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Chief Editor

Nina PAWLAK, University of Warsaw

Editorial Secretary

Patryk Zając

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

Cover design

Anna Gogolewska

English language Editor

Michał Zagrodzki

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Contents

FROM THE EDITORS

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Department of African Languages and Cultures
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ARTICLES

Isa Yusuf Chamo

Bayero University, Kano

The use of address forms among faculty academic staff of Bayero University, Kano

Abstract

This paper investigates the use of address forms among the academic staff of the Faculty of Arts and Islamic Studies at the Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria. The aim is to find out whether there is variation in the use of the terms between the members of academic staff of the Faculty which has six Departments (Arabic, English, History, Islamic Studies and Sharia, Nigerian Languages, Linguistics and Foreign Languages). An ethnography research method and the Variationist Sociolinguistics Theory are used to collect and analyze the data. Following the findings, three address forms are presented in more detail, namely titles, nicknames, and kinship terms. Special attention is put to the title *Malam*, which originally referred to a teacher or a person versed in Islamic knowledge, but nowadays is used more commonly than any other type of address forms. The research shows that age, gender, social status, degree of intimacy, and context of communication determine the use of the address forms among academic staff. The findings reveal that the staff members of the Faculty favor traditional address terms which are used in Hausa society rather than the terms corresponding to their professional rank. In addition, these address forms are culture specific and the dominant culture is Hausa.

Keywords: address form, title, nickname, kinship term, Hausa, Bayero University, Kano

1. Introduction

Address forms or terms of address are linguistic forms used in addressing others to attract their attention or to refer to them in the course of a conversation. Address forms are a social phenomenon. They are significant for effective and successful communication and have long been considered a very salient indicator of the status of relationships. Because of a series of social factors, address forms vary in different situations (Yang 2010). Learning how people address one another in a certain language is an important issue in studying communication and hence establishing social relationships between individuals. Linguistic scholars consider the study of address terms a fruitful field for sociolinguistics due to the fact that it shows how interpersonal relationships can be socially and strategically constructed (Fitch 1991, Morford 1997).

Scholars define the address forms based on the theoretical background they adopt and the direction of research they conduct, but their definitions are similar. For instance Fitch (1991: 255) states that "Personal address terms are a ubiquitous feature that reflects a universal communicative activity: speakers addressing and referring to each other". Oyetade (1995: 515) asserts that "address forms are words or expressions used to designate the person being talked to while talk is in progress". Keevallik (1999: 125) writes that "address forms are a sensitive means of expressing social relations between interlocutors". Carl (2000: 12) defines address forms as "a communicative activity in which speakers address or refer to each other". Afful (2006a) maintains that "terms of address constitute an important part of verbal behavior through which the behavior, norms and practices of a society can be identified".

Sociolinguists generally agree that the usage of address terms is governed by the rules stating which forms are used in which circumstances. Parkinson (1985: 225) emphasizes that "Knowledge of the proper use of terms of address [and reference] is (…) as important to the overall success of communication as knowledge of the conjugation of verbs would be". This paper investigates the use of address forms among the academic staff of the Faculty of Arts and Islamic Studies at the Bayero University, Kano, i.e. the way individual speakers or groups of speakers use the repertory of the address variants available to them. The University setting is multilingual. It comprises people from different ethnic groups in Nigeria and beyond. Also people at the Faculty are of great cultural diversity. The paper's main hypothesis is that social position, intimacy, age and gender determine the form of address used by academic staff in the Faculty. It is also examined to what extent the main sociolinguistic assumption of the address

theory (which holds that the address terms used vary according to speakers and addressee's social characteristics – age, class, gender, religion, and relationship) can be applied to the academic staff of the Faculty.

The study assumes that how well one knows someone, i.e. intimacy/distance towards that person, is crucial in determining one's linguistic choices. The choice of the first name to address someone indicates intimacy, whereas the choice of titles and other address forms shows that the addressee is different from the speaker in terms of age, social status, and occupational rank, etc. or that the relationship between them is not intimate enough for them to be on first names terms. As Holmes (1992: 247) stated, "many factors may contribute to determining the degree of social distance or intimacy between people – relative age, sex, social roles, whether people work together, or are members of the same family and so on".

