahariya, and the Nawabiya, additionally some of the Rizeigat live near Ouaddaï (Wadai) in Chad (at-Tūnisī 1965). During the history all Rizeigat branches were united when some disputes and conflicts with the sultans of Darfur who opposed other Arab groups arose (at-Tūnisī 1965: 58). The Rizeigat groups frequently rebelled against the sultans and declared disobedience to them. This corresponds to a large extent with the nature of the "crescent bellies", which always tend to be independent and not be subject to any central administration or authority (at-Tūnisī 1965: 58-60). Mostly, if the Rizeigat fell into conflict with one of the sultans, they would flee far to the desert

paths and carry their children, offspring, and herds so that the Sultan of Darfur could not obtain anything from them or seize them.

Dar Zaghawa is inhabited by the camel herders (Abala), Dar Fur is inhabited by the farming communities (Hakurat), and Dar Rizeigat by the cattle herders (Baggara). Each had its own ecologically conditioned way of dealing with their job, different from the others. Due to these differences in the ways of living and the use of natural resources, the likelihood of conflicts between the inhabitants of these areas has always been relatively high. In times of scarcity, it has increased. The degradation of the environment, however, had a significant impact on the lives of these groups (Assal 2006: 101-105).

5. Extinct or threatened with extinction languages in Darfur

History of languages reflects history of people speaking the languages. With the specific source base for research on African history, on many occasions information about languages were used to provide information about Africa's past. One of the important features of the language situation in the continent is the big number of endangered languages. Also some languages and cultures in Darfur are threatened with extinction or have disappeared completely. Among them there are the languages of the Birgid, Berti and Mima tribes. The Birgid tribe are similar to the people of Central Africa regarding their physical composition and habits. Many historians believe that Birgid is of Nubian origin due to the great similarity between their dialect and that of the Nubian people. Thus, the origin of the people is considered to be from black Africans (ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm, n.d.). Many of the Birgid tribes immigrated to Darfur after the fall of the Christian Nubian kingdoms in the north, where many settled in the northeast of Nyala and are called Birgid Tarzan. There are many Birgid tribes in their current places, and they intermarried with Arab and non-Arab tribes (ʿAmr 2022).

Sudanese researcher Anwar Ibrāhīm (2022) believes that there is a similarity between many cultures of the peoples who live on the riverbeds, especially in the northern and eastern regions of the African continent. He considers these similarities to be a remnant of their origin linked to ancient historical roots. Migrations characterise history of all the peoples of the region, thus we find that some customs and traditions are very similar. According to the study, the most important life factors are linked with each other, and had it not been for the geographical factors and borders that separated these peoples, they would have been one people linked to one life element (Ibrāhīm 2022).

The language of the Birgid tribe is in similar situation as the rest of the other Nubian languages, such as the language of Al-Mahas, the Danaqla, the Midob, even though this language had played an important role in different spheres of live, e.g. trade. Today, probably only four people living in the Simsim area in Gedaref speak the language. As these people are old, the language is threatened with extinction as soon as they die. The explanation offered for such a situation is that the language of Birgid is effected by common intermarriage between them as Arabs and non-Arab peoples (ʿAmr 2022).

Another group to serve as an example of such a process is known as the Alberti. They form a large tribe mostly of mixed origin. They live in the area that is located near Mount Medoub, east of Darfur. There are a number of subgroups within Alberti. It is believed they had migrated from their first home in the Tjabo hills region, an area located three days walk north of El Fasher city in the Darfur region. The migrations were most likely due to the pressure exerted by the Fur rulers. The Alberti language in Darfur is one of the languages of the Darfur region that has completely ceased to exist, as no one speaks this language nowadays (Faḍl 2021).

6. Classification of the population of Darfur using earning and livelihood

Ethnic diversity in Darfur, as well as in Sudan, is generally not clear and distinct. The inhabitants of Darfur can be divided – as mentioned earlier – into those who are believed to be the descendants of Arab origin and into local non-Arab groups. This line of division is also often a line of conflicts while there are also conflicts between different Arab groups. The conflict in Darfur is the result of a complex set of factors, including fights over natural resources, unequal distribution of economic and political power, and the absence of a strong equitable economy, militarization, and proliferation (Flint 2010).

Conflict between the Arab groups, or those that describe themselves as Arabs, is not new. For example, the Rizeigat and Maalia tribes fought among themselves in south-east Darfur in the 1960s over administrative rights. Rizeigat and Beni Halba also fought each other over both access to water and grazing land in Darfur's southwestern belt in the 1970s (Ahmad & Manger 2006b). By the mid-1980s, the problem had entered into a deadly combination of economic factors between farmers, pastoralists, Arabs and non-Arabs. In addition, there were the factors of drought of 1984-1985 and the repercussions of the war in Chad and the supremacy of "Arabism" – a new political ideology proclaiming

the principle of the superiority of the "Arab race" proclaimed in Libya under Muammar Gaddafi – and its influence on the central government in Khartoum (Flint 2010).

The conflicts in Darfur are often portrayed in extremely simplistic way. As a rule, it is believed that African rebels took up arms and stood up for their rights against the government in Khartoum (el-Tigani 2005). The government's response, in turn, was to arm the Arab militia, which led a bloody struggle comparable to the genocide committed against Africans in Darfur. Even if this picture reflects part of the truth, the explanation of the situation is much more complicated as presented in Gray & Kevane (2008) and Karamalla-Gaiballa (2017). However, there is no space in this article to discuss this subject at length. The means of earning and livelihood make one of the lines of conflicts.

The Fur people are the largest ethnic group of African descent in the Darfur region. Members of this people, as mentioned above, are the founders of the Sultanate of Fur and the historical rulers of this region. It consists of sedentary farmers engaged in farming using traditional digging methods. Other non-Arab ethnic groups in the region include the Meidob, Zaghawa, Masalit, Berti, Tama, Alemrarit and Tunjur. These non-Arab ethnic groups formed the Darfur Insurgent Front in the mid-1960s in the face of widespread practices of exclusion of indigenous ethnic groups from Darfur. The main objective of the Front was to protect the interests of the indigenous population of Darfur in the face of conflicts and political rivalries in which the central government in Khartoum interfered (ʿAbd al-Karīm 2006: 166-167).

The Arab peoples in Darfur are mainly nomadic tribes, among them: Habbaniya, Beni Hussein, Ziyadiyah, Beni Halba, Jawama, Rizeigat, and Almhiria. Besides them, there are also Arab merchants, city dwellers, and government officials often called "Sons of Jallaba", a term for the sons of merchants from the north of Sudan. In the mid-1980s, these social groups formed the so-called "Arab Alliance". It aimed to obtain official support and financial assistance from the central government and Sudanese political parties for the Arabs in the Darfur region (ʿAbd al-Karīm 2006: 166-167).

The inhabitants of North Darfur can also be divided according to other classifications. A classification by economic identity into four groups is popular: Baggara "Arab cattle herders", Abbala "Arab camel herders", Zarga, a local name meaning "black" non-Arab farmers, and urban, merchant and artisan population (O'Fahey 2009). Another division is based on the cultural dimension the Sudanese researcher Fuʾād Ibrāhīm adopted. It distinguishes groups based on their rela-

tionship with Arabness (i.e. according to ethnic criteria) and their relationship to Arab culture and language. So he proposes Arabs, mixed Arabs, non-Arabs who speak Arabic, and non-Arabs who do not speak the language. By "Arabs", Ibrāhīm refers to Arabic-speaking Arab populations such as Rizeigat, Ziyadiyah, Beni Hussein, and Jawam'a shepherds, who, as descendants of intermarriage with the local population, have a darker skin colour than Sudanese Arabs (ʿAbd al-Karīm 2006).

In contrast, non-Arabs who speak Arabic have given up their native language and adopted the Arabic language. Alberti and Tunjur fall into this category. The third category is mixed Arabs, which include those who used their native languages but also spoke Arabic dialects. The researcher included here the Fur, Zaghawa, Meidob, Albrgid, Mima, Tama, and Kenana tribes (Abdul-Jalil 2014).

In turn, another researcher, O'Fahey, adopted the division of Darfur's population based on the claim that it is a genealogically and ethnically diverse area and that the classification and division into Arabs and non-Arabs are done randomly and makes the accepted classifications inconclusive. O'Fahey thus proposes a classification based on immigration and linguistic factors and ways of earning a living as basic elements of the population structure in Darfur. According to this hybrid trend, three groups can be distinguished based on family trees, activities, geographical location, and cultural elements (O'Fahey 2008).

According to such criteria, the first group can be defined as camel and cattle herders who consider themselves Arabs. This belief is expressed in the fact that they appear to be Arabs and have such a status. They also feel that they are Bedouins (nomads) and are known for their sense of superiority and violent tendencies. They consider farmer groups and other rural groups to have lower status (Sharkey 2008: 21-43). In their understanding, these groups are inferior, not only in the ethnic sense but also in their culture and way of living. They refer to them as "Altukul" which referes to the word meaning 'kitchen' because of their stable lifestyle. For them, the term *dār* ('home') is important as a reflection of the status of their ancestors, their identity that distinguishes them from other groups. To protect themselves from the intruders the *dār* have troops and military organizations led by warrior-leaders (de Waal 2005: 181-205).

The second group consists of seasonal and permanent farmers. They are permanent village residents, and the descendants of mainly non-Arab population, usually from the Fur tribe. In contrast to the pastoral ones presented earlier, this group is not paramilitary. They do it to protect their crops and farms. For the members of this group, Darfur is "home", while all others are foreign to the region.

Farmers of Fur generally tend to be peaceful, though they occasionally clash with cattle and camel herders. Due to these conflicts, distrust and hostility towards each other grow between the two groups.

The third group, distinguished based on common regional, cultural and professional characteristics, consists of entrepreneurs, civil servants, landowners, and working city dwellers. Unlike the groups discussed above, which have limited political importance, this third group plays an important role in the political and economic life of the region.

7. Tribes of power in the sultanates in Darfur

7.1. Dajo

The beginnings of statehood in Darfur are associated with the Dajo people who settled in the south-eastern part of Jabal Marra. However, the history of Dajo has yet to be recorded and documented in an orderly and reliable manner. It exists only in the customs and memory of people who, knowing historical events, passed it on through stories (Sulaymān 2010: 207). The lack of written records is one of the main reasons why the history of the Dajo people is not well documented. Without written documents, historians have to rely on other sources such as oral traditions, customs, and memories passed down through generations (Sulaymān 2010: 208).

According to the oral tradition, the Dajos ruled Darfur from the 12nd to 13th century. During that period there were six rulers in this country. The first was Sultan Abdullah Dag, and the last was Sultan Omar Ibn Amen, known as "Ksavro" (Abū Māzin 2021). Some Dajo groups inhabited Kordofan (Nubian Mountains), Darfur, and Chad. Members of this tribe were known for their passion for music and fun. They are considered inventors of old Sudanese musical instruments. Some of these are still used in Sudan, such as the tom-tom "drumsticks" and the ebony whistle. They also have many folk and traditional games that distinguish them from other societies. They are fond of music and theatre, and are believed to have invented one of the most important music genres: *dajo* (O'Fahey 2008). Traditionally, Dajo are the cow herders (Abū Māzin 2021).

The Dajo people, along with each of the Birgid and Begu groups, formed the oldest Darfurian societies. They constitute a distinct group, located in the centre of the Darfur region, to the east and southeast of Jebel Marra and north of Diyar al-Baqqara (Abū Māzin 2021). According to the Sudanese versions collected from the oral heritage and studied by the Sudanese authors, the Dajo people

are considered one of the oldest peoples in Sudan and the western Nile Valley region. They regard their kingdom to be an extension of the Kingdom of Meroe, which was destroyed in 350 AD. They were forcing its kings to migrate towards the southwest of the Fazugli Valley, then the southwest of present-day Kordofan, and there they established their sultanate and took the Qadir region as their capital (Abbakir 2017).

From the foregoing it is clear that the history of the Dajo is very difficult to determine. It is most likely that at the beginning of the 12th century or shortly before, the Dajo people came to Darfur through the eastern gate. Despite the efforts of some researchers, their origin is still shrouded in mystery (Abū Māzin 2021).

Today, the number of the Dajo people amounts to around 4 million, of which 2.5 million live in the Republics of Sudan and South Sudan, and 1.5 million in the Republic of Chad. In Sudan they live in Darfur (Nyala, Zalingei, El Geneina, El Daein, and El Fasher) and Kordofan (Laqawa, El Muglad, Kadugli, Shatat, El Obeid Khortaqat, Al Dibeker, Embrambita, and Abi Kershola), as well as in the states of Gezira, Sennar, Blue Nile, Gedaref and Port Sudan) (Abbakir 2017).

The Dajo language, according to Greenberg (1963), is classified among the eastern Sudanese languages in the Nilo-Saharan family of languages. It is believed that it is an ancient Sudanese language with different dialects. The number of Dajo speakers (which is different than the number of the ethnic Dajos) is estimated at 250,000 people, of whom there are approximately 50,000 in Darfur (Nyala, Kass, Zalingei and El Geneina) and about 80,000 in Kordofan, about 30,000 in other parts of Sudan, and about 90,000 people in the Republic of Chad (Ki-Zerbo 1995: 306).

Several sultans succeeded in their ruling, and they moved their capital from Qadir to several regions, including Shat ad-Dim, Dinga, and Taqat, during a period that extended for seven centuries until the reign of Sultan Ahmed ad-Daj who moved his capital to present-day Darfur, specifically at the top of Jebel Marra, in about the year 1100. Here they established the first sultanate in what is today known as Darfur. Several sultans succeeded, the last of which was Sultan Omar Ibn Amen, known as "Ksavro", who built several palaces for his sultanate in different locations (Nari, Kalkuteng, Kedner, and others) and at the top of Jebel Marra. His last palace was in the Kilwa mountain area east of Nyala, currently the capital of the South Darfur region. This era witnessed the end of the Dajo rule over the current Darfur in about the year 1480, to be followed after that by the Tunjur rulers. The Dajo dispersed in many regions, including Darsila and Mango in the Republic of Chad. However, the majority of them remained in Darfur

and Kordofan, preserving their system of government, traditions, and customs known to this day (Abbakir 2017).

7.2. Tunjur

The people who seized power in the Darfur region at the end of the 13th century were the Tunjur. They ruled until the first half of the 15th century. Some scholars include the Tunjurs among the Arab tribes of the Bani Hilal confederation, and consider them the first tribe to introduce the Arabic language in Darfur (Muḥammad & Murad 2017). There is also an opinion that they are part of the Fur tribe or belong to the Arabized Nubian peoples from the Nile Valley, some of whom migrated to Darfur.

The Sultanate of Tunjur was in North Darfur, while the rule of the Dajo people was concentrated in South Darfur. After the fall of the Dajo state, the Tunjur extended their influence in Darfur, and their capital became the city of Awri, on the mountain of the same name (Muḥammad & Murad 2017). The Tunjur were known for their trade, and their capital was one of the most dynamically developing cities. The governor of the city of Awri managed to establish economic relations with the Ottoman Turks ruling Egypt, and merchants from Cairo supplied him with weapons in exchange for gold (Ādam 2021).

The Tunjur were also known for their strong attachment to Islam on the one hand and their flexibility in exercising power and not resorting to cruelty in managing their state on the other. In the latter, they were the opposite of what Dajo did. They were also known for their unique architecture and road construction. There are still traces of a paved road at Awri. They are also considered the creators of the state of Wadai, existing west of Darfur and incorporated into French Chad (Idrīs 2015).

7.3. Fur

According to the tradition, the people of Fur were called by their Nubian cousins "Altora", meaning 'great' or 'gigantic'. The name comes from the fact that they are very tall and well-built. Altora constructed round houses under the name *turang tonga*, which means 'houses of giants'. They lived in the Jabal Marra Mountains and did not mix with other peoples, what, as they claimed, allowed them to keep their "pure" blood and physical characteristics. It is believed this was due to living in the mountains and some external isolation (Arkell 1951: 37-70). Later, many mixed marriages were concluded between them and the Tunjur, which led to the suggestion that they were descended from the same line of

Altora (Lampen 1950: 177-209). Sultan Suleiman Solong, also known as Solomon of Arabia, was the first sultan to establish the Muslim Sultanate of Darfur in 1445. He managed to take over 37 smaller kingdoms under his rule. According to the tradition collected from the oral heritage, he participated in 32 battles, and his kingdom consisted of Muslims and pagans alike (Arkell 1951). He started building a solid power in Darfur, took down leaders at the local level and appointed new leaders from his lineages. Thus began the rule of the Keira clan[5] in Darfur. The term "keira" means 'good grandchildren'. The Tunjur leaders remained disconsolate after losing control of the government in Darfur (Abū Zayd 2008).

Darfur's history is filled with wars against Wadai[6] in the west and Funj[7] in the east. Usually, when Wadai gained the upper hand, the rulers of Darfur turned their expansion east, competing for Kordofan with Funj. The capital of the state was permanently placed in El Fasher (Holt & Daly 2011: 35-40). The rulers of Darfur successfully exploited the migration of merchants and religious sheikhs from the Nile Valley for their purposes (Abusharaf 2010). The representatives of the Fur people ruled Darfur continuously for almost 430 years, from 1445 to 1875. Egypt did not conquer the state during the 1821 campaign and it maintained its independence until a renewed Egyptian attack in 1874 (Holt & Daly 2011: 35-40).

A decade later, in 1884, it was incorporated into the Mahdist state, in the creation of which the Darfurians participated quite actively. Incidentally, the period of Mahdist rule is the only period in Sudan's history when the Darfurians had a sense of equality in a common state. After its demise in 1899, they were incorporated into the resulting Anglo-Egyptian condominium. Until then, the country had maintained a certain degree of independence quite effectively (Holt & Daly 2011: 85-90).

---

[5] The difference between tribe and clan is that a tribe is broader in scope than a clan, whereby a tribe consists of a group of clans that share a common lineage. Clan refers to the members of one family and their close relatives (al-Ḥalāyqa 2018).

[6] Former African country, in the territory of present-day Chad, east of lake Chad. Founded in the 14th century by the Maba tribes, in the 17th century it was Islamized, often falling into dependence on the neighbouring strong states: Bornu and Darfur. At the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries it gained full independence, conquered part of Kanem, then Bagirmi; maintained lively trade contacts with Egypt (Akyeampong et al. 2014).

[7] The Funj Sultanate was the most easterly of the chain of Muslim dynastic states which at one time stretched south of the Sahara through Bilād as-Sūdān. Founded early in the 16th century AD by a king traditionally called Amara Dunqas, it had its centre around the town of Sennar (Holt 1963).

It should be remembered that the Turkish-Egyptian and Anglo-Egyptian (1820-1885) rule over Darfur was indirect, and the dynasty starting from Suleiman Solong, also known as Keira dynasty, reigned there until 1917. The state of Darfur, called the Muslim Sultanate of Darfur (the inhabitants of Darfur were completely Islamized under the rule of the Keira sultans), was divided into four provinces. The Fur continued to rule Darfur for nearly 430 years to come without interruption, that is, from the year 1445 until the year 1875. The last of the Sultans, Ali Dinar, ruled from 1898 to 1916, after which Darfur was incorporated into the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (Holt & Daly 2011: 40-45) as a result of Ali Dinar attempts to become independent from the condominium. On 1st January 1917 it was annexed to Sudan and then the government in Darfur was federal (Arbāb 1998). During this period it was ruled by a sultan supported by twelve ministers. Their duties included, above all, activities related to the election of a new sultan after the death of their predecessor (Harir 1993). These works were done in consultation and cooperation with the Shura Advisory Board. It consisted of twelve members, including four governors. The Shura also had the power to support the Sultan in managing the country's affairs and to conduct preparations for the election of a new Sultan (Harir 1993). Darfur came under foreign rule until Sudan's independence in 1956 (Totten & Markusen 2010: 3-12). However, from the point of view of many Darfurians, this was not Darfur gaining independence but merely incorporating it into a foreign state (the Republic of Sudan) as a fifth region. Since then, we have seen the people of Darfur continue to strive for independence and the actions of the Sudanese government to prevent them from ever gaining greater autonomy (Flint & De Waal 2008: 17-30).

In addition to the above mentioned trade with Egypt, long-distance trade from Darfur was also developed in the east-west direction, on the so-called "Sudanese road" (*ṭāriq as-sūdān*) leading from Sawakin on the Red Sea through Darfur to the country of Hausa. Copper mined here was mainly traded and delivered to Kano and Bornu in exchange for Hausa textiles and kola nuts from the forest zone of West Africa (Tymowski 1996). It was also stimulated by the migrations of individual tribes and peoples (especially Fulbe-Mbororo, Hausa, Bornu, and Uadaju peoples) from west to east. This can be expressed by a large diaspora of descendants of these immigrants, known in Sudan under the general name Fellata, who, in the perception of Sudanese Arabs, are descendants of former pilgrims to Mecca who chose not to return to their countries of origin. The pilgrimages above, carried out on foot or in caravans on donkeys and camels, probably began in the first centuries of the presence of Islam in this region and lasted continuously at least until the 1960s when they were slowly replaced by

air transport. One of the economic mission stations on the African continent, in the upper Nile basin, was established there. It should be emphasized that entrepreneurs and researchers from different regions also came to Darfur (Fasi & Hrbek 1988).

8. Conclusion

This article attempts to present the historical and environmental factors that contributed to the ethnic (socio-ethnic structure of Darfur) and settlement (distribution of the population by income and livelihood in Darfur) processes relevant to contemporary Darfur. Both factors must be constantly considered because these processes can be explained only in this way. Life in Sudan, as in other parts of the African continent, is considered in the context of maintaining ecological and economic balance. Over the last four decades, this balance has been repeatedly disturbed, especially in northern Sudan's large arid and semi-arid areas.

Ethnic, religious, and cultural divisions are important to properly understand the motivations of people engaging in bloody conflicts. Prolonged conflicts create ever greater ethnic barriers and increase the likelihood of ethnic divisions becoming the main cause of conflict. Limited natural resources, real and imagined, have triggered most armed conflicts in Darfur. Over time, ideological and social arguments have been added to ethnic, cultural, and religious differences. All these reasons lead to the emergence of political conflicts, which transform into armed conflicts over time.

Side effects caused by ethnic differences together with cultural and spiritual development can conflict with the development and emergence of other hotspots. The Darfur War began with a dispute between farmers and pastoralists over natural resources, pastures, and water sources. With time, the intensification of the conflict, and the growing sense of injustice due to the loss of life and property, the ethnic dimension emerged as this conflict's second most important flashpoint. Over time, due to the increasing losses, panic and drama of hostilities, the ethnic dimension came to the fore as the most important motive of the conflict. So the resource conflict turned into an identity conflict. Adapting to various ecological environments brings about differences in culture, material products, and aspects of social organization, such as language and social traditions, dressing and eating, which are key criteria for the emergence of racial discrimination. These differences become serious when there is a dispute over material resources. As a result, flashpoints appear on the border of areas with

different natural conditions and lead to conflicts between neighbouring groups. Rivals use their ethnicity as an argument in these disputes.

References

Abbakir, ʿA.M. 2017. "Šaʿb ad-dāğū" [Dajo people]. *Dajo civilization*. Online: https://dajo-civilization.files.wordpress.com/2017/08 [20.04.2023].

ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm, R.M. (n.d.). *Al-ʿurūba wa-l-islām fī dārfūr fī al-ʿuṣūr al-wusṭā* [Arabism and Islam in Darfur in the Middle Ages]. Place Unknown: House of Culture for Publication and Distribution.

ʿAbd al-Karīm, A. 2006. *At-tawzīʿ as-sukānī bi-dārfūr wa-s-sūdān* [Population distribution in Darfur and Sudan]. al-Ḫurṭūm: Publisher Unknown.

Abdul-Jalil, M.A. 2014. *Retribalisation of the educated elite in Darfur and the phenomenon of tribal Shura Councils* (Sudan Working Paper 5). Bergen: University of Bergen, Chr. Michelsen Institute.

Abū Māzin, ʿI. 2021. *Ḥikāya "mamlaka ad-dāğū" fī iqlīm dārfūr* [The story of the "Kingdom of Dajo" in the Darfur region]. Online: https://rosaelyoussef.com/808022 [20.04.2023].

Abusharaf, R.M. 2010. "Debating Darfur in the World". *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 632. 67-85.

Abū Zayd, A. 2008. *Ḥarb dārfūr: nahr ad-dām wa-nār al-qabāʾil* [The Darfur War: The River of Blood and the Fire of the Tribes]. Darfur: Publisher Unknown.

Ādam, N. 2021. "Mamlaka at-Tunğūr" [Kingdom of Tunjur]. *Sudan Journal*. Online: www.sudanjournal.com [20.04.2023].

Aḥmad, A.G.M. & L.O. Manger. 2006a. *Dārfūr iqlīm al-ʿiḏāb: iškāliyā al-mawqīʿ wa-ṣīra huwiyyāt* [Darfur, the region of torment: The problem of location and the conflict of identities]. Holand: Rewaq Publications.

Ahmad, A.G.M. & L.O. Manger. (eds.). 2006b. *Understanding the crisis in Darfur: Listening the Sudanese voices*. Bergen: BRIC.

Akyeampong, E.K., R.H. Bates, N. Nunn & J.A. Robinson (eds.). 2014. *Africa's development in historical perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Āl Ḏahab, S. (2007). "Namāziğ li-t-tʿāyuš al-qabalī fī dārfūr" [Models of tribal coexistence in Darfur]. *Sudanese Online*: https://sudaneseonline.com/ar/article_10028.shtml [18.06.2023].

ʿAluww, Ḥ. 2007. "Dārfūr… ṣidaʿ sūdānī, bayn-a ḫaṭṭ aṣ-ṣadʿ al-itnī wa-ḫaṭṭ aṣ-ṣadʿ al-ğyūstrātījī" [Darfur... a Sudanese headache between the ethnic fault line and the geostrategic fault line]. *Lebanese National Defence Journal* 60. Online: https://www.lebarmy.gov.lb/ar/content/ [16.06.2023].

ʿAmr. 2022. "Aṣl qabīla al-barqid" [The origin of the Bargid tribe]. *Fekera*. Online: www.fekera.com/218366/ [18.06.2023].

Arbāb, A.A.Q. 1998. *Tārīḫ dārfūr ʿibr-a ăl-ʿuṣūr* [History of Darfur Through the Ages]. al-Qāhira: Bank al-ġarb al-islāmī.

Arkell, A.J. 1951. "The history of Darfur 1200-1700 AD". *Sudan Notes and Records* 32(1). 37-70.

Assal, M. 2006. "Sudan: Identity and conflict over natural resources". *Development* 49. 101-105.

Ateem, S.M. & S. Eltigani. 2007. The root causes of conflicts in Sudan and the making of the Darfur tragedy. NEPAD and Regional Integration Division United Nations Economic Commission for Africa Conflict Prevention and Development Cooperation in Africa: A Policy Workshop. Sussex. 8-11.

al-ʿAwād, S.H. 2007. *Al-ḫarīṭa al-dīmuġrāfiyya li-iqlīm dārfūr* [Demographic map of Darfur region]. *The International Politics* 168. No page.

Beauregard, E.E. 1987. "Review of Empire on the Nile: The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1898-1934, by M.W. Daly". *African Studies Review* 30(2). 100-102.

Birtū, Ḥ. 2009. "Al-āṯār al-biyyiʾiyya li-l-ḥurūb wa-n-nizāʿāt" [Environmental effects of wars and conflicts]. *Afedmag.com*. Online: http://www.afedmag.com/web/ala3dadAlSabiaSections-details.aspx?id=512 [20.04.2023].

Carbone, G. (2017). "Out of Africa. Why people migrate". *Ledizioni*. Online: https://doi.org/10.14672/67056699 [18.06.2023].

Choucair, N. 1981. *Sudan history*. Beirut: Dar Al-Jail.

Delmet, C. 1994. "Sur la route du pèlerinage: Les Peuls au Soudan". *Cahiers d'études Africaines* 34(133-135). 473-481.

Faḍl, A. 2021. „Luġāt as-sūdāniyyīn al-maḥalliyat qāwamat al-hiǧrāt wa-l-ḥurūb wa-taḫšā al-indiṯār" [The local languages of the Sudanese have resisted migrations and wars and fear extinction]. *Aljazeera*. Online: https://www.aljazeera.net/culture/2021/2/24/ [16.06.2023].

Fasi, M. (ed.). 1988. *General history of Africa*. III: *Africa from the seventh to the eleventh century*. Paris: UNESCO Heinemann.

Fasi, M., & I. Hrbek. 1988. *General history of Africa*. UNESCO: Heinemann, University of California Press.

Flint, J. 2010. *The other war: Inter-Arab conflict in Darfur*. Geneva: Small Arms Survey.

Flint, J. & A. de Waal. 2008. *Darfur: A short history of a long war*. New York: Bloomsbury.

Gray, L. & M. Kevane. 2008. "Darfur: Rainfall and conflict". *SSRN Electronic Journal* 3. Online: https://iopscience.iop.org/article/10.1088/1748-9326/3/3/034006/pdf [15.06.2023].

Greenberg, J.H. 1963. *The languages of Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University.

al-Ḥalāyqa, Ġ. 2018. "Mā ăl-farq bayn-a ăl-qabīla wa-lʿušayra?" [What is the difference between tribe and clan?]. Online: https://mawdoo3.com/ [16.06.2023].

Harir, S. 1993. *Racism in Islamic disguise: Retreating nationalism and upsurging ethnicity in Darfur. Indigenous peoples and the colonial state*. Center for Development Studies. Bergen: University of Bergen.

Holt, P.M. 1963. "Funj origins: A critique and new evidence". *The Journal of African History* 4(1). 39-55.

Holt, P.M. & M.W. Daly. 2011. *A history of the Sudan: From the coming of Islam to the present day*. New York: Routledge.

Ibrāhīm, A. 2022. "Ifrīqyā… šuʿūb wa-ṭaqāfāt mustašābiha" [Africa… Similar peoples and cultures]. *Al-ʿain*. Online: https://al-ain.com/article/africa-similar-peoples-cultures [20.04.2023].

Idrīs, M. E. A. R. 2015. "Ad-dāğū wa-t-tunğūr min ašu-šʿūb as-sūdānīya al-qadīma" [The Dajo and the Tunjur are among the ancient Sudanese peoples]. *ar-Rākūba*. Online: www.alrakoba.net [8.08.2023]..

Islamstory. 2007. "Qiṣṣā al-islām, tārīḫ dārfūr" [The story of Islam, Darfur history]. Online: https://islamstory.com/ar/artical/25952/ [16.06.2023].

Ismāʿil, I.H. 2023. *Aš-šuʿūb wa-l-qabā'il al-ifriqīyya ğanub aṣ-ṣahrā' al-qubrā* [African peoples and tribes south of the Sahara desert]. Dubai: Maraya.

Karamalla-Gaiballa, N. 2017. *Sudan: Konflikt w Darfurze (2003-2011)* [*Sudan: Conflict in Darfur*]. Warszawa: WDR.

Ki-Zerbo, J. (ed.). 1995. *General history of Africa. I: Methodology and African prehistory*. Berkeley: UNESCO Heinemann.

Lampen, G.D. 1950. "History of Darfur". *Sudan Notes and Records* 31(2). 177-209.

MacMichael, H.A. 1922. *A history of the Arabs in the Sudan: And some account of the people who preceded them and of the tribes inhabiting Dárfūr*. Cambridge: University Press.

MacMichael, M.A. 1913. *Brands used by the chief camel-owning tribes of Kordofán (a supplement to* The tribes of northern and central Kordofán). Cambridge: University Press.

Martin, W.G. 2011. "The rise of African studies (USA) and the transnational study of Africa". *African Studies Review* 54(1). 59-83.

Muḥammad, al-Ṣādiq ʻAbd A. A., & Murad, Ḥ. 2017. *Tārīḫ at-tunğūr wa-tsīs as-salṭana al-islāmīyya fī dārfūr: dirāsāt tārīḫīyya wa-ṭayiqīyya* [The history of Tunjur and the establishment of the Islamic sultanate in Darfur: A historical and documentary study]. al-Qāhira: al-Ifrīqīya ad-Dawlīyya li-n-Nušir.

Nketia, J.H.K. 1968. "The language problem and the African personality". *Présence Africaine* 67. 157-171.

O'Fahey, R.S. 2009. "Ethnic identity in Darfur". *African Arguments*. Online: https://africanarguments.org/2009/04/ethnic-identity-in-darfur/ [20.04.2023].

O'Fahey, R.S. 2008. *The Darfur Sultanate: A history*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Paul, A. 2011. *A history of the Beja tribes of the Sudan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Prunier, G. 2005. "Douglas Johnson: The root cause of Sudan's civil wars". *Annales d'Éthiopie* 21(1). 197-198.

Sangmpam, S.N. 2017. *Ethnicities and tribes in Sub-Saharan Africa: Opening old wounds*. Syracuse: Palgrave.

Sharkey, H.J. 2008. "Arab identity and ideology in Sudan: The politics of language, ethnicity, and race". *African Affairs* 107(426).

Sulaymān, M. 2010. *As-sūdān: Ḥurūb al-mawārid wa-l-huwiyya* [Sudan: The war of resources and identity]. al-Ḫurṭūm: Dār Azza.

Takana, Y. 2016. *Darfur: Struggle of power and resources, 1650-2002: An institutional perspective*. Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute.

el-Tigani, M. 2005. "Inside Darfur: Ethnic genocide by a governance crisis". *Sudan Tribune*. Online: https://sudantribune.com/article7982/ [20.04.2023].

Totten, S. & E. Markusen. 2010. *The Darfur genocide*. New York: Routledge.

Tubiana J., V. Tanner & M.A. Abdul-Jalil. 2012. "Traditional authorities' peacemaking role in Darfur". *Peaceworks.* Online: https://www.usip.org/publications/2012/11/tradition-al-authorities-peacemaking-role-darfur [20.04.2023].

Tumblety, J. (ed.). 2013. *Memory and history: Understanding memory as source and subject*. New York: Routledge.

al-Tūnisī, M. bin ʿU. 1965. *Tašḥīḏ al-aḏhān bi-sīrat bilād al-ʿarab wa-s-sūdān* [Sharpening the mind of the biography of the Arab countries and Sudan]. Online: https://www.libraryofarabicliterature.org/assets/Davies-In-Darfur-modified-1 [16.06.2023].

Tymowski, M. (ed.). 1996. *Historia Afryki do początku XIX wieku* [*History of Africa until the beginning of 19th century*]. Wrocław: Ossolineum.

Uld Šayḫ A.W. 2013. *Al-qabīlāt wa-d-dawlāt fī ifriqya* [Tribe and state in Africa]. Bayrūt: Arab Scientific Publishers.

Vail, J.R. 1972. "Jebel Marra, a dormant volcano in Darfur province, Western Sudan". *Bulletin Volcanologique* 36(1). 251-265.

Vorbrich, R. 2012. *Plemienna i postplemienna Afryka: Koncepcje i postaci wspólnoty w dawnej i współczesnej Afryce* [*Tribal and post-tribal Africa: Conceptions and forms of community in old and contemporary Africa*]. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM..

Waal, A. de. 2005. "Who are the Darfurians? Arab and African identities, violence and external engagement". *African Affairs* 104(415). 181-205.

Wiley, D. 2013. "Using 'tribe' and 'tribalism' to misunderstand African societies". Online: https://www.africa.upenn.edu/K-12/Tribe-and-tribalism-Wiley2013.pdf [20.04.2023].

Young, H. 2006. *Livelihoods, migration and remittance flows in times of crisis and conflict: Case studies for Darfur, Sudan*. An HPG Background Paper. Online: https://cdn.odi.org/media/documents/404.pdf. [20.04.2023].

Young, H. et al. 2009. *Livelihoods, power and choice: The vulnerability of the northern Rizaygat of Darfur, Sudan.* Feinstein International Center, Briefing Paper. Online: https://fic.tufts.edu/assets/Livelihoods-Power-Choice-Brief-Paper-2009.pdf. [15.06.2023].

Ząbek, M. 1998. *Arabowie z Dar Hamid. Społeczność w sytuacji zagrożenia ekologicznego* [*Arabs from Dar Hamid. A community in the situation of ecological endangerment*]. Warszawa: Dialog.

Studies in African
Languages and Cultures, Vol. 57, 2023
ISSN 2545-2134; e-ISSN 2657-4187

https://doi.org/10.32690/SALC57.2

Victoria O. Ògúnníran
University of Ilorin, Nigeria
ORCID 0000-0003-1895-1069

Raheem A. Lawal
University of Ilorin, Nigeria
ORCID 0000-0002-8767-7414

Yorùbá in south-west Nigerian primary schools in the context of the National Policy on Education

Abstract

Studies on primary schools and language policy implementation showed that only a few schools in Nigeria adhered to the stipulated language policy. Therefore, the study examines the extent to which Yorùbá (the mother tongue) vis-a-vis English and Pidgin was used as a medium of instruction at lower primary schools, and, also, the extent to which Yorùbá vis-a-vis foreign languages (Arabic, English, and French) was taught as a subject at upper primary schools. This study involved 705 teachers from south-western primary schools. A questionnaire with a reliability index of 0.74, classroom observation, and a focus group discussion schedule was used for data collection. The mean and standard deviation scores were used to establish the scope of language use. The findings revealed that Yorùbá was used as a medium of teaching to a very little extent (2.29), English to some extent (4.36), whereas Pidgin was not significantly used (1.43). The research has shown that the status of "little extent" is also attributed to Yorùbá-English code-switching. The study concluded that Yorùbá as a medium of instruction is not exclusively implemented at lower primaries but actively taught as a subject at upper primary schools.

Keywords: mother tongue education, medium of instruction, south-west Nigerian primary schools, Yorùbá language

1. Introduction

Language is vital and central to the teaching-learning process because it is the medium through which all the subjects in the curriculum are taught in schools, from pre-primary to tertiary institutions. Government policies are formulated and implemented through a language. It is a way of self-expression and sociocultural distinctiveness (Manan 2018). Language is an indispensable developmental domain throughout the years of a child's education, so, the language policy of a nation concerning the levels of learners' education is paramount.

Language policy is a document postulated by a government through legislation to regulate how a particular language or specific language is to be used for national priority. Also, the planned policy of linguistic communication specified the use of a specific language(s) in education and was implemented according to the strategies stated in the policy (Gobana 2014). The objective of the language policy in education is to establish relevant instructional practices and perspectives for developing confident and competent learners.

The national language policy is unsuccessful without a comprehensive language policy in education and workable implementation plans. The instructors and learners use spoken and written language to transmit information from one side to the other. The teacher employs a language to present tasks, engage the students in learning programs, present academic content, and assess learning. The relationship between language and education can be divided into (1) learning a language as a subject to know the origin and the culture of that language and (2) learning through language as a medium of instruction.

The significance of the mother tongue in children's cognitive development led to the mother tongue policy in many African countries. However, studies on primary schools and the implementation of language policy have shown that only 5% of the schools in African countries (Nigeria inclusive) were adhering to the stipulated language policy (Murundu 2010). This means there is a sharp deviation from the actual classroom practice and the policy statement.

In this study, Yorùbá language, the learners' mother tongue (MT) in south-western Nigeria, is the point of reference among the major Nigerian languages declared as the means of instruction in lower primary schools and a subjects at both levels in Nigeria. Bámgbóṣé (2014) declared that Nigeria is one of the multilingual states that has been exposed to a colonial language and to learning through a foreign language. However, in 1977, the National Policy on Education simplified the language

policy in education[1]. So, the centrality and role of language on children's growth and cognitive development have made the Nigerian government provide policy guidelines on the language used in the learning processes in the educational system.

The Federal Government of Nigeria pronounces that the medium of teaching at lower primary 1-3 should be the learners' mother tongue and that the same language should be taught as a subject both in private and public primary schools (FRN 2013). It indicates that all subjects except the English language would be taught through the Yorùbá language in the south-western Nigerian primary schools.

In compliance with this policy, from primary 4-6, the English language shall gradually be used as a medium of education, while Yorùbá would be taught as a subject. Then, Arabic and French as foreign languages were included in the curriculum as subjects. Although Nigeria has a great number of native languages, Hausa, Igbo, and Yorùbá languages are recognised as National languages and means of teaching in the lower primary schools. These languages are having stable orthographies, standard written forms, and a great population of native and second-language speakers (Bámgbóṣé 2014).

Many observations indicate that the implementation of Yorùbá policy in private and government schools is not entirely practiced in south-western Nigeria. Teachers in private schools teach nursery classes and lower primary school students in English; similarly, government institutions compete with private schools, depriving students of their right to learn in their language (Ọ̀jẹ́túndé 2012, Githinji 2014). Studies have shown that only a few schools in Nigeria adhered to the stipulated language policy. Therefore, the study is aimed to investigate the position of the Yorùbá language as a medium of instruction at the lower and a subject at the upper private and public primary schools in south-western Nigeria.

1.1. Research objectives and questions

The specific purposes of the study were to find out:

1. The status of Yorùbá language vis-a-vis English and Pidgin[2] in lower primary schools in the context of the National Policy on Education in south-western

---

[1] The policy was restated in the 2013 National Policy on Education (FRN 2013, pp. 6-8).

[2] Wherever the name Pidgin is used, it refers to (Nigerian) Pidgin English which draws its lexicon from different local languages as well as the English language. The Pidgin language is popularly spoken by students in tertiary institutions, markets, churches, and home settings in Nigeria, Ghana, Equatorial Guinea, and Cameroon. Yet, its status is not yet defined in the National Policy on Education, and it is not statistically employed as a means of teaching in Nigeria.

Nigeria; Yoruba-English code-switching was also distinguished as a separate mode of language use.
2. The status of Yorùbá language vis-a-vis English, Arabic, and French in upper primary schools in the context of the National Policy on Education in south-western Nigeria.

The following research questions were raised in this study:

1. What is the status of Yorùbá language vis-a-vis English, Pidgin, and code--switching, in lower primary schools in south-western Nigeria?
2. What is the status of Yorùbá language vis-a-vis English, Arabic, and French in upper primary schools in south-western Nigeria?

2. The status of mother tongue in education: Literature review

This section raises theoretical issues of mother tongue education in multilingual societies. In particular, it focuses on studies and experiences related to the Yorùbá language in Nigerian education.

2.1. Significance of the mother tongue in the elementary education

Fáfúnwá (1989: 10) in Akínsànyà and Tella (2019: 7) affirmed that the mother tongue supports pupils' education in the formative years (1-11) and that this should spread to as late a stage as possible. Additionally, it was affirmed that such a practice would allow learners to explore their natural environment, develop inquisitiveness, communicate in the natural language, and develop intellectual ability. Then, this would lead to a significant education that would make learners understand new concepts, useful to themselves, and also the society.

Likewise, Ọlájídé (2008: 186) stressed that language plays an essential role in learning at any level. He affirmed that the regular teaching and learning processes succeed in effective communication which is required of both the teacher and learners. Therefore, he concluded that no matter how effectively the teacher may have selected the learning experiences, it will be difficult for the learner's behaviour to change positively unless the teacher expresses the experience in an appropriate language, which is the learners' MT. Therefore, it has been observed that if a foreign language is used to teach pupils, they will face double challenges: they would struggle with the language of education and struggle with the subject matter in that language.

So, the language policy as specified in the policy on education is that the mother tongue of learners, and not a borrowed language, should be the medium of teaching in the early classes. That is why Lawal (2014) asserted that the primary goal of any meaningful and socially relevant education is to liberate the body, mind, and soul of its recipients so that they can be locally useful and relevant, before being globally competitive. He affirmed that the indigenous languages as media for understanding, digesting, and appropriating knowledge, values, and skills, definitely have significant roles to play in the decolonisation of education, thereby making them relevant to both personal and national needs.

Therefore, it could be concluded that using borrowed language in an early childhood institution is like taking a fish out of the water. It is acknowledged that using languages other than MT is like removing the shell of snails; so MT is one's coverage. Education in the mother tongue eradicates all confusion caused by the use of an unfamiliar language. The mother tongue helps learners give free rein to their views and express them in a creative language, thus paving the way for profitable education. In the same vein, Ọládìpọ̀ (2006) also affirmed that some children, in rural settings, only come into contact with English when they start primary school. Also, Fáfúnwá (2004) was in support of the motion of Lewis (1962) that no greater injustice can be committed against people than to deny them of expressing themselves in their language.

Adénẹ́gàn and Adénẹ́gàn (2015) examined the use of Yorùbá (indigenous language) in the teaching and learning of mathematics in primary schools. Then, the researchers asserted that the Yorùbá language is a viable means to teach mathematics contents and concepts at primary schools to enhance better performance on the part of the students and productive teaching activities on the part of the teachers. Also, the researchers elucidated that ethnomathematics is the process of presenting mathematical concepts related to the student's cultural and daily experiences with their relevance to the Yorùbá language. The researchers discovered that the Yorùbá contextual teaching approach to geometry and basic arithmetic, and the Yorùbá counting system mixed with other universally structured language counting systems would produce an excellent performance in mathematics. The researchers recommended that curriculum planners should incorporate indigenous languages medium into the mathematics curriculum.

2.2. The implementation of the mother tongue policy as a medium of instruction

Teaching other subjects in the learners' mother tongue is considered to improve mental performance and ability to think critically, resulting in increased learning,

openness, and opportunity, improved educational objectives, lower total costs, and fewer risks of repeat and dropout. It encourages learners to develop a feeling of high self-esteem, motivation, initiative, and creativity, and it makes learning more languages easier. These results are achievable because mastery of the instructional language encourages active participation in the learning process (Ezeokoli & Ugwu 2019).

Having considered the significance of the language in education, the language policy in Nigeria mandates that the learners' language – Yorùbá (in south-west Nigeria) or the language of the immediate community – should be the medium of instruction in lower elementary schools, and English should be taught as a subject. However, despite the numerous benefits of the mother tongue policy in education, it is rarely used in Nigeria, where English, which is a second language, is the chosen medium of instruction at practically all levels of school. Even at the nursery and primary school levels, the mother tongue is no longer allowed as a means of teaching.

Also, Benson (2004), on the other hand, highlighted Nigerians' attitudes toward the use of the mother tongue as a medium, claiming that the mother tongue was restricted as a language of education because people believe that Nigeria needs one language for learning and that the first language lacks modern concepts. Additionally, Benson (2004) claimed that the application of multiple languages in education would cause confusion. Similarly, some people believe that the prevailing language (English) is important for the economy and that parents need it for schooling. He also pointed out that the policy needed qualified human and material resources in indigenous languages. Therefore, it was discovered that languages are competing with the specified language of instruction in African countries (including Nigeria), hence the mother tongue (Yorùbá) policy was not implemented. The following are the empirical studies that showed that the policy was not exclusively implemented, specifically, English, and the code-switching approach was employed by the primary school teachers as means of teaching.

Similarly, Ọjẹ́túndé (2012) stated that teaching children in their mother tongue at the lower elementary school level in Nigeria will supplement their language acquisition and benefit them in acquiring the sociocultural norms of their environment. Moreover, language is not only about getting things done; it also bears cultural burdens and histories and directs how people perceive and understand the world. However, Ọjẹ́túndé (2012) testified that this policy only appears on paper because the government finds enforcing mother tongue instruction problematic, particularly in private and urban public schools. On the contrary, what happens in the classroom differs from what is mentioned in the policy statement.

English was used as the medium of teaching in some private primary schools, and public school teachers code-switched (English and Yorùbá).

There are also similar experiences from some other African countries. In Kenya's lower primary schools, Githinji (2014) investigated the use of the indigenous language as a medium of instruction. The study's entire population included students, teachers, and parents. It was discovered that a wide range of languages was being utilised in the classroom, with no regard for educational language policy. Parents, teachers, school administrators, and the school district were in charge of the language of teaching. The researcher advised a cross--monitoring of the implementation of the language policy, teacher and education officer training, public awareness, and resource provision to benefit lower primary school students.

In south-western Nigeria, Adéyẹmí and Ajíbádé (2014) assessed the degree of language policy implementation in elementary and secondary schools. The findings revealed that language policy implementation was limited, and researchers established that only a very few teachers employed the medium of instruction prescribed in the National Policy on Education in south-western Nigerian primary and secondary schools. They noticed that the teachers were not guided by the stated language policy in both primary and secondary schools. As a result, the language policy's goals were not adequately implemented in schools.

Similarly, Ibrahim and Gwandu (2016) claimed that the policy of multilingual education in Nigerian elementary schools was not well implemented. They agreed that English has been portrayed as an expansionist language that poses a threat to the employment of the mother tongue as a teaching medium. Similarly, Ezeokoli and Ugwu (2019) stated that English was the favoured language of the teachers and parents and that the learners' MT was not recognised as a teaching medium. It was concluded that this choice and habit contributed to students' poor performance and rendered them illiterate in both English and their native language.

Furthermore, Fáfúnwá's experimental Ife 6-year primary project (1970-1978) in Nigeria on the use of the mother tongue as a medium of instruction yielded positive results. Hence, Fáfúnwá (1989: 11) argued that using the mother tongue as a medium of instruction at a lower or preparatory level of education would be beneficial to pupils since learners at that age would readily understand things through their mother tongue, which is their mental instrument. Therefore, it was suggested that a child's native language can be utilised as a bridge to acquiring a foreign language in the early years of schooling. Because of the significance

placed on English by Nigerian parents, most parents prefer that their children be educated in English rather than their home tongue, even in primary schools. On the other hand, literate parents prefer an English medium school because they believe the products of an English medium education will be better. As a result, the linguistic policy of employing students' first language or the language of their immediate surroundings was abandoned entirely.

Similarly, Adésínà and Jẹ́gẹ́dẹ́ (2020) noticed that a lot of teachers at Nigerian public elementary schools and some private schools code-switched to expose pupils to both English and Yorùbá languages while also developing their competency in both. Teachers used code-switching when teaching science-related courses because they believed those disciplines required a higher level of mental thinking, language proficiency, and a grasp of scientific concepts. That is why Adésínà and Jẹ́gẹ́dẹ́ (2020) saw code-switching (English and Yorùbá) in Nigerian lower basic schools as an innovation and a viable medium of teaching for efficiently cultivating knowledge in bilingual communities.

2.3. The implementation of the mother tongue as a subject at the upper primary

The word mother tongue in teaching and learning activities refers to the use of a pupil's native language as a medium of instruction in school. There is, however, a second part that is sometimes overlooked: it is teaching it as a subject in schools. While teaching through it as a medium of instruction focusing on pedagogy, the second aspect deals with cultural transmission and preservation. Although there are numerous cognitive and academic advantages to teaching through the mother tongue, learning it as a subject permit pupil to be competent in the usage of that language, and at the same time, it enhances the pupils to be acquainted with their root and cultural heritage. Meanwhile, Obanya (2004) matched education with the transmission of a society's cultural heritage from generation to generation, with the indigenous language serving as the medium for such transmission. Students may be cut off from their culture if the school fails to teach the learners' language, and education may become counter-cultural.

Yorùbá vis-a-vis other foreign languages (Arabic, English and French) were stipulated to be taught as subjects in south-western Nigerian primary schools. This study showed that the learners' language and English were strongly taught as subjects. Therefore, on the teaching of Yorùbá as a subject, Ezeokoli and Ugwu (2019) discovered in their study that the parents and teachers are very interested in passing on the societal values of the MT to pupils, so, they permit their pupils to learn Yorùbá. As a result, the majority of them want the mother

tongue to be taught as a school subject. The parents believe that teaching the MT will help students develop a sense of self-identity, foster good attitudes toward Nigerian culture and values, support the growth of indigenous languages, and aid in the transmission and conservation of Nigerian cultural traditions. So, in Nigeria, the learners' mother tongue (Yorùbá) was excitedly taught as a core subject both in the private and public primary schools in the urban and rural areas.

Regardless of the language policy, teaching mother tongue as a subject is common in African countries. According to Kyalo (2018), Kiswahili is the official language of Tanzania, and English is the language of management and education. As a result, in the current language education policy, Kiswahili is used as the major language of instruction in pre-primary and primary school, with English as a required subject. However, English is the primary language of instruction in secondary school, while Kiswahili is a required subject from primary education to university.

Githinji (2014) investigated the use of indigenous languages as a medium of instruction in Kenya primary schools. As stated earlier, a range of different languages was being used in the classroom, with no reference for instructional language policy. However, the finding of the study confirmed that the learners' mother tongue was taught as a subject in elementary classes.