In the area of studies on the choice and use of forms of address a new form of research has been developed during the last thirty years or so, aiming at the discovery of underlying rules governing address usage in a wide variety of languages (see e.g. Brown & Gilman 1960 work on the theory of power and solidarity that focus on the description of interlocutors' identities exclusively in terms of the conventional demographic variables, such as age, sex, social class, etc.).

The majority of the above mentioned linguistic, socio-linguistic, and other studies, reported in the literature on the address systems in different languages and cultures, have been concerned with the Anglo-American, Euro-Asian, African, Middle East, and Latin American contexts, yet relatively few of them concerned academic speaking communities. Among these few is a study by McIntire (1972) who examined the terms used by students when addressing faculty members of a Social Sciences Department at the West Coast University. Since then, several other studies have been conducted across the globe that show variation in the use of address forms among different societies.

For instance Kiesling (1998) examined 'Dude', a solidarity term used as an identity marker among white American male students in a fraternity. Wong and Leung (2004) studied the address forms used by the students in Hong Kong. The study revealed that, although addressing each other in Chinese is more common nowadays than in the past, students' choice of English address terms reflects an identity predicated on their field of study, the culture of secondary school, and the peer pressure. Li (1997) conducted a similar research among another set of Hong Kong students and obtained similar findings. Anwar (1997) studied the usage of address forms among Malay undergraduate students and found out

that the usage shows the students' Islamic identity. In addition, the studies by Crozier and Dimmock (1999), De Klerk and Bosch (1997, 1999), and Dornyo (2010) on students' naming practices highlighted the use of nicknames as a key form of address used among the students. In particular, De Klerk and Bosch (1999) associated nickname formation with linguistic creativity and verbal playfulness. This view of nicknames is also partially given expression in the work of Dornyo (2010) and Afful (2006b). In addition, Afful (2006a, 2006b, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, Mwinlaaru 2012) studied the address terms usage among the university students in Africa with a particular focus on Ghana. Mwinlaaru (2012) explored the usage of address terms among the Ghanaian students at a public university from various perspectives. The studies focused on the range of forms of address terms, the influence of social variables such as age and gender, the influence of formality, and the construction of multiple identities. Salami (2006) examined the relationship between the use of six selected English taboo words by Nigerian university students and their attitudes towards these words on the one hand, and gender and religion on the other. The study revealed that the gender of a speaker, but not their religion, is important with respect to the use of and attitudes towards the English taboo words. Afful (2007a, 2007b, 2007c) studied the address forms and their variation among the university students in Ghana. The research revealed that students used three key naming practices on campus. Also, the research showed that besides the academic setting, socio-cultural factors, such as gender, mood, domain, purpose of discourse, presence or absence of a third person (usually a lecturer), and the relationship of a participant, influence the use of varied address forms for an addressee.

Therefore, scholars conducted several studies on the address and reference terms usage in the academic institutions. Notable among them include Murphy (1988), who examined the reference terms used by the undergraduate university students in Brown University for faculty and college students. The research revealed that the speaker's choice of reference terms is significant, but is in varying degrees influenced by such factors as speaker–referent relationship, addressee–referent relationship, and the presence of bystanders. The research also discovered that a speaker would often shift from his/her original choice of reference term to adopt a term used by his addressee. Dickey (1997) studied the disjuncture between address forms and reference terms used to an interlocutor in both academic and familial interactions. The research revealed that the students use nicknames, first name (FN) and last name (LN) in informal contexts, while a title plus last name (TLN) in relatively formal contexts. Mwinlaaru (2012) studied students' use of address and reference terms in a University of Cape Coast (UCC)

in Ghana. The research showed that students use three principal forms of address, namely: titles, kinship terms, and nicknames for faculty members. Also, students employ three reference terms, namely titles, personal names, and nicknames. In addition, the choice of reference and address terms by students is influenced by the context of situation and, in varying degrees of salience, the socio-pragmatic variables of gender, age, and status. Moreover, address forms and reference terms used to addres the faculty members do not only serve as symbols of power and resistance to power, but are also used to co-construct individual and social identities.