In Lagos State, Nigeria, Abídogun (2012) investigated teachers' experiences with Yorùbá as a teaching medium. The submission was that the primary school instructors faced various constraints while using Yorùbá as a medium of teaching in schools. According to the findings, the Yorùbá language was effectively taught as a subject in the curriculum. However, it was suggested that indigenous language teachers' training and the distribution of instructional materials should be increased, and the Yorùbá teachers should be motivated.

As regards the teaching of foreign languages in Nigeria, English has become the major language of education, it is both the medium of instruction and a subject taught from pre-primary schools and continuing through higher institutions. In addition, it was stated in the national policy that the Arabic and French languages must be taught as subjects in primary schools. However, the teaching of Arabic and French was limited to a few primary private schools in south-western Nigeria due to a lack of qualified teachers for these two languages (Fániran 2017).

3. Theoretical framework of the study and research methods

This study is anchored within the theories which are primarily concerned with language acquisition and use of the mother tongue in a social setting. Among

them, the Lawal's (2014: 69) model of the mother tongue as a psycho-sociolinguistic concept is the most relevant for this study. It affirms that the acquisition of language that takes place during the first six years of childhood is part of what builds the pupil's mind and regulates the ideas and attitudes he/she gains from the society. The psycholinguistic theories support this approach to declare that the language that was attained by children through interaction with adults and older children in their environment for communication should be the language of education in the pupils' earlier stages to aid the learners' cognitive, psychomotor, and affective domains.

A sociolinguistic dimension deals with the relationship between the language and the society in which the learners operate. Sociologically, teaching and learning activities become more realistic when learners are taught through the language of their society. Education fails when it fails to make the learner appreciate the social and cultural life of his community. Nisa's (2019) views support Benett (1980)'s submission that language and the sociocultural life of its speakers have a strong link, indicating that primary school learners should not be separated from their language. Therefore, the learners' mother tongue is a valuable teaching resource that must be utilized effectively, and the learners' rights must not be denied.

The essential tenets of psycho- and sociolinguistics make the grounds for studying the status of the Yorùbá language in the south-western Nigerian system of education. In this present descriptive cross-sectional study, a quantitative and qualitative strategy was employed to gather and analyse data on the condition of the Yorùbá language in primary schools in the context of the National Policy on Education. The target population was Yorùbá language subject teachers in all primary schools, with 201 (28.5%), 143 (20.3%), and 361 (51.2%) of the sampled instructors being from Lagos, Ondó, and Oyó states, respectively. The states, schools, and respondents were chosen using purposive and proportionate sampling approaches.

A researcher-designed questionnaire, classroom observation checklist, and focus group discussion agenda were the three study tools used to obtain information from the participants. This 44-item researcher-designed questionnaire portion checked the teachers' opinions on the state of Yorùbá as a medium of instruction at the lower primary school level in comparison to other alternative languages (English and Pidgin) and code-switching as a separate solution. Respondents chose from a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from "not at all", "very little extent", "little extent", "some extent", and "great extent" to indicate the extent of subjects they taught through Yorùbá or other possible languages in the

lower primary school curriculum. The score value was used for the inference. The values attached to the scale were 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, respectively. In the course of computation, a mean value above 2.5 attracted a high extent of usage while a value below 2.5 attracted a low extent of usage.

There were another 24 items in a quantitative approach on statements relating to the status of the Yorùbá language vis-a-vis other possible languages (English, French and Arabic) taught as subjects in the curriculum. The respondents chose "yes" or "no" to show the class levels where the Yorùbá and other possible languages were taught. Also, the classroom observation checklist and focus group discussion had items that were centered on the position of Yorùbá vis-a-vis other possible languages as media of instruction at the lower and subjects at the upper primary school levels.

The psychometric properties of the questionnaire were ascertained through content validity and test re-test reliability technique. Three lecturers in language education and two seasoned classroom teachers in primary schools validated the questionnaire. Test re-test reliability was adopted, and the questionnaire was administered twice to thirty Yorùbá language subject teachers that were not part of the sample. Then, the two sets of data generated from the test re-test administration were subjected to Pearson's product moment coefficient (PPMC) statistics where a value of 0.74 reliability index was obtained[3]. Then, the data gathered through the questionnaire were analysed under research questions 1 and 2 using the mean and standard deviation, and percentage respectively. Qualitatively, 12 teachers were observed in the classroom with the observation checklist to ascertain the language of teaching, and a focus group discussion of 9 teachers was organized. Then, the opinions of the respondents were structured in themes to compare them with the quantitative result.

4. Data analysis

Research question 1 examined the status of the Yorùbá language vis-a-vis of English and Pidgin (including code-switching) as a medium of instruction in lower primary schools, while research question 2 examined the status of the Yorùbá language as a subject vis-a-vis Arabic, English, and French at the upper primary school level in south-western Nigeria. To answer research question 1,

[3] 0.74 reliability index shows a positive correlation of the two sets of data generated through the test re-test of the instrument. It indicates the score is closer to PCC 1, and positive to the line of the best fit.

the teachers' responses were coded and graded to obtain the grand mean and arrive at what extent the language was used as a medium of teaching. Critical ranges of five Likert Scale of "not at all", "very little extent", "little extent", "some extent", and "great extent" were used to arrive at a decision. Tables 1-4 show the composite mean value of answers to the research question 1. Also, to answer research question 2, teachers' responses, which were based on "yes" or "no" answers, were coded and sorted using the percentage to arrive at a decision. Table 5 presents data on the status of Yorùbá and other possible languages as subjects in upper primary schools.

TABLE 1. Status of Yorùbá as a medium of instruction in lower primary schools in south-western Nigeria

To what extent do primary school teachers teach	Mean	Standard deviation	Inference
Mathematics through Yorùbá	2.61	0.45	little extent
Basic science through Yorùbá	2.73	0.33	little extent
Basic technology through Yorùbá	2.58	0.67	little extent
Information technology through Yorùbá	2.84	0.16	little extent
Physical and health education through Yorùbá	1.95	0.33	very little extent
Christian religious studies through Yorùbá	2.98	0.88	little extent
Islamic religious studies through Yorùbá	1.66	0.82	very little extent
Social studies through Yorùbá	1.87	0.52	very little extent
Civic education through Yorùbá	1.92	0.39	very little extent
Security education through Yorùbá	1.80	0.13	very little extent
Cultural and creative arts through Yorùbá	1.95	0.68	very little extent
Composite mean	**2.29**	**0.29**	very little extent

Table 1 reveals that respondents conceded that Yorùbá was used as a medium of instruction to a little extent to teach mathematics, basic science, basic technology, information technology, and Christian religious studies with their mean scores and standard deviation of 2.61 (0.45), 2.73 (0.33), 2.58 (0.67), 2.84 (0.16) and 2.98 (0.88), respectively. Also, the respondents used Yorùbá as a medium of instruction to a very little extent to teach physical and health education, Islamic

religious studies, social studies, civic education, security education, and cultural and creative arts with their mean and standard deviation of 1.95 (0.33), 1.66 (0.82), 1.87 (0.52), 1.92 (0.39), 1.80 (0.13) and 1.95 (0.68). This analysis implies that very few teachers admitted that the Yorùbá language was used as a medium of instruction to a very little extent in teaching with a composite mean score and standard deviation of 2.29 (0.29).

Table 2 presents data on responses concerning the function of English as a medium of instruction.

TABLE 2. Status of English as a medium of instruction in lower primary schools in south-western Nigeria

To what extent do primary school teachers teach	**Mean**	**Standard deviation**	**Inference**
Mathematics through English	4.37	0.86	some extent
Basic science through English	4.40	0.86	some extent
Basic technology through English	4.35	0.90	some extent
Information Technology through English	4.29	0.95	some extent
Physical and health education through English	4.24	0.93	some extent
Christian religious studies through English	4.18	0.94	some extent
Islamic religious studies through English	3.91	1.12	some extent
Social studies through English	4.29	0.88	some extent
Civic education through English	4.29	0.86	some extent
Security education through English	4.13	1.09	some extent
Cultural and creative arts through English	4.15	0.95	some extent
Composite mean	**4.36**	**0.87**	some extent

Table 2. shows that the participants affirmed that English was used to some extent to teach mathematics, basic science, basic technology, information technology, physical and health education, Christian religious, Islamic religious studies, social studies, civic education, security education, and cultural and creative arts respectively. It shows their mean scores and standard deviation of 4.37 (0.86), 4.40 (0.86), 4.35 (0.90), 4.29 (0.95), 4.24 (0.93), 4.18 (0.94), 3.91 (1.12), 4.29 (0.88),

4.29 (0.86), 4.13 (1.09) and 4.15 (0.95) respectively. It indicates that a majority of teachers used English to some extent to teach other subjects in south-western Nigerian lower primary, with a composite mean score and standard deviation of 4.36 (0.87).

Concerning code-switching as a medium of teaching, an analysis of the data gathered is presented in Table 3.

TABLE 3. Code-switching as a medium of instruction in south-western Nigerian lower primary schools

To what extent do primary school teachers teach	Mean	Standard deviation	Inference
Mathematics through code-switching	3.49	1.36	little extent
Basic science through code-switching	3.33	1.32	little extent
Basic technology through code-switching	3.28	1.33	little extent
Information technology through code-switching	3.13	1.37	little extent
Physical and health education through code-switching	3.29	1.33	little extent
Christian religious studies through code-switching	3.31	1.34	little extent
Islamic religious studies through code-switching	3.11	1.39	little extent
Social studies through code-switching	3.31	1.31	little extent
Civic education through code-switching	3.25	1.36	little extent
Security education through code-switching	3.14	1.37	little extent
Cultural and creative arts through code-switching	3.29	1.32	little extent
Composite mean	**3.27**	**1.34**	little extent

Table 3 shows that teachers code-switched in teaching mathematics, basic science, basic technology, information technology, physical and health education, Christian religious Islamic religious studies, social studies, civic education, security education, and cultural and creative arts and their mean scores and standard deviation were 3.49 (1.36), 3.33 (1.32), 3.28 (1.33), 3.13 (1.37), 3.29 (1.33), 3.31(1.34), 3.1163 (1.39), 3.31 (1.31), 3.25 (1.36), 3.14 (1.37) and 3.29 (1.32), respectively. Therefore, it implies that some teachers code-switched to a little extent when teaching in primary 1-3, with a composite mean score and standard deviation of 3.27 (1.34).

Likewise, in south-western Nigeria, a fractional percentage of people use Pidgin as a medium of communication. Concerning Pidgin as a medium of education at the lower primary school level, the analysis of the data gathered is presented in Table 4.

TABLE 4. Pidgin as a medium of instruction in south-western Nigerian lower primary schools

To what extent do primary school teachers teach	Mean	Standard deviation	Inference
Mathematics through Pidgin	1.43	0.99	not at all
Basic science through Pidgin	1.44	0.95	not at all
Basic technology through Pidgin	1.43	0.95	not at all
Information technology through Pidgin	1.44	0.96	not at all
Physical and health education through Pidgin	1.45	1.00	not at all
Christian religious studies through Pidgin	1.45	0.96	not at all
Islamic religious studies through Pidgin	1.40	0.89	not at all
Social studies through Pidgin	1.43	0.93	not at all
Civic education through Pidgin	1.43	0.94	not at all
Security education through Pidgin	1.41	0.89	not at all
Cultural and creative arts through Pidgin	1.41	0.88	not at all
Composite mean	**1.43**	**0.85**	not at all

Table 4 indicates that the teachers sampled did not prominently use Pidgin as a medium of instruction to teach mathematics, basic science, basic technology, information technology, physical and health education, Christian religious studies, Islamic religious studies, social studies, civic education, security education, and cultural and creative arts. A mean value below 2.5 in all subjects indicates that it attracts a low extent of usage. Particular mean scores and standard deviation are 1.43 (0.99), 1.44 (0.95), 1.43 (0.95), 1.44 (0.96), 1.45 (1.00), 1.45 (0.96), 1.40 (0.89), 1.43(0.93), 1.43 (0.94), 1.41 (0.89) and 1.41 (0.88), respectively. It was deduced that the number of teachers that reported using Pidgin to supplement the medium of instruction in the south-western states was insignificant due to a composite mean score and standard deviation of 1.43 (0.85). This value of the composite mean and standard deviation when compared to that of English usage

shows English has a more extent of usage since the mean score is 4.36 while that of the Pidgin is 1.43. The standard deviation for English is on the positive side while that of Pidgin is on the negative side. However, the absolute value used in calculating the standard deviation will not allow the usage of this negative answer, as all value remains positive.

Based on the summary of the results obtained in Tables 1-4, it can be construed that English was used to teach the lower classes to some extent (4.36). Code--switching was used to a little extent (3.27). Yorùbá was used as a medium of teaching to a very little extent (2.29). At the same time, the Pidgin was not significantly used (1.43) to teach at lower primary schools in south-western Nigeria.

TABLE 5. Status of Yorùbá Language vis-a-vis Arabic, English, and French in Upper Primary Schools in south-western Nigeria

Language	Yorùbá		Arabic		English		French	
Class	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Primary 4	59 (8%)	646 (92%)	685 (97%)	20 (3%)	25 (3%)	680 (97%)	460 (65%)	245 (35%)
Primary 5	47 (7%)	658 (93%)	679 (96%)	26 (4%)	16 (2%)	689 (98%)	428 (61%)	277 (39%)
Primary 6	52 (7%)	653 (93%)	683 (97%)	22 (3%)	23 (3%)	682 (97%)	417 (59%)	288 (41%)
Composite	53 (7%)	652 (93%)	682 (97%)	23 (3%)	21 (3%)	684 (97%)	435 (62%)	270 (38%)

Table 5 reveals that out of 705 Yorùbá language subject teachers sampled, 652 (93%) agreed that Yorùbá was taught as a subject while the rest 53 (7%) disagreed with the statement.

In the same vein, 23 (3%) teachers confirmed that Arabic was taught at the upper primary school level while the rest 682 (97%) disagreed. In another development, 684 (97%) teachers affirmed that English was taught as a subject while the rest 21 (3%) disagreed with the view. Similarly, only 270 (38%) teachers affirmed that French was taught while the rest 435 (62%) disagreed. Therefore, it was deduced that most schools, both the public and private upper primary schools in the urban and rural areas, taught Yorùbá and English languages. In contrast,

French and Arabic languages were taught in a few private primary schools in the urban area.

Also, the result of focus group discussion and classroom observation tallied with the outcome of the quantitative data. It was affirmed that Yorùbá language was taught but not used as a medium of teaching in south-western states. The result also revealed that the lesson was delivered right from the introduction to the conclusion of the lesson using the code-switching approach, indicating that the teaching was not done through the language policy specified in the National Policy on Education in the south-western States in Nigeria.

5. Discussion of findings

On the status of Yorùbá vis-a-vis English, code-switching, and Pidgin as a medium of instruction in south-western Nigerian lower primary schools, the finding showed that the language used for teaching in the lower primary school level in south-western states varied. Therefore, English was used as a medium of instruction to some extent while the Yorùbá-English code-switching approach was employed to little extent. Also, Yorùbá was used as a medium of instruction to a very little extent, while Pidgin was not significantly used for teaching at lower primary schools in south-western Nigeria. Generally, the result indicated that the teachers in the sampled schools demonstrated the highest use of English followed by code-switching, and then the Yorùbá language, which was used as a medium of instruction to a very little extent. This result corroborates that of Ezeokoli and Ugwu (2019) that English was the teachers' preferred language, and the learners' MT was not recognised as a medium of teaching. Even Adésínà and Jẹ́gẹ́dẹ́ (2020) considered the practice of code-switching (English and Yorùbá) in Nigerian lower basic schools as an innovative and suitable medium of instruction to in the bilingual environment.

Based on the status of Yorùbá language vis-a-vis Arabic, English, and French as a subject in south-western Nigerian upper primary schools, the finding indicated that in most upper public and private primary schools in the urban and rural areas, Yorùbá was taught as a subject, just like English, Arabic, and French. This indicates that Yorùbá was a core subject in primary schools. This is in line with the submissions of Adéyẹmí and Ajíbádé (2014) that it was being actively taught as a subject in south-western Nigerian primary and secondary schools. Meanwhile, English was given higher preference than the other two foreign languages (Arabic and French) which were merely considered as subjects in south-western Nigerian primary schools. It implies that Arabic and French were taught as

subjects only in very few upper primary private schools in the urban areas (Àjàpẹ́ & Yusuf 2014). The finding of this study tallies with Mishina and Iskandar's (2019) submissions that English had become the leading language of education in Nigeria.

6. Conclusions

The following conclusions were drawn based on the findings of the study. It was shown that Yorùbá was used as a medium of education at the lower primary school to a very little extent (it was not exclusively used as a medium of instruction). English was used to some extent while a bilingual medium (Yorùbá and English) was adopted to a little extent, indicating that the use of Yorùbá as a medium of instruction at the lower primary schools in the south-western states was minimal. However, it was taught as a subject at upper primary schools from state to state in south-western Nigeria. Meanwhile, on the teaching of foreign languages (i.e. Arabic, English, and French), it could be concluded that English was actively taught but Arabic and French were taught as subjects rarely (following Fániran (2017), it is only taught in a few upper primary private schools in the urban areas in south-western Nigeria).

7. Implications of findings and recommendations

This study exposed that the Nigerian language policy of using the learners' language was not effectively implemented in primary school education. It implies that there was a language variant, English, used by the south-western primary schools' teachers, and, at times bilingual method (English and Yorùbá) in teaching the primary school pupils. This situation is not compatible with recommendations and guidelines of the National Policy of Education.

Secondly, teaching Yorùbá as a subject in primary school is quite extensive, but the number of teachers and resources of teaching materials are still insufficient.

A conclusion can be drawn that the south-western Nigerian educational system is dominated by the English language. With reference to the earlier statements on the significance of mother tongue education, we may state that the language that is not actively taught would go into extinction, then, the transmission and preservation of the culture from generation to generation would be affected significantly.

Based on the study results, the following recommendations are offered:

In Nigeria, the Yoruba language policy is a top-bottom approach that stretches from the top makers (government) of the policy to the deliverers (teachers), for the implementation of the mother tongue policy to be successful. Both parties, i.e. implementers (linguists, school administrators, teachers, and parents) and government (policymakers) should interact to carry out the task on the policy formulation and the implementation.

The qualified, competent, and experienced language teachers in the primary schools should be prepared by the administrators of colleges of education, and faculties of education at the universities. This is the effective strategic plan for the mother tongue policy implementation.

The curriculum developers should have insight into the importance of the mother tongue in the preservation of pupils' culture and their comprehension of other subject concepts, then, they should produce relevant and sufficient curriculum materials based on the Nigerian indigenous languages.

Finally, the Ministry of Education at the federal, state, and local levels should enforce the implementation of the mother tongue policy so that both the private and public primary school teachers in south-western states would comply with the language policy. More importantly, there should be a series of seminars for primary school stakeholders to create awareness of the significance of the mother tongue in education.

References

Adénẹ́gàn, K.E., S.M. Raji & T.S. Adénẹ́gàn. 2015. "The use of Yorùbá indigenous language in the teaching and learning of mathematics in Nigerian schools". *International Journal of Science and Science Education* 5(1). 53-59.

Adésínà, B.O. & O.O. Jeẹ́gẹ́dẹ́. 2020. "Code-switching as a medium of instruction in basic schools in Osun and Oyo states, Nigeria". *Journal of English Communication in Africa* 3(2). 33-70.

Adéyẹmí, B.B. & Y.A. Ajíbádé. 2014. "Degree of implementation of the language provisions in primary and secondary schools in south-western Nigeria". *Scieedu World Journal of Education. African Languages. Makerere University* 4(4). 92-104.

Adéyínká, A.A. 2016. "Evaluation of the implementation of language policy in lower primary education in selected schools in Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria". *EKSU Journal of Education* 6(1). 31-37.

Àjàpẹ́, K.O. & T.O. Yusuf. 2014. "Teaching and learning of Arabic as a foreign language in the context of the Nigerian National Policy on Education". *Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. Language for Communication and Learning* 20. 40-44.

Akínsànyà, P.O. & D.G. Tella. 2019. "Tongue in education in Nigeria". *International Journal of Educational Research* 6(2). 1-14.

Balógun, T.A. 2012. "In defence of Nigerian Pidgin". *Journal of Languages and Culture* 4(5). 90-98.

Bámgbóṣé, A. 2014. "The language factor in development goals". *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 35(7). 646-657.

Bennett, M.E. (1980). *Sociolinguistics and stratification theory: A discussion and an example*. Rice University Studies.

Ezeokoli, F.O. & E.O. Ugwu. 2019. "Parents', teachers' and students' beliefs about the use and study of mother tongue in the secondary schools in Akinyele Local Government Area, Oyo State, Nigeria". *International Journal of Education & Literacy Studies* 7(2). 82-93.

Fáfúnwá, A.B. 1989. *Education in mother tongue: The Ife – primary education research project (1970-1978)*. Ibadan: University Press.

Fáfúnwá, A.B. 2004. *History of education in Nigeria*. New Edition. Ibadan: NPS Educational Publishers Ltd.

Fániran, A.O. 2017. "French as a second official language in Nigeria: Problems, prospects and implications for the future of the English language in Nigeria". *European Journal of English Language, Linguistics and Literature* 4(1). 7-15.

(FRN) Federal Republic of Nigeria. 2013. National policy on education. 6th edn. Lagos: Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council Press (NERDC).

Githinji, W. 2014. *Situational analysis of the language of instruction in the lower primary school in Kenya in Nyeri County, Kenya.* Unublished Ph.D. Thesis. Kenyatta University, Kenya.

Gobana, J.A. 2014. *Challenges of mother tongue education in primary schools: The case of Afan Oromo in the East Hararge Zone*, *Oromia Regional State*. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Ibrahim, J. & S. Gwandu. 2016. "Language policy on education in Nigeria: Challenges of multilingual education and future of English language". *American Research Journal of English and Literature* (ARJEL) 2. 1-10.

Igbojinwaekwu, P.C. & T.E. Dorgu. 2015. "Igbo language as medium of instruction and enhancement of retention level of pupils in primary school mathematics". *British Journal of Education* 3(4). 21-36.

Lawal, R.A. 2014. "The mother-tongue in the education and development of the Nigerian Child". *The 18th in the Annual Series of Fáfúnwá Education Foundation Lecture*. Lagos: Academy Press Plc. 65-101.

Manan, S.A. 2018. "Silencing children's power of self-expression". *L1-Educational Studies in Language and Literature* 18. 1-25.

Murundu, E. 2010. *Factors influencing preschool curriculum implementation in Emuhaya District, Kenya*. Unpublished Master's Dissertation. Kenyatta University, Kenya.

Mishina, U.L. & I. Iskandar. 2019. "The role of English language in Nigerian development". *GNOSI: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Human Theory and Praxis* 2(2). 58-65.

Nisa, S.U. 2019. *Sociolinguistics. English Course I: Introduction to linguistics*. School of Distance Education, The English and Foreign Languages University.

Ọ̀jẹ́túndé, F. 2012. "A critical evaluation of the implementation of the Nigerian language policy at the pre-primary and primary school levels". *Journal of Education and Practice* 3(16). 8-13.

Ọládìpọ̀, S. 2006. "Use and attitude towards English taboo words among young adults in a Nigerian university". *International Journal of Language, Society and Culture* 17. 17-14.

Ọlájídé, S.B. 2009. "Reforming the mother tongue content of Nigerian education for sustainable national empowerment". *Education reforms in Nigeria*, ed. by R.A. Adebayo, S.A. Jimoh, S.A. Olorundare & N.Y.S. Ijaiya. Oyo, Nigeria: Stirling-Horden Publishers Ltd. 186-195.

Studies in African
Languages and Cultures, Vol. 57, 2023
ISSN 2545-2134; e-ISSN 2657-4187

https://doi.org/10.32690/SALC57.3

Temidayo Akinrinlola
McPherson University, Ogun State, Nigeria
ORCID-0000-0002-5203-7441

Raifu O. Farinde
Federal University, Oye Ekiti, Nigeria
ORCID- 0000-0003-0682-4732

Innocent A. Ariremako
Federal University, Oye Ekiti, Nigeria

Women in crime: A reader-response analysis of Femi Osofisan's *Once upon Four Robbers*

Abstract

This study examines female characters as agents of criminal activities in Femi Osofisan's *Once upon Four Robbers*. The study relies on insights from Wolfgang Iser's Reader--Response Theory (RRT). Drawing data from twelve purposively selected excerpts from the text, the study argues that Osofisan connects the reader's knowledge in constructing women as agents of crime. Women's involvement in crime is constructed through their activities in organised and strategic robbery, engagement of sexual ploys and illicit market transactions. The depiction of women's criminal activities in the text portrays the connection between Osofisan's art and his literary commitment.

Keywords: women's criminalities, crimes in Nigeria, armed robbery, Reader-Response Theory (RRT), Femi Osofisan

1. Introduction

Femi Osofisan engages the theatre as a viable weapon for representing the changing socio-cultural, political, and religious realities in Nigeria. Existing studies (Akinrinlola 2011, Ajidahun 2013, Sunday & Akinrinlola 2017, Akinrinlola 2019a, b) have established the revolutionary contents in Osofisan's works. Osofisan is devoted to interrogating Marxist orientation in his plays (Akinrinlola 2011). Evident as the representation of Marxism is in his plays, the subject of crime has not enjoyed sufficient scholarly enquiry. *Once upon Four Robbers* (henceforth *OUFR*) is a play that presents a critique of Osofisan's view on the subject of crime in Nigeria. Except for Akinrinlola (2011) and Sunday and Akinrinlola (2017), information on the subject of crime in Osofisan's plays remains underreported. Although these two studies articulate Osofisan's engagement of corruption in *Moruntodun,* such representation of crime does not depict women as agents of crime. While previous studies (Ajidahun 2013, Eben & Oyewo 2018) on Osofisan's plays have attested to allocation of dignifying roles to women, this study contends that Osofisan equally constructs women as perpetrators of crime. Our choice of drama is informed by its resourcefulness in portraying the subject of crime via the characters' dialogue, actions and reactions to prevailing situations in the text. The preference for Osofisan's *OUFR* is hinged on the paucity of scholarly works on crime-related activities in the text.

Osofisan's *OUFR* captures the theme of armed robbery. The play examines the justification behind the promulgation of the decree against armed robbery in Nigeria in the 1970s. Crime could be described as any act that contravenes established legal provisions of any society (Akinrinlola 2011, Piquero & Brame 2008, Ayodele 2015). While existing literary investigations (Ogunleye 2004, Udengwu 2007, Yeseibo 2013, Akujobi 2014, Ukwen 2015, Nwosu 2015, Nnanna 2016, Odi 2018, Nwaozuzu 2019) on the role of women have articulated the diverse representations of women in African literature, sufficient studies have not investigated Osofisan's engagement of women as perpetrators of crime, especially in *OUFR*. Existing literary studies (Abasi 2012, Afolayan 2012, Ajayi 2012, Ajidahun 2012) on *OUFR* have only articulated the play's engagement of corruption as an endemic social reality in Nigeria. Apart from the fact that the studies are not empirical in orientation, the role of women in armed robbery is not sufficiently explored. Against this backdrop, this study pursues the following questions: How do women navigate crime in *OUFR*? What does Osofisan's portrayal of women in crime reveal about his attitude towards women in crime? To answer these questions, this study draws insights from Wolfgang Iser's Reader-

-Response Theory (RRT), considering its emphasis put on the role of the reader's impression in text analysis. This study maintains that an analysis of the role of women in crime is hinged on the reader's ability to interpret the relations between the text and the reader (Akinrinlola 2015, Sunday and Akinrinlola 2017, Akinrinlola 2018a, b).

1.1. Femi Osofisan and the synopsis of *OUFR*

Babafemi Adeyemi Osofisan was born in Erunwon, Ogun State, in 1946. He is a prolific Nigerian critic, poet, novelist, and playwright. The award-winning writer was educated at the Universities of Ibadan, Dakar, and Paris. He is a professor emeritus of theatre arts at the University of Ibadan. His literary works attack social problems. ranging from political corruption, to injustice, to class difference (Sunday & Akinrinlola 2017, Akinrinlola & Williams 2019, Akinrinlola & Sonde 2022). He has produced over fifty plays which have been performed across the globe. He articulates Nigerian socio-political and cultural challenges through the use of African traditional performances (Akinrinlola 2011, 2015). He is a didactic writer who consciously weaves artistic devices to correct societal ills. He has contributed significantly in projecting the Yoruba culture. He has won a number of outstanding awards, among them the Distinguished Writer's award by the Association of Nigerian Authors (ANA) in 2004, the Nigerian National Order of Merit (NNOM), the highest academic prize in Nigeria. He is described as a revolutionist and a Marxist.

OUFR presents armed robbery as a thematic thrust in Nigeria during the General Yakubu Gowon's regime. The Federal Government at that time issued a decree that anyone caught in the act of robbery would face public execution. The decree, instead of decreasing armed robbery, encouraged it. Through Aafa, who equally doubles as the narrator, we are introduced to the public execution of Alani, the head of the robbers. After Alani's death, four other robbers (Alhaja, Major, Angola, and Hasan) continue the outlawed act. Aafa assists the robbers with a charm that enables them to rob the market women at will. In one of their escapades, soldiers intercept them, and dispossess them of their loots. Instead of reporting to their head, the soldiers convert the loots to their personal gains. Major, one of the robbers, is eventually arrested. Alhaja tries deceptive means to free Major, but her efforts fail to yield the desired results. The soldiers plan to execute Major publicly. At this juncture, the play ends in a stalemate as Osofisan invites the audience to act in the role of the jury: he asks the audience to determine the fate of the robbers. Should they be pardoned or executed?

1.2. Contextualising the armed robbery decree in Nigeria

Between 1970 and 1976 in Nigeria, the international criminal statistics show a nine hundred percent rise in armed robbery cases (Rotimi 1984, Akinrinlola 2016, Sunday & Akinrinlola 2018). While 12,153 cases of armed robbery attacks were recorded in 1970, 105,859 cases were reported in 1976. To stem the tide of the dramatic rise in armed robbery cases in the late 1970s, the then Nigerian Federal military government repealed the section of the Criminal Code of 1958 to address armed robbery offences by replacing it with the Armed Robbery and Firearms (Special Provisions) Decree 1977, Number 4 as a deterrent measure (Nwankwo, Agboeze & Nwobi 2018). The 1970 decree recommended death penalty by a firing squad (Tade & Adeniyi 2017). The said decree is now known as Robbery and Firearms Act, chapter R11 Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 2004. This decree probes the offender, the weapons used during and after the offence, the accomplices, injuries inflicted on the victim, and the appropriate punishment. The law also applies to anyone who parades any firearm in public places.

Studies by Akinrinlola (2019a, b, 2021) have traced this staggering statistics in armed robbery cases to a number of factors which include ineffectiveness of the Nigeria police, decayed infrastructure, urbanisation, decayed social values, unemployment, and poverty. After the Nigerian Civil War, some sophisticated weapons were left in the hands of some Nigerian soldiers who later became criminals (Akinrinlola 2021a, b, c). The Nigeria Police have also been found wanting in their task of tackling robbery cases in Nigeria. The Force have not been able to tackle robbery cases as a result of poor funding, inadequate manpower, poor equipment, low morale, corruption, and lack of public trust. Both Federal and State laws provide for the execution of armed robbers, but the prescribed capital punishment has not deterred robbers because the proceeds from the robbery outweigh the risk of apprehension. Rotimi (1984) suggests that improved police training and welfare, provision of sophisticated equipment and improved community policing could address the challenge of armed robbery in Nigeria. Literary artists have responded to the decree on armed robbery in Nigeria by reawakening the consciousness of the people to the realities that ensued during the Armed Robbery Decree in the 1970s. One of such artists is Femi Osofisan. In *OUFR*, he presents armed robbery as a cankerworm that should be nipped in the bud in Nigeria.

2. Literature review

Studies on *OUFR* have established the play's engagement in the question of corruption. However, studies have not interrogated how Osofisan deploys literary

resources in depicting women's role in crime. In this section, we categorise the literature into three groups; we examine the studies on women's reportage of crime in police-suspect interrogation, we explore the existing studies on the text under study, and we equally report studies on the positive and negative representation of women in African literature. Studies (Akinrinlola & Farinde 2018, Akinrinlola 2018a, b, 2019a, b, 2020, 2021a, b, c, Ajayi & Akinrinlola 2020, Akinrinlola & Ajayi 2022) have investigated socio-cultural issues in women's reportage of crime at the State Criminal Investigation and Intelligence Department (SCIID), Ìyágankú, Ibadan, Nigeria. The studies adopt qualitative research design to investigate how socio-cultural issues influence women's narration of crime. The studies note that the patriarchal configuration of African society compels women to assume the role of victims in crime reports. Ajidahun (2012) interrogates theatrical peculiarities in *OUFR* and *Arigindin and the Nightwatchmen*. He concludes that unemployment, hunger, and poverty are responsible for crime in the plays. Ajayi's (2012) examination of *OUFR* reveals that Osofisan is a social activist. The social activist ideology is also projected in Abasi's (2012) study of *OUFR*, *Morountodun* and *Who is Afraid of Tai Solarin?* Afolayan's (2012) reveals that Osofisan is a playwright who is committed to using the elements of theatre to effect social change in Nigeria.

On the representation of women in African literature, Awogu-Maduagwu (2018) notes that African women are presented as individuals capable of changing existing socio-economic and political structures in Nigeria. She notes that the African male authors accord dignifying roles to women. Akinrinlola's (2011) study corroborates the Awogu-Maduagwu's (2018) position. The study notes that heroic roles are allocated to women in Osofisan's plays. He observes that the heroic role allocated to Titubi in Osofisan's *Morountodun* is a typical example of Osofisan's celebration of womanhood. However, Udengwu (2007) submits that African male authors construct derogatory roles for women. The study concludes that malicious fabrications and metaphors are used as narrative devices to suppress women. She, however, observes that women should see such categorisation as a wake-up call to reconstruct their being. For Odi (2018), African female writers have begun identity reconstruction tasks by harping on women's empowerment. From the theatrical angle, Ukwen (2015) points to the need to engage the plights of Nigerian women by advancing their inclusiveness in socio-political and economic spheres. Nnanna (2016) admits that African male writers constantly demonise women in their writings. She tags such unhealthy representation as a misinterpretation of history. Akujobi (2014) maintains that despite the gallantry roles of women in African religion and economy, their representation remains negative.

Yesibo (2013) submits that African male authors paint a negative image of women. He, however, notes that a few male authors represent women in good light. He identifies playwrights like Femi Osofisan, Bode Sowande and Olu Obafemi as examples of male writers in that category. Ogunleye's (2004) investigation of the portrayal of women in Adesina's *A Nest in a Cage* and Chioma Utoh's *Who Owns this Coffin* reveals that the patriarchal societal structure necessitates women's identity question. For Osita (2005), the negative representation of African women could be redressed via the theatre. Nwaozuzu's (2019) study of market metaphor and women unveils, through literary mechanisms, demonstrates the resourcefulness of the African woman. Engaging Soyinka's *Death and the King Horseman*, Nwabueze's *The Dragon Funeral* and Bakar's *The Gods and Scavengers*, she articulates the need to embark on massive awareness of the economic and entrepreneurial strengths of the African woman.

From the foregoing, it is clear that through women's reportage of crime, their representation as victims in crime is contextually echoed. The existing literary investigations on Osofisan's *OUFR* examine Osofisan's social activism; the studies identify Osofisan's critique of the social ills in Nigeria. We agree that studies (Abasi 2012, Ajayi 2012, Afolayan 2012, Ajidahun 2012) on *OUFR* articulate Osofisan's interrogation of the social ills in Nigeria. However, the studies are silent on the role of women in crime. Apart from the fact that these studies do not address the role of women in crime, the methodologies adopted in them do not reveal how the reader could come to terms with the portrayal of women and crime in the text. In other words, existing studies do not articulate the place of the reader in making contextual inferences from the texts. The studies on the negative representation of women by African male authors reveal the derogatory perspective from which women are constructed. While Ogunleye (2004), Udengwu (2007), Yeseibo (2013), Akujobi (2014), Nnanna (2016), and Odi (2018) refreshingly harp on women's negative identity, Osita (2015), Ukwen (2015), and Nwaozuzu (2019) seek identity reconstruction for the African woman via the theatre. The present study is in consonance with the existing studies in that the previous studies engage the depiction of social ills in Nigeria. However, this study contends that Osofisan engages the representation of female characters as agents of criminal acts in *OUFR*, hence it points to the need to examine how female characters are portrayed in crime related activities in the text.

2.1. Reader-Response Theory

Wolfgang Iser is regarded as one of the prominent proponents of the Reader--Response Theory (RRT). This theory makes a case for the place of the reader

in the writing process. RRT gives room for a reader's mental engagement with a text by accommodating the reader's impression. Iser (1989: 23) maintains that, "RRT provides a framework for understanding text processing, revealing the way in which the reader faculties are both acted upon and activated". The theory works by dwelling on the response of a reader via the internal structures of a literary text. Through the appreciation of a text's literary features, the interaction between the reader and the text is revealed.

RRT holds that the meaning of a text is hinged on the creation of the individual reader, hence the meaning is not static. The theory argues that the ongoing mental processes and the response of the reader are used to interrogate meaning. It assumes that the psychological makeup of a text is essential in describing the meaning. This implies that meaning has no independent existence outside the reader's responses. Meaning cannot be separated from its effects on the mind of the reader; meaning is not dependent on external assumptions. Since meaning does not exist alone, it maintains that RRT recognises the role of the reader in the interpretative process. It harps on the reader's interaction with the text. It maintains that the linguistic structures of a text control a reader's construction of meaning. The reader is seen as an active participant in the production of meaning. The reader assumes authority and dominance over a text. RRT explains a process of text appreciation which is geared towards discovering the hidden meaning in a text.

This paper posits that Osofisan's *OUFR* portrays the endemic state of crime in Nigeria. This study adopts RRT to examine the representation of women as agents of crime in the text under study.

3. Method

Osofisan's *OUFR* constitutes the data for the study. The study adopts the qualitative research design. Twelve excerpts from Osofisan's *OUFR* were extracted after a close reading of the text. Out of them, ten excerpts were purposively selected for analysis. The motivation for the choice of the sampled excerpts lies in their demonstration of women's role in an armed robbery in the text. Character analysis of the women in the text is done to ascertain their roles in crime. The selected excerpts are dialogues of Alhaja, Mama Alice, Yedunni, Mama Toun, Bintu and Mama Uyi, who are female characters. The dialogues of women portray their involvement in crime. The thoughts, emotions, feelings, acts, inactions, and motivations of the women characters in relation to crime are identified and described via RRT. RRT has been adopted as the theoretical framework in

the study. RRT is deployed to describe how women are depicted as agents of crime. Specific literary devices are described in terms of how they are used to describe women as perpetrators of criminal acts. We engage RRT to examine how language functions in describing the connection between the reader and the play's portrayal of women. RRT enables a description of how the textual resources combine to reveal hidden meaning in the text. The specific strategies adopted by women in engaging in crime are identified and described with respect to RRT. The study takes a radical departure from Osofisan's perspectives on women adopted in some of his other plays. In the play under study, we argue that women are not only portrayed as heroines; the negative tendencies of women are projected via literary devices adopted as tools of engagement in the play. The specific crime-related roles of women are identified and described with reference to RRT. We also draw on feminist criticism to explore how women are contextually constructed in the play.

4. Representation of women's criminalities in Osofisan's *OUFR*

This section presents the play's depiction of women's activities in crime. Osofisan argues that women perpetrate crime through organised robbery, strategic robbery, adoption of sexual ploys in robbery, and illicit market transactions. Women's perpetuation of organised robbery is described below:

4.1. Women's perpetuation of organised robbery

Excerpt 1

ALHAJA: All, all mown down in one single night.

MAJOR: Listen, Angola, Hassan, Alhaja! Listen to me, this is the end. The guns will get us too in our turn, unless we quit.

HASAN: But for what? Where do we go?

ALHAJA: Nowhere. They've trapped us with their guns and decrees. (p. 27)

Excerpt 2

ALHAJA: I have known conflicts, old man. Look in the police records. Violence, I feed on it. Don't think you can frighten me. (p. 33)

Excerpts 1 and 2 capture women's active involvement in organised robbery. Alhaja's inclusion in the gang of robbers justifies the denigration of womanhood in the text. Alhaja's character in the text stands in sharp contrast with the perceived

innocence, modesty and grace that characterise the depiction of women in Osofisan's plays. In *OUFR,* Osofisan portrays women as individuals who perpetuate criminal activities. After Alani's execution, the robbers, Alhaja included, are held in awe as to what becomes their fate. With the promulgation of a decree against armed robbery, the robbers meditate on what would be their lots. Alhaja's words "All mown down in one night" capture the reaction and disposition of the robbers toward government's response to robbery.

Using RRT, we argue that Alhaja's words portray her as a syndicate of robbery. She is involved in organised robbery in the text. She notes that the decree of the government has put paid to their robbery ambition. Her use of the words "trapped", "gun" and "decree" not only identifies her as a prominent member of the gang, but it also describes how the government has overpowered them (the robbers). The contextual use of "they" and "us" in Excerpt 2 establishes a dichotomy between the government and the robbers. RRT resources are adopted in the lexical choices to enact a struggle between two social groups: the government and the robbers. The reader is made to see the struggle between the government and the robbers through textual vocalisation of RRT's features. However, the use of the word "trapped" portrays the supremacy of the government as a more powerful social actor. The use of the words "guns" and "decree" identifies the instruments of enforcing obedience. Through the choice of the word "decree" the reader is made to engage with the constitutional powers of the government. The decree promulgated by the government is seen as a means of using the long arm of the law to quell robbery. The gallantry role of Alhaja is portrayed in Excerpt 2. Alhaja's statement "I have known conflicts, old man. Look in the police records. Violence, I feed on it" identifies Alhaja as a criminally--minded, violent and nefarious individual. Her use of "I" attests to her criminal status and tendencies. An application of RRT establishes Alhaja's robust crime history occasioned by her nefarious activities. The reader is made to visualise how Alhaja activates robbery. While extant studies (Yesibo 2013, Akinrinlola 2011, Sunday & Akinrinlola 2017) submit that African male authors represent women as appendages, this study argues, from the perspective of the reader's response, that Osofisan does not represent women as heroines in *OUFR*; he equally portrays them as perpetrators of robbery.

4.2. Women's involvement in strategic robbery

Excerpts 3 and 4 reflect women's active role in robbery. Using RRT, we could infer from Excerpts 3 and 4 above that women are active participants in robbery. The strategies involved in navigating armed robbery are initiated by women. The excerpts below present women's involvement in robbery:

Excerpt 3

HASAN: All that's gone. Now we will just wait till they've finished the haggling and hustling and are ready to go home with the profit. Then we pounce.

ALHAJA: A tune and a song. And we rake a fortune. (p. 50)

Excerpt 4

ANGOLA: Look at this. Who would believe this woman made so much even in a whole month?

HASAN: Fools! Guns to catch a song!

ALHAJA: I particularly liked the sergeant. It was a delight to watch his dance. (Dance in imitation. They all laugh, except HASSAN). (p. 50)

In Excerpt 3, RRT devices are deployed to articulate specific stances of the robbery gang. Hassan's words in Excerpt 3 contextually reflect the features of RRT. The choice of the words "we" and "they" identifies two specific social groups: the robbers and the victim (market women), and Hasan's choice of these pronominal references serve rhetorical purposes. In the first place, the reader is made to see the robbers as tormentors while the market women are seen as victims. So, an act of victimisation is expressed through the reader's lens. Again, the reader comes to terms with the activities of the struggling market women who toil endlessly to make ends meet. Hasan captures the struggle of the market women as *haggling and hustling.* Through the lens of the reader, we see a social group who is disadvantaged in the scheme of things. Although Hasan knows that the women deserve some profit from their labour, he orchestrates the process of dispossessing the women of their hard earned money. The reader identifies with the resolve of the robbers in Hasan's use of the words "Then, we pounce". The choice of "pounce" reveals the resolve of the robbers to wreak havoc on the market women. Hasan devices a strategy to rob the market women. Through RRT, the reader sees how strategic robbery is carried out. While Hasan emphasises timing, Alhaja harps on methodology. While Hasan opines that the robbers should retreat and wait till the women are ready to leave the market before they strike, Alhaja is of the view that the charm given to them by Aafa should be strictly adhered to. The charm is meant to aid the robbery; it was meant to induce the market into uncontrollable dance to their respective homes, thereby enabling the robber to strike. In Excerpt 4, the reader is made to see the effect of Alhaja's strategic method of robbery. Having sung the tune, the market women and soldiers dance home unconsciously. From a reader-response perspective, we engage how women participate in strategic robbery. Alhaja's accent, on using songs to steal, presents women as agents of criminal activities.

4.3. Women's deployment of sexual ploy in robbery

Osofisan identifies women's deployment of sexual ploys to perpetuate robbery in *OUFR.* The excerpts below justify the negotiation of sexual crime in the text:

Excerpt 5

AAFA: Alihamidulilai. Your husband, was it? (ALHAJA and MAJOR are startled. AAFA chuckles.) Alhaja! Yes, I recognise you. At the war-front, when you traded across the lines, selling to both sides, it was convenient then, wasn't it, to call yourself Alhaja? But your pilgrimage as we all know was to the officers' beds, not Mecca! (p. 30)

Excerpt 6

ALHAJA (Serving with a folk. They take it with their hands.): Tasty, officer?

SOLDIER 1: (Eating): Delightful! And are you as… as available?

ALHAJA: Depends.

SOLDIER 2: On what? I'm interested.

ALHAJA: On how sharp your tooth is.

SOLDIER 3: Ah, you've lost! She wants me!

SOLDIER 1: She's not talking of wisdom teeth, you old rag. She means strength, like mine.

SOLDIER 1: (Reassured): It's the execution. We get man to kill this morning.

ALHAJA: Ah, the armed rubber/robber?

SOLDIER 1: That's right.

ALHAJA: And you. You're the soldier going to… to do it?

SOLDIER 2: Yes. It's our job.

ALHAJA (Leaping on their neck in turn): Let me… let me hug you! Ah, I'm glad, so happy to meet you! What lucky today! Take, eat more corn, my account! I never suspected that! Oh, I'm so glad I don't know how to express it! Such courage! I mean, to stand and shoot a man can do it! (p. 60)

Excerpt 7

ALHAJA: Eat! Please eat more! At my expense! To think that… Ah, I too, I am going to be a hero today. When I tell people I actually met, actually spoke to, no, no, that I even touched you! Touched the soldiers who'll carry out the execution! I can imagine the envy. I'll strut, like this, watch me. I'll be like Emotan! Ah, I am going to become a legend! (she dances and sings).

ALHAJA: I just love you! You've made my day today! I will offer you something in return. (p. 60)

Excerpt 8

ALHAJA: Good for them, these vermin. They pillage our homes, our offices, our markets.

SOLDIER 2: They rape women, psshio! (hissing)

SOLDIER 3: They steal children!

SOLDIER 1: They kill in cold blood.

ALHAJA: So wipe them out completely! Like this boy today! Ah, when I use to know him –

ALHAJA: Yes, unfortunately. He was not like this then. Edumare alone knows when he changed. For until quite recently, even until his arrest, everyone spoke well of him. He was so gentle, so nice.

ALHAJA: The mother was a… the paragon of a virtue herself. It's said frequently that she had gone to paradise.

ALHAJA: She was almost a saint! Went to church regularly, taught Sunday School. She wanted to serve the country so much that when the war started. (p. 61)

Excerpts 5, 6, 7 and 8 present women as perpetrators of sexual crime. Through the reader's lens, we connect how Osofisan textually satirises womanhood. The reader is made to interpret the contextualisation of womanhood in the text. Relying on RRT, Osofisan uses Alhaja's role to depict how womanhood is subjugated on account of sexual ploy. In Excerpt 5, Aafa, the narrator, informs the reader about Alhaja's sexual escapade during the war. Alhaja is given the role of a mediator in war between fellow armed robbers and the soldiers who represent the government. One would expect such a mediatory role to embrace modesty, decency and accountability, but the reverse is the case. Through a Reader--Response Theory, the reader connects how Osofisan castigates womanhood by asserting the role of Alhaja in sexual immorality. Aafa informs the reader that Alhaja's role is not that of mediator, but that of a sexual criminal. Aafa's use of the words "traded", "lines" and "selling" are lexical choices that portray Alhaja's involvement in illicit sexual activities with soldiers during the war. Such nominal items connect the reader and create imagery of sexual inducement. The reader is able to identify with Alhaja's high-powered prostitution in a bid to secure the release of fellow armed robbers. Aafa further submits that her pilgrimage is not to Mecca. Aafa's response could be interpreted within shared religious knowledge as a means of connecting RRT. The Muslim faithful embark on pilgrimage to Mecca to seek the face of Allah while Alhaja has her own "pilgrimage […] to the officers' beds". Aafa castigates Alhaja's indecent sexual acts. Excerpt 6 presents Alhaja's sexual ploy in a bid to ensure the release of Major, one of the arrested armed robbers. Alhaja affirmatively responds to the sexual advances of Soldier 1. She, however, identifies Soldier 2's sexual vibrancy as a condition for acceptance. Her metaphorical use of "depend on how sharp your tooth is" creates an imagery of her sexual recklessness. Such imagery helps the reader to identify with the message of the text. In a bid to know the soldier that would execute Major, she feigns ignorance of the missions of the soldiers so as to

know their plans for her fellow robber. She expresses readiness to hug Soldier 2 and offer him corn. Although she expresses joy on hearing of the soldier that would execute Major, she only feigns such expression to secure the affection of other soldiers.

Excerpt 7 captures Alhaja's feigned generosity to the soldiers. She gives the soldiers her corn. Osofisan's use of dramatic irony to tease out readers' responses is worthy of mention in Excerpt 7. She expresses confidence when she identifies the soldiers who are set to execute Major. She expresses admiration, recognition, fame, and respect for standing with the soldiers. She likens herself to the legendary *Emotan*, a Yoruba heroine, who saved her race during a war. However, Alhaja's courage here is perceived in a negative light. Using the Reader-Response Theory, we argue that Alhaja exudes boldness to make up for her sexual recklessness. Comparing herself to *Emotan* is an unforgivable historical mistake. The reader is made to see how she constructs barbaric identity for womanhood. In the last line, she offers the soldiers *something* in return. The *something* emphasised in the conversation is the sexual benefits she intends to offer the soldiers. In Excerpt 8, Alhaja continues her intercessory role by framing positive narratives around Major to facilitate his release. When the soldiers castigate the robbers, she joins in casting aspersion on the robbers by identifying their terrible deeds. She orders the soldiers to wipe them off. However, she engages a positive description of Major when he was younger. She claims that he has degenerated into a full-blown robber. Alhaja commends Major's mother. According to her, the late woman lived a righteous life. Alhaja's recourse to the virtues of Major's mother is aimed at influencing the soldiers to pardon Major. This study agrees that scholarly works (Ajayi 2012, Ajidahun 2012) have investigated Osofisan's *OUFR* from the theatrical perspective. However, it holds that such studies only articulate the strategies employed by women in perpetuating criminal acts.

4.4. Women as perpetrators of illicit market transactions

Apart from portraying women's sexual crimes, Osofisan, through the lens of reader response theory, captures women's involvement in illicit market transactions. Women engage in a robbery by cheating prospective buyers and conniving with Price Control Officers to inflate the prices of goods.

Excerpt 9

MAMA ALICE (Angry): It is all right for you to talk. You stalked the streets drunken, and idle, and strike at night. But we have got to feed our families, haven't we?

BINTU: We've got to pay the rent, pay the tax

MAMA UYI: For the tax man has no friends. (p. 72)

Excerpt 10

YEDUNNI: And the headmaster wants his fees, threatens to send the children into the street.

MAMA ALICE: Brothers die and must be buried.

BINTU: Sisters have their wedding day.

MAMA ALICE: Children fall ill, needing medicine.

MAMA TOUN: Needing food. (p. 72)

Excerpt 11

BINTU: And even the simplest clothes wear out and must be replaced.

MAMA ALICE: So who will pay the bill, if the market doesn't?

BINTU: Where shall we return, if not to our stalls?

MAMA TOUN: How can we live, if profit lower or cease? (p. 72)

Excerpt 12

MAMA ALICE: How shall we survive, if the Price Control Officer refuses to be bribed?

SERGEARNT: You hear that? You've been robbing from victims!

MAMA ALICE: The market is our sanctuary.