The above literature sheds light on the previous works conducted in the academic settings and contributes to an understanding of the various settings and factors that influence verbal behavior. It vividly shows that, based on the literature reviewed, no work is conducted on the use of address forms among academic staff of any Nigerian University. This justifies the need of conducting this research.

2. Methodology

An ethnographic research method was adopted for this study. The ethnographic focal point may include intensive language and culture learning, intensive study of a single field or domain, and a blend of historical, observational and interview methods. Typical ethnographic research employs three kinds of data collection: interviews, observation and documents. This, in turn, produced three kinds of data: quotations, descriptions, and the excerpts of documents resulting in one product: narrative description. This narrative often includes charts, diagrams and additional artefacts that help to tell "the story" (Hammersley 1990). "When used as a method, ethnography typically refers to fieldwork (alternatively, participant-observation) conducted by a single investigator who 'lives with and lives like' those who are studied, usually for a year or more" (Maanen 1996). This method has the potential of enabling the complex layers of the cultural practices of a group of people to be observed and recorded. With the ethnographic approach, we can also source data through the use of multiple data collection techniques and benefit from paying attention to "the localized, microscopic, particular, context-bound features of given settings and cultures" (Baxter 2003: 85).

2.1. Research site

The research site for this study was Faculty of Arts and Islamic Studies (FAIS) at the Bayero University, Kano (BUK). The University was established in October 1960 as Abdullahi Bayero College (ABC), a section of the School of Arabic Studies

(SAS) with the primary objectives of preparing Secondary School Certificate holders for the General Certificate of Education (GCE) and Advanced Examination in Arabic, Islamic History, Islamic Studies, Hausa and English Literature. When Ahmadu Bello University (ABU), Zaria came into existence in October 1960, the name of the College was changed to Abdullahi Bayero College. The College was affiliated to ABU in 1964 and its post-secondary programmes became preliminary courses through which students were prepared for admission into the new University for degree programmes. As a consequence, the College became the Faculty of Arts and Islamic Studies of ABU and enrolled its first set of 10 students for degree programmes. The College became a semi-autonomous University College of ABU and was named Bayero University College in 1975. At that time, it had four faculties, namely Arts and Islamic Studies, Education, Science, and Social Sciences. The College attained full-fledged University Status on 1st October, 1977, when it was renamed Bayero University, Kano.

Today, BUK is structured into eighteen faculties, a College, four schools and over 10 research centres. The eighteen faculties have over 70 Departments, running over 70 undergraduate degree programmes and 122 postgraduate programmes. All the programmes are spread at two main locations: New Site and Old Site. BUK has a population of over 40, 000 regular students drawn from every part of the country, including international students. The students can further be classified into two groups: Undergraduates and Postgraduates. Also, BUK is an English-medium university, given the country's historical ties with Britain. Students and lecturers communicate in English in formal contexts and use Nigerian languages, Hausa in particular, and Pidgin English in informal contexts.

Faculty of Arts and Islamic Studies is the mother of all the faculties of Bayero University, Kano. It started as the Faculty of Arabic and Islamic Studies with two departments in 1960 and had eight departments in 2015. The number of departments dropped to six in 2016 due to the merger of the Department of Foreign Languages with Linguistics and the transfer of the Department of Theatre and Performing Arts to the newly created Faculty of Communication. Now the six departments are: Arabic, English and Literary Studies, History, Islamic Studies and Shari'a, Linguistics and Foreign Languages, and Nigerian Languages. Currently, the Faculty has a student population of 4080 out of which 2880 are males and 1200 females. This number includes both postgraduate and undergraduate students. In addition, the Faculty has 167 academic staff of various ranks that have been teaching, supervising and mentoring the students (Aliyu 2017).

FAIS was chosen for this study because I find it convenient and easily accessible. Indeed, given that I have been a member of the Faculty for years, I am more familiar with its physical environment and social setting than any other faculty in the University. The academic staff were chosen because of the researcher's familiarity with them and to narrow the scope in order to deeply investigate their verbal behaviour.

2.2. Data collection procedure

A triangulated approach, comprising observation, a semi-structured interview, and introspection, was employed in collecting the data for this study. This combined research design was intended to enhance the reliability and validity of the data. The observation comprised both participant and non-participant observation conducted from December 2015 at various settings of the Departments activities within the Faculty. A deliberate attempt was made to vary the category of participants observed in terms of age, gender, department, and status. The purpose of this variation was to secure a holistic picture of the use of address terms among the Faculty members. A total of 90 dyadic encounters were observed and jotted.

The data derived from the observation were then analysed and the initial findings became the basis for the semi-structured interview, which involved 30 staff, 20 males and 10 females. The interview was meant to be a follow-up to the observation and its purpose was to clarify some issues in the observation data and double check regular patterns that emerged from the observation data. Interviewees were asked to give the address terms they used and the reasons why they used them. The interview guide was very flexible, consisting of a list of topical issues derived from the observation data, so that many of the questions that interviewees were asked emerged from the interaction in the form of follow-up and probing questions. Much of the interview data were jotted. The observation and interview data were supported by the informal discussions and conversations I had with faculty members at offices, outside the offices and on phone. Finally, regarding introspection, the data were supported by my intuitive knowledge of the use of address terms as a member of the Faculty, who had participated in these discursive practices both as student and lecturer.

3. Theory used

The research used the variationist theory as its theoretical framework. It was pioneered in the 1960s by William Labov, who adopted it to investigating the

relationship between language and society and developed a field that has come to be known as "variationist sociolinguistics". A central doctrine of this field holds that variation is inherent to linguistic structure. The way a language is spoken (and written) differs across individuals as well as across the situations encountered by the same individual. Labov (1969) argued that such differences are not only normal but also necessary to a language's functioning. Labov's research demonstrate that linguistic variation is pervasive and highly structured, revealing regular patterns of co-occurrence between language forms, such as the pronunciation of a particular vowel, and social categories, such as socioeconomic classes. Such insights are the result of studying language from a socially realistic perspective that takes into account how a diverse range of speakers uses the language in everyday situations. The central ideas of variationist sociolinguistics are that an understanding of language requires an understanding of variable as well as categorical processes and that the variation witnessed at all the levels of language is not random. Rather, linguistic variation is characterized by orderly or "structured heterogeneity" (Labov 1969: 759).

Contrary to many theories in linguistics which seek for categorical rules to explain the underlying principles in language, the variationist approach claims that language varies systematically in accordance with the social characteristics of the speakers. The very basic question which arises here is that, if language use varies from one situation to another, how can it be described and more importantly explained as a systematic apparatus? The theory was advanced in the work of Trudgill (2002), Eckert (2000), Zhang (2005), and Brown (2006), among others.

4. Address forms used in the Faculty

The data reveal three major address forms that academic staff use in the Faculty. These include titles (occupation related titles and religion related titles), nicknames, and kinship terms. Each type is discussed below.

4.1. Titles

According to the data, the staff of the Faculty of Arts and Islamic Studies used two common titles to address one another. These are occupation- and religion-related titles.

4.1.1. Occupation-related address forms

Parkinson (1985: 119) defined the occupation- or work-related term of address as the one that a person receives or earns because of the academic degree they

hold or because of the occupation they are engaged in. This type of address form is commonly used among Faculty academic staff members. The prominent among the title categories is the academic title. This is because the research is conducted in an academic institution. With respect to how it is used as an address term, the data showed that one can address his/her recipient by:

i. Academic title only, e.g. *Doctor*, *Professor*
ii. General and Referential forms, *Sir* and *Madam*
iii. Administrative term, e.g. *HOD* (Head of Department), *Dean*

Staff of the Faculty of Arts and Islamic Studies use academic titles to address one another. The use of *Doctor* or *Professor* indicates hierarchy. However, there is variation on how the terms are used among the staff. A staff of a department plays a vital role in the use of the terms. For example, the staff of the Department of English and Literary Studies used the *Professor* and *Doctor* titles more often to address one another irrespective of one's position and gender. The department staff used both Hausa and English in their conversation. This is demonstrated below:

1. Junior Staff: *Professor* ìnáa kwáanáa?
   'Good morning, Professor.'
   Professor: *Morning*.

The above was an exchange between a junior staff of the Department and a Professor in the morning when the staff went to the Professor's office. Another example is an encounter between a female staff and a Professor at the Head of Department's office when they were having an informal chat.