HASAN: A slaughterhouse. Each hacking off the other's limbs. (p. 73)

In Excerpt 9, Mama Alice, one of the market women, accuses Hassan of loafing around at day and robbing people at night. She, however, posits that, market women have to meet a number of financial obligations, hence the need for them to take their trade very seriously. Her choice to "feed families", and Bintu's choice of "rent" and "tax" establish the pressure on women. It holds that women are saddled with numerous responsibilities at the home front. The excerpt equally foregrounds abdication of statutory roles by their respective husbands. Ordinarily, the men should be the ones shouldering such responsibilities while women are expected to take care of the children. Mama Uyi asserts that "The tax master has no friend". From her utterance, we could deduce – from the perspective of the reader that – the market women pay handsomely for tax. As a result of their pressing needs, the market women device series of strategies to generate more money from prospective buyers. These funds are generated illicitly by increasing the prices of food items astronomically to the discomfiture of prospective buyers.

Excerpt 10 presents Yedunni's justification for increased prices of food items. To her, the market women need to send their children to school, and in most cases, the headmasters send pupils away on account of non-payment of school fee. Mama Alice also corroborates Yedunni by asserting that market women need to

spend money on the burial of relatives. Bintu equally identifies expenses on wedding celebration as another social project that gulps money. For Mama Toun, the list includes children's feeding and medical care. Although Excerpt 10 captures the growing needs of an average market woman, the needs do not justify astronomical increase in the prices of food items. In Excerpt 11, Bintu identifies clothing as one of the physiological needs that must be constantly met. One wonders why the market women decide to hold prospective buyers responsible for their (market women's) unending needs. Engaging RRT, the rhetorical import of Mama Alice's statement in Excerpt 11 presupposes that prospective buyers should be saddled with responsibility of meeting the needs of the market women. Her statement is a satirical representation of the capitalist ideology of the middlemen in a typical Nigerian market. The middlemen inflate prices of goods and services for personal gains, thereby inflicting financial pains on consumers. We interpret the market women's stance as a form of neo-colonialism in the words of Bintu "Where shall we return, if not to our stalls?". "Market" is represented as a platform for siphoning the consumers. Their stalls are depicted as platforms for criminality; the stalls afford them ample opportunity to perpetrate nefarious business transactions. The use of "stall" is metaphoric, it depicts a "legitimate" avenue for the market women to earn their living by subjecting consumers to harrowing financial experiences. The rhetorical statement of Mama Toun in Excerpt 11 reveals that the market is not about rendering essential services to the people, but for profit making. She asserts that the market women's survival is dependent on profit making. We could infer that profit making is sacrosanct; the operations of the market are targeted towards making unjustifiable profits.

In Excerpt 12, Mama Alice corroborates the indispensability of profit making. The reader is made to observe how market women orchestrate corruption in the market. The women bribe Price Control Officer so as to manipulate the prices of goods and services to their own advantage. Mama Alice's use of rhetorical statement in Excerpt 12 captures the unbending resolve of the market women to continuously inflate the prices of goods to the detriment of the customers' interests. From the perspective of the reader, one could infer that the market women have been bribing the Price Control Officer to inflate prices of goods. From the response of sergeant, the reader is made to see the difference between agency and victimhood. The market women who take delight in inflating prices of goods astronomically represent agency while the consumers become the victims. Engaging RRT, one could interpret the contextual construction of victimhood as stated by sergeant. The use of the lexical item "victim" captures the psycho-social description of consumers as helpless, defenseless, and vulnerable individuals who are constantly at the mercy of the market women.

Besides, the failure of the state is reflected. The state government's inept handling of the forces of demand and supply enables market women to manipulate Price Control Officer in a bid to harm the Nigerian economy. Mama Alice refers to the market as their sanctuary. The metaphoric description of *market* by Mama Alice establishes that the market women see the market as a saving grace. A sanctuary is a place that offers protection against attack. Using RRT, the reader comes into contact with how the market becomes a source of protection for the women. Protection offered by the market could be interpreted in terms of the dubious, shady, and nefarious manipulation of market forces against the interests of the consumers. Unfortunately, the state price regulatory architecture fails to defend the interest of the consumers. From Hasan's comment in Excerpt 12, the reader is shown the harrowing effect of price manipulation by the market women. He likens the market to a slaughterhouse, where the largesse of the market is desperately competed for. The reader is made to identify with the imagery of aggression and mindless extortion by the market women. The slaughtering, according to Hassan, involves each of the market women hacks off the other's limbs. Hasan's use of the word "limbs" is a metaphorical representation of the interests of the consumers that deserve protection. Unfortunately, the interest of the consumers are attacked and compromised for selfish gains.

5. Femi Osofisan's attitude towards women and crime in *OUFR*

Osofisan's exposition of crime in *OUFR* is a testament to his commitment to interrogating inherent socio-economic and political ills in the Nigerian society. This study has investigated Osofisan's representation of women in crime with particular reference to *OUFR.* While Osofisan dignifies women in some of his plays, he portrays them as agents of criminal acts in *OUFR*. Osofisan argues that crime is an offshoot of social injustice in the text understudy. He, however, contends that crime does not have a direct bearing with/on gender; he argues that crime and gender are two parallel variables. The act of criminalities is not gender-specific. The text under study demonstrates the fact that gender does not count in negative tendencies; both male and female engage in criminal tendencies. Previous studies (Akinrinlola 2011, Ukwen 2015, Nnanna 2016, Sunday & Akinrinlola 2017) maintain that Osofisan is sympathetic to the female gender in terms of role allocation; the studies note that Osofisan gives heroic roles to women. This study, however, argues the contrary. While studies (Osita 2005, Ukwen 2015) posit that African playwrights portray men as perpetrators of

crimes, it contends that the perpetuation of social vices in Nigeria is not tied to gender.

Osofisan argues, through the resources of the theatre, that female characters do only exhibit dignifying roles, they also perpetuate criminal activities as revealed in the text under study. The reader is made to visualise how women worsen the economic hardship by conniving with Price Control Officers to make life miserable for their prospective consumers. Through the RRT's resources, the reader engages in how women engage in organised robbery. The reader perceives how womanhood is denigrated through the character of Alhaja. One expects Alhaja to demonstrate some modicum of modesty, considering her religious status. Sadly, the reader is surprised to see her enmeshed in crime against the state. We see how sexual ploys are adopted as a device to negotiate with soldiers. As that is not enough, women engage in illicit market transactions to worsen the harrowing economic experiences of the poor. Taking a cue from Osofisan's representation of women in the text, we could infer that he uses the theatre to present other identities of women. We submit that women in Osofisan's *OUFR* perpetuate organised sexual and business transaction crimes against the state. Through the RRT, the reader visualises how such crimes are orchestrated and portrayed. This study contrasts sharply with Osita's (2005) that African male authors represent women as appendages. We argue that women are not constantly portrayed as appendages. Women also engage in criminal activities to achieve selfish motives.

References

Abasi, A. 2012. "Portrayal of women in Femi Osofisan's *Once upon Four Robbers*". *Journal of English and Literary Studies* 3(1). 1-12.

Afolayan, B.F. 2012. "Drama and social change: Osofisan's humanistic approach in *Once upon Four Robbers*". *African Studies* 5(4). 137-156.

Ajayi, A.B. 2012. "Ritualisation as pragmatic development of revolutionary consciousness in the drama of Femi Osofisan". *Journal of Literature* 2(1). 23-36.

Ajayi, T. & T. Akinrinlola. 2020. "Import of laughter in police-suspect interaction in Ibadan, Nigeria: A multimodal analysis". *African Journal of Criminology and Justice Studies* 13(2). 45-60.

Ajidahun, C.O. 2013. "Femi Osofisan tackles graft and corruption: A reading of his socially committed plays". *Tydskrif vir Letterkunde* 50(2). 10-20.

Ajidahun, C.O. 2012. "Understanding Femi Osofisan's *Once upon Four Robbers* and *Aringindin and the Nightwatchmen*: A critical perspective". *English Language and Literature* 2(3). 115-120.

Akem-Vingir, P. 2020. *The lived experiences of reformed armed robbery in Nigeria*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. Walden University.

Akinrinlola, T. 2021a. "A discursive construction of resistance in police-suspect interactions in Ibadan, Nigeria". *Southern Journal of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* 39(3). 12-24.

Akinrinlola, T. 2021b. "A discursive import of suspects' affirmative responses in police--suspect interaction in Ibadan, Nigeria". *Linguistik Online* 106 (2). 3-18.

Akinrinlola, T. 2021c. "Rapport building strategies in police-suspect interaction in Ibadan, Nigeria". *Covenant University Journal of Language Studies* 9(1). 38-53.

Akinrinlola, T. 2019a. "Deixis as a discourse strategy in police-suspect interaction in Ibadan, Nigeria". *Journal of English Scholars'Association of Nigeria* (JESAN) 21(1). 49-60.

Akinrinlola, T. 2019b. "A stylistic analysis of Seun Ogunfiditimi's songs". *Yoruba Studies Review*. 4(1). 183-208.

Akinrinlola, T. 2016. *A discursive elicitation and response strategies in police-suspect interaction in Ibadan, Nigeria*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. University of Ibadan.

Akinrinlola, T**.** 2015. "Rhetorical devices in Femi Osofisan's *Women of Owu*". *Journal of Humanities* 9(1). 18-28.

Akinrinlola, T. 2018a. "Language and social interaction in Femi Osofisan's *Morountodun*". *Coaxial Journal of Linguistics Studies* 2 (1). 43-65.

Akinrinlola, T. 2018b. "Turn management strategies in police-suspect interaction in Ibadan, Nigeria". *The Quint* 10 (3). 146-177.

Akinrinlola, T. 2011. *Language and power relations in Femi Osofisan's* Morountodun *and Nguigi wa Thiong'o and Mugo's* The Trial of Dedan Kimathi. Unpublished MA Thesis University of Ibadan.

Akinrinlola, T. & C. Williams. 2019. "Gender communication in Femi Osofisan's *Women of Owu*". *ALORE: Ilorin Journal of the Humanities* 28(1). 43-67.

Akinrinlola T. & F. Sonde. 2022. "Literary-stylistics of engagement in Femi Osofisan's *The Engagement". African Identities* 20(2). 1-18.

Akinrinlola, T. & R.O. Farinde. 2018. "Topic change as a conversational strategy in police-suspect interaction in Ibadan, Nigeria". *Journal of Linguistics and Language Education* 12 (2). 1-24.

Akinrinlola, T. & T.M. Ajayi. 2022. "Discourse tactics in police-suspect interactions in Ibadan, Nigeria". *Language Matters* 53(2). 1-18.

Akujobi, R. 2014. "Motherhood in African literature and culture". *Journal of Humanities* 13(1). 2-7.

Awogu-Maduagwu, E.A. 2018. "Gendered representation of women in war literature: A study of Akachi Ezeigbo's *Roses and Bullets* and Festus Iyayi's *Heroes*". *International Journal of Social and Management Science* 2(1). 1-9.

Ayodele, J.O. 2015. "Crime reporting practices among market women in Oyo, Nigeria". *Sage* 32(1). 1-11.

Eben, A. & K. Oyewo. 2018. "Dramatics and the burden of responsibility". *International Journal of Humanities and Social Studies* 5(8). 1-12.

Federal Military Government of Nigeria. 1977. Robbery and Firearm (Special Provisions) (Amendment) Decree 1977. Supplementary to Official Gazette No. 22, Vol. 64, 12th May, Part A.

Iser, W. 1989. *Prospecting: From reader-response to literary anthropology.* Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Ndubuisi, N. 2016. "The demonization of women in Femi Osofisan's *Women of Owu*". *Nile Journal of English Studies* 2(2). 1-12.

Nnanna, N. 2016. "The demonization of women in Femi Osofisan's *Women of Owu*". *Nile Journal of English Studies*. 2(2). 57-70

Nwankwo, E.A., M.V. Agboeze & A.U. Nwobi. 2018. "Community heritage resources and crisis management in rural Nigeria". *Sage Open* 7. 9-25.

Nwaozuzu, U.C. 2019. "The market metaphor and women empowerment in contemporary Nigeria drama". *International Journal of Applied Linguistics and English Literature* 8(2). 11-22.

Nwosu, C.C. 2015. "African feminism and Zulu Sofola's *Paradigm shift in the sweet trap*". *Journal of Modern European Languages and Literature* 4(1). 193-207.

Obasi, N.T. 2012. The limitation of the Marxist ideals in the plays of Femi Osofisan: A study of *Once upon Four Robbers*, *Morountodun* and *Who is afraid of Tai Solarin.* Unpublished MA Dissertation, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

Odi, C. 2018. "Women empowerment in Nigerian drama: A contextual study of Irene Salam-Agunloye's *Heroine*". *Journal of Literature* 7(1). 24-40.

Ogunleye, F. 2004. "21st century image of women: A womanist reading of two Nigerian plays". *Research Reviews of the Institute of African Studies* 20(1). 33-47.

Osita, E. 2005. "The representation of women in Nigerian theatre: An issue in theatre development". *Nigerian Theatre Journal* 12(2). Lagos Society of Nigerian Theatre. 23-40.

Piquero, A. & R. Brame. 2008. "Assessing race, crime and ethnicity: Crime relationship in a sample of serious adolescent deliquents". *Crime Delinquent* 54(3). 390-42.

Rotimi, A. 1984. "Perspectives on the armed robbery offense in Nigeria". *Indian Journal of Criminology* 12 (2). 122-135.

Sunday, A.B. & T. Akinrinlola. 2021. "Discourse strategies of handling denials in police--suspect interaction n in Ibadan, Nigeria". *Studies in African Languages and Cultures* 55(1). 87-109.

Sunday, A.B. & T. Akinrinlola. 2017. "Language of protest in Femi Osofisan's *Morountodun*". *Lapai Research in Humanities* 4(1). 148-161.

Tade, O. & O. Adeniyi. 2017. "They withdraw all I was worth: Automated teller machine fraud and victims' life changes in Nigeria". *International Review of Victimology* 23. 313-324.

Udengwu, N. 2007. "Negotiating the image of women in African drama". *Journal of English Studies* 3(2). 1-12.

Ukwen, K.R. 2015. "On the contribution of Nigerian female dramatists to indigenous theatre development". *Scientific Research* 2(3). 1-8.

Yeseibo, J.E. 2013. "Portrayal of women in male authored plays in Nigeria". *Journal of Philosophy, Culture and Religion* 1(1). 1-6.

Studies in African
Languages and Cultures, Vol. 57, 2023
ISSN 2545-2134; e-ISSN 2657-4187

https://doi.org/10.32690/SALC57.4

Shuaibu Hassan
Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria
ORCID 000-0002-4658-4609

Culture and author's personality in the literary text: A rereading of Abubakar Imam's *Magana jari ce*

Abstract

The article is an attempt to look at the literary text as a manifestation of the author's personality and cultural background. The analysis concerns the book *Magana jari ce* 'Wisdom is an asset', containing stories from the native Hausa tradition and foreign motifs, adapted by the author, Abubakar Imam, for the Hausa text. The analysis is to demonstrate links between author's personality and cultural background in creative adaptation of the stories in the book. It is argued here that from the eighty-four stories in *Magana jari ce*, in most of them the scenery, characters, and the way they are presented are motivated by the author's personal experiences, which also show the values and moral standards recognized by him. Among cultural values, there is respect for clerics, admiration for the Hausa court, accepting patriarchal model of the society and low social status of women. Abubakar Imam's sense of humour and his feeling for language complement the features that determine the author's style and narrative features of the book.

Keywords: Style, personality, Hausa literature, *Magana jari ce*, Hausa culture, Abubakar Imam

1. Introduction

At times, novelists conjure up what they underwent in reality and put it in fictional form. By implication, some stories establish not only truth but verisimilitude to the happenings in the author's self. *Magana jari ce* is an adaptation or an instance

of intertextuality and, as Adamu (2020) says, the text is no more like stories from Baghdad. The text, in its present form, is said to be one of the classic Hausa novels. The settings and the plots of the stories, all look like a traditional or pre-colonial Hausa society in terms of its aristocratic nature. It is along this line that this article suggests that the text reflects the author's culture, style, and personality. Style, which helps to shape or to portray an author's personality, is a manifestation of choice, addition of aesthetic quality, deviation, and individual idiosyncrasy in a writing or speech. Scholars such as Spitzer (1967) remark that style consists of the habitual choices and uses made by the author or speaker in a manner that it would enable the understanding of his or her psyche and worldview. Style focuses on an author's narrative techniques, application of figures of speech, synthetic style and lexical cohesion. According to Robinson (1985: 227), "[…] a literary style is a way of doing certain things, such as describing characters, commenting on the action and manipulating the plot". Based on this and considering how Abubakar Imam manipulates the original sources of his stories by given them new faces in terms of the settings; and by the way he describes the characters by given them human face through his adaptation, we can argue that his personality is at play.

People's culture in fact determines their way of thinking and worldview. It is culture that moulds the behaviours of members of a given society in the pursuit of their life and at that builds their personality. Keesing (1981: 92) says, "If personality were the internalization of culture, and culture were the projection of personality, then one could infer personality orientations from cultural beliefs and practices". An individual member of society learns a lot about his culture right from childhood to an adult, and things learned become part of his personality which can be portrayed at a later stage of his life. Further, Keesing says: "Personality is the psychological world of an individual viewed by a system. A person's personality includes his or her knowledge […] of the way of life of the community, but it includes more than that" (Keesing 1981: 94).

The argument put forward by this article is based on the scholars' view, especially Abrams' Expressive Theory (1953: 21-26), which says all works of art are seen to express the personality of the artificer. The theory also sees literary works as a manifestation of author's personality that can be deciphered from his or her literary compositions. According to Colas (2010) and Robinson (1985), an author infuses elements of his personality in his literary creations such that the text can be seen as the rumination of the author's self. This article too argues that the author of *Magana jari ce*, Abubakar Imam, marked his personality in the text through his style and the choices he made in adapting foreign sources.

2. The author

Abubakar Imam was born in 1911 at Kagara, Niger State. Jeż and Pilaszewicz (2003: 6) say "[…] he was a famous Hausa writer, poet, teacher, journalist, Islamic learned man, politician, and court-translator". Imam's great grandparents were Kanuri. They served as Islamic clerics in the Dikwa Emirate of Borno State. They left the Emirate to Bida province in the company of Moi Ibrahim, one of the princes of Dikwa, who left the Emirate because he lost out to become the Emir. The Etsu Nupe received and settled them at Kutigi. He later chose Moi Ibrahim as their Emir.

During the Jihad of Shehu Usmanu Danfodio in 1804, Imam's great grandfather, Malam Muhammadu Gajibo, along with some followers, paid homage to the Shehu at Sokoto. He was then appointed as one of the ambassadors of the Nupe people having stayed in Sokoto. When he died, his son, Malam Badamasi, was given the role. Malam Badamasi was Abubakar Imam's grandfather. After Malam Badamasi's death, his father, Malam Shehu Usman, did not continue to stay in Sokoto; he went out visiting many places in search of knowledge.

When the British arrived in northern Nigeria around 1900 and established their rule, Imam's father, Malam Shehu, was invited by the Emir, Madaki Masoyi, to return back to Kagara from Malumfashi. He was given a number of responsibilities in the court as the Chief Imam, a judge, a treasurer, and then a cleric.

Imam was able to attend Western schools. This gave him the opportunity to work as a teacher and administrator in the Emir of Katsina's palace. Then, already working in journalism and later in the civil service, he became an author of many books. The most prominent novels that he wrote were *Ruwan bagaja* (1934) 'The water of cure', and *Magana jari ce* (1937) 'Wisdom is an asset'. *Ruwan bagaja* was the product of a writing competition organised by the Northern Nigerian colonial administration in 1933, under the supervision of Dr. R.M. East. The title won the first prize. Abubakar Imam died in 1981 (Mora 1989, Malumfashi 1998, Malumfashi 2009).

3. *Magana jari ce*

Scholars are of the view that Imam used different literary works from many nations of the world to come up with his *Magana jari ce*. He was given such large number of books by R.M. East, the then Northern Nigerian colonial education administrator, to use as sources. Mora confirmed this when he quoted Imam's reports:

He (Rupert East – S.P.) collected several types of books on European fables and *Arabian Nights* stories for me to use as background material. I spent about six months in Zaria in 1936 during which time I wrote the three volumes of *Magana jari ce* (Mora 1989: 24).

Imam used the stories given him "[…] and adapted them to the living conditions of the Hausa people" (Jeż & Pilaszewicz 2003: 8). One who was never told or never read about the origin of some of the stories would conclude that they come originally from Hausa societies. In fact, Imam adapted the foreign motifs given to him to look like stories of the Hausa Emirs in pre-colonial Northern Nigeria.

The plan of the book is in three volumes, knitted with a main story. The rest of the stories are frame-stories, which Baldick (2008: 135) calls "a story in which another story is enclosed or embedded as a 'tale within the tale' or which contains several such tales". The first volume contains the main story plus twenty--eight frame stories. The main story is that of King Abdurrahman ɗan Alhaji, of his zeal to have a son and the birth of Musa, his only son; and then of his war with the Sinarians together with his grandson Mahmudu and his victorious return. The frame stories that run across are the stories being told by *Aku* "the parrot" and are meant to delay the imminent departure to war of a headstrong prince (Musa) (Jeż & Pilaszewicz 2003: 9).

The second volume contains thirty-three frame stories. According to Jeż and Pilaszewicz (2003: 10), the stories are in the form of a "story-telling competition with the parrot Haziq which belongs to King Jama'anu who rules over a western country known as Sirika. The competition takes place in the palace of King Abdurrahman in the presence of large audience and judges who every day listen to the stories and bring in their verdicts".

Volume three looks like a pedagogy using literary devise: *Aku* teaches his son Fasih the art of story-telling as this is his profession that takes him to an elevated position of being a vizier of human beings. So, *Waziri Aku*, as a father of Fasih, feels duty bound to train his son in the skill of storytelling.

As a whole, the three volumes of *Magana jari ce* contain eighty-four stories. Fifty-six of the stories revolve around the court, or they contain the quasi-court scenes. The breakdown can be seen thus:

Volume 1 with 29 stories, 15 revolve around court,
Volume 2 with 33 stories, 25 revolve around court, and
Volume 3 with 22 stories, 16 revolve around court.

Jeż and Pilaszewicz (2003: 7) state that "the major studies of Imam's output, from the literary point of view, include those by Mora (1989), Pweddon (1977), Westley (1986), and Yahaya (1988/9)". Subsequently, other researchers and scholars have written a lot on *Magana jari ce*, either to acquire degrees of BA, MA, and Ph.D., or to get the Nigerian Certificate in Education (NCE) or diplomas at different academic institutions in Nigeria and beyond. Some have been published in the journals, while others were presented at conferences.

The first academic work for a degree on *Magana jari ce* was done by Zahra Nuhu Wali in 1976 at the Abdullahi Bayero College of Ahmadu Bello University (now Bayero University, Kano). The second one, still for an academic degree, came almost a decade later, in 1985, and was completed by Salisu Adamu at the University of Maiduguri. In 1986, Beata Jeż submitted her MA thesis on *Magana jari ce*, entitled *Functioning of foreign motifs in* Magana jari ce *by Alhaji Abubakar Imam*, to the University of Warsaw.

Jeż comes up with a lot of similarities between other foreign motifs in terms of plots, characters, structure, and setting with *Magana jari ce*. She has convincingly proven that:

11 stories are based on *One thousand and one night*,
2 stories come from the Indian collection *Pańchatantra,*
5 stories are close to those in *Tuti-Name*, a Persian version of the Indian collection *Sukasaptati*,
1 story is of Persian origin,
16 fables are adaptations from brothers Grimm,
2 fables are from Hans Andersen's *Fairy tales*,
7 short stories come from *Decameron* by Boccaccio,
1 story is based on a Biblical episode,
1 story is an adaptation of a Greek myth about the king of Macedonia,
1 story is inspired by a fable by W. Hauff,
9 stories seem to come from Hausa orature (funny stories of confrontations between a variety of Hausa stereotypes, such as the country bumpkin and the city slickers, the three thieves, the Fulani man and the butcher, and others), and
25 stories were derived from unknown sources (Jeż & Pilaszewicz, 2013: 16-17).

Jeż and Pilaszewicz (2013: 16-17) agree that "[…] the majority of its stories are based on the foreign sources; they are not merely translation. Each of them is an elaboration of the prototype and its adaptation to the reality of Hausa life". So, in the process of the adaptation, the author uses his own imagination to portray the characters and describe the situations. Through his style, he deviously deciphers his personality, which this article attempts to portray.

In 1998, Malumfashi defended his Ph.D. thesis on *Magana jari ce*, entitled *Abubakar Imam: Nazarin tubali da ginuwar ayyukansa na adabi* [Abubakar Imam: The study of motifs and development of his literature]. The thesis, just like that of Jeż, studied not only the foreign motifs, but also traced all the sources used in writing *Magana jari ce*, volumes 1-3. Findings of his work show that Imam used the following foreign sources that helped him to write *Magana jari ce*:

Alfu laila wa laila (known also as *One thousand and one night* and *Arabian nights*),
Ibn Muqqaffa's *Kalila wa Dimna*,
Hans Andersen's *Fairy tales*,
Aesop's tales,
Grimm's *Fairy tales*,
Shakespeare's plays,
Stories from *Raudh al-Jinan* ('The oasis of heavens'),
Stories from *Bahr al-Adab* ('The sea of literature'),
Some Hausa oral stories.

Sulaiman (1993) completed his MA thesis on one of the stories from volume 3 of *Magana jari ce*, *Karen bana shike maganin zomon bana* [When the cat is away, the mice will play]. This work is also an attempt to trace the origin of that story. The thesis proves that the story is an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, a play adapted by Imam into prose form in *Magana jari ce*.

Another MA thesis on *Magana jari ce* was prepared by Usman (1998). The thesis studied the influence of oral literature on Abubakar Imam's text. Genres of oral literature identified in the text are folktales, legends, histories, myths, fables, verbal arts such as proverbs, praise epithets, and other humour stories.

The Nigerian Television Authority, Kaduna, started televising drama form of *Magana jari ce* in Hausa around 1985. In 1987, the Nigeria Television Authority (NTA) made a series of television presentations of *Magana jari ce* in an NTA drama programme. The essence of that programme was to further one of its programme objectives in the area of cultural development.

The MA thesis of Guga (2010) looks at the nexus between the plot and the settings of *Magana jari ce* and the Hausa court. The researcher identifies the good and the bad attitudes that make up the Hausa courts. The good attitudes are truth, wisdom, honesty, bravery, justice, while the bad attitudes are injustice, deceit, obstinacy, boastfulness, and hot temperament of the rulers. All these positive and negative attitudes are common in Hausa court, and are highlighted and brought forth in the research.

Guga avers that the author portrays these attitudes of Emirs in order to put across a message that the Hausa Emirs are good leaders and should be followed and deserve to be obeyed. On the other hand, the author of *Magana jari ce* was indirectly calling the attention of the rulers to handle their subjects justly. The research proves that the plot and the setting of the text revolve around Hausa *Sarauta* System. But this, according to Adamu (2020: 37), is "[…] intertextual device used by Imam in his re-reading of foreign tales into Hausa language […] in understanding what might be called 'contextual intertextuality', […] a process in which core narrative elements are retained and re-contextualised for different audiences". This shows that the stories borrowed during the process of writing *Magana jari ce* "[…] were woven into Hausa narrative, obscuring the originating stories and adapting the plot line to Hausa society" (Adamu, 2020: 38). Based on this, *Magana jari ce* of Abubakar Imam can hardly be traced back to its origin. These stories have gone through the process of adaptation, involving intertextuality, and Imam, according to Adamu, "[…] refused to be a slave to the narrative" of the original source and changed *Magana jari ce* to look like a Hausa narrative.

4. Theoretical framework

The Psychoanalytic Theory of Criticism is applied here in order to portray how the author of *Magana jari ce* manifests his personality in the novel. Psychoanalysts see the work of literature as primarily an expression, in fictional form, of the personality, state of mind, feelings, and desires of its author. Following the views of Franz Alexander (1956: 3) "personality comes from the psychological study of human behaviour" and in the case of a literary text, personality is also deciphered from the plot of the text and type of characters. The explanation of the fact that artists express their feelings and emotions through their fictions can be found in a statement by Wilson (1952: 299) who says that "[…] we may legitimately ask whether it is fair to strip man of the only vehicle he possesses for conveying to others the shadings of his thoughts and feelings […]". In relation to adaptation of fiction from other cultures, such as *Magana jari ce*, the issues of the author's personality as manifested in the text may be even clearer.

The present analysis also takes into account the sociological approach to the study of personality, in particular theories that deal with the question of the relationship between psychoanalysis and social theories. "Just as psychoanalysis shows how psychological factors influence the course of history and society, sociological analysis reveals that psychoanalysis […] is itself, to a considerable degree, a social product (Carveth 2013: 253). In this view, personality also has

its social context, as social factors determine people's expectations and imagination. Looking at the literary text, we can analyse the author's feelings and desires, but also his attitudes towards other people, which are shaped by his life experiences.

The cultural and the natural world the author portrays in his work is what Abrams (1953: 6) refers to as the universe which he says "is held to consist of people and actions, ideas and feelings, material things and events, or super-sensible essences". On the other hand, Liu (1982: 1-2) asserts that the world of the artist "consists of both the natural world and the cultural world in which every individual life, and although no two individuals perceive and experience exactly the same world […]". Liu adds: "The world naturally affects the artist, who reacts to it, and this self – world interaction constitutes this artist's lived world. By exploring this lived world as well as other possible worlds, the artist then creates an imaginary world in a work of art" (Liu, 1982: 1). With this, we can say that Abubakar Imam, through his adaptation inserts his Hausa culture and worldview to deviously portray his personality. To confirm these arguments, we can also say the author of *Magana jari ce* does not escape from the influence of what he undergoes from his immediate community as his cultural world and thus reflects in *Magana jari ce* which directly or indirectly constructs his personality.

Psychoanalytic scholars, such as McCurdy (1949/1950) and Robinson (1985), show representation of author's personality from their literary works and come out with a nexus between the two: the author and the literary work. This is seen from McCurdy's (1949/1950: 42) argument that "Freud's psychoanalytic note on *Hamlet* and his observations on the kinship between dream and literary fiction […]" suggests that "[…] the literary work of imagination is in some degree an objectification or projection of the author's personality". He further says (McCurdy, 1949/1950: 42-3):

> The author of fiction, then, appears to convey into his work (as the dreamer into his dream) his experience of the world as selected and coloured and strongly shaped by his own particular nature. It is from this point of view that the analysis of literary work is simultaneously an analysis of the personality which produced it.

Not only the plot of the literary work or the characters reflect author's personality, it is also manifested in the style of writing. Robinson (1985: 228) says "[…] that style is essentially an expression of qualities of mind, attitudes, interests and personality traits which appear to be the author's own". This means that these qualities of mind, when combined, shape one's way of doing things which

generally may differentiate him from other individuals; whether in the manner of talking or writing. She further says "[…] that style is essentially a way of doing something and that it is expressive of personality".

The author is assumed to have directly or deviously expressed his emotions or feelings or views in a literary way. So, what we read from the author in his/her literary work is a bearing of his/her personality, tactfully crafted in a fictitious manner. In view of this, literary production cannot disconnect itself from the producer or the artificer, and to certain instances, from the work of adaptation, such as *Magana jari ce*. As a meta-author, Abubakar Imam applies his style of writings already manifested in his first and famous novel *Ruwan bagaja* (1934), and later in *Karamin sani kukumi* (1944), volumes 1 and 2. And even if *Magana jari ce* is based on borrowed motifs, the text is not independent of the Author's style, his morality and of course his ideology and personality. Even if it is not "the internal made external" of the author's mode of thoughts and feelings, we may argue that his mode of adaptation makes the text not look like a mere translation from other sources. It looks like a real literary work, as testified by Jeż and Piłaszewicz (2003: 17): "When in August 2002 we went through *Magana jari ce* afresh once again we were stricken by its homogeneity and closeness to an African culture. The uniqueness of the piece results from its particular frame composition which makes it real literary work. Although the majority of its stories are based on the foreign sources, they are not merely translations. Each of them is an elaboration of the prototype and its adaptation to the reality of the Hausa life". It is therefore the author's (Abubakar Imam) worldview expressed in the work. It is the author's ideology: his religious, political, economic, and other cultural views expressed in writing for his Hausa audience. In essence, whatever the readers come across in a text represents the author's personality because things do not just come by mere accident or a slip of the pen.

The aim of this article is a critical analysis of some frame-stories from *Magana jari ce*. Although the text was not originally created by Abubakar Imam, through adaptation and infusion of his style it looks like his own literary work. Thus, the stories vis-à-vis the author's biography will help to establish the argument that author's personality can be deciphered from the text of *Magana jari ce*, 1-3. On the one hand, the meaning of the text is determined by the psychological profile of the characters, but on the other hand, the moral message of the story, authorities to indicate solutions, and even the scenery in which the action takes place are deeply rooted in the author's personal experience. This means that author's biography refers to what is read from the text. From the psychoanalytic perspective, it is a reflection of the author's personality. By this, the critical analysis of

some stories will experience the distinctive subjectivity or consciousness of the author through the novel. This is what this article attempts to do on *Magana jari ce* and the author, Abubakar Imam.

5. Analysis of the selected frame stories

All the stories from *Magana jari ce* are set in the Hausa culture. Among the Hausa cultural values that are inserted into the source stories from other cultural areas are those that include the traditional Hausa ruler – *sarki*. His position in the Hausa society is indicated through the plot of the story, but also through direct statements of the characters. Other highly respected figures that are represented in the stories are Islamic clerics – *malamai*, who also belong to the elite of the Hausa traditional society. The area relevant for manifestation of the Hausa cultural norms and values is the attitude towards women and how they are treated. This attitude is demonstrated by characters; among them, the relationship between husband and wife is very common. The way this relationship is shown reveals Abubakar Imam's view on social order, cultural norms, and moral values.

There is another aspect of Hausa cultural value that specifically relates to the skills, experiences, and sense of beauty that define Abubakar Imam's personality. It is his feeling for language that, in terms of his style, makes the book a document of Hausa oral tradition.

The present analysis refers to Abubakar Imam's view on the above-mentioned aspects of the Hausa culture and the way they are inserted into the literary patterns from the borrowed sources. The article makes a selection of th frame stories and interprets them through Abubakar Imam's biography, characteristics of the Hausa culture, and the narrative style of *Magana jari ce*.

5.1. Abubakar Imam and Hausa court

We read from the author's biography that he was close to the Hausa traditional political institution. We also read that he was a grandson of an Islamic scholar that migrated from Borno to the Hausaland. He was born and brought up at the court of the traditional ruler – *sarki*, within the system which preserves social hierarchy and predicts patterns of behavior and communication between the traditional authority and the people. As regards his aristocratic background and romance with the royalty, we have stories such as *Sa'a wadda ta fi manyan kaya* and *Kowa ya dogara ga Allah, kada ya ji tsoron mahassada, balle keta*.

5.1.1. *Sa'a wadda ta fi manyan kaya*

In volume 3 of *Magana jari ce*, we read a story titled *Sa'a wadda ta fi manyan kaya* 'Good luck that is better than heavy load'. From the story, we learn how a teenager named Sumale, a son of Abdun Yana, works for an Arab trader. Although the story is not set at court, the author's view on aristocratic rulers (emirs) are incorporated into the story narrative. The boy is portrayed as disciplined and very obedient, but he acts like a simpleton. In the course of his life, he is sent to an Arab to learn trade and other things in life. When the boy messes up, the Arab merchant glares at him, frowning, and says:

"Kai Sumale, Allah wadanka! Wanda ya haife ka ya yi aikin banza, tun da bai koya maka kome ba cikin al'amuran zaman duniya". Sumale ya durkusa, ya ce: "Ai ko ubana ba shi da laifi, don ya sa na hardace abubuwa uku masu taimakon mutum ga zaman duniya, kauna ga Sarakuna, biyayya ga iyaye, zumunci ga 'yan'uwa" (Imam, 3, 1937: 194-195).

'"Hey Sumale, may God curse you! Your father messed up by not teaching you anything in life". On hearing this, Sumale knelt down and said to his boss: "But my father was right because he taught me to memorize three things that would help one in life: **homage for the royalty** (emphasis mine Sh.H.), respect for parents, and love for one's relatives".'

The expression 'homage for the royalty' indicates that the author of *Magana jari ce* reserves special respect for aristocracy. This can be proved from his background and upbringing. The traditional political institutions still exist in Hausaland and in other parts of Africa. Adherents of these institutions are very important despite the changes brought about by the postcolonial and modern democracy. There are established kingdoms with first- and second-class Emirs in Hausaland who are still relevant at the helm of affairs. The author, having benefited from that system, took it up and thus portrayed their importance and considered respect for them and even recommended paying homage to them as a religious duty. As can be seen from numerous examples of the stories about the Emirs themselves, Imam portrays them as religious, honest, gallant, brave individuals who are full of wisdom and having foresight when dealing with their subjects on legal and other domestic issues.

This story, according to Malumfashi (2009: 161-162), is an adaptation from two sources: *Clever Hans* and *The three languages*, both from Grimm's *Fairy tales*. The other source is a Hausa tale *The mother and her son* from Schon's collections. These source stories reflect a story of a foolhardy boy who does the opposite of what he is instructed to do. In *Magana jari ce* we read a story of this teenager named Sumale, a son of Abdun Yana, who behaves like Hans: always

does the opposite of what he is asked to do. His father tired of this foolishness, sends him to work for an Arab trader. In the course of his encounter with his Arab boss, Sumale says something that portrays the author's culture and morality which vindicates his closeness to the royalty, as indicated above.

5.1.2. *Kowa ya dogara ga Allah, kada ya ji tsoron mahassada, balle ƙeta*

Historically, we have read that from his pedigree, he was a grandson of Islamic scholars and court clerics. This made him to reserve special respect for them in the main story and the frame-stories. From the frame-stories of volume 3, we have *Kowa ya dogara ga Allah, kada ya ji tsoron mahassada, balle ƙeta* 'Whoever depends on God, should not be afraid of transgressors or wickedness'. This is a story about the arrival of a guest by name Abdun Ugu to a certain town, and how he is warmly received by the Emir because the Emir realizes that the guest looks like a learned person. Enquiries about his personality by the Emir reveal that:

Abdun Ugu ya ce shi mutumin yamma ne, kuma ya ɗan taɓa ilimi. Da Sarki ya ji haka, sai ya yi murna, ya fa shiga jarraba mutumin nan, ya kuwa same shi duk inda malami ya kai, ya kai. Da ya ga haka, sai ya ɗaukaka shi. Da ma Sarki ba abin da ya ke bukata kamar mashahuran malamai. Ko wace shawara za a yi sai an tambayi malamin nan (Imam, 3, 1937: 9).

'Abdun Ugu says he comes from the West, and he is a scholar. When the Emir hears this, he is happy, and he starts testing him and he finds the man well educated. From there on, he respects him very much. This is the habit of the Emir that he respects great scholars. Whatever he does he consults this scholar.'

The interpretation here is that the arrival of this guest to the Emir's court looks like that of the arrival of the author's great grandparents within the entourage of the Moi Ibrahim to the Emir of Tegina, and how the Emir of Tegina received them. And this also looks like the arrival of his great grandfather, Malam Muhammadu Gajibo, to the court of Shehu Usman Danfodio at Sokoto when they paid him homage.

The source of this frame story from *Magana jari ce*, is *Kalila wa Dimna*. The original title is *Tale of a lion and a bull*. Imam changed the plot, the setting, and the characters to look like Hausa, and the action takes place in a court of a certain Emir. The abridged version of the original story looks like this (Ibrahim, 2021: 81-94):

[…] from there the eldest son went to a certain swampy and muddy farm in an area called Mayyun, with his two bulls pulling his cart. One of the bulls got stuck in the mud. They tried to free it but could not. They left it there under the care of one of his servants; hoping

that the mud would dry up after some time so that they could free the bull. But the servant, after spending some nights in the forest, left the bull, followed his master and informed him that the bull died.

When the bull freed itself, it continued grazing in the farm and grew fat. It always mows loudly which sends a frightening sound to the lion, the king of that forest. Dimna, one of the lion's viziers, noticed the fear in the lion, calmed the lion by telling him that he will persuade the bull to come to him and they will even become friends. The lion agrees. They eventually become trusted friends. The lion brings the bull closer to him and consults him on all issues. This closeness angers Dimna, who thus conspires against the bull that he was planning to kill the lion. The lion falls to the deception of Dimna, and eventually the lion kills the bull. (my translation Sh.H.)

This is the source story. Abubakar Imam adapted it by giving it the title *Kowa ya dogara ga Allah, kada ya ji tsoron mahassada, balle keta*. Malumfashi (2009: 248) reports that Abubakar Imam changed the animal characters to humans, thus the lion becomes a certain emir in Sudan, the bull (Shartaba) becomes Malam Abdun Ugu, and Dimna becomes the Emir's vizier. Whatever happens between the bull, the lion and Dimna was adapted as what happens between the Emir (*Sarki*), the vizier (Waziri), and Abdun Ugu with some modifications in order to suit what Imam intends to improve in his own adaptation.

5.2. Abubakar Imam and Islamic clerics

Abubakar Imam portrays Islamic clerics as highly respected persons. This is not surprising, considering his pedigree from his great grandfather, Malam Muhammadu Gajibo, who was among the clerics at the palace of Emir of Dikwa. Malam Muhammadu Gajibo was among those who followed the entourage of the prince, who lost out to become an Emir of the Emirate of Dikwa, to the Hausaland. His grandfather, Malam Muhammadu Badamasi, and his father, Malam Shehu Usmanu, were all clerics and highly respected at whenever they settled in the course of their life. His father Malam Shehu Usmanu was an imam, treasurer and Islamic teacher at Kagara, where Abubakar Imam was born.

Having been born and brought up in this Islamic family, Abubakar Imam has special respect and consideration for the clerics. This respect and kind regard are reflected in the main and in some frame stories. The first instance to be cited is the main story in volume 1, where the situation of Emir Abdurrahman ɗan Alhaji is described. Though, this situation is the same as in the source story – the Emir had no male heir who would inherit the Emirate from him after his death. In the original story, it is shown that the Emir had been advised by one of his viziers that if the Emir would concentrate on prayers for Allah to solve this problem, it

could be answered. The Emir then performed ablution, prayed two *raka'at*, and then went to his wife, with that intention of having a male child. He slept with her for two weeks. Miraculously, the wife conceived and later delivered a bouncing baby boy (Malumfashi, 2009: 117).

The scenario is different in *Magana jari ce*:

> […] as he was in that critical situation, one day a certain learned scholar came to him saying "I had a dream yesterday and I was informed that if you gathered forty clerics and pray for you for forty days, your wife will conceive and get a child […] before the week ends the Emir ordered forty learned scholars […] Allah answered their prayer […] the wife of the Emir conceived […] and delivered a bouncing baby boy (Malumfashi, 2009: 117).

The replacement of the vizier's advice to the Emir that he should pray for Allah himself with the involvement of a learned Islamic scholars to pray for him for forty days is tantamount to say his culture which shapes his personality is at work. This shows his closeness to the Islamic clericalism and special respect he has for them being born and brought up under the system.

The way and manner Abdun Ugu was received by the Emir in *Kowa ya dogara ga Allah, kada ya ji tsoron mahassada balle keta*, also vindicates this argument that Abubakar Imam hails Islamic clerics as people that deserve to be respected.

The author's background, i.e. that his father was a cleric at an Emir's palace in Tegina and his great grand fathers were clerics in the Emir of Dikwa's palace, is a factor that justifies the presence of clerics in the stories, even when they were absent in the stories used as a source. Normally, such clerics are appointed as judges, advisors, and even treasurers at the palaces. The Emirs then used to give special considerations to these types of clerics. Having grown under the system which became part and parcel of him and thus shaped his personality, Abubakar Imam imbibes it and then portrays how the clerics are welcomed and respected at the palaces.

5.3. Abubakar Imam's patriarchal model of the Hausa culture

Through the adaptation of stories from foreign sources, and in some instances his manipulation of original Hausa tales, Abubakar Imam has shown Hausa cultural norms relating to the role of women in the society. His patriarchal model of the family and society as a whole is reflected vividly in some stories. Socially accepted behavior and attitude towards women have an impact to portray women in *Magana jari ce* as backward, weak and lazy. In the frame-stories, women appear only as housewives and are kept in seclusion. They are not given any

meaningful role nor are they allowed to participate in some activities which the Hausa culture has reserved for men. Women's role is to reproduce and to take care of the house. To buttress this argument, Adamu (1978: 14) says: "Hausa culture assigns for each gender its role in the society. Hausa woman is assigned to look after the children and other domestic affairs. But the most important are cooking, fetching water and cooking food".

This patriarchal Hausa culture manifests itself in so many stories in the *Magana jari ce*. We may assume that this attitude was compatible with Abubakar Imam's views of the social role of women in society at a time when he lived and wrote his book. Some stories that portray such patriarchal model of a culture in the text are: *Labarin Sahoro da Sahorama* 'The story of Sahoro and Sahorama', *Labarin wani aku da matar ubangidansa* 'The story of a parrot and the wife of its master'; *Yadda muka yi da ubangijina Ojo* 'How it happened to my master, Ojo' etc.

In volume 1 of *Magana jari ce*, from the main story, we read that when the King was about to go for the war expedition, he instructed his two parrots not to allow Musa (the only son and heir) to come out of the house to follow them. On the first night, Musa comes and meets the parrots in order to tell them that he is going out to meet Mamudu (his cousin). He finds that the male parrot is slumbering, and he says to the female parrot: *Na zo in gaya muku ne don ku sani, za ni bin Mahmudu, duk abin da zai same shi ya same mu tare* (Imam, 1937: 11) 'I come to tell you that you should know I am going out to join Mahmudu (at the war front); whatever is going to happen to him should also happen to me'. On hearing this, the female parrot shakes her head and says: *"A! Wannan ko kusa ba shi yiwuwa. Yaya Sarki zai bar mana amanarka, sa'an nan mu saɓa*?" (Imam, 1937: 11) 'No, this will never happen. How can the King entrust you to us and we betray?' This answer angers Musa and he strangulates her. Then the male parrot wakes up and sees what happened to the female parrot (his wife). Then Musa asks him the same question, but he keeps quiet thinking. Musa asks: "Why are you quiet, or are you too trying to stop me, as your wife had attempted?" The male parrot then says:

Mamakin abin da ya sa ka ba mace shawara na ke yi. Ai magana irin wannan sai mu tsaka-ninmu maza. In ba rashin hankalin mata ba, ina mutum zai ce za shi ga dan'uwansa, sa'an nan a hana shi? (Imam, 1, 1937: 12).

'I was just wondering why you in the first place seek for advice from a woman. This type of issue should only be discussed between us men. If not for the stupidity of women, why should someone say he is going to join his relations, and you think of stopping him?'

This shows that women lack wisdom and in no way have any capacity to be consulted for any advice. Though, what led Musa to kill the female parrot was the negative answer with full of authority she gave him when he came asking for their permission to go out. There is no indication from the text that Musa is violent, hot tempered or misogynist. The incapacity which refers to woman as not worthy to be consulted comes from the mouth of the male parrot. According to him (the male parrot), all serious issues in life should only be discussed with and find solution from men. This is a reflection of the Hausa patriarchal culture, which invariably shaped Imam's worldview.

Similar story in volume 1 that portrays women as the weaker sex are *Labarin Sahoro da Sahorama* 'The story of Sahoro and Sahorama'. This is the story of a lazy couple. For them, any efforts to look for something to eat is considered a gigantic work. They looked for so many alternatives for easy life but they could not find. What was left for them in the whole world was a gourd of honey. They concluded that they would sell it to buy chickens so that the chickens would be laying eggs and be hatching chicks for them. But Sahorama (the wife) said if that is the case, then they must look for a boy who would be taking care of the chickens for a pay. This is because, according to her, taking care of chickens is a very difficult job. Because nowadays children are lazy and careless, Sahorama picked a stick and demonstrated how she will whip the boy if he fails to work hard. Accidently, she hits the gourd with honey, which breaks. The honey spills. When the husband sees what happened, he starts insulting the wife that she is lazy and cannot even look after two chickens. She had broken the honey container and the honey has spilled. He said she was very stupid, a worthless idiot and big for nothing. They ended up fighting. But none was able to defeat the other because they are all weak and lazy. They separated.

The couples are considered as lazy. When the incidence happened, the husband had the courage to blame his wife. Both are supposed to share the blame. Yet, the author favours the husband while the wife is criticized, maimed, ridiculed, and punished.

In volume 2, we have *Labarin Kalala da Kalalatu* 'The story of Kalala and Kalalatu'. This story portrays Kalalatu, the wife of Kalala as greedy, stingy, and a charlatan. Then, there is *Labarin wani Sarki da yaronsa* 'The story of an Emir and his servant'. This story portrays a greedy widow whose Emir's servant is a suitor. It also portrays the Emir as one who had read a lot about women and claimed that he had mastered all their intrigues:

Da akwai wani Sarki wanda ba shi da wata ta'ada sai karanta labarun mata da irin makidarsu. Da dai ya fahimta lalle mata sun kai matuka cikin iya makirci, ya ga babu shakka tarkunansu na makirci, kowa suka kafa masa babu daro sai sun kama. Saboda tsoronsu ma bai yarda da ko abinci su rika yi masa ba, ya sami wani yaro ya sa shi ya rika dafa masa (Imam, 2, 1937: 92).

'There was a King who had a habit of reading stories of women and their intrigues. When he realized from his readings that women mastered all sorts of intrigues, and that their trap, when set, no one could escape, he started avoiding them and do not accept any food from them, he employs a boy to cook for him'.

Similar stories portraying women as insincere, wicked, and weak of mind and character are many in the three volumes of *Magana jari ce*. This representation or misrepresentation of women in *Magana jari ce* which could be from the original sources are in consonance with Hausa patriarchal culture. The selection of stories confirms that Abubakar Imam shared the views expressed in them about the characteristics of women and their social role.

5.4. Abubakar Imam's language and style

The source stories which constitute the text of *Magana jari ce* were adapted not only to the characteristics of the Hausa culture, but also to the Hausa language. Abubakar Imam is recognized as a master of the Hausa language at its highest standards. In *Magana jari ce* he was able to combine Hausa oral tradition and foreign literary sources (Furniss 1996: 24), using linguistic devices mainly derived from oral tradition. Among them, phraseological expressions, proverbs, and poetic insertions are the most common.

Commonly, style means how an author describes his setting, portrays his characters, manipulates his plot. I will focus here on Abubakar Imam's language, his choice of words and application of figures of speech. As a special characteristic of author's personality, his humorous nature which appear in his writings will be discussed.

5.4.1. Cultural features in a literary text

Abubakar Imam's style in *Magana jari ce* "is marked by florid language, numerous onomatopoeic words, and ideophones", as testified by Jeż and Pilaszewicz (2003: 18). Rich phraseology of the text is the basis for linguistic research in which structural features are interpreted in terms of cultural values (Pawlak 2021). The phrase *ji gudar haihuwar yaro* 'learn about the birth of a child' is in fact a description of how the information about the birth of a child is distributed in the

Hausa society (i.e. through *guɗa* 'a joyful shrilling by women'). However, the most distinctive feature of the author's style in *Magana jari ce* is the use of proverbs. Apart from the proverbs that interject within the stories, the title of many stories are proverbs. For instance, in volume 1 with twenty-eight stories, the title of ten stories are proverbs, such as:

Banza ta kori wofi 'A worthless thing chases away a useless thing',

In ajali ya yi kira, ko babu ciwo a je 'When time (for death) calls, even if one is healthy should go',

Munafuncin dodo yakan ci mai shi 'The intrigue of goblin goes back to it'. etc.

In volume 2 with thirty-three stories, fifteen are titled with a proverb. Examples are:

Yaro tsaya matsayinka, kada zancen 'yan duniya ya ruɗe ka 'Hey boy, stop where you are, don't be deceived by some people's comment',

Ba ruwan arziki da mugun gashi, wanda Allah ya ba haƙuri ya fi a zage shi 'Good fortune has nothing to do with disagreeableness of character',

Mara gaskiya ko cikin ruwa ya yi jiɓi 'A guilty sweats even inside water'.

And lastly, in volume 3 with twenty-two stories, nineteen are titled with a proverb. Examples here are:

Kowa ya dogara ga Allah, kada ya ji tsoron mahassada balle ƙeta 'Whoever defends on God, should not fear transgressors or wickedness',

In Allah ya taimake ka, kai kuma ka taimakai na baya gare ka 'If God helps you, then help who is below you',

Girman kai rawanin tsiya 'Arrogance is the turban of destitution'

Ɗan hakin da ka raina shi ke tsone ma ido 'An apparently trivial thing may do one much damage', etc.

Still as part of his style, Imam introduces oral songs in some parts of his main stories, especially at the end of volume 1. In volume 2, at the end of the frame story titled *Labarin Ja'iru Ɗan Sama Jannati*, we have seen how Waziri Aku wanted to impress his audience with a song with his croaking voice. When he started, his voice scared away the birds and the chickens:

Ya Allah, ka yi mana gafara,
Ka tsare mu ga sharrin tasari!
Domin alfarmar Annabi….

'Oh God forgive us,
Protect us from the taste of loss!
Because of the favour of the Prophet.'

Oral songs available in the three volumes are found both in the main story and in the frame stories. From the frame story of the volume 3 *Mai arziki ko a Kwara ya sai da ruwa* 'A lucky man may get rich in selling water even in Niger', we learn how praise epithet is done during Hausa *bori* cult performance:

Inna uwa ma ba da mama,
Tafiya ba taki ba, kina biɗar takalma,
Domana shiga ba a saki ba…

'Inna the mother who gives milk,
The journey is not with you, but looking for your shoes,
Domana involve yourself without having been invited.'

Again, in the story titled *Kowa ya daka rawar wani, zai rasa turmin daka tasa* 'Whoever tries to imitate someone else's dance, will end in adversity', the author composes a caricature song against women:

Ya ku jama'a, ku taho ku jiya,
Zam ba ku nasiha na sake.
Ba mai rigima nan lardin,
Kome ya rufe muku na buɗe.
Ku lura da mata sai ku sani,
Kwarammu su ke yi mun kyale.

'Oh, people, come and listen,
I will counsel you,
There is none like me in causing uproar in this province,
Whatever becomes difficult for you I will open it.
Study women then you will know,
They are cheating us we kept mute.'

5.4.2. Sense of humour

The Abubakar Imam's unique sense of humour is confirmed by his friends and colleagues right from elementary school in Katsina. One of his friends at the elementary school, late Alhaji Isa Kaita, the then Waziri of Katsina, and a Northern Regional Minister of Education in the Nigerian First Republic (1960-1966), testifies the humorous nature of Imam when he says:

It was worth recalling that during the school holidays we would take a pledge that we should all write each other. Imam would always be the last to write each one of us, and believe me, almost all of us would receive somebody else's letter, that is, the letters were deliberately misaddressed containing all the humour and rubbish which Imam could write to make one laugh like mad. When any of us received Imam's letter, he had to go into the bush to read it because if one read his letter in the public where people were around, one could not help laughing to attract the attention of the people around who might think that one was mentally deranged (Mora, 1989: 254).

His humour is reflected in so many stories of *Magana jari ce*, 1-3. He does this in his stylistic presentation or description of events or characters in the stories. For instance, we read how he jokingly refers to a certain man as a 'fool' in one of the frame-stories, *Sauna kira mana shashasha, in ka ga sakare ku taho tare* 'Fool, call for us an idiot, if you see a moron, you come together'. According to Malumfashi (2009: 273), this story is Abubakar Imam's creation. In this story, the author uses his humorous nature to caricature one Hausa man who finds himself in a Yoruba land where he can not speak his language nor understand it, and nobody understands his. Whatever he sees them doing, he asks a question. But all the answers are the same, "I do not understand". He thinks that "I do not understand" is the name of a person. So, he thinks everything in that land belongs to an individual call "I do not understand". One day, he sees some people carrying a coffin heading to a cemetery. He asked them and their answer was the same. This Hausa man thought that that wealthy man (I do not understand), who owned everything in the land, has finally died and left all the wealth for his heirs. He sympathised with him and came back home saying he would not waste his time acquiring worldly things as he will one day die and leave everything .

His style and his humorous character are also reflected in the choice of words, phrases, sentences, and names given to the characters in the frame stories. As an example, the Hausa term for 'fool' *wawa* has its more 'emphatic' equivalents, when referred to the names of the story characters, such as Sususu and Shashasha, Kalala and Kalalatu (male and female respectively). Their contextual evaluation is based on symbolic values of a particular sequence of sounds. The use of phrases that have their literal meaning and contextual meaning also represents figurative strategies that are left for reader's interpretation. Examples of words that are now archaic are: *awalaja* 'the price for an item sold' (a borrowed word from Yoruba language), *kirshen bante* 'secure cloth round the loins' (a pants or boxer in today's sense). In '*Labarin Sususu da Shashasha*' (volume 3) they are used as follows: […] *aka fara tayawa sule da sisi, sai ya karbi* ***awalajar,*** *ya sawo*

mana dan hatsi kwano ashirin da daya babu[1]. *Am fara jera katangi bisansa, za a yabe da kasa, sai ga Sususu, daga shi sai* ***kirshen bante****, yana tafe yana takama*[2].

And when he was describing the incidence happened to the husband in *Kowa ya daka rawar wani* (volume 3), Abubakar Imam uses his humorous nature to make his readers laugh:

Da ya sarara, sai ya tashi, ya kama tishi, yana cikin yi ashe jakin da ke bayan daki ciyawa ta ja shi har ya kai bisa rufin dakin da ya ke, […]. *Maigida bai sani ba, yana ta nika. Ba shi da sannnen ciki sai ya ji am fizge shi fyu, an yi sama da shi wajen tagan nan. Ya yi ta kame-kamen dutsen nika, da randar da matar ta ajiye kullu da za ta yi koko. Af, duk a banza ! sai ga shi yana reto kai kasa, ga kafa guda can daure wajen taga.*

'He stood up after a short recess, and continued with the grinding. As he concentrates grinding the grains, his donkey that was in the backyard was attracted by the grass and it reaches the top of the roof where the head of the household was […]. Before he realized what was going on, he was forcefully pulled towards the window. He effortlessly tried to save himself by attempting to hold the grinding stone, the container for porridge ingredient, but it was a futile attempt! He was hanging with one leg tied to the window.'

One could hardly control his laughter when reading this story. Regardless of whether the original source story contains same sense or not, his choice of words and description of the scene adds colour to the story and gives it a literary vitality.

With these few examples we can realize that linguistic means and discursive strategies used in *Magana jari ce* follow the best practices of Hausa oral tradition. The author's sense of humor, however, is a reflection of his personality. His style of choosing the right words at the right place, his style of composing oral songs to suit the plot and setting of his story, his choice of funny words to describe his characters or the scene in the stories are appreciated by the readers who find in it the canons of beauty typical of the Hausa literary texts.

6. Conclusion

From this brief analysis, we can agree with the views of some scholars that literary works have a direct or indirect bearing with their authors. And *Magana jari ce,* which is a product of adaptation and intertextuality (Jeż & Pilaszewicz, 2003,

---

[1] Translation: A Yoruba expression meaning the offering to the actual cash one is prepared to pay for an article. (see Bargery 1934: 45).

[2] Translation: means a secure cloth round the loins. It is traditionally worn or done to show readiness for action or as an attire, normally for children. (see Bargery 1934: 611).

Adamu 2020), portrays things that decipher the personality of the author, Abubakar Imam, through the lenses of his culture, style, and morality. The article briefly discusses the author's biography. From the biography, it is worth noting that he had close contact with the Hausa court which shows his sympathy for and romance with the traditional political institution, sympathy with Islamic scholars and scholarship. He is also a pillar for uplifting the patriarchal Hausa culture because of his upbringing. All of these have perfectly appeared in the three volumes of *Magana jari ce*. His humorous nature, as testified by one of his friend, mate and colleague since childhood, also appear to buttress the argument put forward by this article.

The article proves that even though the stories are adaptations from other cultures, the author has succeeded by carefully crafting the plots, the settings, and the characters to create a piece of literature resembling the original Hausa work, through which he foregrounds his own personality.

References

Abrams, M.H. 1953. *The mirror and the lamp: Romantic theory and the critical tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Adamu, S. 1985. *Sakon* Magana jari ce *ga jama'a* [The theme of *Magana jari ce* to the society]. BA project. Department of Language and Linguistics, University of Maiduguri, Nigeria.

Adamu, A.U. 2020. "'We are not more in Baghdad anymore': Textual travels and Hausa intertextual adaptation of selected tales of *One thousand and one nights* in Northern Nigeria". *Endless inspiration: One thousand and one nights in comparative perspective*, ed. by O. Elmaz. New Jersey: Gorgias Press.

Alexander, F. 1956. "The psychoanalytic theory of the human personality". *Revue Internationale de Philosophie* 10(35). 3-12.

Baldick, C. 2008. *Oxford dictionary of literary terms*. Oxford: University Press.

Bargery, G.P. 1934. *A Hausa-English Dictionary and English-Hausa Vocabulary*. London: Oxford University Press.

Carveth, D.L. 2013. "Social and historical influences on psychoanalytic thought". *Clio's Psyche* 20(3). 253-62.

Furniss, G. 1996. *Poetry, prose and popular culture in Hausa*. London: Edinburgh University Press.

Guga, S.B. 2010. *Hoton sarauta a cikin littafin* Magana jari ce *na Abubakar Imam* [The image of Hausa Court in *Magana jari ce* of Abubakar Imam]. Unpublished MA Thesis. Department of African Languages and Cultures, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria.

Ibrahim, M.S. (trans.). 2021. *Labaran Kalila da Dimna*. Translation of *Kalila wa Dimna* of Abdullahi ibn al-Muqaffa. Zaria, Nigeria: Ahmadu Bello University.

Imam, A. 1937. *Kowa ya daka rawar wani, ya rasa turmin daka tasa* [Whoever tries to imitate someone else's dance, will end in adversity]. *Magana jari ce*. Vol. 3. Zaria: Northern Nigerian Publishing Company. 254-266.

Imam, A. 1937. *Kowa ya dogara ga Allah, kada ya ji tsoron mahassada, balle ƙeta* [Whoever defends on God, should not be afraid of transgressors or wickedness]. *Magana jari ce*. Vol. 3. Zaria: Northern Nigerian Publishing Company. 9-20.

Imam, A. 1937. *Labarin Ja'iru Ɗan sama jannati* [The story of Ja'iru the astronomer]. *Magana jari ce*. Vol. 2. Zaria: Northern Nigerian Publishing Company. 104-112.

Imam, A. 1937. *Labarin Kalala da Kalalatu* [The story of Kalala and Kalalatu]. *Magana jari ce*. Vol. 2. Zaria: Northern Nigerian Publishing Company. 14-17.

Imam, A. 1937. *Labarin Sahoro da Sahorama* [The story of Sahoro and Sahorama]. *Magana jari ce*. Vol. 1. Zaria: Northern Nigerian Publishing Company. 29-31.

Imam, A. 1937. *Labarin wani Sarki da yaronsa* [The story of an Emir and his servant]. *Magana jari ce*. Vol. 2. Zaria: Northern Nigerian Publishing Company. 92-95.

Imam, A. 1937. *Mai arziki ko a Kwara, ya sai da ruwa* [A lucky man may get rich in selling water even in Niger]. *Magana jari ce*. Vol. 3. Zaria: Northern Nigerian Publishing Company. 148-170.

Imam, A. 1937. *Magana jari ce*. Vol. 1-3. Zaria: Northern Nigerian Publishing Company.

Jeż, B. 1986. *Functioning of foreign motifs in* Magana jari ce *by Abubakar Imam*. Unpublished MA Thesis. University of Warsaw.

Jeż, B. & S. Piłaszewicz. 2003. "Foreign influences and their adaptation to the Hausa culture in *Magana jari ce* by Abubakar Imam". *Studies of the Department of African Languages and Cultures* 33. 5-28.

Keesing, R.M. 1981. *Cultural anthropology. A comparative perspective*. 2nd edn. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Liu, J.J.Y. 1982. *The interlingual critic: Interpreting Chinese poetry*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Malumfashi, A.A. 1998. *Abubakar Imam: Nazarin tubali da ginuwar ayyukansa na adabi* [Abubakar Imam: The study of motifs and development of his literature]. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. Department of Nigerian Languages, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria.

Malumfashi, I.A.M. 2009. *Adabin Abubakar Imam* [Abubakar Imam's literary work]. Sokoto: Garkuwa Media Services, Nigeria.

McCurdy, H.G. 1949/1950. "Literature as a resource in personality study". *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 8(1). 42-46.

Mora, A. (ed.). 1989. *Abubakar Imam memoirs*. Zaria: Northern Nigerian Publishing Company.

Morley, S.G. 1905. “The detection of personality in literature”. *Publications of the Modern Language Association* (PMLA) 20(2). 305-321.

Pawlak, N. 2021. “Hausa phraseologisms as a structural property of language and cultural value”. *Language in Africa* 2(1). 91-120.

Pweddon, N. 1977. *Thematic conflict and narrative technique in Abubakar Imam’s* Ruwan Bagaja. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. University of Wisconsin, Madison.

Robinson, J.M. 1985. “Style and personality in the literary work”. *The Philosophical Review* 94 (2). 227-247.

Sulaiman, I.I. 1993. *Adaptation: A case study of Imam’s* Karen bana shi ke maganin zomon bana *from Shakespeare’s* Merchant of Venice. Unpublished MA Thesis. Department of Nigerian and African Languages, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria.

Spitzer, L. 1967. *Linguistics and literacy history: Essays in stylistics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Usman, M. 1998. *Tarsashin adabin baka a* Magana jari ce [The influence of oral literature on *Magana jari ce*]. Unpublished MA Thesis. Department of Nigerian and African Languages, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria.

Wali, Z.N. 1976. *Nazari a kan* Magana jari ce [An analysis of *Magana jari ce*]. Unpublished BA project. Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria.

Westley, D. 1986. *The oral tradition and the beginnings of Hausa fiction*. Unpublished Thesis. University of Wisconsin, Madison.

Wilson, R.N. 1952. “Literature, society and personality”. *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 10(2). 297-309.

Yahaya, I.Y. 1988/9. “The literary works of Alhaji Abubakar Imam in perspectives”. *Harsunan Nijeriya* 14. 71-98. Kano, Nigeria: Centre for the Study on Nigerian Languages, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria.

Studies in African
Languages and Cultures, Vol. 57, 2023
ISSN 2545-2134; e-ISSN 2657-4187

https://doi.org/10.32690/SALC57.5

Deborah Ndalama-Mtawali
Mzuzu University, Malawi
ORCID: 0000-0002-8016-6777

Mervis Kamanga
University of Malawi
ORCID: 0009-0004-5622-297X

The use of Chichewa proverbs as a political campaign tool in Saulos Klaus Chilima's speeches

Abstract

This paper examines Saulos Klaus Chilima's (henceforth referred to as Chilima) use of Chichewa proverbs during the Malawi 2019 presidential election campaign period as a campaign tool. It seeks to highlight how Chilima (re)used Chichewa proverbs to solicit voters for himself and discredit his opponents in the presidential race. The study uses the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, and seeks to identify metaphors generated by the proverbs that Chilima uses and map them across domains. Further, the study demonstrates how the meanings mapped across domains relate to his political campaign for presidency. The results indicate that the political context which he created by the usage of the proverbs narrowed and refocused the proverbs' meaning in such a way that his political ideas were understood through cultural lens. This was done through the metaphors that the proverbs generated. Chilima drew from the source domains that people are familiar with, such as FAMILY, BUILDING, ANIMALS, and HUMANS. These metaphors along with the entire speech context of the proverb helped Chilima persuade voters. The study concludes that proverbs and the metaphors they generate can be a political tool for campaigning for oneself and de-campaigning against opponents.

Keywords: Chilima, Chichewa proverbs, political speeches, campaign, elections, conceptual metaphor, political discourse

1. Introduction

In Malawi, like in many other countries, elections are an expression of the democracy and power of choice that citizens have. During the election period, contesting candidates are given time to campaign for their party and themselves. Thus, politicians running for office use various linguistic means, of which proverbs use is one, to persuade people to vote for them and at times diminish support for other candidates. In Malawi, elections are held every 5 years and before voting, there is a campaign period during which candidates formally call for support. Technically, the campaign period is scheduled to officially run for 8 weeks prior to the polling day but it has been noticed that it tends to start earlier (Gloppen et al. 2006). During campaign, candidates have an opportunity to convince voters of their party's ideologies and at the same time discredit views promoted by their opponents (Orwenjo 2009). The campaign period provides a platform for candidates to present themselves and their political parties (Machira 2014). It is therefore a period in which aspirants campaign for themselves as being the right candidates for the positions contested for.

The campaign period is marked by a tactical use of language which is mostly aimed to persuade voters. Abbood & Mustafa (2014) argue that the best politicians are the ones who are considered persuasive enough to convince people that their policies can be trusted. Therefore, politicians manipulate language and use semiotic means in a bid to effectively present their perspectives and what they stand for (Kondowe & Ngwira 2019: 500). One feature of language in political campaigns is the use of rhetoric figures such as promises, biblical references, repetition, and figurative expressions (Omozuwa & Ezejideaku 2018: 41). Proverbs are an example of figurative expressions. Mieder (2004: 1) argues that of all verbal folklore, proverbs are the most concise, and are considered to have a powerful rhetoric force in various communication modes including political speeches. Proverbs are highly rated in this context to the extent that they are seen as central element of the art of public speaking (Domowitz 1992: 82).

The proverbs under investigation in this article are formulated in Chichewa. Chichewa is a language that belongs to the Bantu language family and is classified by Guthrie (1967-1971) as falling into Zone N sub-group. It is mainly spoken in Malawi where it has been recognised as the national language since 1968 (Kayambazinthu 1998, Mchombo 2017, Reily et al. 2022). Chichewa is also the *lingua franca* for the southern and central administrative regions of Malawi (Reily et al. 2022) and is the only Malawian language that is taught as a subject in schools (Chavula 2019). In other countries such as Mozambique and Zambia,

where Chichewa speakers are found, it is identified as Chinyanja, which was also the original name in Malawi before the name Chichewa was adopted in 1968 at the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) annual convention (Kishindo 2001).

1.1. Malawian politician Saulos Klaus Chilima and his use of the language

During the 2019 presidential campaign in Malawi, proverbs were a common type of linguistic expressions used by politicians to campaign. While other politicians also used proverbs in their speeches, Chilima was consistent in their usage and that is why he was chosen as the subject of this study. Chilima first came on the political scene in February of 2014 as the running mate of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) presidential candidate, Professor Arthur Peter Mutharika (APM), for the May 2014 presidential elections. The DPP won the presidency in 2014 making Chilima the vice president, and the Minister for Disaster Relief and Public Events (Kondowe & Ngwira 2019: 500, 501). But before the 2014-2019 term ended, in June 2018, Chilima announced that he was leaving the ruling party, the DPP, which had ushered him into the government in 2014 (Khamula 2018b). After leaving the ruling party in 2018, Chilima declared his intentions of running for president (Regalia 2019: 6) and as per requirements of the constitution that a person running for president should nominate a running mate who would become vice president if elected (Patel & Svasand 2013), Chilima nominated Michael Usi. Therefore, for the May 2019 elections, Chilima and Michael Usi were running as candidates of the United Transformation Movement (UTM), a party that Chilima launched in July 2018 at Masintha Ground in Lilongwe, the capital city of Malawi (Chiuta & Nthondo 2018). Our study examines how Chilima used proverbs in his campaign speeches. It further analyses the metaphors that these proverbs generated and it unveils how Chilima used these metaphors to campaign for himself as being the right presidential candidate to win the May 2019 elections.

2. Literature review

2.1. Proverbs in Africa

Proverbs are a manifestation of a rich cultural heritage. Proverbs are commonly used in Africa. They are transmitted orally from generation to generation. Proverbs are seen as a custodian of people's collective wisdom, philosophy of life, fears and aspirations (Orwenjo 2009: 123). Finnegan (2012: 380) states that in many African cultures, proverbs are used to express abstract ideas using culturally-

-embedded imagery. In Chichewa, a *proverb* is usually translated as *mwambi* (pl. *miyambi*) (Chakanza 2000: 10). Proverbs are collectively ascribed to ancestors seen as wise men and women of old age and when they are cited, they are usually preceded with the words such as *akuluakulu amati* 'so said the elders' (Chakanza 2000: 10). This is because they are like most proverbs in many other languages, in which their origin is not known or better yet hard to trace and that is why they are accounted to ancestors.

A proverb can be defined as "a short generally known sentence of the folk which contains wisdom, truth, morals, and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed and memorial form and which is handed down from generation to generation" (Mieder 2004: 3). This definition was selected from among many others as being universal, since it views proverbs as metaphorical in a way. Some proverbs contain metaphors (Mieder 2004: 10). Chakanza (2000) attests to this when he states that some Chichewa proverbs develop metaphors. For Chichewa, according to Chakanza (2000: 12), there are three types of proverbs. Firstly, there are those with no metaphor where there is no attempt to conceal their meaning, e.g. *kupatsa nkuika* 'giving is investing'. There are also proverbs that have metaphors and therefore their meaning is not obvious for all, e.g. *fodya wako ndi yemwe ali pamphuno* 'your tobacco is that which is on the nose'. Its interpretation draws on the close relationship between *fodya* '(snuff) tobacco' and *mphuno* 'nose' hence the former is mapped onto things or people while the latter is mapped onto the idea of nearness/closeness. The meaning is that one needs to appreciate the things close/near to them. Finally, there are proverbs whose meaning entirely depends on some underlying story, e.g. *chisoni chinaphetsa nkhwali* 'pity killed the francolin'. Its interpretation requires an understanding of the story that led to its creation. The story is that a snake sought warmth under the wings of the francolin but when it was warm enough, it refused to leave and bit the francolin (Chakanza 2000: 230). Here, the meaning is drawn from the kindness of the francolin towards the snake and hence the proverb means that sometimes those asking for help may cause harm to those helping them in unexpected ways. A feature of proverbs in Chichewa is the ability to go beyond being merely expressive and to convey a moral lesson and this differentiates it from other figurative expressions such as idioms (Chakanza 2000: 10). Kayange (2014) describes most Chichewa proverbs as being linguistically coded such that non-literal meaning is a key component in meaning making. Therefore, it seems that the nature of proverbs is best understood through the analysis of metaphors encapsulated in them.

Proverbs and metaphors require a cultural frame when being interpreted, hence both context and cultural references must be taken into account. Proverbs are

a product of old stories, folktales and past events, and therefore need to be interpreted with such a context in mind. This is the reason why the present study examines proverbs taking into account the context in which they were created and the context in which they were reproduced – in this case the political context in which Chilima used them.

2.2. Proverbs and metaphors use in Africa and beyond

Despite acknowledging the use of proverbs in politics, in African languages there is little linguistic attention given to proverbs use in politics compared to the use of metaphors. Zając (2021) states that there are not many works devoted to African proverbs use in discourse perspective, citing only Ehineni (2016). There are, however, studies on conceptual metaphors in proverbs. For example, Kobia (2016) conducted a study on Swahili proverbs using conceptual analysis. He found that in proverbs, names of animals were used to refer to people and describe human behaviours. The study, however, specifically focused on chicken metaphors since for the Swahili people, chicken has a great role in both economic and cultural life, and hence many proverbs have metaphors construed around chicken, its behaviour and how it is used by humans (Kobia 2016: 220). In Swahili, therefore, names of animals are the most prominent words used to construe proverbs and their metaphorical meanings. The animal kingdom seems to be a rich source domain for words that construe metaphorical expressions (Ehineni 2017: 142). Kobia (2016: 218) argues that domestic animals have been used to refer to characteristics and behaviours of humans because they have always been close to humans. For example, Olateju (2005: 372) states that among the Yoruba, farmers and hunters have contact with both domestic and wild animals, and therefore once humans have predicated of the actions and habits of animals, metaphors were formed. Rodriguez (2009) identified animals that were used in metaphors to refer to English and Spanish women and mapped these onto stereotypes associated with the female gender. Estaji & Nakhavah (2011) studied Persian proverbs and found that chicken metaphors are common.

An outstanding study of the political scene in Africa in regard to proverbs use is one written by Orwenjo (2009). He studied how Kenyan politicians used proverbs to present their ideologies and rally support for themselves while discrediting their opponents. It was found that politicians used proverbs to minimise and avert conflict, but in other cases, they used proverbs to incite conflict. Interestingly, the same proverb could be exploited differently by different politicians and this attests to how powerful a rhetoric tool proverbs are.

Most studies have placed emphasis on discourse strategies in political speeches without a solid emphasis on just proverbs or metaphors. A lot of studies have been conducted in Africa and beyond examining political speeches of some of the well-known politicians and presidents, e.g. the speeches of Barack Obama (Wang 2010, Irimiea 2010, Altikriti 2016), Donald Trump (Wang & Liu 2018, Liu & Lei 2018), George Bush (Hashim & Safwat 2015), Goodluck Jonathan (Kamalu & Iniworikabo 2016, Aremu 2017), Nelson Mandela (Aldosari 2020, Dwivedi 2015, Nurs 2015) and even social activist Martin Luther King Junior (Alvarez 1988, Vail 2006, Amenorvi 2020). These have been studied using various theories – some using the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, others from Critical Discourse Analysis perspective, and others yet from a Critical Metaphor Perspective, Speech Acts Theory and more.

On the African side, Michira (2014) studied Kenyan presidential discourse during campaigns. He found that people are interested not in what is said but rather how it is said, and therefore explained why riddles and metaphors are often selected as rhetorical strategies. Kamalu & Iniworikabo (2016) examined conceptual metaphors in the political speeches of three Nigerian presidents. The study found that metaphors of war, building, journey, and family were prevalent and used as a way of enhancing unity and nationhood. Further, these metaphors were used to communicate political ideologies such as the idea of dealing with poverty and corruption. Aremu (2017) also studied conceptual metaphors in Nigerian presidential speeches between 1979 and 2015, and his findings agreed with those of Kamalu & Iniworikabo (2016) on the domains chosen. Zając (2021) conducted a study that discusses the functions of Hausa proverbs in political discourse. Although not embedded in the context of campaign speeches specifically, the study offers a great insight into how Hausa proverbs are used in politics and the functions they serve.

While the majority of studies seem to focus on political speeches, there appears a gap as only a few scholars (see Orwenjo 2009) examined political speeches made in the context of the campaign or the use of proverbs and metaphors as a campaign tool. This study highlights how Chilima used proverbs which contained metaphors to communicate his political agenda in a bid to campaign for himself and discredit his opponents.

2.3. Functions of proverbs and metaphors in political discourse

Using proverbs and metaphors is a preferred linguistic strategy in political discourse. There are several reasons for this. Proverbs are preferred mode of speech in politics, firstly, because of their communal ownership which makes

them easy to accept, value and appreciate; and secondly, because they are able to simplify complicated propositions and formulate them in a short manner (Orwenjo 2009: 125). Proverbs also allow the veiling or covering of opinions and information by the speaker (Odebunmi 2008: 83). Despite the ability to speak at will, sometimes certain things are not easy to be said without expressing a personal judgment. Proverbs allow an individual to be expressive without revealing their feelings or intentions since they are propositions loaded with hidden feelings and intentions of the speaker (Lauhakangas 2007: 80). This aspect is very important especially for politicians. They are able to campaign for themselves or de-campaign their opponents without explicitly saying it. Proverbs allow political figures to ridicule their opponents. This is usually done through the metaphors that the proverbs contain and these metaphors help to evoke emotions in the masses by emphasising particular goals and unfolding absurd images in their minds which can then be used to ridicule other political opponents (Lin 2011: 471). In other words, proverbs allow politicians to present themselves in a positive light, to disgrace their opponents, to justify their own behaviour and to assert particular political issues. Therefore, politicians use proverbs and metaphors that have positive self-representation for themselves and negative representations of their political opponents (Lenard & Cosic 2017: 61, 65).

Zając (2021), working on Hausa proverbs, stated that proverbs have pragmatic functions that they serve in political discourse. They are an element of political rhetoric and can therefore be used for stylistic reasons; they are also an element of argument in political discourse as they are known to give generalising statements, advice, justifications and explanations for actions, and therefore proverbs become persuasive when placed in the right context (2021: 49, 51). Proverbs are also an element of appeal and therefore are used in political discourse to appeal to citizens. Finally, proverbs are an element of political satire and can add humour and irony (Zając 2021: 54). These functions attest to the flexibility that proverbs have.

Additionally, Otieno et al. (2017) stated that metaphors help the public make sense of different political issues; understand general attitude towards politics; reveal ideological positions, as well as fulfil persuasive and rhetorical goals. Political discourse is often not easy to follow for an ordinary person. Metaphors created by the proverbs help simplify complicated political arguments and help to make complicated issues more simplified in order to be understood by the public (Mio 1997: 113). Abstract political arguments are simply reduced to a metaphorical form which ordinary people can understand. This is a metaphorical mapping done by making these abstract new domains better understood in

familiar domains (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 159). In this way, people are able to understand political issues by relating contexts they already know with the new contexts. Proverbs, therefore, offer subtleness. For reasons such as these, proverbs and metaphors are a tool for campaign in politics.

3. Theoretical framework: Conceptual Metaphor Theory

This study is guided by the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (henceforth CMT) which was developed by Lakoff & Johnson (1980). They argued that there is a relationship between metaphorical language and daily life. They further stated that daily life is interwoven with metaphorical expressions, hence understanding a metaphorical aspect of language is fundamental to understanding of a language as a whole. Metaphors are seen as being fundamental to language. Proverbs are said to be metaphorical since their meaning is in many cases not communicated literally. Proverbs are characterised by use of various figures of speech among which metaphor is the most salient one (Emrich 1972). In proverbs one phenomenon's description is used in order to explain another and this is a key concept of CMT where one particular kind of experience is mapped onto another (different) experience (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). In other words, there is mapping of one conceptual domain onto another (Muller 2005: 55). According to CMT, metaphors are ideas understood in terms of other ideas where one conceptual area interprets another area. The primary area where ideas are extracted is called the source domain which is made up of concrete experiences, while the related area where the idea is applied to is called a target domain and is abstract in nature (Kövecses 2003: 6). For example, LIFE, ARGUMENTS, LOVE and SOCIAL ARGUMENTS are in the target domain since they are abstract, while WAR, BUILDINGS, FOOD, PLANTS and JOURNEY are source domains. When we say *time is money*, we are trying to understand the notion of TIME through our familiarity with MONEY. This is therefore a metaphor in which TIME is compared to MONEY. Money is a concrete thing; it can be touched and felt while time is intangible and abstract. Therefore, TIME is the target domain while MONEY is the source domain. Our understanding of money and its use and limitations makes it possible to understand the abstract notion of TIME in similar terms.

Lakoff & Johnson (1980) argued that there is a conceptual correspondence between the two domains which they called *mapping*. Through mapping, therefore, relatively abstract target domain becomes more concrete (Kövecses 2002: 6). These new mappings of the abstract onto the concrete domains lead to creation of new meanings. Therefore, concept mapping helps to understand more abstract domains in terms of concrete domains.

4. Methodology

For the current research, 17 political speeches of Chilima were recorded in audio and video formats between July 2018 and February 2019 as this was the period when Chilima was most active campaigning for himself and de-campaigning his opponents. The speeches were then transcribed. 52 proverbs were extracted from the speeches along with the contexts in which they were produced, since proverbs do not stand in isolation and should be analysed in context (Hanzen 2007: 6). In deciding which item is a proverb and which is not, the following techniques were employed: 1. The Chichewa proverb collections were consulted, namely: *Nzeru za kale: The wisdom of the old* (Kumakanga 1975), *Cinyanja cina* (Gwengwe 1964), *Wisdom of the people: 2000 Chinyanja proverbs* (Chakanza 2000), and *Miyambi ya patsokwe* (Rodgers 2016). 2. Consultations with native speakers of Chichewa were done, and 3. The author's familiarity with proverbs helped compile a list of the proverbs. Due to the number of proverbs collected, it was impossible to have all of them under discussion. Therefore, the samples selected for presentation are in our opinion the most interesting and revealing examples in some aspect. 6 of them have been discussed in this paper. Table 1 below provides a list of the sampled proverbs with their English literary translations and figurative meanings.

TABLE 1. Sampled proverbs and their meanings

Chichewa proverb	English translation	Meaning
(1) *Madzi othimitsira moto sasankha.*	To put out a fire, you do not choose the water / You do not choose the type of water to put out a fire with.	i) Unity is important for a cause. ii) As long as something gets the job done, use it.
(2) *Mukawona mbuzi ikuthawa pansipu obiriwira mudziwe kuti pali linthumbu.*	When you see a goat running away from green pastures, it means there are soldier ants.	When people seem to leave what seems to be good things, just know there is trouble.
(3) *Mukadzawona makoswe akutuluka mnyumba imodzi kupita ina mudziwe kuti ufa bwatha.*	When you see rats leaving one house for another, know that there is no more flour.	i) People leave one place for another when the goodness in the place has run out. ii) In politics, when people leave one party for another, it means usually that there are problems in the party.

Chichewa proverb	English translation	Meaning
(4) *M'mimba ndi nchipala.*	The womb is like the blacksmith's forge.	i) There is no foretelling what personality a child one will give birth to will have. ii) Even things of the same origin can be different.
(5) *Mukawona mkango utanyowa sindiye kuti wasanduka mbuzi.*	When you see a lion wet, it does not mean it's transformed into a goat	Being quiet does not mean foolishness.
(6) *Kulumpha dzenje nkuliwonera patali.*	Leaping over a pit is seeing it from afar.	When aware of a problem, one would find a solution to avoid it

To process the data, context of each text was analysed and contextual differences were identified. Metaphors were excerpted from the proverbs and examined to determine the meaning created from cross-domain mapping, and the overall meaning that the proverb sought to convey. Finally, an examination of how various concepts of the proverb were mapped onto the appropriate events, processes or people was done to determine how meaning was generated using CMT.

5. Data analysis

Out of the 17 speeches that we sampled, we extracted 52 proverbs that Chilima used to address various issues entangling the Malawi nation, such as cases of looting, corruption, and exploitation, as they pertain to the current government[1] as a way of discrediting them. The proverbs also encapsulated Chilima's dreams and aspirations for the country. In the samples below, those various themes are discussed.

Chilima built upon the theme of unity and solidarity as one way of dealing with the problems that engulf Malawi. He presented himself as someone willing to work with others as a way of showing that he is a team player and that he has the interests of Malawians at heart. Through the use of the proverb (1) *Madzi othimitsira moto sasankha* 'You do not choose the water to put out a fire with' in Excerpt 1 below, Chilima called for people to take a unified stand to put an end

[1] Current government here is used to refer to the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP)-led government since that was the government in place in 2019 (before the elections).

to the problems that the country is facing and to bring the desired change in Malawi.

Excerpt 1

Ndimafuna ndiyamikire, kuyamikira mtima osadzikonda omwe anzathu a zipani za AFORD ndi Tikonze awonetsa mdziko mwathu muno. Awa awonetsa chikondi chachikulu padziko lawo povomera kuti tigwire ntchito limodzi. Pa Chichewa pali mau, amatero kuti ***madzi othimitsira moto sasankha***.

'I wanted to uphold and praise the spirit of being selfless which the political parties of AFORD [Alliance for Democracy] and Tikonze[2] have shown in our country. These have shown love for their country by accepting that we work together. In Chichewa they say: **you do not choose the water to put out a fire with**.'

(COMESA Hall, Blantyre, 6 February, 2019)

At the beginning of Excerpt 1, Chilima praised "the patriotic spirit" that the two parties AFORD (Alliance for Democracy) and Tikonze have given example of by agreeing to work with his party. He goes further and highlights that these two have shown love for their country as he says: *Awa awonetsa chikondi chachikulu pa dziko lawo povomera kuti tigwire ntchito limodzi* 'These have shown love for their country by accepting that we work together'. By referring to their agreement to work with UTM (United Transformation Movement) as "patriotism", Chilima suggests that those who have not done so are "not patriotic". He also demonstrates, through this speech, that these have shown "selfless love" and highlights that there is work to be done through the phrase: *tigwire ntchito limodzi* 'that we should do this work together'. The word *limodzi* 'together' at the end suggests a joining of forces which is what AFORD and Tikonze have done by siding with UTM. He then introduces the proverb (1) *Madzi othimitsira moto sasankha* which literally means 'one does not choose which water to use to put out a fire'.

In the proverb, we notice the use of *madzi* 'water' and *moto* 'fire' in metaphors. For thousands of years, water has been a symbol for transformation. Even in the world's major religions such as Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism; water is a symbol of purification, cleansing, rebirth, and regeneration or renewal (Eom 2014: 31; Narimani & Sarbangholi 2016: 222). Fire, on the other hand, is seen as a destructive thing. With the various advantages that come with it, it being destructive is the major association with it. Kondowe & Ngwira (2019) also noted

---

[2] Tikonze is a shortened version of Tikonze Peoples Movement (TPM). It was an electoral alliance of 6 tiny parties that was formed ahead of the 21 May 2019 elections, and whose leader was Dr. Cassim Chilumpha (Khamula 2018b).

that Chilima uses the concept of FIRE to express the challenges that Malawi as a country is facing. Therefore, through the metaphors of FIRE and WATER, Chilima maps FIRE onto the problems the country is facing and then he maps WATER onto the patriotic politicians who are joining hands to work together to put an end to these problems. Therefore, Chilima uses the source domain of FIRE and WATER to make people understand the target political domain which discusses PROBLEMS and SOLUTIONS. Through the metaphors, Chilima also acknowledges the fact that the country is going through problems and that there is need to deal with those problems collectively.

Drawing on the notion of WATER and by mapping FIRE onto PROBLEMS THAT MALAWI IS FACING, as well as by mapping WATER onto PATRIOTIC POLITICIANS, Chilima repurposes the proverb (1) *Madzi othimitsira moto sasankha* 'you do not choose which water to put out a fire with' to communicate to his listeners the need to work together to bring change in the country. Drawing on the symbolism of water and fire, Chilima communicates that the problems that Malawi is facing can be put to an end and that transformation is possible. He, therefore, calls upon "patriotic Malawians" to join hands to purify, cleanse and renew Malawi so that "the lost glory" is brought back.

By the use of proverbs, Chilima also attacks his opposition. He does this by describing his party, the UTM, as a better party compared to the other parties, especially the ruling party DPP which he considers to be a party of wrongdoers. In the next excerpt, Chilima campaigns for himself and his party while de-campaigning the other parties. Consider Excerpt 2 below.

Excerpt 2

Ndiye mukawona akutijoyina, mudziwa kuti kuli bwino ndi kuno, uko kwayipa. Mwambi wake nawu, ***mukawona mbuzi ikuthawa pa nsipu obiliwira, mudziwe kuti pali linthumbu***.

'So, when you see them joining us, know that it is better here and it is not good over there. Here is the proverb: **when you see a goat running away from green pastures, know that there are soldier ants [there]**.'

(Njamba Freedom Park, Blantyre, 29 July, 2018)

Chilima started with comparing his party to other parties in Malawi and making reference to the idea that people are joining his party because it is better compared to the other parties. This has been explained by the passage: *ndiye mukawona akutijoyina, mudziwa kuti kuli bwino ndi kuno, uko kwayipa* 'when you see them joining us, know that it is better here and not over there'. By saying this, Chilima

has presented the political context which is based on the premise that if people are joining his party they do so because it is "good" compared to the other parties. Chilima, then, used this political context to introduce the proverb (2) *Mukawona mbuzi ikuthawa pansipu obiliwira, mudziwe kuti pali linthumbu* 'When you see a goat running away from green pastures, know that there are soldier ants'.

In this political context, we are able to interpret that Chilima is not speaking about actual "goats", "ants" and "green pasture". The concept of *mbuzi* (GOAT) has been mapped onto PEOPLE. *Nsipu wobiriwira* 'green pasture' is a set phrase that symbolically refers to goodness or good things. While *linthumbu* 'soldier ants' are very well known in the Malawian culture as being destructive and harmful as observed in everyday life. In essence, through the use of these imagery, Chilima maps GOATS onto PEOPLE/MALAWIANS, GREEN PASTURE to the BENEFITS THEY ENJOY AS MEMBERS OF A POLITICAL PARTY, and ANTS as TROUBLES or PROBLEMS. We could also argue that by choosing to represent the GOOD within the metaphor by *nsipu wobiriwira* 'green pasture' and the BAD with *linthumbu* 'soldier ants', Chilima seems to hinge on the idea of size to show that no matter the good, small unseen problems could still make people leave.

Referring to *linthumbu* 'soldier ants', *mbuzi* 'goat' and *nsipu wobiriwira* 'green pasture' in the political context, Chilima metaphorically communicates that people are leaving seemingly good parties including the DPP, and joining UTM because there are problems in those parties which are forcing them to leave. Thus, he used the proverb to tell Malawians that his party is "good" and the other parties are not. This is not uncommon in politics to have politicians positively campaign for themselves and de-campaign their opponents (Lenard & Cosic 2017: 61). In this case, Chilima elevates his party as being good in a bid to win voters. Chilima, by the use of the proverb quoted above, would also be seen to be explaining why he left the DPP in 2018 without giving the actual reasons why he did so (Khamula 2018a). After winning on the DPP ticket, Chilima still left the party and ended up forming his own. We therefore see that Chilima uses the proverb with the pragmatic function of explaining his actions though not in explicit terms. Therefore, not only does he use proverbs as a way of campaigning for himself, he also alludes to the DPP having problems which led him to leave.

This proverb also has a similar meaning to another one that he used: (3) *Mukaona makoswe akutuluka nyumba imodzi kupita ina, mudziwe kuti ufa bwatha* which translates to 'When you see rats leaving one house for another, know that there is no more flour'. Observe in Excerpt 3 below.

Excerpt 3

Tonsefe ndi udindo wathu kutengapo mbali osaonerera iyayi. Ena atsogola kale[…] a Banda akubwera, a Saonda ndi awa milungu iwiri yapita atijoina. Bwerani nonse bwerani tikhale pamodzi tigwire ntchito. Titukule dzikoli chifukwa amanena kuti, ***mukadzaona makoswe akutuluka mnyumba imodzi, kupita ina, mudziwe kuti ufa bwatha***.

'It is our duty each one of us to take part and not be onlookers. Others have already started […] Banda is coming, Saonda[3] joined two weeks ago. Come let us be together and work together. We should develop this country because they say: **when you see rats leaving one house for another, know that there is no more flour.'**

(Mchinji, 15 September 2018)

In this proverb, we find the metaphors construed by the use of words such as *makoswe* 'rats', *ufa* 'flour', and *nyumba* 'house'. In Malawi, rats are more associated with being found in homes than mice which are found in the bush. One characteristic feature of rats, however, is that they feed on flour – mostly maize flour. Now, the understanding is that when rats are leaving a house which is a symbol for comfort and safety, they are doing so because flour which is their food is no longer available. Therefore, the HOUSE is standing for COMFORT while the FLOUR is standing for GOOD THINGS in the metaphor. RATS are mapped onto PEOPLE. While using this proverb, just like the previous proverb, Chilima mapped animals, here: RATS onto PEOPLE, HOUSE to POLITICAL PARTIES, and FLOUR to the GOOD that is found in these parties. Through this proverb, Chilima was communicating that people are leaving other political parties because they no longer see the good that such parties hold. So, just like the previous proverb (2) Chilima explains why people seem to be leaving the other parties and joining his party. In this case, we see the ANIMALS being mapped onto PEOPLE, FOOD being mapped onto GOODNESS, and BUILDINGS being mapped onto POLITICAL PARTIES in a way to make people understand why certain actions are being done. Not only does he present the other political parties as being outdated and useless – since there is no longer "good" there; he campaigns for himself by implying that his party holds the "good" since people are joining it.

The use of animals to figuratively refer to people was seen in Swahili proverbs, Hausa proverbs, and Kenyan proverbs (Kobia 2016, Baldi 2015, Michira 2014) and we see that it is also a common occurrence in Chilima's proverbs to use

---

[3] Chilima was sampling some Malawian politicians who had left their parties and joined UTM. Lucius Banda left UDF (United Democratic Front), while George Saonda left DPP (Democratic Progressive Party) for UTM (United Transformation Movement) before the 21 May 2019 elections (Ngwira 2018).

animals to refer to people. In one case, he used *mbuzi* 'goat', in another – *makoswe* 'rats'. We also notice that the animals that are evoked are those that are usually in close proximity with humans. So, we could agree with Kobia (2016: 220) and Ehineni (2017: 142) who stated that names of animals are a great source domain of words to construe metaphors. Several arguments could be made for this usage of animals but Finnegan (2012: 386, 388) found that in metaphorical comparison, proverbs about animals or birds in particular are common. Further, she argues that sometimes it is not always about proximity of the animals to the humans, but rather that some communities are rural, and hence have animals constantly impinge on humans (Finnegan 2012: 393).

Chilima also attacked individual people through proverbs. After all, the idea is not only to discredit political parties that are opponents, but also other political candidates who are running for office. (4) *M'mimba ndi nchipala* 'The womb is like a blacksmith's forge' in Excerpt 4 below pictures the late president Bingu wa Mutharika (though not explicitly mentioned) as a better leader than the then current president of Malawi, Arthur Peter Mutharika, brother to the late Bingu. By doing this, Chilima de-campaigned Mutharika.

Excerpt 4

Ndigwirizane ndi a national chair kuti malemu Professor Bingu wa Mutharika, mzimu wawo uwuse mumtendere, nawonso adachitapo mbali yawo yayikulu kwabasi. Zikakhala zimene zikukanikazi, ayi ***m'mimba ndi nchipala***.

'Let me agree with the National Chairperson that the late Prof. Bingu wa Mutharika, may his soul rest in peace, did the best he could. But for these which are failing, **the womb is like a blacksmith's forge**.'

(Kasungu, 26 August, 2018)

Chilima begins by agreeing with the National Chairperson who stated that the late Bingu wa Mutharika did his best in as far as developing Malawi is concerned. Then we see him using the same to contrast with the failures of the then present government led by Bingu's brother Peter Mutharika through the expression: *zikakhala zikukanikazi* 'as for these which are failing'. This expression presupposes Arthur Peter Mutharika was doing his best in terms of development but is failing. Chilima here highlights that there are significant differences between Bingu's leadership and his brother's leadership which was full of failures. He then introduces the proverb (4) *M'mimba ndi nchipala* 'the womb is like a blacksmith's forge' as a way of relating this with the political context. We see the concepts of *m'mimba* 'womb' and *nchipala* 'blacksmith's forge'. The idea of WOMB has therefore been mapped onto that of BLACKSMITH'S FORGE. From a cultural

perspective, the proverb's principal meaning is that children from the same family can have different personalities, although they came out from the same womb. Just like what happens in a blacksmith's forge in which several identical elements are melted and come out shaped differently, in a similar manner, children can be born in the same family but be different. We, therefore, see that Chilima has repurposed the proverb. The idea of people born in the same family has been maintained while character has been replaced with leadership skills.

Maintaining the cultural context is therefore effective in providing the information that is needed in the political context: Bingu wa Mutharika and Arthur Peter Mutharika are from the same family. The political context which in this case is the fact that both Bingu and Arthur Peter appear on the political scene in Malawi, is helpful in refocusing the meaning from CHARACTER to LEADERSHIP. Through the proverb, Chilima manages to argue that children from the same family can have different leadership styles. By highlighting that Bingu did his best and comparing his leadership to that of his brother, Chilima points out Arthur Peter Mutharika's negative attribute as a leader who lacks leadership skills. Chilima, therefore, manages to present Arthur Peter Mutharika as a "not-better-leader" and hence de-campaigns him. He instructs his audience not to vote for Arthur Peter Mutharika despite him being a brother to a successful leader – the late Bingu wa Mutharika. Therefore, he contrasts the leadership of Arthur Peter Mutharika with that of his late brother Bingu wa Mutharika. The metaphor was used in this case to de-campaign the then president through reference to and comparison with his brother.

In addition, Chilima also uses the proverbs and the metaphors they generate to appeal emotionally to Malawians (see Zając 2019: 51-52) for the same phenomena in Hausa). He does so by speaking good of the voters in a bid to sway them to his side. Consider Excerpt 5 below.

Excerpt 5

Ndiye tikudziwitseni kuti anthu a ku Malawi kuno ndi anthu ozindikira ndipo mudzawadziwa kuti ndiozindikira pa 21 May 2019. Kuti mumve bwino amene mukuchita zimenezi, amene mukuona ngati mtundu wa a Malawi ndiopusa, mwambi wake nawu, ***mukaona mkango utanyowa, sindiye kuti wasanduka mbuzi****. Ndiye a Malawi akafatsa chonchi, musayese ngati sakuona. Pa 21 May 2019 mikango ili payi idzaluma kudutsa mbava zimene zikutibera mafuta athu.*

'So, we want to tell you that Malawians are knowledgeable people and you will see this on 21 May 2019. For you to fully understand, you who think Malawians are foolish, here is the proverb: **When you see a lion wet, it does not mean it's transformed into a goat**. So,

Malawians being this quiet does not mean that they cannot see. Come May 2019, these lions will bite all thieves who are stealing our oil.'

(Zomba, 8 September 2018)

In Excerpt 5, Chilima starts by making a factual yet subjective statement arguing that Malawians are learned, well educated, smart people. He goes on to praise them by saying that his opponents (which we identify through usage of the personal pronoun *mu* 'you') will know how clever and learnt Malawians are when 21 May 2019 will come (this is the date when the 2019 elections were scheduled to take place). In order to seal in the idea that Malawians are clever and in speaking to those who think Malawians are foolish, he then introduced the proverb (5) *Mukaona mkango utanyowa, sikuti wasanduka mbuzi* which would literally translate to 'When you see a lion wet, it does not mean it's transformed into a goat', i.e. 'a lion remains a lion despite the situation'. In this proverb, Chilima uses *mkango* 'lion' and *mbuzi* 'goat' to form a metaphor. A lion is considered to be majestic, strong, just, mighty, and even full of valour, while a goat from a cultural perspective is considered to be weak and foolish, and further in the Malawian context, a goat is foolish and when one calls you a 'goat', it is never a compliment. So, when Chilima maps a LION onto the CHARACTER OF MALAWIANS, he does this in a bid to praise Malawians by associating them with the good attributes that a lion represents. Chilima, therefore, appeals to the electorate when he says they are not goats. In essence he is saying they are not foolish, because they are strong, they will make the right decision and "bite" the thieves stealing the oil. Chilima makes reference to an incident in Malawi where it was confirmed that K1.6 billion worth of oil had been stolen from ESCOM's (Electricity Supply Corporation of Malawi) Lilongwe and Blantyre offices and it was rumoured that some DPP (Democratic Progress Party) officials were involved in this looting (see Khamula 2018c). Therefore, pragmatically, Chilima by addressing this issue in his speech presents the then government as that of "thieves" and that way he discredits them. Through these two metaphors, Chilima appeals to and praises Malawians and hopes this will result into them voting for him.

Finally, Chilima also uses proverbs as a way of making promises for the future, once elected into power. In this way, he uses the proverb in Excerpt 6 below.

Excerpt 6

Ndiye ntchito 1 miliyoni ndizotheka tidzakwanitsa ndithu, masomphenya amenewo tili nawo ndife. Amanena kuti ***kudumpha dzenje nkulionera patali****. Ife taliona kuti ilo ndiye tikufuna tikalilumphe tilembe anthu 1 miliyoni, anthu akhale ndi kuthekera.*

'As for [the promise of] 1 million jobs, we will manage, because we are the ones with the vision. They say, **to jump a pit is to see it from afar**. We have seen it and we want to jump it by employing 1 million people to be empowered.'

(Nchalo Trading Centre, 28 February 2019)

In Excerpt 6, Chilima makes promises of the future by alluding to the 1 million job positions that he claimed he would create once voted into power. He then uses the proverb as a confirmation and assurance of why he knows he will be able to achieve that. Using the proverb (6) *Kudumpha dzenje nkulionera patali* 'to jump a pit, you must see it from a far', he uses *dzenje* 'pit' figuratively. This metaphor may refer to problems and convey the idea of being prepared for things before they happen. During the campaign period, candidates make all sorts of promises and this was one of the many that Chilima made. Through this proverb and the metaphor it generates, Chilima assures the voters that he will deliver as he is prepared for it in advance. In this case, the problem that he knows is that there are a lot of unemployed people, and therefore since the problem is anticipated, he will be able to solve it. He refers to the source domain of PIT and maps it onto the target domain of PROBLEMS to communicate the idea of planning. In this way, Chilima uses the proverb and the metaphor it generates to communicate to Malawians that should they vote for him, he will provide 1 million jobs.