2. Professor: *Doctor* kín gá dâa dúk dà múu ákèe yîn wánnàn àbîn, àmmáa yànzú bà mù sán ánàa yî báa.
   'Doctor, we were part of these activities in the past but we do not know what is happening now.'
   Junior Staff replied: Ái án húutár dà kúu nèe, *Prof.*
   'Well, you were relieved, Professor.'

Moreover, in an interaction between a staff with a PhD and a PhD candidate during a proposal defense, the non-PhD holder used the academic title as follows:

3. Student: *Doctor,* I will come and meet you in your office.
   Junior Staff: Okay.

The practice is also adopted by the staff of the Departments of Islamic Studies and Sharia where they mostly address one another with academic titles irrespective of one's status or age. But it is not common in the Departments of Nigerian Languages, Linguistics and Foreign Languages, Arabic, and History,

where a junior colleague uses the term to address his senior colleague, contrary the other two Departments, because of the maintenance of hierarchical structure in these departments. But senior members of the Faculty address themselves with *Professor,* unlike *Doctor,* where it is commonly used by both colleagues. For example, a non-PhD holder can address his colleague with *Doctor* or its short form, *Doc*, depending on intimacy and age. However, it is not common in the Faculty to address a senior PhD holder, who was a teacher to some of the junior colleagues, with *Doctor.* Instead, they use *Malam* or *Sir*. In most situations, he can only be addressed with Doctor title by his peer group who are Professors.

In addition, a combination of an academic title and first name, e.g, *Doctor* Usman, *Professor* Aliyu, or academic title and place name, e.g *Doctor* Giwa, *Professor* Azare, or academic title and family name, e.g. *Doctor* Almajir, *Professor* Makari are frequently used by Faculty members, especially within a peer group or among those who are intimate with each other, or by a senior colleague when addressing a junior colleague irrespective of one's gender. In general, professors and doctors use the terms or their short forms *Doc* and *Prof* to address themselves in the Faculty, depending on the context, age, status, and degree of intimacy. These academic titles are degree more familiar and less deferential than *Sir* and *Madam*.

However, the data revealed that the majority of the senior colleagues in the Faculty do not bother to be addressed with titles *Professor* or *Doctor*. The case is different with newly promoted professors and the new PhD holders who value the titles and want to be addressed with them for recognition.

Consequently, the general and referential forms *Sir* and *Madam* are used by academic staff Faculty members. But the researcher observed some differences in the usage. For example, the staff of the Department of History used *Sir* to address members of the Department more than other Departments in the Faculty. This is presented below:

4. Junior Staff: *Sir,* Bárkà dà yâmmáa.
   'Good afternoon, Sir.'
   Professor: *Doctor,* kánàa nán kùwáa?
   'It has been a long time, *Doctor.*'

This is a conversation between a professor and a doctor in the Department of History when they met at the departmental corridor. But female academic staff in the Department do not use the term frequently when compared with their male counterparts to address senior colleagues. Rather, they use *Professor*. This practice is not frequent in the other departments of the Faculty. In addition, female Professors are not frequently addressed with *Madam* by their junior

colleagues but *Professor* instead. In most cases *Madam* is applied to female professors by their colleagues, senior colleagues or those that are intimate with each other in the Faculty, as presented below:

5. Professor: *Madam* are you clear, *ko*?[1]
   Junior Staff: Yes.

The above was an encounter between a senior professor and a female *Doctor* during a Faculty meeting. The professor asked her whether she was cleared of what he had reported or explained at the meeting. Also below is an exchange between a male lecturer and a female lecturer when they met at the Faculty car park:

6. Professor: You are welcome, *Madam.*
   Junior Staff: Thank you, *Professor.*

The use of *Madam* also applies to female staff that are not from northern Nigeria, as exemplified below:

7. Professor: *Madam,* where have you been?
   Junior Staff: I'm around, *Sir.*

The above exchange is between a professor and a PhD holder at one of the Departments of the Faculty when they met in the afternoon. Also, *Madam* is used to address a female staff in the Faculty whose status is not known in terms of academic qualification, as demonstrated below:

8. Professor: Good afternoon, *Sir.*
   Junior Staff: You are welcome, *Madam.*

It was an interaction between a Professor and a female staff not well familiar to the Professor when she went to his office to make some enquiries.