6. Conclusion

In relation to meaning creation and the political agenda advanced by the proverbs, the study reveals that Chilima used most of his proverbs to criticise his political opponents – example (2) and (3) – and to associate his political opponents with the problems and evils experienced in Malawi so that people would see these politicians in negative light and himself in positive light – example (4). In his creation of new meaning, Chilima mostly maintained the cultural context in which the proverbs were coined, thereby providing the lens through which his audience saw the acts that Chilima was discussing, but he added a political context that re-focused the meaning of the proverb in a way that it addressed a political issue. In most cases Chilima mapped several concepts in the proverbs onto the events, processes, people or even elements in the physical world or in the political context in which the proverbs were put to bring meaning.

In this mapping, like the CMT suggests, people could easily refer to the source context. For example, animals, family, and buildings were used as source domains. They were among the most preferred domains for mapping onto the target domain. This is because these domains are easy to relate to. For example, from

the animal domain, the animals Chilima used (goats, rats, and lions) are those that people live with or that they are familiar to people due to their presence in orature and cultural significance, and therefore it is easy to draw metaphors from observation of their behaviour. Through this mapping, the proverbs gained new meanings which enabled Chilima to communicate his political agenda to Malawians. Additionally, what made relating to these source domains easier was the introduction of the political context which in our case was the speech before and after the use of the proverb. This speech helped to put the proverbs in context – from a political angle and this made the relation more clearly visible. Based on the examples of the metaphorical proverbs discussed in this article, the following main functions of proverbs that Chilima used to campaign can be identified: 1. to attack and discredit his opponents and their parties –examples (2)-(4), 2. to praise and emotionally appeal to Malawians – examples (1) and (5), 3. to make promises of the future plans for the country once chosen as the president – example (6), and 4. to caution his opponents – example (5) again.

References

Abbood, S. & S. Mustafa. 2014. "Metaphors in political and literary texts: A pragmatic analysis". *Arab World English Journal* 5(1). 277-289.

Aldosari, B.N. 2020. "A critical discourse analysis of Nelson Mandela's defense speech: I am prepared to die". *Arab World English Journal* 11(3). 3-17.

Altikriti, S. 2016. "Persuasive speech acts in Barack Obama's inaugural speeches (2009, 2013) and the last state of the union address (2016)". *International Journal of Linguistics* 8(2). 47-66.

Alvarez, A. 1988. "Martin Luther King's 'I have a dream': The speech event as metaphor". *Journal of Black Studies* 18(3). 337-357.

Amenorvi, C.R. 2020. "The paradox of face threats in Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr's speeches". *Nairobi Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 4(4). 91-110.

Aremu, M. 2017. "Pragmatic analysis of conceptual mappings in inaugural speeches of Nigerian presidents". *Covenant Journal of Languages Studies* 5(2). 32-47.

Baldi, S. (2015). Proverbs as an educational factor in Hausa society. *Selected Proceedings of the Symposium on West African Languages* 249-265. Online: https://unora.unior.it/retrieve/dfd1bedc-d7a0-d55a-e053-3705fe0af723/20%20Baldi%20249-266.pdf [04.04.2023].

Chakanza, J.C. 2000. *Wisdom of the people: 2000 Chinyanja proverbs*. Blantyre: CLAIM.

Chavula, J. 2019. *How does the English only medium work in the classroom: A survey report*. Online: http://langdev.mw/downloads/How%20Does%20The%20English%20Only%20Medium%20Work%20In20The%20Classroom.pdf [20.10.2022].

Chiuta, W. & J. Nthondo, 2018. *High spirits at UTM launch: Chilima launches Malawi presidency bid, hints on manifesto*. Online: https://www.nyasatimes.com/high-spirits-at-utm-launch-chilima-launches-malawi-presidency-bid-hints-on-manifesto/ [22.12.2021].

Domowitz, S. 1992. "Wearing proverbs: Anyi names for printed factory cloth". *African Arts. Special Issue* 25(3). 82-87.

Dwivedi, A. 2015. "Mandelian rhetoric: An analysis of Nelson Mandela's political speeches". *Linguistics and Literature Studies* 3(2). 66-69.

Ehineni, O.T. (2016). "A discourse-structural analysis of Yorùbá proverbs in interaction". *Colombian Applied Linguistics Journal* 18(1). 71-83.

Ehineni, T. 2017. "From conceptual metaphors to cultural metaphors: Metaphorical language in Yoruba proverbs and praise poems". *Language Matters* 48(3). 130-144.

Emrich, D. 1972. *Folklore on the American Land*. London: Little Brown.

Eom, M. 2014. "Water". *Journal of Symbols and Sandplay Therapy* 5(1). 30-35.

Estaji, A. & F. Nakhavali. 2011. "Semantic derogation in Persian animal proverbs". *Theory and Practice in Language Studies* 1(9). 1213-1217.

Finnegan, R. 2012. "Proverbs". *Oral Literature in Africa* 14 [online]. Cambridge: Open Book Publishers. Online: http://books.openedition.org/obp/1202 [23.02.2023].

Gloppen, S. et al. 2006. *The institutional context of the 2004 general elections in Malawi*. Norway: Chr. Michelsen Institute.

Gwengwe, J.W. 1964. *Cinjanya cina* [Other sayings in Chinyanja/Chichewa]. Zambia Educational Publishing House.

Hanzen, M. 2007. *When in Rome, do as Romans do: Proverbs as part of EFL Teaching*. Unpublished MA Thesis. Jönköping University, School of Education and Communication, Sweden.

Hashim, S.S.M., & S. Safwat. 2015. "Speech acts in political speeches". *Journal of Modern Education Review* 5(7). 699-706.

Irimiea, S. 2010. "A rhetorical and comparative study of the victory speeches of Barack Obama and Mircea Geoana". *The Journal of Linguistic and Intercultural Education* 3. 41-53.

Kayambazinthu, E. 1998. "The language planning situation in Malawi". *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 19(5). 369-439.

Kamalu, I. & P.B Iniworikabo. 2016. "Metaphors in selected political speeches of Nigerian democratic presidents". *California Linguistic Notes* 40(2). 71-84.

Khamula, O. 2018a. "Malawi VP Chilima out of DPP presidential race, quits party". *Nyasa Times*. Online: https://nyasatimes.com/malawi-vp-chilima-out-of-dpp-presidential-race-quits-party/ [22.12.2021].

Khamula, O. 2018b. "Malawi electoral combination of 6 tiny parties formed: Tikonze Peoples Movement". *Nyasa Times*. Online: https://www.nyasatimes.com/malawi-electoral-combination-of-6-tiny-parties-formed-tikonze-peoples-movement/ [23.02.2023].

Khamula, O. 2018c. "Escom confirms K1.6bn theft of electricity generator fuel: Malawi VP statement a matter of fact". *Nyasa Times*. Online: https://www.nyasatimes.com/escom-confirms-k1-6bn-theft-of-electricity-generator-fuel-malawi-vp-statement-a-matter-of-fact/ [26.03.2023].

Kishindo, P.J. 2001. "Authority in language: The role of the Chichewa Board (1972-1995) in prescription and standardization of Chichewa". *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 62. 261-283.

Kayange, G.M. 2014. "Understanding the semantics of Chichewa proverbs in light of contemporary philosophy of language". *Journal of Cultural Studies* 26(2). 20-233.

Kobia, J.M. 2016. "A conceptual metaphorical analysis of Swahili proverbs with reference to chicken metaphor". *International Journal of Education and Research* 4(2). 217-228.

Kondowe, W. & F. Ngwira. 2019. "Projecting voice in political discourse: A study of Saulos Klaus Chilima's discursive strategies, Malawi". *Theory and Practice in Language Studies* 9(5). 500-509.

Kövecses, Z. 2003. "Language, figurative thought and cross-cultural comparison". *Metaphor and Symbol* 18 (4). 311-320.

Kövecses, Z. 2002. *Metaphor: A practical introduction.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kumakanga, S. 1975. *Nzeru za kale: The wisdom of old times.* Blantyre: Longman.

Lakoff, G. & M. Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors we live by.* Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Lauhakangas, O. 2007. "Use of proverbs and narrative thought". *Folklore: Electronic Journal of Folklore* 35. 77-84. Online: https://doi.org/10.7592/FEJF2007.35.lauhakangas [24.04.2019].

Lenard, D. & N. Cosic. 2017. *The analysis of metaphors and metonymies in political speeches – a case study of the former Croatian Minister Ivo Sanader.* Online: https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/Documents/college-artslaw/elal/elr-journal/issue-2/ELR-Lenard-Cosic.PDF [22.10.2020].

Lin, C.W. 2011. "The study of political language: A brief overview of recent research". *Chiun-Nan Annual Bulletin* 3(7). 471-485.

Liu, D. & L. Lei. 2018. "The appeal to political sentiment: An analysis of Donald Trump's and Hillary Clinton's speech themes and discourse strategies in the 2016 US presidential election". *Discourse, Context & Media* 25. 143-152.

Mchombo, S. 2017. "Chichewa (Bantu)". *The handbook of morphology*, ed. by A. Spencer & A.M. Zwicky. New Jersey, NJ: John Wiley & Sons. 500-520. Online: https://doi.org/10.1002/9781405166348.ch25 [20.08.2022].

Michira, J.N. 2014. "The language of politics: A CDA of the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign discourse". *International Journal of Education and Research* 2(1). 1-18.

Mieder, W. 2004. *Proverbs: A handbook.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Mio, J.S. 1997. "Metaphor and politics". *Metaphor and Symbol* 12(2). 113-133.

Muller, R. 2005. "Creative metaphors in political discourse: Theoretical considerations on the basis of Swiss speeches". *Metaphoric.de.* 53-73.

Narimani, P., & H.S. Sarbangholi. 2016. *Introduction to the symbol-identification of the presence of water in Iran's Mosques architecture*.

Ngwira, R. 2018. "Lucius Banda elected as UTM Campaign Director". *Face of Malawi*. Online: https://www.faceofmalawi.com/2018/12/18/lucius-banda-elected-as-utm-campaign-director/ [23.02.2023].

Nur, S. (2015). Analysis of interpersonal metafunction in public speeches: A case study of Nelson Mandela's presidential inauguration speech. *The International Journal of Social Sciences* 30(1). 52-63.

Odebunmi, A. 2008. "Pragmatic function of crisis-motivated proverbs in Ola Rotimi's 'The gods are not to blame'". *Linguistik Online* 33(1). 73-84.

Olateju, A. 2005. "The Yoruba animal metaphors: Analysis and interpretation". *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 14(3). 368-383.

Omozuwa, V.E. & E.U.C. Ezejideaku. 2008. "A stylistic analysis of the language of political campaigns in Nigeria: Evidence from the 2007 general elections". *OGIRISI: A New Journal of African Studies* 5. 40-54.

Orwenjo, D.O. 2009. "Political grandstanding and the use of proverbs in African political discourse". *Discourse & Society* 20(1). 123-146.

Otieno, R.F., F.R. Owino, J.M. Attyan & J.O. Ogone. 2017. "Image schemas in political discourse in Kenya". *European Journal of Research in Social Sciences* 5(2). 71-84.

Patel, N., & L. Svasand (eds.). 2013. *Government and politics in Malawi.* 2nd edn. Lilongwe: Capital Printing Press.

Regalia, S. 2019. *Malawi. The road to the 2019 tripartite elections: Reflections on corruption, land and multiparty politics.* Notes de l'Ifri, Sub-Saharan Africa Center.

Reilly, C., E. ResCue & J.J. Chavula. 2022. "Language policy in Ghana and Malawi: Differing approaches to multilingualism in education". *Journal of the British Academy* 10(4). 69-95.

Rodgers, B. 2016. *Miyambi ya patsokwe* [Proverbs of the grinding mill/granary]. The Series of Rodgers Bounty Books. Online: https://www.yumpu.com/xx/document/read/57400333/miyambi-ya-patsokwe-by-bonwell-rodgers [31.05.2023].

Rodríguez, I.L. 2009. "Of women, bitches, chickens, and vixens: Animal metaphors for women in English and Spanish". *Culture, Language and Representation* 7. 77-100.

Vail, M. 2006. "The 'integrative' rhetoric of Martin Luther King Jr.'s 'I have a dream' speech". *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 9(1). 51-78.

Wang, J. 2010. "A critical discourse analysis of Barack Obama's speeches". *Journal of Language Teaching and Research* 1(3). 254-261.

Wang, Y. & H. Liu. 2018. "Is Trump always rambling like a fourth-grade student? An analysis of stylistic features of Donald Trump's political discourse during the 2016 election". *Discourse & Society* 29(3). 299-323.

Zając, P. 2021. "Functions of Hausa proverbs in political discourse". *Hemispheres* 36. 35-55.

Studies in African
Languages and Cultures, Vol. 57, 2023
ISSN 2545-2134; e-ISSN 2657-4187

https://doi.org/10.32690/SALC57.6

Susan Matukuto
University of Zambia
ORCID 0009-0008-1075-5702

Hambaba Jimaima
University of Zambia
ORCID 0000-0001-7535-2033

Gabriel Simungala
University of the Western Cape
ORCID 0000-0001-5751-8191

Sentential and proverbial morphological structures of Christian theonyms in Bemba

Abstract

Drawing on Bemba, a Bantu language primarily spoken in northern Zambia, we interrogate the Christian theonyms to account for their complex morphological structures, while highlighting the wealth of information on the Bemba society and their sociocultural environment. For data, semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, and document analysis were employed. Thus, the article highlights two morphological structures, one being a sentential structure that consists of a subject and a predicate, and the other a proverbial structure that feeds into standard metaphoric and paradigmatic forms. Overall, the theonyms show the rich Bemba nominal and verbal morphology, as well as the sociocultural narratives of the Bemba people.

Keywords: sentential structures, proverbial structures, Bemba, Christian theonyms, lexical morphology

1. Introduction

The paper draws on the affordances of lexical morphology to segment the names of God with the intent to identify and describe morphemes that constitute the Christian theonyms of the Bemba-speaking people of northern Zambia. Framed within the broader theoretical context of onomastics, the study focuses on the origin and forms of proper names, bearing in mind the agglutinative nature of Bantu languages (to which Bemba, the language under study, belongs). This is done to make a case for the varying morphological structures of theonyms and to appreciate the Bantu nominal and verbal morphology, as well as the wealth of information the names provide. The paper intends to show that Bemba Christian theonyms can have sentential structures in which some names have a subject and a predicate, what Felecan (2009) refers to as sentence names. Lastly, the paper argues that other Bemba theonyms have proverbial structures that feed into standard metaphoric and paradigmatic forms. As will become apparent, the understanding of the proverbial and sentential structure, on which morphological constructions of the Bemba Christian theonyms is built, allows the appreciation of the reality, for words in Bemba are built out of distinctly identifiable sub-parts (morphemes) that carry specific meanings and functions (Kambarami et al. 2021).

As its locus, the paper is motivated by the centrality of Christianity in Zambia, a country that has been declared a Christian nation (Kafunda 2022, Haynes 2021). Up until this declaration made in 1996, Zambia was highly religious, with Christianity topping the list as a result od the work of the early missionaries from different denominations. This will become apparent when we discuss Christianity and the Bemba Society. Of interest. however, is the influence of Christianity as seen from the outcome of lexical items which represent the names of God, the supreme being among the Bemba people. For ease of presentation, the paper is structured into the following sections: The next section provides a linguistic profile of Bemba, followed by the discussion of the place of Christian religion in the Bemba society. After this, lexical morphology, agglutination, and onomastics are attended to as conceptual matters on which the study is built. The methodology employed in the study is then presented, followed by a simultaneous presentation and discussion of the findings. Finally, a summary and conclusion are offered.

2. The Bemba language and its linguistic profile

Bemba is the widely spoken indigenous language in Zambia. It is predominantly spoken in five provinces: Central Copperbelt, Luapula, Muchinga, and Northern

provinces (Lumwanga 2015, Simungala et al. 2023). Alternative names for the language are IciBemba, ciBemba, chiBemba. The people who speak the language are called *abaBemba* or *Bembas* (Spitulnik & Kashoki 2001). Bemba has several dialects, many being varieties of Bemba spoken by other tribes which have historically fallen under Bemba influence (cf. Ngalande & Kumar 2022, Chilambe 2020). The principal dialects of Bemba include Aushi, Bemba, Bisa, Chishinga, Kunda, Lala, Lamba, Luunda, Ng'umbo, Swaka, Tabwa, and Unga. Each of these dialects is inherently associated with distinct phonology, morphology, syntactic and lexical differences (Whiteley 1951; Spitulnik & Kashoki 1996, Spitulnik 1998). The Bemba language has other varieties with several names which include, among others, *Copperbelt Bemba*, *IchiBemba cakuKopabelt* 'Bemba of the Copperbelt', *ChiKopabeeluti* or *ChiKopabelti* (lit. 'language of the Copperbelt'), *citundu cakukalale* 'the language of town' or *ChiTauni* (lit. 'language of the town) (Vidali & Kashoki 2014).

Bemba is the widely used language of communication, spoken by 33.5% of the population in the country (Simungala & Jimaima 2023). The Census of Population and Housing from 2010 indicated that Bemba was spoken by a higher proportion of the population in five provinces, namely: Central (31.8%), Copperbelt (83.9%), Luapula (71.3%), Muchinga (46.9%), and Northern (69.2%) provinces (Lumwanga 2015). As a result of the fact that Bemba has risen to prominence as a *lingua franca* (cf. Simungala et al. 2021), distinct varieties of the language have developed in towns and elsewhere (Spitulnik 1998, Simungala et al. 2021). The two most commonly referred to varieties are "urban Bemba" (or "town Bemba") and "rural Bemba" (or "deep or central Bemba"). According to Kashoki (1977), rural Bemba is also called Standard Bemba which has been adopted for official use in formal domains such as education and broadcasting. It is used in the Bemba royal household, courts, and schools, it is taught as a subject from grade four to twelve and is the medium of instruction from pre-school to grade three in the provinces of Copperbelt, Northern, Luapula, Muchinga, and on some parts of Central province (Spitulnik 1998, Kabinga 2010, Simungala et al. 2022).

Bemba is classified as M42 of the Bantu languages (Guthrie 1948). The language belongs to the Benue-Congo Family, a branch of Niger Kordofanian (Spitulnik & Kashoki 1996). Bemba, like any other Bantu language, "has a very elaborate noun class system which involves pluralization patterns, agreement marking, and patterns of pronominal reference" (Spitulnik & Kashoki 2001: 53). Noun classes, as prominent grammatical features of Bantu languages, show how each noun (or noun stem) is assigned to one of between fifteen and eighteen noun

classes. In this regard, the numbering of the classes is a means of labelling the different sets of concord prefixes that operate the grammatical agreement in all given Bantu languages (Guthrie 1970). Noun classes are often analyzed as a form of a nominal classification system and seen as belonging to the same domain as grammatical gender systems. Number in Bantu languages is mediated by the noun class system and the intricate interaction between noun class and number in Bantu has given rise to different theoretical analyses. Understanding the nominal class system is important if we are to appreciate the morphological structure of the Bemba Christian theonyms as they define the construction of all nouns in Bemba. In what follows, we discuss Christianity and the Bemba society to have a glimpse of the emergence of the Bemba Christian theonyms.

3. Christianity and the Bemba society

It has been argued that like any other African society, the Bembas subscribed to African traditional religion way before the coming of Christianity, which was introduced in 1893 by the first missionaries who came to Bemba land in northern Zambia (Mapoma 1969). Following the the arrival of the missionaries in Zambia, the first Bemba translation of the New Testament Bible, produced by the Missionary Fathers, appeared in 1923 (Spitulnik 1998). Nevertheless, the official use of Bemba predates the translation. In 1991, it is reported that Bemba was used in government documents, educational textbooks, novels, and on radio and television programs. The Bemba pre-Christian era beliefs revolved around a two-tier system, "the belief in the co-existence of God and a host of lesser spirits" (Horton 1971: 88). These gods or spirits that existed in Bemba society had different names. As it will become apparent, these were some of the names Christianity would adopt as a new religion in Bemba land.

When the European Christian missionaries entered Africa towards the end of the 19th century, they introduced Christianity to Africans and converted some of the Bembas. Mapoma (1969) notes that the Roman Catholics entered Northern Province (the principle region where Bemba is spoken) of Zambia around 1893. About 1900 the Polymouth Brethren or Christian Mission in Many Lands (CMML), had entered Zambia via Barotse Province, worked their way into Luapula Valley to the Congo, settled at Mambilima, and later at Mansa. In 1910, the Anglicans arrived in Zambia, settled in Livingstone, and later set up a station in Luapula. In 1914, the station was moved from Mansa, the administrative station, to Chipili (Mapoma 1969). As highlighted already, the heavy presence of different Christian denominations would later mean that different names for the Bemba gods

and ancestral spirits would be transposed to the embraced Christian God. Consequently, some names were used in the translation of the Bemba Bible.

4. Lexical morphology and agglutination

In a brief linguistic profile of Bemba provided above, we noted that Bemba is a part of the Bantu language family. We wish to state further that Bantu languages are agglutinating languages. They have grammatical forms that are expressed by combining or adhesion of formative elements to the various roots. These formative elements are always recognizable as independent words detachable from the root, and capable of being affixed to other roots (Doke 1950). Thus, Bickford and Daly (1996) are on point when they refer to an agglutinative language as one in which words are made up of a linear sequence of distinct morphemes and each component of meaning is represented by its own morpheme. As we shall explain below, understanding Bemba as an agglutinative language is important as this knowledge contextualizes the study. This way, it will be understood that in the broader context of onomastics, care ought to be taken to segment and explain the meanings represented by each morpheme to fully appreciate a theonym. This will be made possible by lexical morphology as explained below.

As a theoretical toolkit, lexical morphology is a branch of morphology that deals with the lexicon consisting of lexical items which are the fundamental building blocks of morphological structures. The lexicon includes all words and any linguistic unit (morpheme) found in a particular language with their meanings and rules used in forming words or lexemes. Lexical morphology (LM) involves the formation of words or lexemes in a particular language through the attachment of words or linguistic units (morphemes) found in a lexicon of that particular language. It is the study of the lexemes and how they are created. LM is concerned particularly with neologisms (newly created words from existing words), the formation of words using derivation and compounding. Words are formed using phonological and morphological rules which are found in the lexicon where the rules are organised in blocks or strata, one below the other (Katamba 1993, Nkhata & Jimaima 2020). Central to lexical morphology is the principle stating that the morphological component of a grammar is organized in a series of hierarchical strata (Pesetsky 1979; Kiparsky 1982). Using lexical morphology, "words are formed by joining morphemes in the lexicon, where affixes must obey their sub-categorization frames" (Jeseen 1985: 75). Additionally, LM informs us that derivation is a pre-syntactic operation, while inflection is largely

a post-syntactic operation. This dichotomy is important as it highlights the productivity of derivation to create words outside of the syntactic frames on the one hand, and demonstrates how inflection processes intersect with syntax on the other hand, within the overarching morphological model of LM.

Lexical morphology was initially proposed by Pesetsky (1979) and later elaborated on by Kiparsky (1982). This paper adopted lexical morphology to analyse the morphology of the Bemba Christian theonyms. There are "two basic approaches to morphological analysis: the analytical and synthetic" (Agbeyangi 2016: 8). The present study adopted the analytical approach which involved breaking down of words into morphemes. Lexical morphology was used to segment and identify the morphemes that constitute Bemba theonyms, which are formed through derivation and compounding, thereby identifying their morphological structure. An important feature of lexical morphology is that "it is the word, rather than the morpheme, that is regarded as the key unit of morphological analysis" (Katamba 1993: 89). The study, therefore, analysed Bemba theonyms as names presented as words, as it can be observed from Houis (1983: 8) when he stated that "[…] names are practically not distinct from other linguistic signs (words) at the level of form and morphology[…]".

6. Materials and methods

The study drew on two sources of data. Firstly, secondary data was collected through document analysis of three translated versions of the Bemba Bible, namely: *Baibele wa Mushilo* (Mushindo 1956), *Amashiwi ya kwa lesa Bible* (Mbala 2009), and *Ishiwi lyakwa lesa* (2015), as well as the selected Christian gospel songs. In particular, the document analysis was used to see and capture the names of god in Bemba. Secondly, primary data was collected from a sample size of 40 participants using one-on-one semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions. Respondents were drawn from the Mungwi and Kasama districts of Northern province, in chief Chitimukulu and Mwamba areas, respectively. These two districts are among the areas where the early Christian Missionaries first settled and are places where Standard Bemba is spoken. Interviews and focus group discussions were recorded using a smartphone. This was later translated, transcribed, coded, and analyzed thematically. Given the form and internal structure of our illustrations, all examples will be glossed according to the *Leipzig glossing rules* (Kalkhoff 2022) which state that if morphologically bound elements constitute distinct prosodic or phonological words, a hyphen and a single space may be used together in the object language.

7. Findings and discussion

7.1. Sentential structures

As will be shown in this section, the structure of a name may vary due to the content the name-giver intends to achieve. Thus, among the data gathered some theonyms were found to have sentence structures, as seen below.

(1) *Ka-fula-wa-fita*
12cl-forge-1cl.GL-8cl-worrior
'Forger of warriors'

Kafulawafita 'forger of warriors' is made up of a deverbal *kafula* 'forger' (formed by prefixing noun prefix *ka-* from class 12 to a verb *fula* 'forge') and a noun (root) *fita* 'warriors' with a genitive linker *wa (u-a)* 'of' (GL) for class 1. The *ka-*, a noun prefix from class 12cl, is used in the formation of agentive theonyms. *Ka-* is added to a particular verb (in this case *fula* 'forge') to form an agentive noun, as observed by Katamba (1993: 68) that the *ka-* refers to "someone who does whatever is designated by the verb". In other instances, Kabaso (2016) observed that *ka-* is also added to a verb to form a nominal or proper name in praise of the bearer or the named.

Thus, *kafulawafita* comes from experiences of skilled blacksmiths who made weapons. The trainer of the would be armies of the Bemba society is also likened to a blacksmith who forges weapons. In the same way, the Bemba society believes that God has created people and equipped them with different gifts to use to fight and overcome Satan and his tricks. God has numerous armies (people and angels) who can fight for his people against their enemies when need raises. From the meanings of morphemes, it is instructive to see how a blacksmith is brought into the spotlight. The forging of elements (by blacksmiths) as daily activities of the Bemba is drawn upon as onomastic material to bring out the social-cultural narratives of the Bemba people.

(2) *Ci-imb-a-mi-longa*
7cl-dig-fv-4cl-rivers
'Digger of rivers'

Chimbamilonga 'digger of rivers or streams' is formed by the combination of a deverbal *chimba* 'digger' (formed by prefixing a noun prefix *Ci-* from class 7 to a verb *imba*) and a plural noun *milonga* 'rivers, streams'. As noted on the linguistic

profile, Bemba is spoken in Muchinga, Northern, Luapula, and Copperbelt provinces, which consist of the country's largest water bodies. It is for this reason that this theonym draws on the natural phenomenon *milonga* 'rivers/streams/lakes' and praises God the supreme being as the *chimba* 'digger' of rivers.

(3) *Shi-mu-cita-fi-pap-wa*
7cl-1cl-to do-8cl-wonders
'Wonder worker'

Shimucitafipapwa 'wonder worker' comes from a combination of a deverbal *shimucita* 'worker or performer or doer' (formed by prefixing a noun prefix *mu-* from class 1 to a verb *cita* 'do' and later pre-prefix a nominal *mucita* with a noun prefix *shi-* from class 7 forming *shimucita*) and a deverbal *fipapwa* 'wonders or miracles' (formed by prefixing a noun prefix *fi-* from class 8 to a passive verb *papwa* to form *fipapwa*). In this sentential theonym, the Christian supreme being is praised and thus named as the doer of wonders.

(4) *Shi-mu-it-wa-pa-kakala*
7cl-1cl-call-(PASS)-16cl-trouble
'One called upon during the difficult situation'

This theonym *Shimwitwapakakala* is translated as 'one called upon during the difficult situation'. It is as a result of combination of a deverbal *shimwitwa* 'one called upon' and an adverbial *pakakala* 'a difficult situation'. This is formed by prefixing a noun prefix *mu-* from class 1 to a passive verb *itwa* 'called' forming semivocalised *mwi* of *u+I*, and later, a nominal preprefix *mwitwa* 'called' with a noun prefix *shi-* from class 7. *Shimwitwapakakala* is then formed with additions of an adverb *pa* 'where' and an adjective *kakala* 'difficult.' Thus, *shi-* is being used as a secondary noun prefix in the formation of a particular theonym to indicate the outstanding greatness of God. It is in class 7 as a noun prefix with a semantic value that expresses largeness in size, volume, or quantity and quality. Hendrkse & Poulos (1990: 199) had proposed that "noun class 7 can be prefixed for outstanding people or being, amelioratives, augmentatives, languages, derogatives [….]". Using class 7 (cl7) as a secondary noun prefix, Mohlala (2003: 25) posited that affixing of attributive noun class prefixes with an augmentative significance to stems "brings about the idea of bigness or greatness of which such bigness or greatness may be perceived in favourable manner, in the context of praise, encouragement or appreciation". Therefore, *shi-* is a prefix

which is used in the formation of Bemba Christian theonyms in praise, appreciation, and acknowledgement of God as One with outstanding greatness.

(5) *Mu-leng-a-ua-leng-a-fi-onse*
1cl-cause-fv-GL-fv-8cl-everything
'One who has caused everything into being'

Mulengawalengafyonse is translated as 'one who has caused all things into being'. It is formed by the combination of the deverbal *mulenga* 'one who has caused', a subject prefix *u-alenga* (semi-vocalization of *u+a* forming to make *walenga*) 'who has caused' and later attached with *fyonse* 'everything' (formed by prefixing a noun prefix *fi-* from class 8 to an adjective *-onse* that is *i+o* resulting into a semi-vocalised *fyonse*) using a genitive linker *wa* 'of' from class 1. This shows the reverence accorded to God the supreme being as the maker of everything.

7.2. Proverbial structures

In this section, we now turn to another structure we noted in the data gathered. This is the proverbial structure. Thus, following Pongweni (1983), we unearthed theonyms with a structure similar to proverbs as represented by the examples below:

(6) *Ma-nkangala-mu-n-shi-fukatil-wa*
6cl-colocynth-1cl(SP)-9cl-Neg-outstretched arms
'A gourd-like fruit with thorns which cannot be embraced'

Mankangala munshifukatilwa translated as 'a gourd-like fruit with thorns which cannot be embraced' is formed by the combination of a noun *mankangala* 'a gourd-like fruit with thorns' and a negative passive verb *mushifukatilwa* (formed by prefixing a noun prefix *mu-* from class 1 for subject prefix to a passive verb *fukatilwa* 'be embraced' which is prefixed with *nshi-* a negative form of the first person) 'one that cannot be embraced'. Again, as noted above, this proverbial structure requires attachment with sociocultural knowledge to understand this attribute to the Supreme being as dual articulating friendliness (symbolised by fruit) and the exact opposite, being dangerous (symbolised by thorns).

(7) *Ø- Tumbanambo-mu-tima-ka-ebel-e*
1acl-filled with wisdom-1cl-heart-12cl(SP)pass judgement by oneself-fv
'One who has wisdom is well off and needs no one to give him advice.'

Tumbanambo mutima kaebele means 'one who has wisdom, is well off and needs no one to give him advice'. This is formed by the combination of nouns *tumbanambo* 'one who has wisdom' and *mutima* 'heart' to a verb *kaebele* 'pass judgment on oneself or tell oneself'. This theonym puts the supreme being as all-knowing, needing no advice from anyone. This proverbial structure shows that while humans need counsel and advice from each, the supreme being is a *tumbanambo* 'one with wisdom'.

8. Summary and conclusion

The data presented above leads to two interrelated conclusions on the Bemba Christian theonyms. Firstly, it has been established that theonyms can be sentential, as they have both a subject and predicate. Owing to the agglutinative nature of the Bemba language, each morpheme is distinct, having a meaning of its own such that the name is essentially a sentence. From the examples provided, notice that we have:

1. Pref + stem +Prep + stem
2. Pref + stem (Tense [present]) + fv + Pref + stem
3. Pref + Pref + stem (Tense (present)) + pref + stem+ PASS
4. Pref + Pref + stem + PASS+ Pref (locative) + stem
5. Pref + Tense (present) + fv + GL + Tense (present) + fv + Pref + stem.

Each of these segmented parts contributes to the overall meaning of the theonyms as they form a sentence together. It is no wonder Kabaso (2016) observes that names that follow the agglutinative nature of Bantu languages translate into English as a clause or sentence. Thus, the theonyms are said to be sentential as they have a subject and a predicate as seen from the examples provided. This is similar to Fortune's (1988) arguments that some Shona names are sentential, meaning they can be deverbative, nominal, or a combination of both nominals and derverbatives. Commenting on names in general, Kapwepwe (2002: 8) posited that "in Bemba tradition, some names are normally part of a longer phrase that gives completion to the name […] or the phrase, simply alludes to or explains the meaning of the name, for instance *Chilufyawalufyamanganayakwe* (*Chilufya-wa-lufya-manga-na-yakwe*) 'Chilufya who has lost the charms or fetishes, has also his charms'.

Secondly, building on sentential structures of the Bemba Christian theonyms, the study held that beyond sentences, some theonyms are build-out of proverbial

sentences whose interpretation goes beyond the mere words making up the sentence (theonym). Thus, the study has shown that theonyms in this category are derived from proverbs and are mainly praise names and acknowledgment of God's awesomeness, greatness, and power, the supreme being. Like any complex structured name, these proverbial structured theonyms have their nouns prefixed with particular noun classes and their verbs affixed with certain derivational morphemes and verb extensions depending on the derived name. By segmenting the theonyms the way we did, we felt that it was essential to analyse them into their minimal elements to identify units or morphemes that make up a particular theonym. The structures observed were as follows:

6. Pref + stem + SP + stem +Pref + stem;
7. Pref + stem + SP + Pref + Neg + Tense (perfect) + PASS;
8. Pref + stem +Pref + stem +Pref + Tense (perfect) + fv.

With these structures above, Azhar (2012) hastens to mention that structures of proverbs vary in form, some of the structures are in the form of phrases of which some are in clauses (simplex and complex) and this is precisely what has been shown by the examples. As opposed to sentential structures, the examples provided have shown that the proverbial structured theonyms have relatively long and complex morphological structures as they behave like sentences. It is no wonder Kapwepwe (2002: 9) submits that "some Bemba names are also part of or completed in full as a proverb, an admonition or a cautionary statement for instance: *Sula, sule mbwa, umuntu taba musula* 'disrespect a dog, a human being is never disrespected'". We wish to underscore further that proverbial structured Bemba Christian theonyms are often transferred or transposed from the praises and acknowledgments of the supernatural occurrences or creatures or objects or the experiences of the Bemba society to God in acknowledgment of his unique character and greatness.

With the proverbial structure which builds on sentential structure, we wish to emphasize that the segmented morphemes feed into the rich Bantu nominal and verbal morphology. We were able to see that the derivational morphemes *ci/shi-, mu-* and *ka-* are generally very productive in the Bemba Christian theonyms. It is important to underscore that there is variation in these prefixes as they do not follow a certain pattern. The examples presented showed that some theonyms have secondary prefix or pre-prefix, especially those prefixed with *shi-*. Theonyms derived from verbs contain derivational morphemes, even up to nine morphemes. Morphemic-based meanings are unearthed by exploring the

form and internal structure of theonyms. Thus, we are struck by the wealth of information embedded in the names as they tell us about Bemba society as sociocultural factors govern theonyms. We conclude by pointing to agglutination and the affordances of lexical morphology in providing the full meanings of the theonyms. Going by the examples presented and our two interrelated conclusions, we lean on Mphande's (2006) view that names are constructed depending on the semantic import that the name-giver wants to convey and that, in creating names, people take the forms with which they are familiar with. They then creatively play with them to formulate new structures that fulfil their needs more satisfyingly and meaningfully.

Abbreviations

cl	class marker
GL	genitive linker
fv	final vowel
Neg	negation
PASS	passive
Pref	prefix
Prep	preposition
SP	subject prefix

References

Agbeyangi, A.O. 2016. "Morphological analysis of Standard Yorùbá nouns". *American Journal of Engineering Research* 5(6). 8-12.

Amashiwi ya kwa lesa Bible (*Mbala*). 2009. Diocese of Mpika: White Fathers.

Azhar, I. 2012. "English proverbial structures and the meaning of their interconstituent relations". *Proceedings of Seminar Nasional Wacana Bahasa Dan Sastra Bandingan Sebagai Kahasanah Nusantara*. Bangkalan-Madura. Online: https://pusatbahasaalazhar.wordpress.com [14.07.23].

Bickford, J.A. & J. Daly. 1996. *A course in basic grammatical analysis*. 3rd preliminary edition. Dallas, TX: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Chilambe, B. 2020. *A comparative study of standard Bemba and Unga dialect*. Doctoral Dissertation. University of Zambia, Lusaka.

Doke, C.M. 1950. "Bantu languages, inflexional with a tendency towards agglutination". *African Studies* 9(1). 1-19.

Felecan, D. 2009. "Nicknames: A reflections of polyphony within the linguistic area from the northwestern part of Romania". *Nomina Africana* 23(2). 61-90.

Fortune, G. 1988. *Grammatical constructions.* Vol. 2. Harare: Mercury Press.

Guthrie, M. 1948. *The classification of Bantu languages.* London: Dawsons of Pall Mall.

Hang'ombe, K. 2015. *Morphology and semantics of Tonga anthroponyms: The case of Tonga given names and surnames*. MA Dissertation. University of Zambia, Lusaka.

Hendrikse, A.P. & G. Poulos. 1994. "Word categories-prototypes and continua in Southern Bantu". *South African Journal of Linguistics* 12: sup20. 215-245.

Horton, R. 1971. "African Conversion". *Journal of the International African Institute* 41(2). 85-108.

Houis, M. 1983. "Des unités significatives: Préalable à la lexicographie". *Afrique et Langage* 19. 5-31.

Ishiwi lyakwa lesa. 2015. T.B. Zambia, trans. Lusaka: The Bible Society of Zambia.

Jimaima, H. 2016. *Social structuring of language and the mobility of semiotic resources across the linguistic landscapes of Zambia: A multimodal analysis*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. University of the Western Cape, Cape Town.

Kabaso, F.M. 2016. *A morphological and semantic analysis of nicknames in Ng'umbo*. MA Dissertation. University of Zambia, Lusaka.

Kabinga, M. 2010. *A comparative study of the morphosyntax and phonetics of Town Bemba and Standard Bemba of the Copperbelt, Zambia*. Unpublished MA Thesis. University of Cape Town.

Kafunda, C. 2022. *An investigation on the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation and its contribution to peace and conflict resolution.* Doctoral Dissertation, University of Zambia, Lusaka.

Kalkhoff, A.M.T. 2021. *Gestaltphonologische Interpretation von Vokalsequenzierungen*. De Gruyter.

Kambarami, F., S. McLachlan, B. Bozic, K. Dube & H. Chimhundu. 2021. "Computational modeling of agglutinative languages: The challenge for Southern Bantu languages". *Arusha Working Papers in African Linguistics* 3(1). 52-81.

Kapwepwe, M. 2002. *Some Bemba names and their meanings.* Lusaka: Mulenga Kapwepwe Publishers.

Kashoki, M. 1977. "Town Bemba: A sketch of its main characteristics". *Language in Zambia: Grammatical sketches*, ed. by M.E. Kashoki. Lusaka: Institute for African Studies, University of Zambia. 62-108.

Kashoki, E.M. 1990. *The factor of language in Zambia*. Lusaka: Kenneth Kaunda Foundation.

Katamba, F. 1993. *Morphology.* New York: Palgrave.

Kiparsky, P. 1982. “Lexical morphology and phonology”. *Linguistics in the morning calm,* ed. by I.S. Yang. Seoul: Hanshin.

Lumwanga, C.R. 2015. *Some linguistic variations of Bemba: A dialectological study of Standard Bemba, Luunda and Ŋumbo.* Doctoral Dissertation. University of Zambia, Lusaka.

Mann, M. 1999. *An outline of Icibemba grammar*. Lusaka: Bookworld.

Mapoma, M.I. 1969. “The use of folk music among some Bemba Church Congregations in Zambia”. *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council* 1. 72-88. International Council for Traditional Music. Online: https://www.jstor.org/stable/767635: 18-0 [14.07.23].

Mbala, B. 1971. *Amashiwi ya kwa Lesa.* Mbala: Life Press.

Mieder, W. 2004. *Proverbs: A handbook*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Mohlala, L. 2003. *The Bantu attribute noun class prefixes and their suffixal counterparts, with reference to Zulu*. Masters Dissertation. University of Pretoria.

Mphande, L. 2006. “Naming and linguistic Africanisms in African American culture”. *35th Annual Conference on African Linguistics: African Languages and Linguistics in Broad Perspectives,* ed. by J. Mugane. Ohio State University.

Mushindo, P. 1956. *Baibele wa Mushilo*. Lusaka: The Bible Society of Zambia.

Ngalande, S. & B.S. Kumar. 2022. "No English but English: The case of language policy and planning in Zambia". *Handbook of language policy and education in countries of the Southern African Development Community (SADC)*, ed. by M.M. Kretzer & R.H. Kaschula. Brill. 327-343.

Nkhata, L. & H. Jimaima. 2020. “Neologisms: A morphological analysis of social media discourses on the Zambian online media”. *Multidisciplinary Journal of Language and Social Sciences Education* 3(2). 66-93.

Pesetsky, D. 1979. *Russian morphology and lexical theory*. Unpublished paper. MIT.

Pongweni, A. 1983. *What’s in a name? A study of Shona nomenclature*. Gweru: Mambo Press.

Simungala, G. & H. Jimaima. 2023. “Legitimization and recontextualization of languages: The imbalance of powers in a multilingual landscape”. *Linguistic Landscape 9*(1). 36-58.

Simungala, G. & H. Jimaima. 2021. “Sociocultural narratives and the anthropomorphic power of agency in a semiotic landscape”. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies 39*(2). 195-209.

Simungala, G., D. Ndalama, & H. Jimaima. 2021. “Communicative practices from the margins: The multilingual and multicultural repertoires on university spaces”. *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 57(4). 712-724.

Simungala, G., H. Jimaima & B.K. Namatama. 2023. “Translanguaged discourses of

Bemba and English: The mobility and mixing of languages in a multilingual space". *Language in Africa* 3(3). 67–86.

Simungala, G., H. Jimaima & P. Chikuta. 2022. "Indigenous languages in an online space: Translanguaging for visibilisation of multilingualism and multisemiotic modes". *Language Matters: Studies in the Languages of Southern Africa* 53(2). 85-109.

Spitulnik, D. 1998. "The language of the city: Town Bemba as urban hybridity". *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 8(1). 30-59.

Spitulnik, D. & M.E. Kashoki. 2001. "Bemba." *Facts about the world's languages: An encyclopedia of the world's major languages, past and present*, ed. by J. Garry & C. Rubino. New York, Dublin: H.W. Wilson. 81-85.

Spitulnik, D. & M.E. Kashoki. 1996. BEMBA: A brief linguistic profile. Online: http://www.anthropology. emory. edu/FACULTY/ANTDS/Bemba/profile. html [10.03.2010].

Whiteley, W. 1951. *Bemba and related peoples of Northern Rhodesia*. London: International African Institute.

Yuka, L. 2016. "The structure of Lamnso' proverb". *Current research in African linguistics*, ed. by O.O. Orie, J.F. Ilọri & L.C. Yuka. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 469-491.

Studies in African
Languages and Cultures, Vol. 57, 2023
ISSN 2545-2134; e-ISSN 2657-4187

https://doi.org/10.32690/SALC57.7

Maria A. Kosogorova
University of Toronto
ORCID: 0000-0001-7145-4710

Numeral systems of Fula and Wolof: A comparison of morphosyntactic characteristics

Abstract

The paper presents an overview of Fula and Wolof numeral systems. Fula is represented by six major lects, for which cardinal, ordinal, distributive, fraction, and human forms of numerals are analyzed. Wolof is the closest relative of Fula, and for this language cardinal and ordinal numeral systems are also analyzed. Apart from the numerals themselves, the syntax of the noun phrase which contains a numeral is analyzed for each language. The language contacts and borrowings are also included in the analysis.

Keywords: Fula, Wolof, numerals, syntax, language contact

1. Introduction

The paper presents an overview of the Fula numeral system in comparison to Wolof. Fula (Niger-Congo – Atlantic-Congo – Atlantic – Northern – Senegambian – Fula-Wolof – Fula) is a language continuum dispersed on a large territory of Sub-Saharan Africa. Its westernmost lects[1] are spoken in Senegal and Guinea, and the easternmost ones are reported as far as Ethiopia. Fula is a native language to approximately 25 million speakers and over 40 million more use it as

[1] There is an on-going discussion regarding whether Fula lects are separate languages or dialects of the single Fula language.

a *lingua franca*. Arnott (1970: 3) enumerates six major lects of Fula and around 20 minor ones. Major lects of Fula have grammatical descriptions (although with various degrees of detail), and most of them have at least some data on numerals. However, a comparative study of numeral systems of various lects has not been performed yet. This work accumulates and compares data on all six various and best described lects of Fula divided into three areas: western, central, and eastern. Various sources offer different views of dialectal division, comprising from two to up to six dialectal areas, however, for the purpose of this work three areas, as presented by Koval and Zoubko (1986), seems to be the most convenient division.

The second numeral system analyzed is a numeral system of Wolof. Wolof (Niger-Congo – Atlantic-Congo – Atlantic – Northern – Senegambian – Fula-Wolof – Wolof) is also one of the better described Senegambian languages, and, along with Sereer, considered genetically closest to Fula. Compared to Fula, Wolof is spoken in a much smaller geographical area. It is spoken in Senegal, Gambia, and certain areas of Mauritania. It is a native language to more than 5 million speakers and is a main *lingua franca* in Senegal.

The existing sources of the data are not provided for a complete diachronic analysis, so the main scope of this work is synchronic. However, if at some point it seems necessary, some diachronic considerations will be available.

The following sources of data were used for Fula:

1. Multi-lect sources of data: de Wolf (1995), Koval & Zoubko (1986),
2. Western area:
   – Pular Futa-Jallon (Guinea): Diallo (2000),
   – Pulaar Futa-Tooro (Senegal): (Niang 1997),
3. Central area:
   – Fulfulde Maasina (Mali): Fagerberg-Diallo (1984),
4. Eastern area:
   – Fulfulde Gombe (Nigeria): Arnott (1970),
   – Fulfulde Adamawa (Nigeria-Cameroon): Klingenheben (1963),
   – Fulfulde Diamaré (Cameroon): Noye (1974).

In case of graphic variations, which are common for Fula, the examples were unified according to 1966 UNESCO decisions made in Bamako (UNESCO 1966). However, the sources vary to a certain extent due to the data format. If a source relies on mainly oral data, there is no structural adaptation, and phonetic simpli-

fications are frequent. However, in the sources using written data, the structural information is more preserved, therefore the outcome even for the same dialect can be different. I will offer explications of such cases along the text and in the summary.

Data sources used for Wolof numerals come from Diouf (2009), US Peace Corps (1995), and (Ngom 2003).

The examples used to illustrate internal syntax of the numerals, i.e. numerals only and not agreement, do not require context. All of them are taken from their respective data source for the dialect (unless stated otherwise). The examples of internal syntax have a context and are cited with a respective data source. Those examples for Pular that are unlabeled are either found in a corpus (corpuspulaar.somee.com) or have been elicited from a native speaker.

The article[2] consists of five sections. Section 2 includes descriptions of cardinal numeral systems in six major lects of Fula and their comparison. The cardinal numeral systems have the most differences between lects, and the numeral data found in the language sources covers mostly cardinal numbers. Special attention is paid to both the internal structure of a numeral and to its syntactic interaction with the other parts of the clause. Also, the connection of the numeral system with other languages for every lect is important, as a disperse language like Fula has different contacts for every lect, resulting in some differences in the numeral systems. In Section 3 other series of numerals of Fula are analyzed (i.e. ordinal, distributive, fractal, and human form), again, with internal and external syntax in focus. It is much simpler, as there is almost no difference between the lects in these systems. Section 4 focuses on the numeral system in Wolof. There are two subsections, each of which corresponds to cardinal and ordinal numerals, respectively. Section 5 ofers the results of a comparative analysis between the numeral systems of Fula and Wolof, considering the genealogical and areal factors.

For every part of the numeral system, the internal syntax is examined first. *Internal syntax* (a term coined by Perekhvalskaya and Vydrin (2020: 52)) is "the manner by which compound numerals are combined", i.e. the principles of constructing a numeral itself. This includes all available bases and operations required to form a system.

---

[2] Some considerations included in this article coincide with the ones already published in Kosogorova (2021). The present article uses the previously received data and conclusions, adds some more materials, and yields new results.

To define a numeral system, the first step is always to define its base. According to Comrie (1997), a base of a system is "the value *n* such that numeral expressions are constructed according to the pattern ... *xn* + *y*, i.e. some numeral *x* multiplied by the base plus some other numeral". However, there can be (and usually are) multiple bases to a numeral system. In Fula, there are different bases for multiplication (multiplicands) and for addition (augends). There are generally no other arithmetic operations used by internal syntax of a numeral.

The same set of multiplicands and augends is used for every lect of Fula with minor differences, all of which will be described in their corresponding sections.

The numeral system of Fula has, at first sight, a *three-level system* (term coined by Olderogge 1984: 3-4), which means that there are three thresholds (lower multiplicands or augends) used in the system: they are 5, 10, and 20 (see examples below). That makes the base of the whole numeral system a mixed one – quinary, decimal, and vigesimal. In the later sections, it will become apparent that the vigesimal base is not original in Fula, but is a result of language contact.

It is also important to note that, from the semantic point of view, Pular, as well as all Fula lects, uses a *mixed somatic* and *commercial arithmetic base* (terms coined by Comrie 1997: 20). Somatic base is the one which corresponds to natural factors: counting fingers is the most frequent somatic base, but different body parts could also be counted, as well as other perceptible things. Commercial base is usually decimal, and it can go up to large numbers, which is convenient for commercial interactions. Also, it is noteworthy that the increase of digit position in the numeral system is through addition.

Next, a description of external syntax for every part of a numeral system follows. External syntax is a way in which a numeral interacts with the noun it determines (Perekhvalskaya & Vydrin 2020: 52). This includes both the structure of an NP, to which a numeral belongs, and various morphosyntactic processes both in the noun and in the numeral triggered by their interaction. In Fula, this concerns class[3] and humanity. In Wolof, noun class, number, and a position of marking (head or dependent) are in play.

---

[3] Fula has a vast noun class system, which, depending on the lect, counts from 20 to 25 noun classes. They encode various grammar characteristics (such as number and humanity), as well as many semantic ones. A noun class is marked by a suffix, which can vary depending of a part of speech, and by initial consonant mutation. Traditionally, a noun class is labeled with a subject pronoun of this class. In glossing, I also prefer to add a number label to every class, i.e. -sgNDE is a singular NDE class affix marker. The rest of the glosses are labeled according to the Leipzig Glossing Rules.

2. Numeral systems of Fula lects

2.1. Pular Futa-Jallon

Pular is the largest lect of the western area, and it is used by about 5 million speakers. However, it is not one of the best described lects. Because of its history, including the language contact variations, it is now one of the most divergent lects from others, both lexically and structurally. The difference between Pular and the rest of the cluster is, for instance, seen in such areas as clause structure and noun class system. Although Fula is a continuum without any definite central standard, the lects have very few structural differences, and such divergence – as the one shown by Pular – is very noticeable.

Numerals 1-9 in Pular (see 1) demonstrate a clear quinary base: 1-5 are simple and 6-9 follow a quinary model.

(1)

1	*go'o*	6	*jeego'o (<jowi e go'o)*
2	*ɗiɗi*	7	*jeeɗii (<jowi e ɗiɗi)*
3	*tati*	8	*jeetati (<jowi e tati)*
4	*nayi*	9	*jeenayi (<jowi e nayi)*
5	*jowi*		

In the languages of the world, a quinary model has a somatic provenance (Blažek 1999: 325), namely a number of fingers/phalanges on a hand. The connection between *jee-* < *jowi* is beyond doubt here. According to Klingenheben (1963: 163), the etymology *jowi* <? *junngo* 'hand' for Fula (as this part of numeral system is uniform for all Fula lects) is also doubtless. Yet, this etymology does not have systemic phonetic correlations in any other part of the language. Pozdniakov (2018: 239) also does not list the connection between the lexemes 'five' and 'hand' as systemic neither for Fula, nor for Wolof, although he does so for other Atlantic languages. This could be explained by the very old age of this transformation, which is indirectly proven by Scott DeLancey (1992: 238), who states that the semantical connection of a quinary base is usually among one of the oldest preserved in a language, as the quinary base itself is the oldest element of a numeral system. Numerals 2-9 have their correlations in various genetically close languages (Koval & Zoubko 1986: 117). Lexeme 'one', as in many other world languages, is grammatically different from others. It will be examined below.

Numerals 11-19 in Pular, as demonstrated in (2), have a mixed quinary and decimal base, and addition as an operation between the digit positions (units and tens) coded with a comitative preposition *e*.

(2)

	10	*sappo*		
	11	*sappo e go'o*	16	*sappo e jeego'o*
	12	*sappo e ɗiɗi*	17	*sappo e jeeɗiɗi*
	13	*sappo e tati*	18	*sappo e jeetati*
	14	*sappo e nayi*	19	*sappo e jeenayi*
	15	*sappo e jowi*		

The numeral *sappo* 'ten' goes up to *sappor-du* 'index finger', which can be used to indicate ten while counting on one's fingers. Noun class affix *-du* can be dropped if a noun is used in a generic sense, which could be a process here. This proves the somatic origin of a decimal base in numbers 11-19, and this system is very easy to combine with a quinary base used for lesser numbers.

Numbers 20-29 also have a mixed base, this time quinary and vigesimal, as can be seen in (3).

(3)

	20	*noogay*		
	21	*noogay e go'o*	26	*noogay e jeego'o*
	22	*noogay e ɗiɗi*	27	*noogay e jeeɗiɗi*
	23	*noogay e tati*	28	*noogay e jeetati*
	24	*noogay e nayi*	29	*noogay e jeenayi*
	25	*noogay e jowi*		

In other lects, *noogay* has another form *noogas*, for which a reconstruction < *no gas-i* 'finished' can be proposed (after Koval & Zoubko 1986: 117), meaning that both fingers and toes have been counted, and there are no more, meaning that the vigesimal base is also somatic.

After that, for the numbers 30-99 (see 4) the system undergoes a change. The base is mixed, with quinary for units and decimal for tens. The operation

between units and tens is still addition, but there is multiplication added to multiply tens.

(4)

30	*cappande tati* (10*3)
31	*cappande tati e go'o* (10*3 + 1)
36	*cappande tati e jeego'o* (10*3 + (5 + 1))
40	*cappande nayi* (10*4)
41	*cappande nayi e go'o* (10*4 + 1)
46	*cappande nayi e jeego'o* (10*4+(5+1))
50	*cappande jowi* (10*5)
51	*cappande jowi e go'o* (10*5 + 1)
56	*cappande jowi e jeego'o* (10*5+(5+1))
60	*cappande jeego'o* (10* (5 + 1))
70	*cappande jeeɗiɗi* (10* (5 + 2))
80	*cappande jeetati* (10*(5 + 3))
90	*cappande jeenayi* (10*(5 + 4))

Note that there is a plural form of *sappo* used in all these forms. *Cappande* belongs to the plural class *Ɗ*E, and in changing class, this lexeme changes both a noun class affix and an initial consonant, which proves that the numeral is derived from a noun, because only original nouns and attributes can change both class markers simultaneously. Formally, all the numerals from 30 and upwards also have somatic bases, but the use of multiplication greatly facilitates the system for commercial use.

The numeral *teemedere* 'hundred' is also formally a noun, as it keeps its singular noun class NDE, and its plural form is *teemeɗɗe* pl*Ɗ*E. It is borrowed to Fula (and other related languages) from Berber languages, where it has the same meaning (Labatut 1981: 97, Faidherbe 1882: 31). Pozdniakov (2018: 240) states that there are no original numerals of 100 and up in Fula, all of them are borrowed. This borrowing for 'hundred' is used in all lects of Fula, including Pular. Tens and units are added to hundreds with a preposition *e*, like the one between tens and units. The necessary number of hundreds is achieved with multiplication:

teemeɗɗe tati e cappande jowi e jeego'o 'three hundred fifty-six' (100*3 + 10*5 + 5 + 1)

Number 'thousand' *wuluure* NDE – *guluuje* ƊE 'thousands' is also a noun, borrowed, most likely, from the Susu numeral *wúlù* (form cited by Shluinsky 2017: 226). Internal syntax of thousands (up to a million) is completely the same as with the hundreds, so there's no need to provide multiple examples here.

The next division of numerals, millions and billions, has divergences throughout the Fula cluster and even within the Pular lect. Traditionally, Pular uses nouns *ujunere*[4] sgNDE 'million' – *ujunaaje* plƊE 'millions' and *ajanere* sgNDE 'billion' – *ajanaaje* plƊE 'billions'. However, with the course of time, French borrowings *million* sgO 'million' – *milionji* plƊI 'millions' and *milyar* sgO 'billion'- *milyarji* plƊI 'billions' spread wider in everyday use. Also, in dome Futa-Jallon dialects *ujunere* also has the meaning 'thousand'. The internal syntax of the numerals stays the same as with the hundreds regardless of the source of borrowing.

External syntax of cardinal numerals is the same for all lects of Fula, so it will only be described once here. A cardinal numeral linearly follows the head noun of the NP as does any other NP modifier except demonstratives. A head noun, which is followed by any cardinal numeral except 1, has to be in one of the plural noun classes (ƊE, ƊI, ƁE or KOY). The numeral does not agree with its head noun in noun class, but it can agree in a very unusual humanity category, which will be discussed in Section 3.4. In (5), there are examples of all plural noun classes in (a-d), and an example of a complex NP to demonstrate a position of a numeral in it. The last example is elicited, while all others are corpus-based. Also, note that examples for ƁE and KOY classes have a human as their NP head, which causes a humanity marker to appear in a numeral (again, it will be discussed in 3.4).

(5) (a) *na'-i* *tati*
cow-CL.ƊI three
'three cows'

(b) *wor-ɓe* *ɗiɗo*
man-CL.ƁE two.PERS
'two men'

(c) *pay-koy* *nayo*
child-CL.KOY four.PERS
'four children'

(d) *bal-ɗe* *jowi*
day-CL.ƊE five
'five days'

[4] Borrowed from Mande languages, e.g. Soninke *wujunere*.

(e) *dii* *lemunee-ji* *an* *bennudi* *tati*
DEM.CL.ƊI orange-CL.ƊI 1.SG.POSS ripe.CL.ƊI three
'these three ripe oranges of mine'.

The only exception of these syntactic rules is numeral 'one', which behaves exceptionally universally. 'One' has two forms in Fula. Its count form *go'o* is used in complex numerals, such as *jeego'o* 'six', or *noogay e go'o* 'twenty-one', or *teemedere e go'o* 'hundred and one', and in counting chain *go'o, ɗiɗi, tati…* 'one, two, three…'. In this case, *go'o* does not change regardless of its surroundings; it does not even have a human form. If, on the other hand, there is an NP or a clause with 'one', then this numeral is used in its class form. A thorough analysis of the class form of 'one' in Pular was offered by Kosogorova (2020), but the outline is that it can syntactically seem one of three parts of speech, while semantically it is still a numeral.

Firstly, and most often, 'one' behaves like an adjective, agreeing with a head noun in noun class. Its structure is similar to an adjective (root + class affix), the choice of class allomorph is also that of an adjective, and it also agrees in initial root consonant, making it a fully functional attribute with a set of roots *goot-/ngoot-/woot-*. The examples of 'one' as an adjective can be seen in (6).

(6) *haytalla **g**oot-**o*** 'one moment' (sgO class)
*hinere **w**oot.e-**re*** 'one nostril' (sgNDE class)[5]
*junngo **w**oot-**o*** 'one hand' (sgNGO class).

Secondly, 'one' can have the function of a pronoun, i.e. it can replace a coreferential noun in a relevant context, as demonstrated in (7).

(7) *wor-ɓe* *tato* *naat-i* *ka* *buruure.*
men-PL.BE three.PERS enter-ACT.PFV PREP forest.SG.NDE
goot-o *yah-i* *ka* *nano*
one-SG.O go-ACT.PFV PREP left
'Three men entered the forest. One [man] went to the left…'

Lastly, on some occasions 'one' has been encountered with a definite article. This is an exclusively nominal feature in Fula. It is far-fetched to call 'one' a noun,

[5] The final vowel of the root, *e*, has no morphological value and doesn't have any relevance here.

because a noun is usually attached to one noun class, but it can be called a substantivized pronoun in such cases as in example (8).

(8) *o* *yiɗunoo* *jinndude* *e* ***gootal***
3.SG.O like-ACT.PFV-RETR wander-ACT-INF PREP **one-SG.NGAL**
debbo *makko* ***ngal***
wife.SG.O POSS.3.SG.O **DEF.SG.NGAL**
'He liked to wander with one of his wife's [sacs (*poorewal NGAL)*]'

2.2. Pulaar Futa-Tooro

Pulaar is a lect of Fula, spoken mainly in Senegal, but also in Guinea and Sierra-Leone. It has about 4.5 million native speakers. Genetically, it is the closest lect to Pular, but historically, it has had more connections with other Fula lects (other than Pular), and therefore, it is currently mid-way between Pular and the others from the syntax and grammar point of view. The difference between Pular and Pulaar in the numeral system is minimal and is largely of phonetic origin. The most points of difference are found in the first ten, demonstrated in (9), as it is the most ancient part of a system.

(9)

	1	*goo*	6	*jeegom*
	2	*ɗiɗi*	7	*jeeɗiɗi*
	3	*tati*	8	*jeetati*
	4	*nay*	9	*jeenay*
	5	*joy*		

Furthermore, the phonetic differences can be found in the lexemes *nooga**s*** 'twenty', *teeme**dd**e* plƊE 'hundreds' and *ujun**d**ere*[6], which, notably, means 'thousand' in Futa-Tooro. Singular form of a hundred and plural form of a thousand are exactly the same as in Pular.

The internal numeral syntax is the same in these two lects, from formation of somatic-base numerals up to hundred to the complex compound numerals with

[6] *Ujun(d)ere* generally means 'million' in Pular Futa-Jallon, however, at least in the Maali dialect it may mean 'thousand'.

borrowed (French or otherwise) bases. The external syntax, as stated above, is also universal for all Fula lects, so there is no need to describe it any further.

2.3. Fulfulde Maasina

Fulfulde Maasina is a lect of Fula spoken in Mali by a little over a million people. The researchers consider it the least affected by language contacts thus preserving the maximum of original, archaic features of grammar structure and lexis. However, for a numeral system, it is not necessarily true. A Fula researcher Christiane Seydou has done a great work of publishing a large amount of original Maasina griot texts; however, apart from these data and one grammar, Maasina is also one of the least described lects of Fula.

Maasina numerals of the first ten have roughly the same internal syntax as the numerals of the lects already described. The only difference can be observed in a syllable structure of 'six', where, like in Futa-Tooro a closed syllable is desirable, and also in the structure of 'seven' and 'eight', where a vowel is dropped to create a geminate. This, however, is not necessarily a lect difference, but a consequence of source form. If an oral source is transcribed, then such form is also possible in western lects, such as Futa-Tooro. If, however, a structure-based form is used, it might have the same appearance in Masina, as in the other lects. The example of the first 9 numerals of the somatic base is in (10).

(10)

1	*go'o*	6	*jeegom*
2	*ɗiɗi*	7	*jeeɗɗi*
3	*tati*	8	*jeetti*
4	*nayi*	9	*jeenayi*
5	*joyi*		

The internal syntax of the numerals up to 'forty' is also similar to that of Pular and Pulaar, which is schematically demonstrated in (11):

(11)

10	*sappo*	26	*noogay e jeegom*
16	*sappo e jeegom*	30	*cappaɗe tati*
20	*noogay*	36	*cappaɗe tati e jeegom*

However, starting from ‘forty’, Maasina has a double set of numerals for counting tens. The units after the tens are counted traditionally in either case. The first set is a system that has been previously described for Pular and Pulaar. It has a commercial system based on multiplication of tens, as demonstrated in example (12). It is very notable that the phonetic processes described for ‘six’ and ‘seven’ do not occur in these numerals if they are a part of a compound numeral, thus formally making the latter closer to the data from other Fula lects.

(12)

40	*cappande nayi*	70	*cappande jeedidi*
50	*cappande jowi*	80	*cappande jeetati*
60	*cappande jeegom*	90	*cappande jeenayi*

The alternative set of numerals has a multi-radical vigesimal base for tens, introducing a different name for every twenty, as shown in (13).

(13)

40	*debe*
41	*debe e goo*
50	*debe e sappo*
51	*debe e sappo e goo*
60	*mali-hemre*
70	*mali-hemre e sappo* / *hemre-sappo-walaa*
80	*hemre*
90	*hemre e sappo*

The source of this system can be traced to Bamana, which is the closest contact of Fulfulde Maasina. In Bamana, there is a *dɛ̀bɛ* ‘fourty’ (Perekhvalskaya & Vydrin 2020: 58), which is, most likely, the source for *debe* ‘forty’ in Maasina[7]. For *mali-hemre* ‘sixty’ Bamana has *mànìnkɛ̀mɛ*, and for *hemre* ‘eighty’ it has *kɛ̀mɛ*, which has itself been borrowed from Soninke (Perekhvalskaya & Vydrin 2020: 60).

[7] There is an alternative explanation proposed by a native Maasina speaker, that connects *debe* ‘forty’ to *deboreedu* ‘a pregnant woman’, however it seems a very dubious conclusion with no sustainable proof.

Also, it is important to notice that the Bamana numeral system, which has been borrowed to Maasina, is now archaic and has been out of use since the middle of the 20th century. The significant age of this borrowing is also suggested by a transformation *kɛ̀mɛ* > *hemre*, where a borrowed numeral/noun has been correctly classified both with an affix marker and with an initial consonant permutation. This only happens if a borrowing has been in the system long enough (Kosogorova 2015: 456). In modern Bamana *kɛ̀mɛ* is 'hundred'.

The lexemes 'fifty', 'seventy' and 'ninety' are created by adding *e sappo* 'plus ten' to the previous lexeme for ten, like in *debe e sappo* 'forty and ten = fifty'. There is an alternative syntax for seventy, which is *hemre-sappo-walla*, lit. 'eighty--ten-without'. This is the only encounter of subtraction use in Fula numeral system, and this is borrowed from the Bamana numeral syntax.

Numerals over a hundred in Fulfulde Maasina are borrowed and have just the same syntax as in Pular and Pulaar. They are less ancient and have a commercial base. Thus, *teemedere* 'hundred' (pl. *teemeɗɗe*) is the same as in every other lect of Fula, and *ujunere* 'thousand' (pl. *ujunaaji*) is only different from Pular Futa-Jallon.

2.4. Fulfulde Gombe

Fulfulde Gombe is a Fula lect that can be attributed to both central and eastern dialectal areas of Fula. Some researchers (Hammarström 2020) list this lect as a part of an eastern lect Fulfulde Adamawa, but the researchers who work directly with Gombe, namely Arnott (1970: 4), think of it as a separate lect belonging to a central area. It is spoken by 0.5 million people in Nigeria.

The numeral system of Fulfulde Gombe has a set of particularities, which can be divided into phonetic and syntactic. The phonetic ones include the forms of 'tens' (*shappanɗe* vs. *cappanɗe*) and 'hundred' *teemerre* NDE. One can also mark a glottal stop before initial vowels in the original source of Gombe data, which I did not reflect in this research. However, a glottal stop before the initial vowel is omnipresent in every lect of Fula because the syllable structure requires an onset, and in case of borrowed lexemes starting with a vowel, the language adds a glottal stop as an onset. This initial glottal stop is not reflected in writing nowadays, so I did not include it in the examples. The structural particularities of Fulfulde Gombe include the syntax of 'twenty' and 'thousand' and an alternative system of tens. (14) demonstrates a set of Gombe numerals 1-19.

(14)

				10	*sappo*		
1	*go'o*	6	*jeego'o*	11	*sappo e go'o*	16	*sappo e jeego'o*
2	*ɗiɗi*	7	*jeeɗiɗi*	12	*sappo e ɗiɗi*	17	*sappo e jeeɗiɗi*
3	*tati*	8	*jeetati*	13	*sappo e tati*	18	*sappo e jeetati*
4	*nayi*	9	*jeenayi*	14	*sappo e nayi*	19	*sappo e jeenayi*
5	*jowi*						

As can be seen from above, numbers 1-19 have no difference from other lects. However, after that the somatic base is diluted with the commercial features. This is partly because the speakers have partially abandoned their traditional occupation of nomadic pastoralism and transferred the main occupation to trade. Below in (15), there are two sets of numerals counting tens from twenty and up. The left one is original Fula numerals, and the right one is borrowed from Hausa. Hausa are the main population in Gombe area, the main trade partners of Fula-speaking people, and therefore, their language has the most influence on Gombe. Hausa themselves have their numeral system partly loaned from Arabic, so it makes Fulfulde Gombe accept Arabic loanwords through Hausa. Arabic loans in eastern area of Fula are a very common phenomenon as its influence grows stronger in the Eastern areas of Sub-Saharan Africa, and Fula tends to adhere to Arabic because of the religious and cultural bonds. The western lects of Fula do not show as much of a connection with Arabic.

(15)

	Original Fula lexemes	Gombe< Hausa< Arabic
20	*shappanɗe ɗiɗi*	*ashirin*
21	*shappanɗe ɗiɗi e go'o*	*ashirin e go'o*
25	*shappanɗe ɗiɗi e jowi*	*ashirin e jowi*
30	*shappanɗe tati*	*talaatin*
40	*shappanɗe nayi*	*arba'in*
50	*shappanɗe jowi*	*hamsin*
60	*shappanɗe jeego'o*	*sittin*
70	*shappanɗe jeeɗiɗi*	*saba'in*
80	*shappanɗe jeetati*	*tamaanin*
90	*shappanɗe jeenayi*	*tis'in*

Apart from the alternative systems for tens, it is important to notice that the numeral for 'twenty' in original Gombe syntax is not *noogay/noogas* used in other lects of Fula. Here, one can see a simple multiplication of base, same as with other tens. A question arises of the primacy of these alternatives. Here, we can turn to Perekhvalskaya & Vydrin (2020: 110), who state that for Mande, the vigesimal base is a result of contact with Senufo, Gur, and Kru. It is probable that the existence of a separate vigesimal base for western and central areas of Fula is also a result of the same language contact. And its absence in Gombe is due to the fact that there is no contact with either of these three languages in this lect, and the main contact is with Hausa. If this is true, then the vigesimal base in western and central lects of Fula is secondary to a decimal base with multiplication. This does not contradict the fact that the western lects are considered the origin of the Fulani, because the contact developments of various lects may have occurred after the spread of the language to the Gombe area. However, the theory of simplification by analogy[8], which, admittedly, is a typologically frequent case (as, for example is with Swiss French) is another possible direction of development. It will have to be analyzed using modern field Gombe data.

The lexeme *teemerre* NDE 'hundred' – *teemeɗɗe* ƊE 'hundreds' is, just like in other Fula lects, a loan from Berber, whereas a lexeme used for 'thousand' *dubuure* NDE 'thousand' *dubuuje* ƊE 'thousands' is borrowed from Hausa. The fact that this numeral is also borrowed from Hausa rather than from Mande is indirect proof to the fact that Gombe is the point where Mande influence gives way to Hausa, and one can see the original Fula features stripped of the borrowed features. The external syntax of the cardinal numerals in Gombe does not differ substantially from the other Fula lects, except for the fact that the noun class inventory is a little different here, but it has no direct influence on the numeral system.

2.5. Fulfulde Adamawa

Fulfulde Adamawa is an eastern lect of Fula, which is spoken in Cameroon, Chad, and parts of Sudan by 2 million people. Adamawa numerals are structurally closer to western area than to central one except for the language contact influence results, which is demonstrated by numerals 1-19 in (16) and tens in (17).

[8] As suggested by an anonymous reviewer.

(16)

				10	*sappo*		
1	*go'o/goo*	6	*jeego'o*	11	*sappo e go'o*	16	*sappo e jeego'o*
2	*ɗiɗi*	7	*jeeɗiɗi*	12	*sappo e ɗiɗi*	17	*sappo e jeeɗiɗi*
3	*tati*	8	*jeetati*	13	*sappo e tati*	18	*sappo e jeetati*
4	*nay*	9	*jeenay*	14	*sappo e nay*	19	*sappo e jeenayi*
5	*jowi*						

(17)

20	*noogas*	50	*cappaɗe jowi*
22	*noogas e ɗiɗi*	60	*cappaɗe jeego'o*
30	*cappaɗe tati*	90	*cappaɗe jeenay*

As one can notice, except for the phonetical differences between the lexemes *nay* 'four' and *noogas* 'twenty', the Adamawa numerals up to a hundred are closer to Pular than to any other lect. However, the lexeme *temerre* 'hundred' – *temeɗɗe* 'hundreds' is closest to the one of Gombe, except for the first vowel length (that could be a nuance of the data source or of a speaker). Adamawa *ujunerre* 'thousand' (pl. *ujuneɗɗe*) matches the lexeme used for Futa-Tooro, but for some phonetic divergence. Also, the data source for Fulfulde Adamawa lists *dubuure* 'million' (pl. *dubuuje*). All the higher numerals have the same internal and external syntax as the other lects of Fula.

Additionally, it has to be noted that a completely independent numeral system loaned directly from Arabic is fully functional in the lect along with a traditional one.

2.6. Fulfulde Jamaare

Fulfulde Jamaare is the easternmost of the large lects of Fula. The speakers of this lect have separated from Fulfulde Maasina in the 16th century (Erlman 1983: 16) and now constitute several communities in Eastern Cameroon, comprising about 100 000 people in total.

As Fulfulde Jamaare has very strong genetic connection with Fulufɩde Maasina, their numeral systems also have very much in common, see 1-19 in (18) and some examples of tens in (19). But their common features are limited to the non-borrowed part, as their list of language contacts is very different and so is the contact influence.

(18)

1	*go'o*	6	*joweego*	10	*sappo*		
2	*ɗiɗi*	7	*joweeɗiɗi*	11	*sappo e go'o*	16	*sappo e joweego*
3	*tati*	8	*joweetati*	12	*sappo e ɗiɗi*	17	*sappo e joweeɗiɗi*
4	*nay*	9	*joweenay*	13	*sappo e tati*	18	*sappo e joweetati*
5	*jowi*			14	*sappo e nay*	19	*sappo e joweenay*

(19)

20	*noogas*	50	*cappaɗe jowi*
22	*noogas e ɗiɗi*	60	*cappaɗe joweego*
30	*cappaɗe tati*	90	*cappaɗe joweenay*

The numerals 100 and up share the syntactic principles with the other lects, both internal and external. Hundreds use the same lexeme as other eastern lects *temerre* 'hundred' – *temeɗɗe* 'hundreds'. Thousands have slight morphophonemic changes compared to other lects; however, their syntax, including the noun class, is the same: *ujineere* (pl. *ujineeje*) 'thousand'. It is especially noted in the data source that there is no widespread expression for million in the lect.

This lect, as all the ones in the eastern area, also has a fully functional alternative Arabic system of numerals, which is justified by a close contact of the lect with Arabic.

3. Inflectional and derivational possibilities of numerals

3.1. Ordinal numerals

As in many languages of the world, ordinal numerals are nominal attributes, that are subject to noun class agreement. In case of Fula, based on the form and function of their noun class affix, they can be categorized as adjectives. Ordinal numerals are derived from corresponding cardinal numerals with a suffix *-ab-*. There is one exception in Futa-Tooro lect and another exception, which is universal, is a lexeme 'first'.

This lexeme has a variant *go'ab-CL* (CL is a corresponding class affix), which is transparent structurally and etymologically. However, in all Fula lects, it also has another form *aran(e)-CL*, which is derived from a verb *ar-u-gol* 'to come'.

The numerals ‘second’ and ‘third’ also have alternative forms. They are almost equally distributed in the language. The second one is scarcely lower stylistically and is a result of a phonetical simplification.

(20) *ɗiɗaɓ-CL - ɗimm-CL* ‘second’
tataɓ-CL - tamm-CL ‘third’

All three special forms of the ordinal numerals are only used independently and not in any compound numeral (including 6-8).

The other ordinal numerals also show remarkable uniformity throughout the Fula cluster. The differences between them (other than phonetic and originating in the cardinal system) can be attested to the difference in noun class systems in various lects. The inventory of noun classes varies in different lects, thus making the set of class affixes available for use in ordinal numerals different. There is also a difference in initial inconsonant permutation for various lects, but for the ordinal numerals the connection between the initial consonant and a noun class is different from the standard permutation system found in nouns and attributes, even in the lects where the system is most stable, such as Maasina and Futa-Tooro. For example, in (21a-c), one can see that in all lects, the initial consonant of ‘fifth’ is nasal, but normally these classes require other type of consonant (O requires a plosive consonant and NGE – a fricative one where applicable). In (21d), however, there is a plosive initial consonant where it should be. But since there is no evidence of fricative initial consonants found in any lect, so the conclusion must be that the initial consonant system is not functioning in a usual way for adjectives in Fula ordinal numerals.

(21) (a) Maasina
boobo ***nj****obbo*
child.SG.O fifth.SG.O
‘fifth child’ (De Wolf 1995, T1: 49)

(b) Adamawa
nagge ***(n)j****owaɓe*
cow.SG.NGE fifth.SG.NGE
‘fifth cow’ (De Wolf 1995, T1: 49)

(c) Futa-Jallon
gorko ***nj****owaɓo*
man.SG.O fifth.SG.O
‘fifth man’ (De Wolf 1995, T1: 49)

(d) Futa-Tooro
leggal *jowabal*
tree.SG.NGAL fifth.SG.NGAL
'fifth tree' (Niang 1997: 166)

The pattern for the internal syntax for ordinal numerals can be found below in (22). As can be seen, the ordinal affix can only be attached to the numerals of the first ten and to twenty, i.e. to the last item of a compound numeral.

(22)

1	*go'aɓ-CL* *aran(e)-CL*	6	*jeego'aɓ-CL*[9]	10	*sappaɓ-CL*	20	*noogayaɓ-CL*
2	*ɗiɗaɓ-CL*	7	*jeeɗiɗaɓ-CL*	11	*sappo e go'aɓ-CL*	21	*noogay e go'aɓ-CL*
3	*tataɓ-CL*	8	*jeetataɓ-CL*	12	*sappo e ɗiɗaɓ-CL*	30	*cappande tataɓ-CL*
4	*nayaɓ-CL*	9	*jeenayaɓ-CL*	13	*sappo e tataɓ-CL*	31	*cappande tati e go'aɓ-CL*
5	*jowaɓ-CL*			14	*sappo e nayaɓ-CL*	50	*cappande jeego'aɓ-CL*

There are very few mentions of an ordinal form 'hundredth'. They are: *teemer-eree**jo***[10] for Pular Futa-Jallon, *teemedera**ɓo*** for Fulfulde Maasina and *battoo**wo** teemedere* 'the hundredth participant' for Pular Futa-Tooro. Also, there is a form *teemerree*-**CL** listed in De Wolf (1995, T2: 119), since this source of data is a multi-lect dictionary, the uniformity of this numeral within the language can be stated. If used in a compound numeral, hundreds are left in cardinal forms, and only tens or units (whichever comes last linearly) become ordinal, as demonstrated in example (23). This example is from Futa-Tooro lect, approved by a speaker.

(23) *teemedere e jeenayaɓo* 'hundred and ninth' [100 + 9.ORD]
teemedde ɗiɗaɓo 'two hundredth' [100*2.ORD]
teemedde ɗiɗi e nayaɓo 'two hundred and fourth' [100*2 +4.ORD]

---

[9] Such combination of vowels and a glottal stop often results in a loss of a glottal stop and, consequently, in simplification of resulting hiatus to *jeegaɓ*-CL. It frequently happens in oral spoken sources, regardless of the lect.

[10] Here and henceforth, while using an agreed form of an ordinal numeral, a O-class form is provided, unless stated otherwise.

The attested ordinal forms for 'thousand' are *wulureejo, ujunereejo*[11] or, rarely, *wulurabo* for Pular Futa-Jallon, *ujunebo* for Fulfulde Maasina and *battoowo ujunere* for Pular Futa-Tooro. There is also a mention of *ujunereejo* for Fulfulde Adamawa in De Wolf (1995, T3: 81). A million in its ordinal form is encountered in a source for Pular *ujunereejo* or *millioneejo* and for Maasina *ujunabo*. This leads to a conclusion that there are two patterns for ordinal forms of the borrowed numerals, first one is standard, with an affix *-ab-*, and another one is with a standard adnominal affix *-ee-* used in forming adjectives. The replacement, which is used for this form in Fula-Tooro, is not a regular form in Fula but rather a feature of a specific data source.

3.2. Fraction numerals

The formation of fraction numerals has only been described for Pular Futa-Jallon and Fulfulde Maasina. But the simplicity and uniformity of the process, apart from some expected phonetic differences, allow us to suppose that the other lects of Fula might, to some extent, use the same pattern. The fraction numerals are formed by putting a usual form of ordinal numeral into a diminutive noun class – KUN for Pular and NGEL for Fulfulde Maasina, as demonstrated in (24).

(24) *tatabun* (FJ) *tatabel* (M) 'one-third'
jowabun (FJ) *jowabel* (M) 'one-fifth'

3.3. Distributive numerals

The distributive numerals are described only in the data sources on Fulfulde Gombe and Fulfulde Adamawa lects, and not mentioned in any other sources of data. However, my own field data (supported by the opinion of an anonymous reviewer) shows the same results for Pular Futa- Jallon. Consequently, I presume that the data sources just omitted this aspect, as they are not focused on numerals. Distributive numerals in both descriptions are formed with basic reduplication of the lowest part of a cardinal numeral, as demonstrated in example (25). There is no external syntax involved, as the resulting numeral functions as an adverb, and there is no inflection attributed to this part of speech.

---

[11] As has been mentioned previously, there is a dialect variation in use of 'thousand', with *wulluure* used for some dialects and *ujunere* for others. It seems to depend on language contact situation for each particular dialect.

(25) *go'o-go'o* 'one by one'
jowi-jowi 'five by five'
cappande jeeɗiɗi-jeeɗiɗi 'seventy by seventy'

3.4. Human forms of cardinal numerals

The agreement of an ordinal numeral with a head noun is not a typological rarity. However, cardinal numerals in Fula also agree with a head noun in every lect. They do not agree in noun class, but in a very special category attributed only to cardinal numerals, which is *humanity*. There are two noun classes in Fula, which can include plural nouns expressing humans. plƁE is a noun class, which *only* includes people in the plural, whereas plKOY/plKON[12] includes the plural nouns for small objects, including small people, children, etc. If such nouns are used with cardinal numerals (except 'one', because agrees in noun class already), the numerals 1-9 and, in one case, 20 are used in a special human form throughout the cluster.

The nouns of ƁE class require a form of a numeral that ends in *-o*. It is reasonable from the language point of view, as a singular form of any ƁE class noun is found in a singular human O class and is marked accordingly. The human *-ɓe* forms can be found below in (26). Note that 'six' does not have a separate human form, as it is based on a count form of 'one', and 'one' does not change in humanity. The human form for 'twenty' is only described for Fula-Jallon lect. In the lects where the original form *chappande ɗiɗi* is used for 'twenty', the last part of the numeral is put in a human form.[13]

(26)

Two men	*worɓe ɗiɗ-o*	Six men	*worɓe (n)jeego'-o*
Three men	*worɓe tat-o*	Seven men	*worɓe (n)jeeɗiɗ-o*
Four men	*worɓe nay-o*	Eight men	*worɓe (n)jeetat-o*
Five men	*worɓe (n)jow-o*[13]	Nine men	*worɓe (n)jeenay-o*
		Twenty men	*worɓe noogay-o*

If a head noun belongs to KON/KOY noun class, then the human form of a cardinal numeral will have one of the forms presented below in example (27).

---

[12] The specific class form depends on a lect.
[13] For the lects that have a functioning initial permutation system, a nasal consonant is required here.

Depending on the lect, there are sgKUN-plKOY variants (for Pular Futa-Jallon) and sgNGEL-plKON variants (for all other lects).

(27)

Two children	*paykoy ɗiɗ-oy* *paykon ɗiɗ-on*	Six children	*paykoy (n)jeego'-o* *paykoy njeego'-o*
Three children	*paykoy tat-oy* *paykon tat-on*	Seven children	*paykoy (n)jeeɗiɗ-oy* *paykon njeeɗiɗ-on*
Four children	*paykoy nay-oy* *paykon nay-on*	Eight children	*paykoy (n)jeetat-oy* *paykon njeetat-on*
Five children	*paykoy (n)jow-oy* *paykon njow-on*	Nine children	*paykoy (n)jeenay-oy* *paykon njeenay-on*

There is an addition to this rule, which I have encountered in Futa-Jallon folk tales. In some cases, the lexemes, which do not belong to the two noun classes described above, can still require a human form of a numeral. It happens if such noun is considered human by the speaker's volition, which is grudgingly allowed by the grammar. There are few examples like (28) below, where the djinns, while normally belonging to a non-human ƊI class, still trigger a human form of a numeral, because they are considered live persons for the purpose of the tale.

(28) *o* *yi'-i* *ton* *jinnaa-ji* *ɗiɗ-o*
3.sgO see-ACT.PFV there djinn-pl I two-PERS
'He saw two djinns there…'

The numerals 'ten' and the borrowed forms of 'hundred', 'thousand', and 'million' do not have human forms. Since a human form agreement in cardinal numerals only expands to more ancient parts of the numeral system using a somatic base and not on the later commercial-use borrowings, it can be presumed that it is also archaic.

4. Numeral system of Wolof

Wolof is another Atlantic language, and it is, along with Sereer, the closest relative to Fula. It is spoken in Senegal by 10 million people and is also a *lingua franca* of Senegal (second-popular language after French). Like Fula (but unlike

most of the other Niger-Congo languages), Wolof is not tonal. Modern researchers divide Wolof into seven closely related dialects: Gambian, Baol, Cayor, Dyolof, Jander, Lebou, and Ndyanger (Torrence 2012, and other sources cited in Eberhard et al. 2020).

There is a significant amount of Wolof language descriptions available nowadays, focusing on various aspects of the language. Yet the data on numerals are very scarce even in the best descriptions. The existing data, however, is sufficient to state that there is a structural unity of the numeral system throughout all the dialects, except Lebou. Lebou is well-known to be a detached dialect, and there is not enough data on its numeral system to include it in this study.

4.1. Cardinal numerals

The cardinal numerals in Wolof are structured in the similar way to the ones of the western lects of Fula, which are less prone to Arabic influence than the eastern ones and are less traditional than the central ones.

The first five cardinal numerals constitute a quinary base, which is used to make all the other numerals up to ten, provided in (29). It is the same for all dialects with the minimal morphophonemic differences. Below, there is a set of such numerals. The version including the parts in parenthesis is for the Gambian Wolof (US Peace Corps 1995), and the version without ones is suitable for other Senegal Wolof dialects (Diouf 2009, Ngom 2003). These dialects are very close and are comprehensible both in written and in oral discourse.

(29)

1	*benn(a)*	6	*juróom benn(a)*
2	*ñaar*	7	*juróom ñaar*
3	*ñett(a)*	8	*juróom ñett(a)*
4	*ñen(en)t*	9	*juróom ñen(en)t*
5	*juróom*		

Although, like in Fula, there is no direct connection of the lexeme ‘hand’ with the numeral ‘five’ in Wolof, without delving into diachronic analysis, a lexeme *yoore* ‘to hold in hand’ can be found in the dictionary. This indirectly proves the historical connection between the lexemes, which has to be presumed from the quinary base. Also, a multi-lexeme forms for the basic numerals is not conventional and can serve as additional proof to the importance of a quinary numeral base.

After the first ten, the numeral system of Wolof, just like the one in Fula, acquires traces of a commercial base in addition to the traditional somatic one, as can be seen in example (30). Thus, the numeral 'sixteen' is a combination of the lexemes 'ten', 'five' and 'one', and like in Fula 'and'/'with' is placed between tens and units.

(30)

10	*fukk(a)*		
11	*fukk(a) ak*[14] *benn(a)*	16	*fukk(a) ak juróom benn(a)*
12	*fukk(a) ak ñaar*	17	*fukk(a) ak juróom ñaar*
13	*fukk(a) ak ñett(a)*	18	*fukk(a) ak juróom ñett(a)*
14	*fukk(a) ak ñen(en)t*	19	*fukk(a) ak juróom ñen(en)t*
15	*fukk(a) ak juróom*		

Starting with twenty and up, multiplication is used to express the number of tens and the units still use the quinary base. Thus, 'twenty-seven' = 2*10 + (5+2). Below in (31), there are examples of all numerals 20-29, and some others from all other tens.

(31)

20	*ñaar fukk(a)*		
21	*ñaar fukk(a) ak benn(a)*	26	*ñaar fukk(a) ak juróom benn(a)*
22	*ñaar fukk(a) ak ñaar*	27	*ñaar fukk(a) ak juróom ñaar*
23	*ñaar fukk(a) ak ñett(a)*	28	*ñaar fukk(a) ak juróom ñett(a)*
24	*ñaar fukk(a) ak ñen(en)t*	29	*ñaar fukk(a) ak juróom ñen(en)t*
25	*ñaar fukk(a) ak juróom*		
30	*ñett(a) fukk(a)*		
31	*ñett(a) fukk(a) ak benn(a) = 3*10 + 1*		
36	*ñett(a) fukk(a) ak juróom benn(a) = 3*10+ (6+1)*		
40	*ñen(en)t fukk(a)*		
41	*ñen(en)t fukk(a) ak benn(a)*		
46	*ñen(en)t fukk(a) ak juróom benn(a)*		
50	*juróom fukk(a)*		

[14] There can be a dialect invariant *ag* of this preposition.

51	*juróom fukk(a) ak benn(a)*
56	*juróom fukk(a) ak juróom benn(a)*
60	*juróom benn(a) fukk(a)*
70	*juróom ñaar fukk(a)*
80	*juróom ñett(a) fukk(a)*
90	*juróom ñen(en)t fukk(a)*

A lexeme 'hundred' in Wolof is a loanword from the same Berber source as in Fula, but it has only one form and does not inflect. Unlike Fula, there is no plural form of 'hundred', and the multiplication is used to describe the number of hundreds, like with tens, as can be seen in (32).

(32) 111 *téémééér ak fukk(a) ak benn(a)* = 100 + 10 + 1
234 *ñaar téémééér ak ñett(a) fukk(a) ak ñen(en)t* = 2*100+3*10+4

The numeral lexeme for 'thousand' has the same provenance in Wolof as in Pulaar Futa-Tooro, which is not surprising as they share most of their area. It has a form *juuni* and the same syntax within a compound numeral as tens and hundreds (33).

(33) 1007 *juuni ak juróom ñaar* = 1000+(5+2)
2080 *ñaar juuni ak juróom ñett(a) fukk(a)* = 2*1000 + (5+3)*10

As can be seen from the above examples, the internal syntax of Wolof numerals is very close to that of Fula. However, the external syntax has several points of difference. In Fula, a numeral within a NP is dependent on the NP head and is linearly placed after it. In Wolof, however, a numeral is located before the noun. Also, there is an affix *-i* attached to a numeral within a NP. According to different analyses, this affix marks the plurality of a noun (Ngom 2003: 48), or the dependent-marking of a numeral as an attribute (US Peace corps 1995: 9). Torrence (2013: 21), on the other hand, describes this affix as a marker of a countable object. The examples of this affix can be seen in (34).

(34) (a) *juróom-i nit*
five-PL man
'five people';

(b) *ñaar-i* *xarit*
two-PL friend
'two friends';

(c) *benn* *xarit*
one friend
'one friend'.

The lack of a plural affix in example (33c) can signify that this affix indeed marks the plurality of a noun. The number of a noun is also expressed with noun class markers that are part of definite articles and pronoun series (the plural noun classes in Wolof are - ñi-class and yi-class).

Harris (2015: 12) notes that the undetermined noun can also use *b-enn* as a marker of indeterminateness 'some kind of', and Torrence (2013: 18) also provides a plural form of such marker using a *yi*-class, which is *yi-enn* 'some kinds of'. Also, according to Harris (2015), a marker of indeterminateness, quantifier or a *numeral* can be placed before a noun in an NP.

4.2. Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals in Wolof have, with one exception, a very uniform internal syntax. An affix *-eel* is added to the last element of a cardinal numeral to turn it into ordinal one, as in (35).

(35) 8 *juróom ñetteel*
12 *fukk(a) ak ñaareel*
24 *ñaar fukk(a) ak ñenteel*

If an ordinal numeral is part of an NP, it also receives an affix, which marks the number of the NP head. This affix can be either -i (in case of a plural NP) or -u (in case of a singular NP), as demonstrated in example (36). Torrence (2013: 19) also describes a paradigm of determiners, where these (or rather a homonymous set of) affixes are used to express definiteness and deixis.

(36) (Ngom 2003: 47)

(a) Singular forms:

*ñaar-eel-**u***	*xarit*	*bi*
two-ORD-SG	friend	DEF.CL

'the second friend'

*fukk-eel-**u***	*fas*	*wi*
ten-ORD-SG	horse	DEF.CL
'the tenth horse'		
*ñett-eel-**u***	*rééw*	*mi*
three-ORD-SG	country	DEF.CL
'the third country'		

(b) Plural forms

*ñaar-eel-**i***	*xarit*	*bi*
two-ORD-PL	friend	DEF.CL
'the second friends'		
*fukk-eel-**i***	*fas*	*wi*
ten-ORD-PL	horse	DEF.CL
'the tenth horses'		
*ñett-eel-**i***	*rééw*	*mi*
three-ORD-PL	country	DEF.CL
'the third countries'		

The only exception from this syntax is, expectedly, the numeral 'one', which has a suppletive ordinal form *(n)jëkk* < *jëkka* 'to be first'. The external syntax of the lexeme 'the first' also differs from the rest of the ordinal numerals. Unlike the others, where a number of an NP head is marked in a numeral, the lexeme 'the first' does not change, whereas the definite article of the head noun is marked with an affix *-u.* Also, the word order in the NP is changed: the dependent noun is placed before the numeral head and not vice versa.

(37) (Ngom 2003: 49)

(a) Singular forms

jigéén	*j-u*	*njëkk*
woman	DEF.CL-REL	first
'the first woman'		
xale	*b-u*	*njëkk*
child	DEF.CL-REL	first
'the first child'		
fas	*w-u*	*njëkk*
horse	DEF.CL-REL	first
'the first horse'		
nit	*k-u*	*njëkk*
man	DEF.CL-REL	first
'the first man'		

(b) Plural forms

jigéén	*n-u*	*njëkk*
woman	DEF.CL-REL	first
'the first women'		
xale	*y-u*	*njëkk*
child	DEF.CL-REL	first
'the first children'		
fas	*y-u*	*njëkk*
horse	DEF.CL-REL	first
'the first horses'		
nit	*n-u*	*njëkk*
man	DEF.CL-REL	first
'the first men'		

Ngom (2003: 40) mentions that the numeral 'first' in the NP has morphosyntactic properties similar to an adjective. However, Harris (2015: 13) denies the existence of such part of speech as adjectives in the language and interprets the construction in (38) as a relative one with a stative verb. He also interprets *-u* as a relative marker that attaches itself to a definite article incorporating the noun class (and, consequently, number) marker.

(38) *bal b-u mag*
ball DEF.CL-REL be.big
'a big ball'

Torrence (2013: 106) also calls this construction relative and describes a set of three relative markers encompassing deixis and definiteness markers. Example (39a) presents an indefinite relative marker with neutral deixis, in example (39b), there is a definite relative marker with proximal deixis, and in example (39c) one can see a definite relative marker with distal deixis. If we analyze a NP with a numeral 'the first' as such relative construction, then, objectively, all three types of relative marker could be present in them, depending of the properties of an NP head. However, the data is available only for one marker, and taking into account the overall lack of data on Wolof ordinal numerals, this could be a problem of representation.

(39) (Torrence 2013 : 106)

(a) *u-* relative clause

(u-m)	*póón*	*m-u*	*ñu tóx*	
NDEF-cl	tobacco	CL-**U**	3.PL	smoke

'some tobacco that they smoked'

(b) *i-* relative clause

póón	*m-i*	*ñu*	*tóx*	*(m-i)*
tobacco	CL-**I**	3.PL	smoke	CL-DEF.PROX

'the tobacco here that they smoked'

(c) *a-* relative clause

póón	*m-a*	*ñu*	*tóx*	*(m-a)*
tobacco	CL-**A**	3.PL	smoke	CL-DEF.DIST

'the tobacco there that they smoked'

According to Diouf (2009: 171), all the ordinal numerals in Wolof have a defined function, while 'the first' is the only one to have a determiner function. It agrees with the word-order information presented above and leads to the following conclusions.

First, the numeral 'the first' is not an adjective, but a part of a relative construction. There exists a possibility of such constructions with relative markers also containing *-i* and *-a*, but this data has to be verified. Second, the word order for all the ordinal and cardinal numerals, except 'the first', can only be explained in two ways. Such numerals could be heads of their phrases, which include the dependent noun – and this does not find proof in descriptions of Wolof syntax, so I'll have to disregard this. Or the Wolof numerals use dependent marking of a noun number, because the determiner, which includes the noun class marker (and therefore shows the number of a noun), is not used with numerals.

5. Conclusions

Fula and Wolof are very closely related languages, so originally, they have had a similar numeral system. It is two-stage with quinary and decimal bases using operations of multiplication and addition, which is expressed by prepositions *e* for Fula and *ak* for Wolof (their functions are roughly the same in both languages. The quinary base presumably has a somatic origin, however, this has poor direct evidence synchronically. The decimal base has a commercial origin. The numerals over a hundred are all borrowed, because the original counting system did not operate numbers on such scale. However, despite the system similarity,

these two languages present a set of very pronounced differences in their counting systems.

Geographically, Fula is dispersed on a very vast territory, and every lect has its own set of language contacts that influence it. So, the divergence in the internal syntax of the lects has both phonetic and contact nature. The tables below present a comparative summary of cardinal numeral data for Fula and Wolof. Note that in Table 1 for numerals 1-4 in Fula there is very little difference, and all of it can be justified by the type of data used in the source. Such minor variations are presence/absence of a glottal stop in 'one', vowel contraction in 'seven' and 'eight' (based on two and three) and presence or absence of pluralizing *-i* in 'four'.

TABLE 1. Variants for 'one' to 'four' lexemes in Fula lects and Wolof

	Western area		Central area	Eastern area			Wolof
	Futa-Jallon	Futa-Tooro	Maasina	Gombe	Adamawa	Jamaare	
1 (count form)	*go'o*	*goo/-gom*	*go'o*	*go'o*	*go'o / goo*	*go'o/-go*	*benn(a)*
2	*didi*	*didi*	*didi*	*didi*	*didi*	*didi*	*ñaar*
3	*tati*	*tati*	*tati*	*tati*	*tati*	*tati*	*ñett(a)*
4	*nayi*	*nay*	*nayi*	*nayi*	*nay*	*nay*	*ñen(en)t*

Table 2 presents variations for 'five', both dependent and independent. The variation between *-y-* and *-w-* in the independent use can be explained by minor phonetic variations of the data source. On the other hand, the extended form *jowee-* used instead of a contracted for *-jee* in Jamaare can be deemed as a lect variation.

TABLE 2. Variants for 'five' in Fula lects and Wolof

	Western area		Central area		Eastern area		Wolof
	Futa-Jallon	Futa-Tooro	Maasina	Gombe	Adamawa	Jamaare	
Independent	*jowi*	*joy*	*joyi*	*jowi*	*jowi*	*jowi*	*juróom*
In numbers 6-9	*jee-*	*jee-*	*jee-*	*jee-*	*jee-*	*jowee-*	*juróom*

TABLE 3. Variants for higher order numerals in Fula lects and Wolof

	Western area		Central area	Eastern area			Wolof
	Futa--Jallon	Futa--Tooro	Maasina	Gombe	Adamawa	Jamaare	
100SG	*teemedere*	*teemedere*	*teemedere*	*teemerre*	*temerre*	*temerre*	*téémééŕ*
100PL	*teemeddɛ*	*teemeddɛ*	*teemeddɛ*	*teemeddɛ*	*temeddɛ*	*temeddɛ*	-
1000SG	*wuluure*	*ujundere*	*ujunere*	*dubuure*	*ujunerre*	*ujineere*	*junni*
1000PL	*guluuje*	*ujunaaji*	*ujunaaji*	*dubuuje*	*ujuneddɛ*	*ujineeje*	-
1000000SG	*ujunere*				*dubuure*		?
1000000PL	*ujunaaji*				*dubuuje*		?

There are also certain generalizations available for the contact phenomena of Fula and Wolof relevant for the numeral system, summarized in a table below. Wolof, therefore, is placed near Pulaar Futa-Tooro because their geographical positions are similar, and this accounts for the similar set of contacts. Eastern lects of Fula use an alternative counting system loaned from Arabic without any significant changes. Central lects use special alternative systems for counting tens, also loaned. For Gombe, the source of loan is Hausa, and for Maasina, it is Bamana, but not in its modern state: the loan base for this system ceased to actively operate in the 1960's. All the western lects have been in contact with Mande languages, which caused them to borrow a vigesimal base used only for the numeral 'twenty' and pass it on to the eastern lects. For Wolof, the contact consequences have not been very pronounced, except for the borrowed numerals of 100 and up. They have been borrowed from the same languages as Futa-Tooro lect of Fula.

From the point of view of external syntax, Fula and Wolof do not have much in common. Fula numerals are always dependent on the NP head and following it linearly. The cardinal numerals change their humanity category depending on the properties of the head noun, and ordinal numerals agree with it in noun class. The numeral *aran-CL* 'first' has a suppletive invariant, and the numerals 'second' and 'third' have simplified invariants in addition to traditional ones.

TABLE 4. Borrowing patterns in Fula and Wolof numeral systems

	Western area		Wolof	Central area	Eastern area		
	Futa--Jallon	Futa--Tooro		Maasina	Gombe	Adamawa	Jamaare
Vigesimal base < Mande	+	+	-	+	–	+	+
Alternative vigesimal system for tens < Bamana	–	–	-	+	–	–	–
Alternative system for tens < Hausa < Arabic	–	–	-	–	+	–	–
Alternative system < Arabic	–	–	-	–	–	+	+
Borrowed hundreds < Berber	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
Borrowed hundreds < Hausa	–	–	-	–	+	–	–
Borrowed thousands < Susu	+	–	-	–	–	–	–
Borrowed thousands < Mande	–	+	+	+	+	+	+

Wolof numerals, on the other hand, are placed before the NP head along with quantifiers and indefinite articles. And since a noun class (which encompasses number) is not expressed in Wolof noun, the numerals accept an affix, which marks the number of a head noun. This is in accordance with the article, which, if present, also accepts the noun class marker of a head noun. The only exception is a numeral 'the first', which is a stative verb in a relative construction. The relative marker of such construction has noun class, deixis, and definiteness information.

References

Arnott, D.W. 1974. "Some aspects of the study of Fula dialects". *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 37(1). 8-18.

Arnott, D.W. 1970. *The nominal and verbal systems of Fula*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Blažek, V. 1999. *Numerals: Comparative-etymological analyses of numeral systems and their implications (Saharan, Nubian, Egyptian, Berber, Kartvelian, Uralic, Altaic and Indo-European languages)*. 2nd edn. Brno: Masarykova Univerzita. 325-337.

Comrie, B. 2011. "Typology of numeral systems. Numeral types and changes worldwide". *Trends in Linguistics* 118. 1-25.

Comrie, B. 1997. *Typology of numeral systems*. Online: https://mpi-lingweb.shh.mpg.de/numeral/TypNumCuhk_11ho.doc [2021-01-16].

DeLancey, S. 1992. "Klamath and Sahaptian numerals". *International Journal of American Linguistics* 58. 235-239.

De Wolf, P.P. 1995. *English-Fula dictionary: A multidialectal approach* (*Fulfulde, Pulaar, Fulani*) (Sprache und Oralität in Afrika 18). Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.

Diouf, J.-L. 2009. *Grammaire du Wolof contemporain*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Eberhard, D.M., G.F. Simons & C.D. Fennig (eds.). 2020. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*. 23rd edn. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online: http://www.ethnologue.com [19.07.2022].