However, the use of *Sir* marks a high degree of deference to Faculty and is thus chosen to enact the traditional student-teacher relationship. This corroborates with the findings of the power-oriented studies on address forms (e.g. Brown & Gilman 1960) and the recent studies on the use of address terms in an academic setting (Afful 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, Mwinlaaru 2012).

Therefore, the academic staff of the Faculty use administrative terms to address principal officers of the faculty, such as Dean, Deputy Dean, Sub-Dean and Heads of Departments to show their allegiance to the holders of the offices. This is shown in the data below:

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[1] *ko* [i.e. *kóo*] – a Hausa question marker.

9. Junior Staff: *Dean,* I think that we should contact C.I.T for clarification.
   Professor: Okay, *Deputy Dean*. Are you available tomorrow? So that we can go round.

It was an interaction between a Head of Department during a Faculty meeting, where the HOD suggested that the Dean should contact the Director of the Centre for Information Technology for clarification with regard to the first semester results upload. The Dean sought for his deputy's consent to go and meet the C.I.T. director. In addition, the dean in most cases addressed the Faculty Heads of Department with HOD titles during an official meeting, as presented below:

10. Professor: *HOD* Nigerian Languages, do you have an update?
    Junior Staff: Yes, *Sir*.

In addition, the data showed that most of the Heads of Department of the Faculty are addressed with *HOD* titles irrespective of gender. But in a situation where the *HOD* is a senior colleague, he is mostly addressed with the title by his peer group, and not by his junior colleagues who could be his students. Moreover, during an official engagement like Faculty or Departmental Board meetings, it was observed that the *Dean* or the *HOD* was either addressed as *Chairman* or *Sir* in most situations.

4.1.2. Religion-related address forms

Religious orientation has left a special impact on the address terms in the university settings, particularly in northern Nigeria. One particular way of address is *Máalàm*. *Máalàm* (pl. *màalàmái*) is a Hausa term derived from the Arabic, *mu'allim* 'teacher', formerly used to designate a man versed in the Arabic language and Islamic Sciences to whatever extent. The tasks of a *máalàm* are many and various, and include any or all of the following: preparing talismans (Hausa: *háatìmíi* from the Arabic *ḫātam*), dispensing medical cures, both herbal and Qur'ānic, advising on propitious days, slaughtering animals at circumcision, naming and other ceremonies, officiating at marriages, offering prayers on behalf of patrons etc. (Hunwick 2012).

The term *Máalàm* is highly respected among the Muslim Hausa. In fact, some professors want to be addressed with the term rather than *Professor* because in Hausa culture *Máalàm* is mightier than the professor. But later, even among the Hausa, the term has been used when addressing any gentle and responsible person as a form of politeness or title not only to those that are versed in Islamic knowledge (Chamo 2016). *Máalàm* is used in the Faculty to address both senior and junior colleagues. But as with other titles, there are some distinctions in its usage within the staff of the Faculty. Some Departments use the term more often

than others. For instance, staff of the Department of Nigerian Languages use the term to address senior colleagues and vice versa, because of the existence of high hierarchical structure. It is also non-gender bound because both males and females use the terms *máalàm* for a male teacher and *máalàmáa* for a female teacher. This is indicated below:

11. Junior Staff: *Máalàm,* bárkà dà zúwàa.
'You are welcome, teacher.'
Professor: Yâuwáa, *Máalàm* Núurà.
'Thank you, teacher Mr. Núurà.'

12. Professor: *Máalàmáa* Hàlíimà táa shígóo kùwáa?
'Has teacher Hàlíimà come?'
Junior Staff: Áa'à *Máalàm,* bàrí à dúubà.
'Well teacher, let me find out.'

13. Professor: *Máalàmáa* Bíntà, ìnáa kwáanáa?
'Good morning, teacher Bíntà.'
Doctor: Kwáanáa bíyú, *Máalàmáa* Bíntà.
'It has been quite a long time since we met last, teacher Bíntà.'