Erlmann, V. 1983. "Notes on musical instruments among the Fulani of Diamare (North Cameroon)". *African Music* 6(3). 16-41. Online: www.jstor.org/stable/30249770. [19.09.2020].

Fagerberg-Diallo, S.M. 1984. *A practical guide and reference grammar to the Fulfulde of Maasina.* Jos: Joint Christian Ministries in West Africa.

Faidherbe, L.L.C. 1882. *Grammaire et vocabulaire de la langue Poul*. Paris: Maisonneuve.

Greenberg, J.H. 1990. "Generalizations about numeral systems". *On language: Selected writings of Joseph H. Greenberg*, ed. by K. Denning & S. Kemmer. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 271-309.

Greenberg, J.H. 1978. "Numeral systems". *Universals of human language.* 3: *Word structure*, ed. by J.H. Greenberg, C.A. Ferguson & E.A. Moravcsik. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 250-295.

Hammarström, H., R. Forkel, M. Haspelmath & S. Bank. 2020. *Glottolog 4.2.1*. Jena: Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History. Online: http://glottolog.org [06.09.2020].

Harris, C. 2015. *Applicative structure in Wolof*. Ph.D. Thesis. University of Western Ontario. Online: https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd/3464/ [15.10.2020].

Klingenheben, A. 1963. *Die Sprache der Ful* (Afrikanistische Forschungen 1). Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin.

Kosogorova, M.A. 2020. "Morphological and syntactic properties of a lexeme 'one' in Fula". *Proceedings of Lomonosov memorial conference: Oriental and African studies*. Moscow, 2020. 13-15. [Косогорова М.А. 2020. "Морфологические и синтаксические свойства лексемы 'один' в языке фула". *Ломоносовские чтения Востоковедение и Африканистика: Тезисы докладов научной конференции.* Москва, 2020. Под ред. *И.И.* Абылгазиев, К.Б. Волкова, М.В. Воронцова и др. Москва. 13–15].

Kosogorova, M.A. 2021. "Numeral characteristics in various Fula lects". *Journal of Language Studies, Semiotics and Semantics* 12(3). 714-734. [Косогорова М.А. 2021. "Характеристики числительных вразличных идиома хязыка фула". *Вестник Российского университета дружбы народов. Серия: Теория языка. Семиотика. Семантика.* 12(3). 714-734].

Kosogorova, M.A. 2015. “The features of French borrowings in Pular-Fulfulde language”. *African Collection 2015*. Saint Petersburg. 450-465. [Косогорова М.А. 2015. “Особенности франкоязычных заимствований в язык пулар-фульфульде”. *Африканский сборник 2015*. Санкт-Петербург. 450-465].

Koval, A.I. & G.V. Zoubko. 1986. *Fula language*. Moscow: Nauka. [Коваль А.И. и Г.В. Зубко. 1986. *Язык Фула. Москва: Наука*].

Labatut, R. 1981. “Réflexions sur la numération peul”. *Itinérances... en pays peul et ailleurs: Mélanges à la mémoire de Pierre Francis Lacroix*. Vol. 1: *Langues*, ed. by Société des Africanistes. Paris: N.A. 91-102.

Ngom, F. 2003. *Wolof.* München: Lincom.

Niang, M.O. 1997. *Pulaar: Pulaar-English, English-Pulaar standard dictionary*. New York: Hippocrene Books.

Noye, D. 1974. *Cours de foulfouldé, dialecte peul du Diamaré, Nord-Cameroun*: *Grammaire et exercises, textes, lexiques peul-français et français-peul*. Paris, Maroua (Cameroun): Librairie Orientaliste.

Olderogge, D.A. 1982. “Counting systems in languages of tropical and south Africa”. *African ethnographic anthology* XIII. Leningrad: Nauka. 1-33. [Ольдерогге, Д.А. 1982. “Системы счета в языках народов тропической и южной Африки”. *Африканский этнографический сборник* XIII. Ленинград: Наука, Ленинградское отделение. 1-33].

Perekhvalskaya, E. & V. Vydrin. 2020. “Numeral systems in Mande languages”. *Mandenkan* 61. Online: http://journals.openedition.org/mandenkan/1951 [15.12.2020].

Pozdniakov, K. 2018. *The numeral system of Proto-Niger-Congo*: *A step-by-step reconstruction* (Niger-Congo Comparative Studies 2). Berlin: Language Science Press.

Shluinsky, A.B. 2017. “Susu language”. *World languages. Mande languages*, ed. by V. Vydrine et al. Saint Petersburg: Nestor-Istorija. 221-247. [Шлуинский А.Б. 2017. “Сусу язык”. *Языки мира. Языки Манде,* ред. В.Ф. Выдрин и др. Санкт-Петербург: Нестор-История, 2017. С. 221-247].

Torrence, H. 2013. *The clause structure of Wolof: Insights into the left periphery*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

UNESCO. 1966. *Réunion d’un groupe d’experts pour l’unification des alphabets des langues nationales*. Bamako. Online: http://archives.au.int/handle/123456789/6282 [30.5.2023].

US Peace Corps (ed.). 1995. *Wollof grammar manual*. Banjul: N.A.

Studies in African
Languages and Cultures, Vol. 57, 2023
ISSN 2545-2134; e-ISSN 2657-4187

https://doi.org/10.32690/SALC57.8

Abdulai Akuamah
Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, Ghana
ORCID 0000-0001-6625-3228

John Odoom
University of Education, Winneba, Ghana
ORCID 0000-0002-7727-542X

Phonological adaptation of Arabic names in Atebubu (Bono East Region, Ghana)

Abstract

This paper discusses the phonological processes embedded in some nativised Arabic personal names in Atebubu, in the Bono East Region of Ghana. The study shows that the main phonological processes entrenched in the nativisation process include segment deletion, vowel insertion, prothesis, substitution, consonant deletion, hypocorism, and free variation. These phonological processes are employed as a mitigation strategy to conform to the phonotactics of Akan. Moreover, the study shows that the Bono speakers usually substitute the consonants [ʃ, z, q, d͡ʒ] with [ɕ, s, k, d͡ʒ], respectively. Data for the study was gathered from both primary and secondary sources.

Keywords: Atebubu, Akan, Bono dialect, nativisation, phonological adaptation, personal names, pronunciation

1. Introduction

Names are essential universal means that humans use to identify themselves and the world around them (Rashid 2014, Al-Qawasmi & Al-Haq 2016). They show how people perceive the world around them (Fadoro & Oludare 2014).

According to Agyekum (2006), a name refers to different elements of human experiences, that is, to an individual or a collective entity to which they are assigned or denote. In this regard, names play a referential function.

Besides conferring identity on people, naming practices give insight into the pattern of social and cultural organisations of communities and can be a key to broader cultural changes. They tell us about the social group and the name-giver and mostly tell us what is considered significant about the background and the events at the time of a person's birth. Personal names are not just arbitrary labels but sociocultural tags that have sociocultural functions and meanings (Agyekum 2006). Names have cultural and social contexts that identify the bearer or convey a wide range of invaluable information about the bearer. They store important socio-cultural as well as linguistic and typological information in the Akan culture.

A name identifies the person and at the same time, it can invoke a message, express a hope or a prayer or help us understand the culture, history, literature or religious tradition of a particular group of people (Fadoro & Oludare 2014, Asamoah & Akuamah 2021).

This paper seeks to discuss how Arabic personal names have been nativized in the Bono dialect of Akan, particularly those in the Atebubu environs. This study contributes widely to the anthroponomy and onomasiology of Akan and Arabic.

2. The Bono people

Bono is situated among the Akan people. The Bono people speak Bono Twi, which is a dialect of Akan, spoken in Ghana and some parts of Cote d'Ivoire (Osam 2003, Dolphyne 2006). It belongs to the Niger-Congo (Kwa group) languages (Adomako 2015). Akan is the largest ethnic group in Ghana (Agyekum 2006, Dolphyne 2006). Akan is the most widely spoken language of all the Ghanaian languages with over 49.1% native speakers and with 44.1% second language speakers (Dolphyne 2006). The Bono speakers popularly referred to as Abonofoɔ [abʊnʊfʊɔ] occupy the Bono and Bono East Region of Ghana surrounded by the Gonjas of the Savannah Region and the Asantes of the Ashanti Region. They are the third largest language group in Akan and constitute 4.6% of the entire population of Ghana (Ghana Statistical Service 2010). Bono as a dialect is spoken in the whole of the Bono Region and Bono East Region. The major Bono-speaking communities include Japekrom or Adansi, Berekum/Sunyani, Dormaa/Wamfie, Wankyi, Nkoranza/Kintampo, and Atebubu Bono (Truntenau 1976).

2.1. Islamic profile of Atebubu

The history of Islam in Atebubu is shrouded. However, the indigenes identified the first convert who subsequently brought the religion to their area as Nana Ata. The history of the advent of the Arabic language/names in Ghana and Atebubu can be traced to contact with the Arabic world and their subsequent acceptance of Islam. The contact with Muslim traders and Akan facilitated the adoption of many of the Islamic elements into the Akan culture (Compton 2014). The Arabic language and Islam are inseparable because it is the language of the Holy Qur'an. As stated earlier, there is no account of the exact date Islam was introduced to the indigenes of Atebubu. However, the evidence is traceable to 1892 when the Muslim traders moved to the newly emerged market centres like Atebubu, Kete Krachi, and Kintampo during the Salaga Civil War (Compton 2014). This facilitated the establishment of Islam in Atebubu and its surrounding communities. Hence, the Arabic language became the official medium for religious prayers, learning of the Qur'an in *makaranta* (a Hausa name for 'school') and as a subject in the Government established schools within the vicinity. Every Muslim is obliged to recite portions of the Qur'an when he or she is performing Salat in its original language, Arabic.

The belief is that Arabic is Islam's language and will be the language hereafter (Dumbe 2009). Thus, the people in the Islamic communities are unconsciously exposed to the Arabic language. Furthermore, every staunch Muslim is expected to bear an Islamic name and must name their children per the teachings of the Holy Qur'an and the Sunnah (Fadoro & Oludare 2014, Al-Qawasmi & Al-Haq 2016). Some Muslims in Ghana, and in this case Atebubu, also believe that Muslims' names are Islamic as a result of which they select them rather than their indigenous names.

Meanwhile, when these names are given or taken, they are nativised, pronounced, and manipulated as though they were Bono names. The focus of this study is to analyse the phonological processes involved in the nativism of these Arabic names in Atebubu Bono. This phenomenon can be understood when the sound systems of these languages are compared and contrasted in the context of natural phonology. Natural phonology (NP) opines that the phonology of a language is a system of subconscious mental processes that in real-time mediate between intended but unpronounceable lexical forms of utterances and pronounceable surface forms (Stampe & Dognegan 2009).

3. Religious names in Ghana

The practice of bearing a religious name is predominant in Ghana (Agyekum 2006, Enin & Nkansah 2015). A religious name is synonymous with the religious affiliation of the bearer's parents (Rashid 2014). This practice is common among Christians and Muslims. The fastest way to identify the religious affiliation of an individual in Ghana is by his/her religious name. Dumbe (2009) asserts that bearing a Muslim name serves as an identification mark in every Ghanaian society. Every true and devoted Muslim is expected to bear an Arabic name. Such names always allied themselves with the father's religion, relations, or social status (Rashid 2014).

Agyekum (2006) also postulates that the phenomenon of taking or giving a religious name in Ghana in addition to the indigenous name(s) is common in Ghana. He opines that the Akan personal names denote the culture, philosophy, thought, and environment, as well as their contact with the foreign culture. The practice has influenced the current generation causing some elites, mostly Christians and Muslims, to use these names as their first names. Also, some go to the extent of dropping their first Akan names and replacing them with the Christian or Muslim names. According to Agyekum (2006), some females are even offended when they are called by their indigenous names instead of their religious names. This attitude describes the extent to which people have embraced Christianity and Islam in Ghanaian society. This act has resulted in multiple Christian or Muslim names, which people bear with pride and equate with one's level of education and status in society.

In an attempt to investigate the communication functions performed by Bono names, Ansu-Kyeremeh (2000: 21) described them as being prototypically Akan. He then went on to describe the naming system of Bono as having the following characteristics: "two-name format made up of *din pa* or *agyadin* [ædʒadin] 'name given by the father', and *akradin* 'the day one is born'; that have no specific meanings; gender determined or differentiated names; multiple naming systems; dynamic naming systems".

Based on this, Ansu-Kyeremeh classified the Bono personal names into "(a) ascribed and given, (b) fixed circumstantial and flexible circumstantial, (c) gender--differentiated and gender-neutral, (d) substantive and substitute, and finally (e) day-related and non-day-related names" (21- 22). This author further noted that the Bono people of Ghana have two main systems in place, these are ascribed and given names. He explains the ascribed names are derived from the child's birth name whilst the give-names are names given to the child by the father. The

system gives room for names like month names, birth order names, nicknames or appellations, circumstantial names, and Christian and Muslim names to be given or taken (Enin & Nkansa 2016).

An obvious implication is that the Bono naming system is of a complex and dynamic nature. This complexity and dynamism present an ever-changing format that has transformed over time. For instance, Ansu-Kyeremeh (2000: 26) observed:

> Nothing is more symptomatic of the dynamism of the Bono naming system than compound and hyphenated names. At the stage where indigenous names were replaced arbitrarily with Semitic or Euro-Hebraic names, indigenous *akradin* (first names) and in many cases *agyadin* or father-given *din pa* could not be used.

In light of the above, a new convert takes an Islamic name to conform to his new faith. They are given *nkramodin* 'Islamic name' which eventually replaces the first or surnames. Newborn babies, on the other hand, are given names through a practice that is different from the Bono naming system. In other words, culture and religion belong together, they are inseparable. Therefore, as people accept a foreign religion, they also accept the culture that comes with it. Therefore, names given or taken under such conditions only confer a religious identification on the individual.

Consequently, in an attempt to meet this complex naming system because of religious affiliation, the parents end up giving foreign names to their children, most of which are difficult to pronounce by speakers who are not even second-language speakers of the language of origin of the target names. The majority of such names are from the West and the Middle East. The researchers see this practice as the main reason why Muslims in Atebubu (New Konkrompe), who are predominately Bono people, bear Arabic names rather than their indigenous names. There are thousands of people in Ghana, particularly Atebubu, who bear Arabic names and practice Islam but do not speak Arabic.

They know a few phrases, but they cannot even understand them. In the process, the names are manipulated and nativized to conform to the phonotactic structure of their language to ease pronunciation. The strategies of their nativisation show a significant variation from other dialects, thus the need for and possibility of a detailed systematic study. Although a lot of studies have been conducted on Akan personal names, these studies have failed to examine foreign names taken or given in addition to the indigenous names. Hence, this study aims to add to the literature on onomastics in Akan. This paper sought to analyse the phonological processes involved in the nativism of Arabic names in Atebubu Bono.

4. Methodology

The qualitative research method was used in this study. According to Creswell et al. (2007), a qualitative research method is one that produces descriptive data in the form of words, written or spoken, of a person who can be observed. This means that qualitative research will provide descriptive data in the form of words rather than numbers, as quantitative research does.

4.1. Population and study area

According to the Ghana Statistical Service's (2010) Population and Housing Census, there are 35,462 Muslims in Atebubu, accounting for 33.5% of the total population in the Atebubu-Amantin Municipality. The researchers chose New Konkrompe as the study site on purpose because the majority of the population who are native speakers of Bono are Muslims. They practice Islam and have Islamic schools that teach Arabic from kindergarten to junior high school. On Saturdays and Sundays, there are a number of Islamic schools known as *makaranta* where children are enrolled to learn how to recite the Holy Qur'an. The individual mosques attached to private properties, as well as the large Central Mosque, made this location suitable for this study.

4.2. Data source

The data for this study were collected from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data was collected through interviews. Participants were also interviewed in their various settings in their homes, schools, and places of work to mention their names. They were asked to mention their Islamic names. Participants were further asked to mention the Islamic names of their parents, siblings, dependents etc. They were recorded using a recorder and later transcribed. The participants consisted of both monolinguals and bilinguals. Prior to the interview, the purpose of the study was made known to them. Only participants who consented to take part in the study were interviewed. A total of 50 participants comprising 25 males and 25 females aged 18-60 were interviewed. The interview period was from February 2019 to August 2019.

The secondary data were also collected from school registers at the New Kokrompe D/A Primary and D/A Junior High schools, respectively. This was to juxtapose the pronunciations of the names with their written shapes. We observed that the written forms of the Arabic names were heavily influenced by English orthography. All the Arabic names in this paper are names commonly borne by some Muslim people of New Konkrompe in the Atebubu/Amantin Municipality in

the Bono East Region of Ghana. Atebubu Bono has been selected for the study for the simple reason that the phenomenon is presumably predominant in this dialect.

After recording and subsequently transcribing the data, two Islamic scholars and one Imam in the community were consulted to ensure that the data collected were truly Arabic names. The data was scrutinised and names such as *Yaro* and *Kande* were deleted from our data because they were discovered to be of Hausa origin. In order to be sure that these names have been corrupted, the consultants helped by providing us with the original versions of these names. Further review via the Arabic names' dictionaries[1] eliminated the name *Rušdiyya* because its language of origin was unclear. In all, one hundred and two (103) Islamic names were purposefully selected for the study. These names are from the students we taught, friends, colleague teachers, and church members.

Moreover, we transcribed the gathered Arabic names using the scientific transcription of Standard Arabic. This study adopts a Standard Arabic inventory for the Arabic names used. Tones were appropriately put on the sounds since Bono (Akan) is a tonal language. We juxtaposed the two forms as presented in the data. The descriptive approach was used for the analysis of data.

5. Bono sounds inventory

Bono as an Akan dialect has nine contrastive oral vowels /i, ɪ, e, ɛ, u, ʊ, o, ɔ, a/, one allophonic oral vowel /æ/ and five contrastive nasal vowels /ĩ, ɪ̃, ũ, ʊ̃, ã/ (cf. Schachter & Fromkin 1968, Dolphyne 2006, Adomako & Odoom 2021). At the systematic phonetic level, we say Akan has ten oral vowels and five nasal vowels. The vowel [æ] is in complementary distribution with /a/, where [æ] occurs before advanced high vowels as in /aduro/ [æduro] 'drug', /asikyire/ [æsitɕire] 'sugar' in Twi, and after an advanced high vowel in Gomoa, as in /sika/ [sikæ] 'money', /bura/ [buræ] 'well', and /a/ occurs elsewhere (Dolphyne 2006, Adomako 2015, Adomako & Odoom 2021). The ten oral vowels and the five nasal vowels are classifiable in terms of binary features as follows:

[1] https://www.almaany.com/ar/name and http://arabicnames.hawramani.com/.

TABLE 1. Vowel feature specifications of Akan

Vowels	/i/	/ɪ/	/e/	/ɛ/	/æ/	/a/	/ɔ/	/o/	/ʊ/	/u/	/ĩ/	/ɪ̃/	/ã/	/ɔ̃/	/ũ/
High	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
Back	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+
Low	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
ATR	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
Nasal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+

Bono (Akan) and Arabic consonants are compared and contrasted in the study. According to Sabir & Alsaeed (2014), Standard Arabic has 28 consonants. Bono Twi, on the other hand, has 30 consonants. The differences between the two sound systems pose a common difficulty since some of the sounds are absent in the other language. These differences result in substitutions or omissions which depend on the sounds that exist or are absent in the other language. That is why the Atebubu Bono speakers replace the Arabic long vowels with short vowels. In addition, Bono Twi uses thirty consonants out of the thirty-four consonants of Akan. Only affricates and plosives have voiced and voiceless counterparts. Also, all nasals, approximants, and laterals are voiced. All the consonants can occur at the word-initial position but cannot occur at the word-final position except /m/, which surfaces at the word-final position at the phonetic level.

Atebubu-Bono is unique compared to the other dialects. Its uniqueness ranges from vocabulary to the realm of phonology. Names like *m'adwoa* 'my aunt'*, amankamawuo* 'chameleon'*, akamoto* 'toad' etc. are not used or understood by any of the Bono dialects of Akan. Phonologically, the Atebubu-Bono speakers, or instance, tend to delete /w/ when it occurs between two vowels. For example, *dawadawa* [dawadawa] 'a local spice from Northern Ghana' is pronounced as [doodaa]. Again, a town called *Sanwakyi* [sànɪ̀wæ̀t͡ɕí] is pronounced [sɪ̀næ̀t͡ɕí].

Hence, the same rule is applied in the Arabic name Dāwud/Dāwūd which is pronounced [dɔɔla]. The same can be said of [ɦ] as in Yaḥyā [jáájá]. Also, [ɪ] is always deleted when it occurs after [m]. Therefore, Akan names like Kwame [kʷamɪ], are pronounced [kʷaam], Nyame [ɲãmɪ] is pronounced [ɲãm], Kyerɛme [t͡ɕɪrɛmɪ] is also pronounced [t͡ɕrɛm], etc. These styles are carried over into Arabic when Arabic names are given to their children.

TABLE 2. Akan and Arabic consonant inventory

Manner of Articulation	Place of Articulation	Akan		Arabic	
Plosive	Bilabial	p	b		b
	Alveo-dental				
	Alveolar	t	d	t	d
	Velar	k k^w	g g^w	k	
	Uvular			q	
	Glottal			ʔ	
Nasal	Bilabial		m		m
	Denti-alveolar				
	Alveolar		n		n
	Velar		ŋ		
	Palatal		ɲ		
	Labio-palatal				
Affricates	Alveolar	t͡s	d͡z		
	Denti-alveolar			tˤ	dˤ
	Palatal				
	Alveopalatal	t͡ɕ	d͡ʑ		dʒ
	Labio-palatal	t͡ɕɥ	d͡ʑɥ		
Fricatives	Dental			ɵ	ð
	Labio-dental	f		f	
	Denti-dental			sˤ	ðˤ/zˤ
	Labio-palatal	ɕ͡ɥ	ɥ		
	Alveolar	s		s	z
	Alveopalatal	ɕ		ʃ	
	Uvular			χ	ʁ
	Pharyngeal			ħ	ʕ
	Glottal	h		h	
Approximants	Alveolar		l		l
	Denti-alveolar				
	Trill		r		r
	Palatal		j		j
	Labio-velar		w		w

6. Discussion and findings

This section discusses the various phonological processes embedded in the pronunciation of Arabic names by the Bono people of Atebubu in Ghana. These

processes are used as a mitigation strategy to modify the complex segments or segments that are absent in Akan for easy articulation.

6.1. Truncation

Truncation is defined as a linguistic phenomenon consisting of cutting up, trimming, or mincing a word to produce a shorter version of the word by loss of material. In the process, one or two syllables may be cut off at the beginning or the end of the word. It is a syllable structure process employed to repair the violations of phonotactics constraints in the Akan language. In this process, a whole segment is deleted from a word. Two types of segment deletion are identified in this study: apocope and aphaeresis. Aphaeresis is the deletion of the initial part of the word. Let us examine the data examples (1a-j).

(1)	Arabic Name	Bono Form	Transcription
a.	ʕAbd al-Xabīr	Kabiru	[kæ̀bírú]
b.	ʕAbd al-ʕAzīz	Azizu	[æ̀sísù]
c.	ʕAbd al-Wāḥid	Wahidu	[wàhìrú]
d.	ʕAbd ar-Razzāq	Razak	[ràsákì]
e.	ʕAbd al-Maǧīd	Majid	[mà͡ʤídì]
g.	ʕAbd al-Ḥamīd	Hamidu	[ǽmídú]
h.	ʕAbd al-Laṭīf	Latifu	[lætífù]
i.	ʕAbd al-Bašīr	Basiru	[bǽsírú]

It can be seen that the first part of the name *ʕAbd* (*ʕAbd ul-*, *ʕAbd al-*) which means 'servant of…' is clipped in the Bono version. The second type of deletion is apocope. It is the result of a process by which a segment is deleted from the final position of a word. See the example in (2a) below.

(2)	Arabic Name	Bono Form	Transcription
a.	Qamar ad-Dīn	Kamara	[kàmárà]

In the above example, it can be seen that [ad-di:n], which means 'religion', attached to the names, is truncated. Like the aphaeresis, after deleting the name, it is manipulated to conform to the phonological structure of Bono.

6.2. Consonants deletion (h-deletion)

The consonant deletion occurs when a consonant in the syllable-initial or syllable--final position is omitted as shown below.

(3)	Arabic Name	Bono Form	Transcription
a.	Ḥabīb	Habibu	[æ̀bíbú]
b.	Habība	Habiba	[æ̀bíbà]
c.	Ḥalīma	Halima	[æ̀límá]
d.	Ḥāfiḍa	Hafisa	[ǽfísá]
e.	Ḥamad	Amadu	[ámæ̀dú]
f.	Hāǧar	Ajara	[àd͡ʑálà]
g.	Ḥamīda	Amida	[æ̀mídà]
h.	Habīb ʔAllāh	Abibulai	[ábíbúlǽí]
i.	Hāšim	Hashim	[ǽɕím]
j.	Hamza	Hamza	[àmsá]
k.	Yaḥyā	Yahaya	[jáájá]

In the above data (3a-i), the sound [h] is dropped or is not pronounced by Bono speakers of Atebubu when it begins an Arabic name. This pattern is systematic in cases where [h] is followed by [a] at the word-initial position. The phenomenon seems to agree with the assertion that [h] often is the "victim" of deletion because speakers can save time and effort by deleting them without sacrificing much information. A similar phenomenon also occurs in the word medial with [ħ], as exemplified in (3j). In the data above it can be seen that [ħ] is deleted at the word medial position.

6.3. Vowel insertion

Nathan (2008) posits that segments cannot only be deleted but sometimes inserted as well. Insertions are done to prevent clusters of consonants that violate syllable structure constraints in the language and to make complex segments that are consistent with a language, easy to produce. It may occur at the beginning, middle, or end of a word. Let us examine the examples in (4a-j).

(4)	Arabic Name	Bono Form	Transcription
a.	Salāma	Salamatu	[sàlámàtá]
b.	Yaʕqūb	Yakubu	[jækùbú]
c.	ʔAwwal	Awal	[àwálɪ]
d.	Ṭāhir	Tahiru	[táhɪ́rò]
e.	ʔAyyūb	Ayuba	[ǽjúbá]
f.	ʔAmīn	Aminu	[mínú]
g.	Fārūq	Faruk	[færúkú]
h.	Nāṣir	Nasiru	[nsírú]
i.	Šahīb	Shaibu	[ɕǽíbu]
j.	Sādāt	Sadat	[sádátɪ̀]

It is discernible that all the Muslim names that end with consonant sounds end with a vowel in the Bono dialect form because Akan prefers open syllables to closed syllables. This is done in line with the phonotactic structure of the Akan language (see Dolphyne 2006, Adomako et al. 2021). Another noticeable phenomenon regarding the vowels added at the final positions is that the addition was not arbitrary but followed a specific systematic pattern. It was observed that the final consonants, that were added to each name, were strictly influenced by the vowels that preceded the final consonants. Therefore, for all the names that had their final consonant preceded by high vowels, high vowels were added to them at the word final. The same can be said of the low vowels that preceded the final consonants. So, it is predictable how the native Bono speaker produces the vowel that precedes the final consonants and determines the vowel to be added at the end of the names.

The second kind of insertion is employed to prevent consonant clusters that are impermissible consonant clusters from occurring. Thus, if a cluster is made up of the same consonants and is not allowed in Bono (Akan), one of them is deleted. The practice is in line with the phonotactic structure of the Bono (Akan) Language. In the Akan language, only a few such clusters are permissible. Aside from those clusters, when names with such impermissible clusters are encountered in Arabic names, vowels are inserted. This is done to break up the cluster to make the segment pronounceable to the native speaker of Bono. Examples are presented in the data (5a-f).

(5)	Arabic Name	Bono Form	Transcription
a.	ʕAbd ʔAllāh	Abdulai	[ǽbúrulǽí]
b.	ʔAbū Bakr	Abukari	[búkǽrí]
c.	Luqmān	Lukuman	[lùkúmaní]
d.	Kubrā	Kubura	[kúbúrá]
e.	Sawdā	Sauda	[sàʊdà]

The examples in (5a-e) demonstrate that vowels are inserted in between [bd], [kr], [qm] and [wd] to break the consonant clusters in these names. This phenomenon is very common in Akan phonology. This is because Akan does not have a consonant cluster, thus, to break that cluster, a high vowel is epenthesised. This process helps the borrowed structure to conform to the syllable structure of Akan (cf. Adomako 2008, Apenteng & Amfoh 2014).

6.4. Free variation

As the data show, /r/, /l/, and /d/ are used interchangeably. /r/ is pronounced as either /d/ or /l/ in all the Akan dialects. In Akan, /r/ does not occur at the word-initial

position, except in the case of progressive tense, where the progressive marker {rɪ-} is sometimes deleted in Twi, except in the Fante dialect. These sounds are considered free variants because they do not contrast in meaning. So, in this situation, the logical option available is to substitute the alternative sounds in place of the /r/ at the word-initial position. At the intervocalic position, the same process happens. Let us examine the data in (6a-h).

(6)	Arabic Name	Bono Form	Transcription
a.	Rašīda	Rashida	[lǽɕídá]
b.	Rašād	Rashad	[lá́ɕádá]
c.	Ruqayya	Rukaya	[lúkàjà]
d.	Hāğar	Ajara	[àd͡ʑálà]
e.	Ğamāl	Jamal	[d͡ʑámárú]
f.	[Raḥma]	Ramatu	[dámǽtú]
g.	Ruqayya	Rukayah	[dád͡ɕíá]

We observe in (6a-d) that /r/ is replaced with /l/ while in (6e), /l/ is also substituted with /r/. Meanwhile, examples (6f, g) reveal that /r/ can also be replaced by /d/ without altering the meaning. The data demonstrate, based on the assertion, that /r/, /l/ and /d/ are free variants in Bono (Akan) as in the case of Akan in general.

6.5. Consonant substitution

The consonants /q/ and /z/ are replaced by /k/ and /s/, respectively. The reason is that these consonants /q/ and /z/, do not exist in Akan and, in this case, in Bono. These *strange* sounds present difficulties to the Bono people who as a result replace them with equivalent sounds present in their dialect, as illustrated in (7a-k). They use this as the only mitigation strategy to solve that segmental problem.

(7)	Arabic Name	Bono Form	Transcription
a.	Ṣādiq	Sadiqqick	[sàdíkì]
b.	Fāyiza	Faiza	[fáìsà]
c.	Zubayr	Zuberu	[sùbǽrù]
d.	Zaynab	Zinabu	[sànǽbù]/[d͡ʑínǽbù]
e.	Zakariyyā	Zakari	[sákàlí]
f.	Qāsim/Qasīm	Kasim	[kásɔ̀m]
g.	Rafīq	Rafique	[ráfíkí]
h.	Tawfīq	Tawfik	[tɔfíkí]
i.	Rafīqa	Rafika	[lǽfíká]
j.	Razāq	Razak	[rásǽkí]
k.	Šafīq	Shafique	[ɕáfíkí]

Again, [ɕ] replaces [ʃ], and [d͡ʒ] is also replaced by [d͡ʑ] as shown in the examples (8a-e).

(8)	Arabic Name	Bono Form	Transcription
a.	Ǧabbār	Jabaru	[d͡ʑabærú]
b.	Sirāǧ	Suraji	[súrád͡ʑɪ]
c.	Šarīf	Sharifu	[ɕærífa]
d.	Hāšim	Hashim	[æɕím]
e.	Rašīda	Rashida	[læɕídá]

Again, the consonant /k/ occurs in both Arabic and Akan, but Bono speakers replace it with [t͡ɕ], as shown in the names in (9a, b) below. The reason is that [k] and [t͡ɕ] are considered allophones of the same phonemes /k/ in Bono. [t͡ɕ] mainly occurs before front vowels while [k] occurs elsewhere. So, when a word of this nature is presented to the native speakers of Bono, they invariably apply the phonotactic rules to the "strange" word. Similarly, [ʃ] is released as [ɕ] when it occurs before a front vowel [i] whilst [h] occurs elsewhere as exemplified in (9c).

(9)	Arabic Name	Bono form	Transcription
a.	Šakīb	Sakibu	[sæ̀t͡ɕíbú]
b.	Sakīna	Sakina	[sæ̀t͡ɕínà]
c.	Māhira	Masira	[mæɕírá]

6.6. Vowel substitution

It was also observed that the Bono speakers substitute some vowels in the Arabic names, replacing them with a different vowel, although such vowels are present in the Bono language. A few examples are given in (10a-d) below.

(10)	Arabic Name	Bono Form	Transcription
a.	Qāsim/Qasīm	Kasim	[kásʊm]
b.	Fāṭima	Fatima	[fátʊmà]
c.	ʔĀdam	Adamu	[ádem]
d.	ʕUmar	Umar	[ómààlí]

As exemplified in 10a and 10b, /i/ in Arabic names is replaced by [ʊ] in the Bono version. This is due to the process of labialisation. The labial nasal consonant /m/ spreads its labial feature regressively to modify the high front vowel to emerge as a high back vowel. Also, /a/ is replaced by [e] due to the process of [ATR] vowel harmony as observed in 10c. The [+ATR] high back vowel /u/ in the

Bono form spreads its [+ATR] feature to modify the [-ATR] low vowel /a/ to surface as [+ATR] mid-high vowel. After that, the trigger /u/ is deleted. This is what Odoom (2022) termed as "the feeding and bleeding rule". Finally, it can be seen that /o/ is substituted for [ʕ] because [ʕ] is not present in the Bono sounds inventory. It must be pointed out that most of the vowel substitutions at the word medial could not be accounted for by the phonotactic structure of Akan.

6.7. Prothesis

Prothesis involves the insertion of extra consonants at the beginning of a segment. It is interesting to know that /z/ does not occur in Akan and the speakers of Bono in most cases replace it with /s/, its closest equivalent. To resolve this challenge clearly, /n/ is added before the /z/ as shown below.

(11)	Arabic Name	Bono Form	Transcription
	a. Zaynab	Zinabu	[nzinæ̀bú]
	b. Zayna	Zena	[nzæ̀ínà]
	c. Zulayxa	Zuleiha	[nzúlæ̀íhá]

It can be observed from the examples (11a-c) that the nasal consonant /n/, which is produced at the same place of articulation as /z/ (a sound borrowed from Arabic), is placed before the /z/ to obtain the cluster [nz]. When this is done, the native speaker of Bono in Atebubu can produce it with less effort. This trend occurs in the word initials only. There is no such cluster in this dialect that supports this phenomenon. Like English, non-nativised foreign words with impermissible sequences may be allowed in special cases as posited by (Katamba 1993). This may be considered an accidental gap in the Atebubu Bono dialect.

Another form of the prosthesis is inserting a consonant in front of a vowel segment. This strategy is adopted to prevent /u/ and /i/ from occurring at the beginning of a name. This is done because the vowel distribution in the Bono dialect of Akan does not permit /i/ and /u/ to occur at the word-initial position. In the process, a consonant is inserted before the vowel to ease pronunciation, as exemplified in (12 a-c).

(12)	Arabic Name	Bono form	Transcription
	a. ʕĪsā	Issah	[jísá]
	b. ʔIsmāʕīl	Ishmail	[jíɕímǽíl]
	c. ʕIbād	Ibad	[jíbádí]
	d. ʔIbrāhīm	Ibrahim	[jíbrǽhím]
	e. ʕUṯmān	Usaman	[wúsúmæni]

As demonstrated by the data (12a-d), in all the Arabic names which begin with /i/, Bono speakers insert [j] before them before they can pronounce them. Similarly, [w] was inserted before [u] since [u] cannot occur at the word-initial position.

6.8. Hypocorism

Almost all the personal day names in Akan have hypocoristic forms. For instance, a male born on Sunday is by default called Akwasi/Kwasi, the hypocoristic forms are *à.kwé.sì/kwàá/kè.é*, while the female counterpart is *Akosua* with *àkós*ˋ as the hypocoristic form (cf. Obeng 1997 2001, Adomako 2015). In the same vein, when the Arabic names are nativised, their hypocoristic forms surface. Examples are given in the data below.

(13)	Arabic Name	Hypocoristic Form (Bono)
a.	Munīr	[mùní]
b.	Zaynab	[æbú]
c.	Salāma	[sàlá]
d.	Razāq	[ækí]
e.	Zakariyyā	[sák]
f.	Fāṭima	[fátì]
g.	Luqmān	[lùkú]
h.	Sulaymān	[sùlé]
i.	Muṣṭafā	[ntàká]
j.	ʔIbrāhīm	[jìbrɔ́]

It is observable from (13a-j) that the hypocoristic versions of the names are disyllabic, as in (13a-j), while (13i-j) is trisyllabic in form. A closer look at the data reveals that these forms do not have any systematic pattern.

7. Conclusion

In conclusion, this paper has studied the phonological processes involved in the nativisation of some Arabic names into Akan by the speakers of Bono. It has been observed that in the nativisation of some Arabic names, phonological processes such as segment deletion, free variation, vowel substitution, consonant substitution, consonant insertion, and vowel insertions occur. The process of vowel addition is not randomly done but follows a systematic pattern. When the Arabic names are adopted to the Bono dialect of Akan, they undergo systematic substitutions, many of which cannot be explained by a system of rules based on native alternations. The study also lent credence to the fact that [r], [l], and [d]

are free variants in Akan as claimed by Dolphyne (2006). The educational implication is that the body of information provided by this study can serve as a source of understanding for policymakers, researchers, Arabic teachers, and instructors, as Arabic is taught as a subject in some schools at all levels of education in Ghana. Finally, this study will help both teachers and policymakers to appreciate the real challenges that will emerge as the Arabic language is now a subject in some schools at the basic and senior high school levels in Ghana under the new curriculum.

References

Abakah, E.N. 2004. "Elision in Fante". *Africa & Asia* 4. 181-213.

Abass, U.M. 2002. *Alhaj Umar Ibn Abibakr Ibn Uthman Kreke. Kete Krachie: A Ghanaian Muslim poet*. Unpublished MA Thesis. Department of Arabic Studies, American University, Cairo.

Adomako, K. 2015. "Truncation of some Akan personal names". *Journal of Language Studies* 15 (1). 143-162.

Adomako, K. 2008. *Vowel epenthesis and consonant deletion in loanwords: A study of Akan.* Unpublished MA Thesis. University of Tromsø, Norway.

Adomako, K., J. Odoom & M. Sackitey. 2022. *Akan fɔnɛtsese na fɔnɔlɔgyi (Mfantse)* [Akan phonetics and phonology (Mfantse)]. Accra: Adonai Publication.

Agyekum, K. 2006. "The sociolinguistic of Akan personal names". *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 15(2). 206-235.

Al-Qawasmi, A.H. & F.A. Al-Haq. 2016. "A sociolinguistic study of choosing names for newborn children in Jordan". *International Journal of English Linguistics* 6(1). 177-186.

Ankra, G.K. 2008."The effect of lexical borrowing in Tachiman, Ghana*:* A case study of the Bono Ahafo". *European Journal of Language Literature and Linguistics Studies* 2(4). 53-75.

Ansu-Kyeremeh, K. 2000. "Communicating *nominatim*: Some social aspects of Bono personal names". *Research Review* 16(2). 19-33.

Apenteng, A.M. & A.P. Amfo. 2014. "The form and function of English loanwords in Akan". *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 23(4). 219-240.

Asamoah, L. & A. Akuamah. 2021. "Asante habitation names: A morphological analysis". *International Journal of English Language & Translation Studies* 9(3). 65-73.

Compton, A.M. 2014. *Shifting trade networks: Sub-Sahara to Atlantic exchanges in central Ghana.* Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. University of Michigan, USA.

Creswell, J.W., W.E. Hanson, V.L. Clark Plano & A. Morales. 2007. "Qualitative research designs: Selection and implementation". *The Counselling Psychologist* 35(2). 236-264.

Dolphyne, F.A. 2006. *The Akan (Fante-Twi) language: Its sound systems and tonal structure*. Accra: Woeli Publishing Services.

Donegan, P. & D. Stamp. 2009. "Hypotheses of natural phonology". *Poznań Studies in Contemporary Linguistics* 45(1). 1-31.

Donegan, P. & D. Stamp. 1979. "The study of natural phonology". *Current approaches to phonological theory*, ed. by D.A. Dinnsen. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 126-173.

Dumbe, Y. 2009. *Transnational contacts and Muslim religion orientation in Ghana.* Unpublished MA Thesis. University of Ghana, Accra.

Fadoro, D. & J. Oludare. 2014. "Nativisation of Arabic names: The Yoruba language as a case study". *Global Journal of Human-Social Science* 14(5). 1-7.

Ghana Statistical Service. 2010. *Population and housing census: District analytical report. Atebubu-Amanten District*. Canada: Danida.

Katamba, F. 1993. *Morphology.* New York: Macmillan.

Nathan, G.S. 2008. *Phonology: A cognitive grammar introduction*. Washington: John Benjamins.

Nordquist, R. 2019. *Hypocorism names: Glossary of grammatical and rhetorical terms*. Broadway, New York: ThoughtCo.

Obeng, S.G. 2001. *African anthroponymy: An ethnopragmatic and morphophonological study of personal names in Akan and some African societies*. Munich: Lincom Europa.

Obeng, S.G. 1997. "From morphophonology to sociolinguistics: The case of Akan hypocoristic day-names". *Multilingual Journal of Cross-Cultural and Interlanguage Communication* 16(1). 39-56.

Odoom, J. & K. Adomako. 2021. "Progressive vowel harmony in Gomoa". *Ghana Journal of Linguistics* 10(2). 58-83.

Osam, E.K. 2003. "The verbal and multi-verbal system of Akan". *Proceedings of the Workshop on Multi-Verb Constructions*, ed. by D. Beermann & L. Hellan. Trondheim: Norwegian University of Science and Technology. 1-29.

Sabir, I. & N. Alsaeed. 2014. "A brief description of consonants in modern standard Arabic". *Linguistics and Literature Studies* 2(7). 185-189.

Trutenau, H.M.J. 1976. "Languages of Akan area: Papers in Western Kwa linguistics and on the linguistic geography of the area of ancient Begho". *Mitteilungen der Basler Afrika-Bibliographien* 14. Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien.

Studies in African
Languages and Cultures, Vol. 57, 2023
ISSN 2545-2134; e-ISSN 2657-4187

https://doi.org/10.32690/SALC57.9

Anas Sa'idu Muhammad
Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria
ORCID: 0000-0002-5283-6948

The changing linguistic codes in Hausa hip-hop songs

Abstract

The objective of this article is to examine the use of varying linguistic codes in the lyrics of the Hausa hip-hop songs. It discovers that Hausa hip-hop singers switch languages, drawing inspiration from global hip-hop classics (African-Americans) and Nigerian hip-hop to signal socio-cultural awareness and the complex weave of contemporary hip-hop music culture. It also reveals that the singers construct their lyrics by combining Hausa and English with a little influence from Arabic and native languages (mostly Nigerian Pidgin English and Yoruba) to create a distinct soundscape for their music. It also reveals switching strategies at inter-sentence and intra-sentence levels resulting in the discursive constructions appropriate for the expressed message.

Keywords: code switching, Hausa hip-hop, language choice, linguistic codes, lyrics

1. Introduction

The significance of changes in linguistic codes is seen in the fact that some genres of Hausa popular culture, specifically Hausa hip-hop music, have gradually metamorphosed in the 21st century, resulting in the discursive construction of multiple language mixing at global and local positioning. Basically, this article is built within the argument of Feld (1974), as centred by Omoniyi, that "linguistic analysis and investigation of popular music are both recent developments in research on cultures" (Omoniyi 2006: 197). Such is the case of Hausa hip-hop

music, a type of popular culture and genre that entails expressions that can be observed linguistically from social, contextual, ideological, register features and other forms of discursive construction. Therefore, the aim of this article is to examine aspects of inserting words, phrases, lexical items or sentences from other languages into the lyrics of Hausa singers of hip-hop music.

Topics related to music and hip-hop culture are of basic interest in many countries around the world, including, i.a. Algeria (McLain-Jesperson 2014), Brazil and Portugal (Souza 2012), the Czech Republic (Stepankova 2012), Finland (Westinen 2014), Germany (Androutsopoulos 2009), Japan (Ian 2006), Malawi (Fenn & Perullo 2000), Tanzania (Clark 2013). This genre of music has been examined through a survey of its history (Harkness 2013), culture (Andy 2000, Stepankova 2012), communication (Adamu 2019, 2021a, b), linguistics (Musa 2014, Omoniyi 2009), and folklore (Asante 2009, Liadi 2012).

Linguistic aspects of studies on hip-hop music connect the change of linguistic codes with popular culture and contact between languages (Westinen 2014). Various aspects of discursive constructions and practices of linguistic codes are manifested extensively in various genres of literature (Adamu 2007, Akande 2013, Babalola & Taiwo 2009, Balogun & Oladayo 2021, Chamo 2023, Gbogi 2016, Kachru 1989, Kraśniewski 2016, Liadi & Omobowale 2016, Omoniyi 2006, Sani 2019, Zulyadaini 2023). In other words, the changing of linguistic codes within a "single discourse, sentence, clause or constituent" (Poplack 1980: 583) is not new neither in the global hip-hop scene nor in the African or national (Nigerian) music settings. One example is Alhaji Musa Ɗankwairo Maradun[1] from Nigeria – a nationalist and a classical Hausa oral singer with his songs *Yaki muke da rashin da'a* [War against indiscipline], *Shehun borno mazan jiran daga* [Shehu Borno the hero], *Sarkin Muri uban galadima* [Emir of Muri – Galadima's idol] to cite but a few instances of songs composed by Ɗankwairo that entail discursive construction and practices of linguistic codes in English, Arabic, Kanuri, and Fulfulde. There are also other nationalist musicians, in the person of Fela Kuti[2] from Nigeria with the songs *Zombie*, *Coffin for head of state*, *Beasts of*

---

[1] Alhaji Musa Ɗankwairo Maradun (1901-1991) was a famous classical Hausa oral singer, who hailed from Ɗankadu village in Bakura Local Government of Zamfara State. Ɗankwairo is his nickname which he got from his father's servant or cousin named Kwairo (Gusau 2019: 2023).

[2] Fela Aníkúlápó Kuti (1938-1997), full name: Olufela Olusegun Oludotun Ransome-Kuti, also known by his stage alias Abami Eda ['the Strange One'], was a famous Nigerian musician, bandleader, composer, political activist and pan-Africanist. He is credited with founding the Nigerian musical genre – afrobeat – which fuses West African music with American funk and jazz. He was hailed as one of Africa's most "challenging and charismatic music performers", as well as "a musical and socio-political voice" of international significance.

no nation, Osibisa[3] from Ghana with the song *I feel pata pata*, Manu Dibango[4] from Cameroon with *Soul Makossa*, to mention but a few cases, who use different forms of discursive constructions and practices of linguistic codes in their music. In a different range of genres, there is an influx of discursive constructions and practices of changing linguistic codes in Hausa films dialogues, which is often motivated by character situations, occurs in the process of sharing identity with a group member or as a characteristics of youth language (Chamo 2012). Such also is the case when we consider discursive constructions and practices of changing linguistic codes in conversations in social settings (Abdulƙadir 2018, Abubakar 2018, Idris 2017, Sami 2019), religious (Ibrahim 2018), administrative and academic settings (Abdullahi 2018, Aminu 2011, Lawan 2019, Mika'ilu 2015). So, discursive construction or practice of linguistic codes is not an attribute limited to hip-hop music alone. Therefore, to examine the changing linguistic codes in Hausa hip-hop music, this article addresses how language choice and switching strategies are used to enact hybridity and assert the cultural allegiances of discursive practices as a form of youth language. Given that rap music is a globally shared, learned culture as well as a medium that sums up a society's knowledge and beliefs, which are primarily held by the youth, the present analysis of the changing linguistic codes in the lyrics and performances of Hausa hip-hop music would be a contribution to the current knowledge in this field.

2. A conceptual review of rap music and hip-hop culture

Rap, a genre often created by "a specialized beat maker and elements of turntables, in which portions of material created by other performers are creatively recombined and used to frame the lyrics" (Potter 1995: 1), has attracted growing interest around the globe. This includes researchers from Africa (Medubi 2009), Asia (Ian 2006, McLean 2010, Nettl 2010), Australia (Sarker et al. 2005), Europe (Androutsopoulos 2009, Beck 2010); the USA (Alim et al. 2009, Cundiff 2013), North and South America (Petten 2010, Souza 2012), among others, who studied

---

[3] The Ghanaian-British Afro-rock group Osibisa was established in London in the late 1960s by four musicians from the West African diaspora and three from the Caribbean who lived in London. They were the most successful and longest-lived of the African-heritage bands in London, alongside such contemporaries as Assagai, Chris McGregor's Brotherhood of Breath, Demon Fuzz, Black Velvet and Noir and were largely responsible for the establishment of world music and afro-rock as a marketable genre.

[4] Emmanuel N'Djoké "Manu" Dibango (1933-2020), a Cameroonian musician and songwriter, performed on the vibraphone and saxophone. He created a musical genre that included classical Cameroonian music, jazz, and funk.

and analysed global rap music from various ethnic backgrounds and discursive practices. For instance, in an attempt to look at how language choice functions in the rap lyrics of singers originating from Tanzania and Malawi, which are two neighbouring nations on the East African continent, Fenn and Perullo (2000) noted that Tanzanian and Malawian hip-hop singers intertwined two or more languages, depending on a particular singer's linguistic acquaintance. They supported their argument by citing examples from the lyrics of the rap singers' adopting Swahili and English. Likewise, they explained the historical process that allowed Swahili to be the most widely spoken language in Tanzania and English the dominant political and economic language in Tanzania and Malawi, creating a unique environment for hip-hop music. In addition, Alim et al. (2009) considers hip-hop language practices to be a complex processes which also includes questions of transnationalism, immigration, cultural flow, and diaspora. Current theoretical approaches take into account language choice and agency, speech style and stylization, codeswitching and language mixing, crossing and sociolinguistic variation, language use, and globalization. Moving all over the global hip-hop culture, through scenes as diverse as Hong Kong's urban centre, Germany's Mannheim inner-city district of Weststadt, Brazilian favelas, the streets of Lagos and Dares-Salaam as well as the "hoods" of the San Francisco Bay Area, this global intellectual "cipha" breaks new ground in the linguistic study of popular culture. Furthermore, the researchers reported that:

> Practitioners define the six major elements of rap lyrics and the hip-hop culture as: "MCing (rapping), DJing (spinning records), break dancing (also known as "street dancing", an array of acrobatic dances associated with the hip-hop cultural domain), graffiti art (also known as "writing" or "tagging" by its practitioners), knowledge and "over standing" (Alim et al. 2009: 55).

From the above explanations, the changing of linguistic codes in music is a conscious behaviour that occurs to maintain the global culture of hip-hop cultural domain and thus has interested scholars of various research fields to the extent that some of them made every effort to apply linguistic theory to musical analysis, as well as for the fact that music heightens the effect of words, allowing them to be rendered with a projection and passion lacking in speech alone (Smitherman 1997, Taylor 1997). Accordingly, Beck (2010) concentrated on the multilingual setting through mechanisms including urbanization, but also included code--switching and pragmatically motivated borrowings from different languages that are connected to meanings related to "gangsta" rap and hip-hop culture. The research discovered that the Kenyan hip-hop singers used linguistic practices

to highlight the significance of traditional culture in young people's lives and identities. The hip-hop singers contend that authentic Kenyan identity must also include elements from traditional culture. When they use ethnic languages like Kiswahili, they are aiming to communicate this idea. Virtually, the research intensifies adornment for rap music, which has been a typical feature of youth languages. It identifies with the urban languages spoken, i.a. in Abidjan, Nairobi and Johannesburg based on linguistic differences. The speakers of all these languages are said to be extremely creative and prove it by borrowing puns and syllable games, such as "Pig Latin" (verlan) and "backward talk" from local African languages, for purposes of re-creating and changing existing lexical features. Even though the speakers know that their language competence is dwindling, they make use of precisely that knowledge, a fact that is indicative of the "continuity of specialized language practices beyond grammar or lexicon" (Beck 2010: 28).

2.1. Hip-hop and ethnolinguistic diversification

Sarkar et al. (2005) stated that hip-hop singers provide insights into how two or more languages interact or index in a specific speech community's collective linguistic and cultural identity. They affirmed that Montreal had an urban youth community with a multilingual orientation and their hip-hop groups served as a mirror of the ethnolinguistic diversity salient in the Montreal scene. In their analysis, the researchers identified lexical and phrasal code-switching in Montreal hip-hop music and observed that code-switching drew on more than two languages: Standard Quebec French, Non-Standard Quebec French, European French, Standard North American English, African-American English, and Caribbean creoles. Coming to the Nigerian hip-hop scene, it is important to mention Omoniyi (2006), who has positioned the rap genre within the globalization of popular culture. He analysed extracts from Nigerian rap singers and reported a divergence found in their lyrics through phonological variation, reinterpretation, nicknaming, colloquialisms, code-switching, and cross-referencing. In addition to this, he categorically noted that:

> Nigerian hip-hop as a sub-variety differs from the mainstream in its utilization of pidgin rap, a variant of rapping that is local to Nigeria and which arguably has assumed a trans-local dimension in its use by diaspora Nigerian artists like JJC and the 419 Squad based in South London, England. It is discursively negotiated and constructed through the employment of linguistic tools such as code-switching (CS), reinterpretation, (co-)referencing, and colloquialisms. One popular media source for Nigerian hip-hop has been the MTV-UK *MTV Base* request show (Omoniyi 2006: 196-197).

In a similar context, Omoniyi (2009) explored the ways in which "holy hip-hop", within the sociology of language and religion and as a cultural phenomenon, provides us with a context for looking at linguistic codes based on discursive practices. He sampled data from three religious websites: holyhiphop.com, muslimhiphop.com and kingdomroyalty.com, and conducted an interview with London-based Digital Disc Jockey (DDJ) and Kimba, aka Klarity, of playvybz.com, as well as the lyrics of the songs by religious hip-hop groups Baby Muslims, Blackstone, G-Force, FourKornerz and Jahaziel. His findings revealed that "holy hip-hop" was facilitated through "sacredization of secular language and values articulated through trans-cultural flows, especially at instances where politics of language are insinuated" (Omoniyi 2009: 197). Going in the same terrain, Babalola and Taiwo (2009) looked into the code-switching existing in the music of Sunny Nneji's "oruka" with its theme on marriage, D'Banj's "tongolo" with its theme on disappointment, P'Square's "omoge mi" with its theme on love and betrayal, StylPlus's "olufunmi" with its theme on love and that of Weird MC's "ijo ya" with its theme on dance. They sampled five artists based on their popularity as well as the quality of their songs in the national music environment. Their findings indicated that the singers mediated between the accents of Nigerian Pidgin English, Standard English, and Yoruba, which seemed to be prominent in all the five artists' songs. Even though not all these artists were of Yoruba origin, growing up in Lagos facilitated their use of similar strategies in adaptation of the language.

2.2. Rap music in Hausa

Rap music stands as a global and national language that reaches across all races and religions. Northern Nigeria is an area where this view can be verified in more detailed studies. Its compositions are predominantly patronized within the neighbouring countryside where Hausa is also spoken, such as the Cameroun, the Niger Republic, Chad, Sudan (Mai Wurno), Eritrea, Ghana, Burkina Faso, Congo, Central African Republic, Mali, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo, and the Benin Republic, to mention but a few countries (Adamu 2021a). Through rap music, Hausa as a language is exposed to linguistic diversity due to factors that can be attributed to the choice between expressional linguistic variants. Consequently, rap in contemporary Hausa musical discourse is critical for understanding youth cultures and discourse constructions (Kraśniewski 2016), as well as how much musical discourse imbibes the transnational flows of foreign ideas, aesthetics, and trans-linguistic phenomena (Adamu 2019a, b, Musa 2014) and how these interface with local, mostly Islamicate cultures. Hausa hip-hop singers align with global hip-hop artists by providing a new style of language expres-

sion, making it an easily global means of transmission, advocating creativity and adapting foreign ideas and aesthetics to the local culture of Hausa contemporary music in the world of popular culture.

Specifically, Adamu (2021a) revealed two bands, one of them is called Lakal Kaney, which roughly translates as 'no problem' in the Djerma language of Niger that uses various Nigeriene languages in their performance, particularly Hausa, Tamasheq, Fulfulde, Kanuri, French and English (the latter was used as a strategy to reach out to Nigerian audiences) and the other one called Wass-Wong – a blend of words from Hausa and Djerma that means 'message from the warriors'. The fact that they fused two language groups together to form a common name for themselves indicates how they use language as a reflection of national unity. Research findings revealed that both bands used multiple languages to focus on strong social messages in their performances, drawing attention to the betrayal of society by the ruling class. The research further buttressed that Hausa hip-hop singers "seek to reorient the musical landscape of at least northern Nigeria towards a more focused messaging in their lyrics, striking a balance between transnational rhythms and the Hausa Islamic philosophy" (Adamu 2021a: 167).

This article found a crucial need to explore Hausa hip-hop songs within the context of the ethnomusicology theory[5], an interesting and interdisciplinary field in nature. Primarily, scholars' growing interest in musical analysis has paved the way for the theory. Initially, Feld rejected the importation of linguistic models into the analysis of music, claiming that "it is epistemologically silly to assume that linguistic models explain music without some demonstration of why this is the case" (Feld 1974: 200). He went into a detailed argument that linguistic models are not suitable for musical analysis. He added in his conclusion that "linguistic models can only deal with parts of ethnomusicology" (Feld 1974: 212). The ethnomusicology theory, on the other hand, reflects the relationship and function of language and the context in which it is used, whether in spoken or written form, in rhetorical forms. The theory affirms that "music is the result of human behavioural processes shaped by the values, attitudes, and beliefs of the people of a particular culture" (Merriam 1964: 6). Hence, the theory has been simplified

[5] At the initial stage, researchers acclaim Kunst (1955) as being the first to coin the word 'ethnomusicology' (Freeman & Merriam 1956, McLean 2010, Medubi 2009, Nettl 2010, Pettan 2010, Rice 1987). Merriam, however, was the first to develop an influential theoretical framework for the then newly "ethnomusicology theory" in 1964, which has been criticized, modified, simplified, and misinterpreted.

to consist of three parts: concepts, behavior, and sound. In his proposed model, Merriam tried as much as possible to reconcile two disciplines: the social sciences and the humanities, in order to incorporate musical analysis into societies and professions. This is based on the fact that the singing style, which differs based on cultures and reflects such variables as social structure, level of literacy, and language functions among individuals or groups, has been targeted by the lens of the ethnomusicology theory. Thus, this article generally affirms that rap music moves around globally; various societies around the world patronize the music regardless of ethnicity, religion, race or gender. The resources of the ethnomusicological theory provided valuable tools in this article to examine Hausa hip-hop lyrics and distinguish the change of linguistic codes manifesting in the sampled lyrics, which "interpret the discourse patterns identified as descriptive, analytical, and persuasive" (Humphrey & Economou 2015: 39-40).

3. Research method

The method adopted in this article to impart its message is a discourse-type qualitative analysis of sampled Hausa hip-hop lyrics. Qualitative analysis uses data examination to yield measures of central tendency and depict emerging themes (Dörnyei 2011). Researchers argued that qualitative research could be described as "textual surveys that determine and describe the way things are in greater or lesser depth" (Gay et al. 2006: 159). The present study was carried out with Hausa hip-hop singers between 2013 and 2014. Participant observation was also carried out. Handwritten notes of lyrical extracts made during participant observation were typed up later. Therefore, this article employed the extracts of the lyrics (texts) from the repertoires of the Hausa hip-hop singers as a source of data. The term "Hausa hip-hop singers" is used in this article to describe performers of a specific hip-hop culture that accepts Hausa as their language of expression in their music. In a broader sense, rappers that use Hausa in their lyrics as their mother tongue or first language, as a second language or simply as a means of expression to appease their audience are referred to as "Hausa hip-hop singers". Moreover, "Hausa hip-hop singers" refers to artists who have embraced transnational flows of the global and national hip-hop culture (turn-tabling, MCing (rapping), DJing, break dancing, graffiti art, knowledge and overstanding) in a way that creates a balance between adhering the "path of all-time Hausa classics" (Kraśniewski 2016: 86), and the Hausa Islamic philosophy (Adamu 2021a: 167). More specifically, "Hausa hip-hop singers" are the artists who use monolingual codes (Hausa), bilingual codes (for instance, Hausa and English), or multilingual codes (a mixture of Hausa, English, Nigerian Pidgin

English, Arabic, Yoruba, Igbo, Fulfulde, and other local languages) in their music as a reflection of national unity. One of the striking features of a Hausa hip-hop singer is to be "Hausa": "He does not have to be born or even raised in the Hausa area as long as he can address Hausa listeners in their own language and has respect for Hausa tradition" (Kraśniewski 2016: 87).

In essence, the data sources used for this article are critical in describing some of the linguistic parameters evaluated from Hausa hip-hop lyrics. In fact, to further justify the practical procedures as well as the findings of this article, the convenience sampling technique was employed in order to "collect information from members of the population found available to provide it" (Sekaran & Bougie 2013: 252). In particular, lyrics from three Hausa hip-hop singers: MixterBash (real name: Idris Bashir Abubakar), Double Trouble (Nurudeen Abubakar) and Lil'TEAxY (Tijjani Mustapha Ɗanbatta) were employed as the representative samples in this article. That is, the three Hausa hip-hop singers were selected for their ability to transit between languages in a single performance (often within the same stanza), while yet retaining its lyrical rhythm (or "flow"). The idea behind selecting them is to "gain information concerning a particular study as the subset representative of the population" (Sekaran & Bougie 2013: 240).

4. The use of varying linguistic codes in Hausa hip-hop

Inserting additional linguistic code to the lyrics refers to a form of discursive practice employed by Hausa hip-hop singers for poetic functions – rhyming and facilitating internal rhyme as well as beat flow, which is not only the most striking in the lyrics but is the most accessible and appreciable even to those listeners who do not understand all the words. The notion of linguistic codes rests on the assumption that languages (such as, i.a., creoles, non-standard varieties and dialects) can be identified and enumerated. Here, the use of different linguistic codes signify the Hausa hip-hop singers' social knowledge and reality, which are "produced, reproduced and transformed through a variety of speech genres mediated by a variety of communications" (Androutsopoulos 2009: 43). Arguably, most Hausa hip-hop singers share this sense of communal life, which motivates their music. Their practice and usage are influenced by the national (afrobeat) and international (American and Western trends) music industries.

4.1. Monolingual code: Hausa – the native language

Hausa hip-hop singers employ their native language, literature, and ethnicity to collect the knowledge and beliefs that sum up their experiences. Hausa is one

of the major languages in Sub-Saharan Africa, used by a number of speakers "reaching higher than 150 million" (Bunza 2019: 21), one of the three most important languages of Nigeria. To the Hausa artists, their native language has a distinct importance based on their audience, who are largely Hausa natives and, in some cases, other ethnicities residing in northern Nigeria for administrative, educational, economic, and family reasons. An example of monolingual code usage is found in a song composed by Double Trouble on education concerning a strike held by lecturers of Nigerian universities in 2013. Here, Double Trouble draws lyrics purely in Hausa, his first language[6] with a creative rhyme and rhythm yet with abundant non-standard linguistic inventions:

Excerpt 1

Chorus: *Iyammmm!*
A dinga sara ana duban bakin gatari,
Ishara ga mai nazari, an ja tunga sai ka ce yaki?
A janye yajin aiki a koma aiki! Su ASUU, a koma aiki x3

Lead: *A dube mu matasa da idon imani,*
Kan ta karke a haura ko ba tsani,
Abun da ake mana muna ji muna gani,
Abun da ka shuka tabbas shi za ka gani,
Ya Allahu ta'ala, ka yi mana magani,
Wannan iftila'in don kan ya yi tsanani,
Kar idon ku ya rufe don an danne muku hakki,
A kula a duba ana danne wa wasu hakki,
Har gaban Galadima mun je mun fadi,
Abun da ke zukatanmu kaf muka fadi,
Ba don sun isa ba ne don kun isar musu ne

(Double Trouble: ASUU ku koma aiki)

Chorus: *Iyammmm*[7]*!*
Let's be walking on eggshells[8]*,*
A wake-up call for the mindful, facing off each other as if in combat?
Call off strike and get back to work! ASUU, get back to work, x3

---

[6] Nurudeen Abubakar, better known as Double Trouble, is a Yoruba who was born, raised, and currently resides in Kano. Yoruba is his mother tongue, hence he is not a Hausa native but speaks Hausa as his first language.

[7] A discourse marker used to achieve communicative goal.

[8] The literal translation of the Hausa phrase A *dinga sara ana duban bakin gatari* is 'While chopping, the edge of the axe is being looked at' that is used to connote caution and enlightenment.

Lead: *Feel for us, youth, by showing compassion,*
Before it gets to the point where we bite the bullet,
We feel and see what is being done to us,
What you sow is for sure what you will reap,
Oh Allah the exalted, give us solution,
To this catastrophe before it worsens,
Do not close your eyes because you are deprived of your right,
Keep your eyes peeled, some are bereft of their rights,
We even went and knelt before Galadima[9]*,*
And completely said what was on our minds, It is not that they are worthy, but only that you made them worthwhile

(Double Trouble: *ASUU Go back to work*)

Considering the lyrical extracts in Excerpt 1, Double Trouble addresses his song to Hausa speakers who understand cultural code of the proverb *A dinga sara ana duban bakin gatari*. Hausa hip-hop singers make an effort to uphold Hausa cultural traditions as much as they can by inserting loanwords of Arabic origin such as *ishara* 'wake-up call', *iftila'in* 'catastrophe' and a phrase *ya Allah ta'ala* 'Oh Allah the exalted'. Their language expresses their ethnicity and their reference to locality indicates their interest in their mother tongue and Nigerian national flavours. Apparently, many of them are of the opinion that Hausa is the most vital language for rap music in northern Nigeria and the country at large. It is not just an issue of a cultural barrier; they also prefer to go along with the international hip-hop culture. It is worth noting that most of them master their native language and embark on true adventures to promote their music. The priority they have with the use of their native language enables Hausa hip-hop singers to compose lyrics which are at times complex or/and difficult to decode, even for the native speakers of the language, such as *Kan ta ƙarƙe a haura ko ba tsani*[10] 'Before it

---

[9] The settings of the Hausa Emirate Council for instance in Kano, Daura, and Zazzau have the Galadima title who is next in command after the Emir or King. The title is mostly crowned to a person that is expected to inherit the throne (based on blood lineage), thus, representing the Emir or King officially *in absentia*. Galadima also serves as the administrator of the capital city of the Emirate Council. However, the title is used interchangeably with Ɗangaladima in the Katsina, Zamfara, and Gobir Emirates, whereas the Sokoto and Kebbi emirates have both Galadima and Ɗangaladima titles with different roles as a city administrator, a judge or a village/district head.

[10] The literal translation of the phrase is 'Even if it is difficult to climb, you can do it without a ladder'. Here, the term ƙarƙe 'it's difficult' is a dialectal form that often confuses listeners who would easily grasp the meaning with terms such as *kure*, *karkare*, *kuge* or *kuke* that evoke different associations.

gets to the point where we bite the bullet' used as a metaphor that encodes courage and force in a difficult or uncomfortable situation. This is consistent with Kachru's (1989) claim that the use of a distinct monolingual language and its practices do not indicate a language proficiency defect, but rather reflects the singers' flexibility and creativity. This is confirmed by examples from other areas, e.g. German hip-hop singers follow the trend of ethnicity and use their native language as a medium of discourse in rap music. They use their first language or mother tongue in their compositions and "they seldom mind if ever their piece of music reaches international audiences, they compose lyrics purely in German" (Androutsopoulos 2009: 58).

4.2. Changing codes: Bi-lingual and multilingual practices at the intra-sentential level

In some instances, however, the Hausa hip-hop singers compose lyrics in English and switch with a very little influence of other linguistic codes. Some of them, including MixterBash, Lil' TEAxY, Billy'O (true name: Bello Ibrahim), Nomiiss Gee (Aminu Abba Umar), IQ (Abubakar Nasidi Muhammad), Dr. Pure (Saifullahi Idris Musa), M.M. Haruna (Haruna Mu'azu Muhammad), and Ziiriums (Nazir Ahmed Hausawa), to mention but a few, are fluent in both English and Hausa. While, ZM (Zahra Moussa) from Niger Republic is fluent in Hausa, English and French. A case in point: MixterBash and Nomiiss Gee's are both respective graduates from the Department of Business Administration and the Department of Mass Communication and Media Studies at Bayero University, Kano (BUK). Billy'O, M.M. Haruna and Dr. Pure teach "supplementary English course for university students at Jammaje Academy, Kano" (Kraśniewski 2016: 100). As a result, some of them use the medium of English, which cuts across all ethnicities within and outside the nation by featuring artists from other backgrounds to fill such a gap. An example of an artist in this context is MixterBash who has composed hip-hop songs, some of which are varying-code versions in Hausa and English, such as *Na jajje ni gidan gwauro*[11] [Wifeless man's house] or *Zan bararraje* [I will strut my stuff] or *Zinariya* [gold] and others that are purely composed in English, such as *Too fast and too slow* and *Black to the bone*. In the song *Mafimi shere* [I'm not playing/joking with you], MixterBash featured Nasiim[12] (True Name:

[11] *Gwauro* is a man who was once married but is no more (due to death, divorce, or another circumstance) and he is not considered a bachelor (*tuzuru*) (Kraśniewski 2016: 123).

[12] Nasiim was born in Edo State on 3 September 1988, but grew up in Kano State. The name 'Nasiim' is derived from the first letter of each of his family members: "NA" for Nana

Isa Mike Umoru) and sang by inserting Yoruba, Arabic, and Nigerian Pidgin English words or phrases. The lyrical extracts are as follows:

Excerpt 2

Lead: *I loved the way you wine-it-wine-it,*
Loved the way you grind-it-grind-it,
Loved the way you shake-it-shake-it,
Loved the way you do me, I loved you truly, a love! I can't abuse it!
Can't deny it! As well confusing! Just wanna hold you close girl, Fumi,
Let me build it with you, my lady,they call me Mixter, then a Freestyle,
I was moved by your smile and your hair style,
Hey! there I'm aint to play you, before you change your mind,
There is something I like you to know, Fiilee,
You are my impress, heavily princess,
With you jealousy is with success,
I loved you with excess, cos the way the fitrah dey express[13].

(MixterBash featuring Nasiim: *Mafimi shere*)

Word/Phrase	**Meaning/Characteristics**
Fumi	give me / common Yoruba name *Fumi* is truncated from Fumilola meaning 'give me wealth' and also Fumilayo which means 'give me happiness or joy'
Fiilee	leave it/borrowed from Yoruba meaning 'stop'
cos	because/conjunct /from NPE
fitrah	intrinsic feelings/borrowed from Arabic
dey	'to be' in NPE
wine-it-wine-it	the lady moves creatively and attractively/ NPE construct
grind-it-grind-it	the manner she moves her hips / NPE construct
shake-it-shake-it	the manner she moves her breast in doing so / NPE construct

---

Aisha, his mother, "S" for Salamatu, his sister, "I" for him, Isa, the second "I" for Innocent, his late brother, and finally "M" for his father, Mike. He began his musical career in 2002 and continued while studying for his diploma at the University of Jos in 2006. He was one of the top ten regional finalists in both the "2008 Zain Tru Search" in Jos and the "2010 Glo Naija Sings" in Kano. Nasiim was named Artist of the Year 2010 at the Bayero University Ex-boys Award Night. He has shared the stage with artists such as Derenle, Lord of Ajasa, 2face Idibia, Faze, and D.J. Zeez. He holds a bachelor's degree in computer science from Bayero University in Kano.

[13] Meaning: Considering the ways feelings are expressed.

From the extracts presented in Excerpt 2, it can be argued that Hausa hip-hop singers discursively construct their language with choices heavily influenced by inserting words and phrases from the native languages of Nigeria. When they sing in English, they often switch to Yoruba (and in some cases to Nigerian Pidgin English). In this way, Hausa hip-hop singers construct a unique soundscape for their music, keeping in mind that "language is a chain of capability in expressing any message a human might wish to send" (Bloomer et al. 2005: 18). It should be added that the singers have the exceptional attribute of communicating in Hausa, English, Nigerian Pidgin English, and Yoruba, using whichever linguistic code they find fitting for a particular situation.

The practices of code-switching at intra-sentential level follow many patterns, from inserting whole words and phrases to combining lexical elements from different languages in one phrase and extending the sentence with a clause which reaches the standard of inter-sentential level. An excerpt from the song in Hausa is an example, when MixterBash says:

Excerpt 3

Lead: *Na jajje ni gidan gwauro kuma an ban fura da nono,*
I went with niyyar shan romo, but I met some girls from Shanono[14]*,*
Mr. Bash da Mr. More Sauti, na faso da sabon sauti,
In ka san ni, na san ka, dago mani hannu in maka baiti,
Kan waka ba na wasa, in na dane mic na wuce gasa,
Ban fili in ka kasa, bambanci masa da gurasa,
Mr. Bash da Mr. More Music, na shigo da sabon music,
'Yan mata, har gayu[15]*, 'yan birni, kauye let's go,*
Ba ni guri kai in rera waka, take na daban da taka,
Sunana sunana ne, siffata daban da taka,

---

[14] Even if MixterBash extends the semantic meaning by using the word *shanono* to keep the beat (musical rhythm). *Shanono* is the name of a Local Government Area (a town) in Kano State, Nigeria. Its origin is traced back to the history of a Fulani herdsman called "Shanu" (meaning 'cattle' in Hausa). He used to come to the area with his cattle for grazing purposes and selling cow milk (*nono*). After studying the local climate, *Shanu* decided to build his Hirt, or rather, Ruga, and as a result, several people came to reside with them. Essentially, the derivation of the word Shanoono was created by combining the root base of nono and the first stem sha 'drink' (*Sha* + *nono* = *Shanono*).

[15] Borrowed from English 'guy'. Usually, the term *gayu* is a neologism that refers to youth in their early middle or late adolescence.

Babu guri Niga[16] *so zan faka*[17]*, in ka tsaya nan sai ka taka,*
Ko da cada ko babu, buri na ni in rera waka.

(MixterBash: *Na jajje ni gidan gwauro*)

Lead: *I have been to a wifeless man's house and was given milky gruel,*
I went with intention to drink a broth, but I met some girls from Shanono,
Mr. Bash and Mr. More Music, I burst out with a new beat,
If you know me and I know you, wave at me and let me compose a verse for you,
I am not joking with singing, once I get a hold of the mic I am unbeatable,
Make way for me if you cannot, masa is different from gurasa[18]*,*
Mr. Bash and Mixter More Music, I brought some new music,
Girls, even guys, city-people, and villagers let's go,
Hey back off and let me sing, my rhythm differs from yours,
My name is mine, my appearance is not same as yours,
There is no space, so I will wait, if you stay here you must dance,
With money (dollars) or not, my aim is to sing a song.

(MixterBash: *Wifeless man's house*)

From Excerpt 3 above, it can be seen that the use of different linguistic codes unifies multilingual practice which provides singers with a way into a global scene. In line with this, Hausa hip-hop singers use their knowledge of historical, educational, and personal backgrounds to establish themselves within the hip-hop culture. In this case, many citizens, even in northern Nigeria, often regard Hausa as a language for the rural people, while English is regarded as an international as well as the country's official language and, of course, a second language. Therefore, many Hausa hip-hop singers do not evaluate their native languages in the same way; hence, they vary linguistic codes to appease their audience.

---

[16] Borrowed from the English term 'Nigger'. Here, the term deviates from the derogatory norm and the racial slur used against black people. Hausa youth often used the term *Niga* to evoke a sense of youth community and identity among peer groupings. It is used as a shared neologism (semantic extension) and a metaphor used to express members of the community and the identity of youth who deviate from the dominant Hausa culture in their mode of dressing, eating habits, walking style, interaction, and so on, as they almost always consider the West to be their model.

[17] Borrowed from the English word 'park'. A form of youth language.

[18] *Masa* and *gurasa* are two different types of Hausa baked food items.

4.3. Inter-sentential switching as a means of multilingual practice

The lyrics by MixterBash illustrate how English, being the official language as well as the language of education and administration in the country, goes beyond the referential demands but rather takes the form of code-switching of a poetic nature. Hausa hip-hop singers often use two linguistic codes, i.e. Hausa and English, especially when the dominant language in their repertoires is Hausa or English. The way they are used features inter-sentential switching which is done at sentence boundaries. It is usually combined with intra-sentential code-switching, but refers more to fluent bilingual (multilingual) speakers. Extracts from the lyrics of MixterBash, which are purely in Hausa, can serve as an example:

Excerpt 4

Lead: *Na zamto ambitious, my flow so sick contagious,*
Ba na burki suspicious, mata sun ce I'm hilarious,
Ban canza ba I'm serious, to! I want to make it to the top victorious,
Shi ya sa na zamo so curious, rayuwa kun san is dangerous,
Ah! Ni ne dai More Sauti, mai waka da abun mamaki,
A baya an kira ni junky mai katon kai irin na donkey,
Mangala sai jaki, sirdin karfe sai doki,
Sunana suna, sunana More Sauti.

(MixterBash: *Na jajje ni gidan gwauro*)

Lead: *I have become ambitious, my flow so sick contagious,*
I am nonstop suspicious, ladies said that I'm hilarious,
I haven't changed I'm serious, ok! I want to make it to the top victorious,
That's why I became so curious, you know life is dangerous,
Ah! It's still me Mr. More Music, with an amazing song,
I was called a junky in the past, with head big like a donkey's,
Pannier is for a donkey, a metal saddle is meant for a horse,
My name is name, my name is Mr. More Music.

(MixterBash: *Wifeless man's house*)

Within a broader discussion of this article, examples from the Excerpt 4 above can be considered as evidence for inter-sentential aspect of using linguistic codes that signifies the flexibility and creativity on the part of the Hausa hip-hop singers. More so, since the switching between languages does not distort the function and meaning intended for listeners, the absence of "violence wreckage", as argued by Bamiro (1991), makes Hausa hip-hop more analytic and literal, thus making meaning more explicit. Likewise, this goes along with the findings

of Omoniyi (2006), which confirmed the absence of heavy or vulgar language among the Nigerian national hip-hop singers. Another example of linguistic code usage as a sign of inter-sentential practice is showcased by Lil' TEAxY, as presented in Excerpt 5 below:

Excerpt 5

Chorus: *Allah ya isa,*
Ba za mu yafe mu dai gaskiya a ba mu canji,
Ba za mu yafe mu dai gaskiya a ba mu 'yanci,

Lead: *No ruwa, no wuta, no abinci,*
Lokaci ya yi da za mu zaɓa da kanmu,
Ka wuce, make I yell,
I am a layman, ba ni da kuɗi, so laysa l-bayān,
Irina ake kira fuqarā'u,
So this is for everybody who's in my shoes,
The time has come now make you yan truth,
Naija ta ɓaci, I no go lie you,
Allah kare mu daga 'yan luwaɗu,
Da sharrin da suka jawo ma kasarmu,
Like my man Tuface said you no holy pass,
No water, no light but u still wanna pass,
Make we re-elect u so u go burn our ass,
No (No no no no),
A wannan rayuwa muna buƙatar class,
` *In da za mu ɗau jaka mu je mu koyo maths,*
1234 za mu gane budget,
5678 za mu gane pocket.

(Lil' TEAxY: *Allah ya isa)*

Chorus: *God is sufficient for us,*
We won't forgive, we just want to see change,
We will not forgive, just set us free,

Lead: *Without a water supply, electricity, or food,*
It's high time we elect by ourselves,
Move aside, let me yell,
I am a layman, I am lowly, and so, I am out of words,
I am the type that is called the poor,
So this is for everybody who is in my shoes,
The moment has arrived, to be honest,
Naija has been tainted, I won't lie to you,
May Allah keep us safe from homosexuals,

And the evil they effectuated on our nation,
"No one is more pious", as Tuface once said.
Even though there is no power or water supply, you still want victory,
You want us to give you a second term so you can burn our asses,
No (No no no no),
In this kind of life we need a class,
Where we take a bag and go to learn maths,
1234 we will understand the budget,
5678 we will have something in our pocket.

(Lil' TEAxY*: God is sufficient for us*)

The lyrics presented in Excerpt 5 above are an example of changing linguistic codes both in the intra-sentence and inter-sentence variants. In addition to inserting words and phrases from Arabic and English to the Hausa text, we have extensive Nigerian Pidgin English sentences here. Lil' TEAxY inserted different lexical items such as *so* (English: mostly used to express degree adverb or as a discourse marker or subordinating conjunction or as an intensifier or modifier), *sharrin* (Arabic origin: 'evil doing'), *laysa l-bayān* (Arabic: 'no explanation'), *fuqarā'u* (Arabic: 'the poor'), *Naija* (Pidgin English: 'Nigeria'), *no ruwa* (English + Hausa: 'no water'), *no wuta* (English + Hausa: 'no electricity') and *no abinci* (English + Hausa: 'no food') to indicate his ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural backgrounds but mostly to reinforce the message about the need for change and freedom in the Nigeria political system.

5. Hausa hip-hop lyrics in the context of global patterns and Nigerian multilingualism

The Hausa hip-hop singers use symbolic resources from hip-hop classics (African-American and national) to signal the awareness of the complex weave of contemporary music and its socio-cultural significance. Changing codes is one of the most common practices that are experienced by Hausa youth. So, most of the Hausa hip-hop singers imitate the Nigerian rap artists as well as their American counterparts with peculiarities in the use of linguistic codes. The switching is based on the following assumptions:

- blend of local languages (i.a. Hausa, Fulfulde, Yoruba, Igbo),
- use of Nigerian Pidgin English,
- artistic licence (i.a. strain of local languages, strain of Standard English),
- linguistic acts of identity (i.a. name tagging, race, gender, ethnicity),
- use of global tropes (i.a. *wow! yeah! yo! oops!, ouch!, ah!, phew!*),

- use of onomatopoeia or sound words (e.g. *plop!, plop!, fizz!*),
- use of traditional tropes; (i.a. *ihu! uh! wayyo! ahaa! eh! ehee! uhumn*),
- use of common Hausa exclamations and fixed phrases; *wayyo Allah na*!, *na shiga uku*!, *Allah ya isa*!, *ni ne nan*!;

The code-switched lexical units are connected with the theme of the lyrics and its ideological message. The Hausa singers cover all the topics that are present in Nigerian and world hip-hop music, such as love, education, politics, corruption, unemployment, AIDS, poverty, drug abuse, adultery and fornication, bad governance. The linguistic aspects connected with the use of figurative language and stylistics, as well as possible grammatical peculiarities need further research.

The aforementioned excerpts, as imitated by Hausa hip-hop singers, demonstrate their "conscious and subconscious" (Kraśniewski 2016:88) level of discursive construction and practice in their choice of names, fashion (by incorporating elements of global hip-hop culture like dress fashion, dancing, walk-style and hairstyle), lyrics, and rhythmic qualities, to name a few. In addition to its rhythmic qualities, they sing in studios to confer reputation and forthrightness to hip-hop classics using sound demonstrations (DJing), amplified sounds and other forms of literary devices (including mode of composition, mode of performance, melodically patterns, communication patterns, to mention but a few). They also demonstrate graffiti (writing), beats in singing the lyrics (beat makers), street dancing (breaking) and elements of turn-tabling, using varying degrees of the mixtures of their native language (Hausa), official language (English) and Nigerian Pidgin English.

6. Conclusion

This article described the changing linguistic codes in Hausa hip-hop songs. It examined the discursive construction and practice of youth language exposed to linguistic diversity of changing codes that can be attributed to a choice between expressional variants. The findings revealed that Hausa hip-hop singers mediate between Hausa, English and at times even Nigerian Pidgin English, Arabic, and Yoruba relying on any of these to construct a unique landscape for their music. This article, therefore, identified Hausa hip-hop using monolingual codes (purely in Hausa or English), bilingual codes (for instance, Hausa and English), or multilingual codes (a mixture of Hausa, English, Nigerian Pidgin English, Arabic, Yoruba, and other local languages) in their music as a reflection of national unity.

The illustrative material of these processes comes from three (03) Hausa hip-hop songs composed by MixterBash, Double Trouble and Lil' TEAxY.

The article discovered that the Hausa hip-hop singers change codes in their lyrics at intra-sentential and inter-sentential levels. The change in linguistic codes occurs in their lyrics simply to reach a wider audience in Nigeria's multilingual society. Therefore, they contribute to understanding switching strategies and forms of linguistic codes in constructing their music. Moreover, the Hausa hip-hop singers in some cases employed proverbs or Hausa loanwords and phrases of Arabic or English origin. With these strategies, they try as much as possible to go by the traditions of the Hausa culture. The discussion on Hausa hip-hop music affirmed that one of the striking features of a Hausa hip-hop singer is to confirm being "Hausa" who does not have to be born or even raised in the Hausa area as long as he can address Hausa listeners in their language and has respect for Hausa tradition.

In addition, this article adopted the ethnomusicology theory, using a discourse--type qualitative research procedure of transcribed lyrics obtained through observation, watching and listening to selected Hausa hip-hop songs. Along with the presentation of discursive practices of popular music based on changing linguistic codes and their textual and contextual parameters, the article revealed the functional and rhetorical forms of linguistic codes found within the context of the sampled Hausa hip-hop musical lyrics.

References

Abbas, U.A. 2014. "Code-switching in Hausa film songs". *Endangered languages in Nigeria: Structure and policy: A festschrift in honour of M.K.M Galadanci,* ed. by M.A. Yusuf, B.A. Salim & A. Bello. Kano: BUK Press. 599-604.

Abdulkadir, M. 2018. *Aspect of Hausa-Kanuri code-switching: A case of Nguru central market*. Unpublished MA Thesis. Department of Linguistics and Foreign Languages, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria.

Abdullahi, M.S. 2018. *Code-switching in English classes at tertiary institutions in Kano*. Unpublished MA Thesis. Department of Linguistics and Foreign Languages, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria.

Abubakar, B. 2018. *Use of Hausa-Fulfulde code-switching in Muri*. Unpublished MA Thesis. Department of Nigerian Languages, Usmanu Danfodio University, Sokoto, Nigeria.

Adamu, A.U. 2019a. "Hausa popular music: Northern Nigeria". *Bloomsbury encyclopedia of popular music of the world. Genres: Sub-Saharan Africa*, ed. by D. Horn, J. Shepherd, G. Kielich & H. Feldman. London: Bloomsbury. 168-178.

Adamu, A.U. 2019b. "Hip-hop in Nigeria: Hausa rap". *Bloomsbury encyclopedia of popular music of the world. Genres: Sub-Saharan Africa,* ed. by D. Horn, J. Shepherd, G. Kielich & H. Feldman. London: Bloomsbury. 258-260.

Adamu, A.U. 2021a. "Inclusive rapport: Nation, language and identity in Nigeriene and Nigerian Hausa rap music". *Crossings and comparisons in African literary and cultural studies*, ed. by P.M. Chiangong & S. Gehrmann. Germany: WVT Wissenschaftlicher Verlag. 153-174.

Adamu, A.U. 2021b. "Popular culture in Muslim Africa". *Handbook of Islam in Africa,* ed. by T. Østebø. New York: Routledge. 281-292.

Adamu, A.U. 2007. *Transglobal media flows and African popular culture: Revolutions and reaction in Muslim Hausa popular culture*. Kano: Visually Ethnographic Productions.

Akande, A. 2013. "Code-switching in Nigerian hip-hop lyrics". *Language Matters* 44(1). 39-57.

Alim, H.S., A. Ibrahim & A. Pennycook. 2009. *Global linguistics flows: Hip-hop cultures, youth identities and the politics of language.* New York: Routledge.

Aminu, B.D. 2011. "Code-switching in the Kano State House of Assembly". *FAIS Journal of Humanities, Bayero University* 5(1). 1-14.

Amuda, A.A. 1996. "Yoruba/English conversational code-switching as a conversational strategy". *African Languages and Cultures* 7(2). 121-131.

Androutsopoulos, J. 2009. "Language and the three spheres of hip-hop". *Global linguistics flows: Hip-hop cultures, youth identities and the politics of language,* ed. by H.S. Alim, A. Ibrahim & A. Pennycook. New York: Routledge. 43-62.

Andy, B. 2000. *Popular music and youth culture: Music, identity and place*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Asante, M.K. 2009. *It's bigger than hip-hop: The rise of the post-hip-hop generation*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin.

Babalola, E.T. & R. Taiwo. 2009. "Code-switching in contemporary Nigerian hip-hop music". *Otupale Online Journal of African Studies* 1. 1-26.

Balogun, S. & M.M. Oladayo. 2021. "Code-switching and code mixing in the selected tracks of the hip-hop music of Flavour and 9ice". *International Journal of English and Comparative Literary Studies* 2(3). 55-70.

Bamiro, E. 1991. "The social and functional power of Nigerian English". *World Englishes* 10(3). 275-286.

Beck, R.M. 2010. "Urban languages in Africa". *Africa Spectrum* 45(3). 11-41.

Bloomert, A., P. Griffiths & A. Merrison. 2005. *Introducing language in use – a course book*. New York: Routledge.

Brown, B. & G. Yule. 1983. *Discourse analysis.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bunza, A.M. 2019. "Hausa da Hausawa a duniyar ƙarni na ashirin da ɗaya: Amsa kiran Majalisar Ɗinkin Duniya (UN) ga Ranar Hausa ta duniya" [Hausa and Hausas in the 21st century world: A response to the appeal of the Organisation of United Nations on the ocassion of The International Hausa Day]. *Algaita Journal of Current Research in Hausa Studies* 12(2). 15-30.

Chamo, I.Y. 2023. "A study on the use of code-switching in Ɗanƙwairo's selected oral songs". *Studies on the poetic dynasty of Musa Ɗanƙwairo Maradun, mai turu ƙanen makaɗa Kurna: Proceedings of the 30 Years Commemorative Conference on Musa Ɗanƙwairo Maradun*, ed. by S.M. Gusau, A. Magaji, I.G. Satatima, I.Y. Chamo & M. Ammani. Kano: WT Press. 54-65.

Chamo, I.Y. 2012. "Hausa-English code-switching in Kannywood films". *International Journal of Linguistics* 4(2). 87-96. Online: http://dx.doi.org/10.5296/ijl.v4i2.1766 [10.09.2023].

Clark, M.K. 2013. "The struggle for the hip-hop authenticity and against commercialization in Tanzania". *Journal of Pan-African Studies* 6(3). 5-21.

Cundiff, G. 2013. "The influence of Hip-hop music: A mixed method analysis on audience perceptions of misogynistic lyrics and the issue of domestic violence". *Elon Journal of Undergraduate Research in Communications* 4. 71-93.

Dörnyei, Z. 2011. *Research methods in applied linguistics: Quantitative, qualitative and mixed methodologies.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Feld, S. 1974. "Linguistic models in ethnomusicology". *Ethnomusicology* 18. 197-217.

Fenn, J. & A. Perullo. 2000. "Language choices and hip-hop in Tanzania and Malawi". *Popular Music and Society* 24(3). 73-93.

Freeman, L.C. & A.P. Merriam. 1956. *Statistical classification in anthropology: An application to ethnomusicology.* Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois & University of Wisconsin.

Gambo I.G. 2017. *Fulfulde-Hausa code-switching among Fulani youths in Sule Tankarkar Local Government Area*. Unpublished MA Thesis. Department of Linguistics and Foreign Languages, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria.

Gay, L.R., G.E. Mills & P.W. Airasian. 2006. *Educational research: Competencies for analysis and application*. Boston, USA: Addison Wesley Publishing.

Gbogi, M.T. 2016. "Language, identity and urban youth subculture: Nigerian hip hop music as an exemplar". *Pragmatics* 26(2). 171-195.

Gusau, S.M. 2019. *Diwanin waƙokin baka, juzu'i na huɗu: Waƙokin Alhaji Musa Ɗanƙwairo Maradun (1909-1991) Sarkin Kiɗan Sarkin Maradun Jihar Zamfara* [An anthology of oral songs. Part four: Songs of Alhaji Musa Ɗanƙwairo Maradun (1909-1991), Chief of Musicians of the Emir of Maradun, Zamfara State]. Kano: Century Research and Publishing Limited.

Gusau, S.M. 2023. "Tarihin rayuwa da halifofin Makaɗa Alhaji Musa Ɗanƙwairo Maradun a aiwatarwa da sadar da waƙokin baka na Hausa" [Biography and successor musicians of Alhaji Musa Ɗanƙwairo Maradun in the compositions and performances of

Hausa oral songs]. *Studies on the poetic dynasty of Musa Ɗankwairo Maradun, mai turu kanen Makaɗa Kurna: Proceedings of the 30 Years Commemorative Conference on Musa Ɗankwairo Maradun*, ed. by S.M. Gusau, A. Magaji, I.G. Satatima, I.Y. Chamo & M. Ammani. Kano: WT Press. 4-27.

Harkness, G. 2013. "Gangs and gangsta rap in Chicago: A microscenes perspective". *Poetics* 41. 151-176.

Haruna, A., A.A. Christopher & R. Halim. 2016. "Code-mixing as a sociolinguistic device in Hausa contemporary literature". *Journal of Applied Linguistics and Language Research* 3(3). 154-161.

Humphrey, S.L. & D. Economou. 2015. "Peeling the onion: A textual model of critical analysis". *Journal of English for Academic Purposes* 17. 37-50.

Ian, C. 2006. *Hip-hop Japan: Rap and the paths of cultural globalization*. Berkeley: University Press Books.

Ibrahim, M.T. 2018. *A sociolinguistics study of the use of Hausa-English code-switching among Hausa Islamic Preachers*. Unpublished MA Thesis. Department of Linguistics and Foreign Languages, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria.

Johnstone, B. 2008. *Discourse analysis*. USA: Blackwell Publishing Limited.

Kachru, Y. 1989. "Code-mixing, style repertoire and language variation: English in Hindi poetic creativity". *World Englishes* 8(3). 311-319.

Kachru, B. 1997. "World Englishes and English-using communities". *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics: Multi-lingualism* 17. 66-87.

Kraśniewski, M. 2016. *In da Haus: A story of hip-hop and oral literature in Hausa society*. Warsaw: IKSiO PAN.

Kunst, J. 1955. *Ethnomusicology: A study of its nature, its problems, methods and representative personalities to which is added a bibliography*. Netherlands: The Hague.

Lawan, M.S. 2019. *Hausa-English code-switching among students of Sule Lamido University, Kafin Hausa*. Unpublished MA Thesis. Department of Linguistics and Foreign Languages, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria.

Liadi, O.F. 2012. "Linguistic codes and hip-hop consumption in Nigeria: Accounting for the local acceptance of a global phenomenon". *Africa Spectrum* 47(1). 3-19.

Liadi, O.F. & A.O. Omobowale. 2016. "Music multilingualism and hip-hop consumption among youths in Nigeria". *Global Journal of Sociology and Anthropology* 5(2). 1-9.

McLain-Jesperson, S.N. 2014. *Had sh'er haute gamme, high technology: An application of the MLF and 4-M models to French-Arabic code-switching in Algerian hip-hop*. Unpublished MA Thesis. Portland State University, Oregon, USA.

McLean, M. 2010. "Music, dance and the Polynesian origins: The audience from POC and PPn". *Occasional papers in Pacific ethnomusicology* 8. (Archive of Maori and Pacific music). New Zealand: University of Auckland.

Medubi, O. 2009. *A cross-cultural study of silence in Nigeria: An ethnolinguistics approach*. Unpublished MA Thesis. University of Ilorin, Nigeria.

Merriam, A.P. 1964. *The anthropology of music*. Evanston, Illinois: North-Western University Press.

Mika'ilu, S.S. 2015. *Yoruba-English code-switching in Federal College of Education*. Unpublished BA Thesis. Department of Linguistics and Foreign Languages, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria.

Musa, A. 2014. "Changing codes in Hausa songs: A sociolinguistic study of code-switching in some Hausa modern songs: Technopop, hip-hop and rap music". *Garkuwan Adabin Hausa: A Festschrift in Tribute to Abdulkadir Ɗangambo,* ed. by S.M. Gusau, M.A.Z. Sani, H.A. Birniwa, I. Mukhtar, A. Mu'azu & J.S. Adamu. Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press. 63-66.

Nettl, B. 2010. *Music education and ethnomusicology: A (usually) harmonious relationship*. Keynote address at the 29th Meeting of International Society for Music Education (ISME), China: Beijing.

Omoniyi, T. 2006. "Hip-hop through the world Englishes lens: A response to globalization". *World Englishes: Symposium on world Englishes in popular culture*, ed. by J.S. Lee & Y. Kachru 25(2). 195-208.

Omoniyi, T. 2009. "So I choose to do am Naija style: Hip-hop, language and postcolonial identities". *Global linguistic flows: hip-hop cultures, youth identities*, *and the politics of language*, ed. by S.H. Alim, A. Ibrahim & A. Pennycook. New York: Routledge. 113-135.

Pettan, S. 2010. "Applied ethnomusicology: Bridging research in action". *Music and Art in Action* 2(2). 90-93.

Potter, R.A. 1995. *Spectacular vernaculars: Hip-hop and the politics of postmodernism.* New York: State University of New York Press.

Rice, T. 1987. "Towards the remodelling of ethnomusicology". *Journal of Ethnomusicology and Responses* 31(3). 469-88.

Sami, K.S. 2019. *Fulfulde-Hausa code-switching among Fulani youth in Kukar Dila*. Unpublished BA Thesis. Department of Linguistics and Foreign Languages, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria.

Sani, H.M. 2019. "Code-switching in contemporary Nigerian hip-hop music". *MAJOLLS: Maiduguri Journal of Linguistics and Literary Studies* XVI(1). 59-79.

Sankoff, D., W. Labov & A. Kroch. 1989. *Language variation and change.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sapir, E. 1921. *Language: An introduction to the study of speech.* San Diego: Harcourt, Brace, and Co.

Sarkar, M., L. Winer & K. Sarkar. 2005. "Multilingual code-switching in Montreal hip-hop, Mayhen Meets Method or 'Tout moun qui talk trash kiss mon black ass du nord'. *Proceedings of the 4th International Symposium on Bilingualism,* ed. by J. Cohen, K.T. McAlister, K. Rolstad & J. MacSwan. USA: Cascadilla Press. 2057-2074.

Sekaran, U. & R. Bougie. 2013. *Research methods for business: A skill-building approach*. USA: Wiley & Sons Publishing.

Smitherman, G. 1997. "The chain remain the same: Communicative practices in the hip-hop nation". *Journal of Black Studies* 28(1). 3-25.

Souza, A.M. 2012. "Globalizing locations: Production-consumption relations in hip-hop movement in Brazil and Portugal". *International Review of Social Research* 2(1). 77-92.

Stepankova, B.B. 2012. "The analysis of contemporary cultural policy in the Czech Republic". *Janacek Academy of Music and Performing Art.*

Taylor, T.D. 1997. *Global pop: World music world markets*. New York: Routledge.

Usman, B. 2014. *Language disappearance and cultural diversity in Biu Emirate.* Abuja: Klamidas Communication Limited Publishing.

Westinen, E. 2014. *The discursive construction of authenticity: Resources, scales and polycentricity in Finnish hip-hop culture*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. Faculty of Humanities, University of Jyväskylä, Finland.

Zulyadaini, B. 2023. "Falsafar surki cikin wasu waƙokin Musa Ɗankwairo" [The philosophy of codeswitching in selected songs by Musa Ɗankwairo]. *Studies on the poetic dynasty of Dusa Ɗankwairo Maradun, mai turu kanen Makaɗa Kurna: Proceedings of the 30 Years Commemorative Conference on Musa Ɗankwairo Maradun*, ed. by S.M. Gusau, A. Magaji, I.G. Satatima, I.Y. Chamo & M. Ammani. Kano: WT Press. 29-41.

GUIDELINES FOR THE AUTHORS

Only original works, not submitted elsewhere, which are related to the thematic framework of the *Studies in African Languages and Cultures* will be accepted for publication. They should not be resubmitted elsewhere while the review process is ongoing. Contributions are expected to be in English (British spelling), exceptionally also in French or in German. Authors should obtain permission to publish any material under copyright.

The authors are recommended to send their papers via a submission form available at www.salc.uw.edu.pl after registration of a user's account which allows to include their affiliation, the ORCID number, and the e-mail address separately from the text. The name and institution should be given in the form in which author wishes it to appear on the first page of the article. For any editorial questions you can also contact us via e-mail salc@uw.edu.pl.

The Author will receive a current issue of the Journal and a pdf file containing the article. All articles published have the Digital Object Identifiers (DOI) and are available for free at www.salc.uw.edu.pl.

Formatting requirements

Every author submitting a manuscript to *Studies in African Languages and Cultures* must follow the formatting requirements. Manuscripts which do not meet the formal requirements shall be send back to the author(s) for corrections before substantive evaluation. A manuscript file submitted to the Journal should be in .doc or .docx or other format supported by Microsoft Word. It should be prepared in the way that allows to keep the anonymity of the author, i.e. author's personal data such us name, initials, etc. must not appear in any part of the text (including references and footnotes) nor in the file's metadata.

The Authors are requested to keep the rules of formatting accepted for the Journal:

1. The total length of the article does not exceed 12 000 words, including footnotes and references. Please do not use automatic heading numbering.
2. The article must have a title consisting of max. two sentences followed by an abstract (max. 100 words) and five keywords (a "keyword" must not consist of more than three elements). In the title use capital letters only in the beginning, for names and fixed terms. Abstract should be in 12 point; footnotes in 10 point, single line spaced; 12 point and 1.5 line spacing is recommended for everything else.

3. Page size A4. The main text of the manuscript is recommended to be typed in Times New Roman font. Use an indentation at the beginning of a paragraph but do not put spacing between the paragraphs.
4. Headings of sections and subsections in the main text should be in bold and numbered consecutively starting with "1. Introduction" up to the last numbered section "Conclusion(s)". It is recommended that numbering of subsections should not go beyond three figures.
5. Linguistic examples, tables and figures should each have a separate numbering system. For the presentation of examples use bracketing, e.g. (1), (13), (62a) etc. Data should be typed in italics 12 point. Examples' translation into the language of an article should be provided below in 12 points size font. Glossing text should be 10 points size font. Please use capitalisation (not capital letters!) for glossing abbreviations.
6. For data and all words in language different than the language of the article use the same font in italics (except for commonly used Latin abbreviations such as "i.a.", "i.e." "e.g."). Translations are to be given in single apostrophes (‘’) while double apostrophes (“”) are used to mark quotation and any other special setting of the text. Examples should be glossed according to the *Leipzig Glossing Rules* (gloss font: Times New Roman or Arial, 10 point, single spaced). All examples must be written with the usage of an appropriate scientific notation or in transcription (with or without original text in a respective non-Latin script system, e.g. Arabic, Amharic or Berber).
7. When self-referring to the article, call it "article", not "paper". Footnotes (not endnotes) are used. Please do not use footnotes for citation. For citation, the Author's name followed by the date (and page number, if relevant) of the publication are put in round brackets and used in the main text, e.g. (Adegbija & Bello 2001: 238, Heine 1997: 25). A full alphabetical list of references used in the text should appear at the end of the article. It should only contain works that are referred to in the body of the text. Please be sure to include and check page numbers.
8. The style of references should conform with the *Unified Style Sheet for Linguistics Journals* and follow one of the following templates (all with indentation of the second line). In the titles, except for the journals, use capital letters only in the beginning, for names and fixed terms:
   - a book:

Heine, B. 1997. *Cognitive foundation of grammar.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- a chapter in the book:

Schuh, R.G. 1983. "The evolution of determiners in Chadic". *Studies in Chadic and Afroasiatic Linguistics*, ed. by E. Wolff & H. Meyer-Bahlburg. Hamburg: Buske Verlag. 157-210.

- an article published in the journal:

Adegbija, E. & J. Bello. 2001. "The semantics of 'okay' (OK) in Nigerian English". *World Englishes* 20(1). 89-98.

Holliday, A. 1999 ."Small cultures". *Applied Linguistics* 20(2). 237-264.

- a degree dissertation:

Dornyo, P. 2010. *Nicknaming practices among university students: A case study of the University of Cape Coast*. Unpublished BA Thesis. University of Cape Coast, Ghana.

- references to the sources accessed via the Internet should provide the full link and date of access in square brackets:

Derat, M.- L. 2018. "Du lexique aux talismans: Occurrences de la peste dans la Corne de l'Afrique du XIIIe au XVe siècle". *Afriques* 9. Online: http://journals.openedition.org/afriques/209 [25.03.2019].

9. If the title of cited work is in language different than English, French or German please provide its translation into language of the article in square brackets.

Studies in African Languages and Cultures
formerly known as
Studies of the Department of African Languages and Cultures
published since 1984

www.salc.uw.edu.pl