The examples 11-13 were sourced from the Department of Nigerian Languages. In example 11 a lecturer welcomed a professor in the morning when he came to the Department. He addressed him with *Máalàm* and the professor replied him with *Máalàm*, too. In example 12 a professor asked a female lecturer whether her colleague was around and addressed her as *Máalàmáa* to which she replied with *Máalàm*. The example 13 is an exchange between the female lecturers with PhD who used *Máalàmáa* instead of *Doctor* in the exchange.

The term was frequently used in the Faculty but it was more pronounced in the Department of Nigerian Languages and Arabic than in the other departments. It was mostly used in the Department of Nigerian Languages followed by Arabic, Linguistics and Foreign Languages, Islamic Studies and Sharia, History, and English and Literary Studies. Other religion-related titles like *Àlhájìi* (a male who performed pilgrimage at Mecca) and *Hájìyáa* (a female who performed pilgrimage at Mecca) are not commonly used among academic staff in the Faculty. However, the use of the term in the Faculty is determined by context, intimacy, distance and age. Even most of the Faculty academic staff, irrespective of their department, use the term to address or to show respect to someone. The more one uses the term the more polite he/she is. The use of such titles in an academic community may be attributed to the fact that some of the staff of the Faculty have a strong reverence for religion and tradition.

4.2. Nicknames

A nickname is a familiar invented given name for a person or thing, used instead of the actual name of the person or the thing. According to De Klerk & Bosch (1997) nicknames are relatively impermanent, informal names. A nickname is coined for a bearer to serve a specific purpose and to signal the level of formality that a speaker and a hearer share. It is not meant to be permanent nor universally known, although in some cases nicknames end up being more well-known than real names. The speaker coined and used it to express a positive attitude towards the bearer. In addition, Gladkova (2002) pointed out that the usage of nicknames implied a positive emotional attitude towards the speaker. This positive emotional attitude can be expressed through the use of a nickname that shows affection or endearment (Crozier 2002). Because of their positive communicative intent, positive nicknames are usually used to reflect solidarity power relations between the speaker and the bearer. They are therefore used among people who know each other, such as close friends, relatives and even close colleagues (De Klerk & Bosch 1997). Their usage is indicative of a need to express warmth and affection towards the bearer and to supply a common ground for communicators or in some cases, to create a sense of belonging between the user and the bearer (Sobane 2009).

However, the staff of the Faculty of Arts and Islamic Studies use nicknames to address one another. But they use the positive one in order to show affection, endearment or a common ground between them. The common nicknames used in the Faculty are place names to address a staff. Faculty staff that have place or family names as part of their names are usually addressed with either place or family names. For example:

Jìbrìl Hámmàn *Yóolà*
Mùhámmàd Hárúunà *Hádéejà*
Sàlìm Sáamínù *Màdàabó*
Àadàmú Ísá *Báabùrá*
Ìsmaáa'íilà Àbúubákàr *Tsíigà*
Sáaní Múusá *Àyàagí*
Ìbráahìm Gárbà *Sàtàtíimà*
Háafízù Míikó *Yáakàasái*
Láwàn Dánláadì *Yàlwá*
Sà'íidù Mùhámmàd *Gùsáu*
Ùsmàn Ùsáinì *Fággé*

The above mentioned staff of the Faculty are mostly addressed with their last name, which indicates their place of residence, be it city, town, village or quarter.

It is observed that female academic staff are not usually addressed with place names instead of their names or titles. For example, Maryam Mansur *Yóolà* is not addressed with *Yóolà* or *Yóolà* plus a title, *Dr. Yóolà*. Female academic staff that have place names as part of their names are normally addressed with their first names or a title plus first name. Academic staff is also addressed with their family name being part of their name. For example, the following staff are usually addressed with their last names which are their family names:

Hàlíimà Àbdùlkáadìr *Ɗángàmbó*
Mùhámmàd *Màikìyáarì*
Mùhámmàd Áhmàd *Mákárí*
Tìjjáaní Shéehù *Àlmáajìr*
Bàshìr Mùhámmàd *Sámbò*
Tìjjáaní Mùhámmàd *Náaníyà*

The above staff are mostly addressed with their last name by their colleagues or senior colleagues in the Faculty. Junior colleagues do not usually address their senior colleagues with the term irrespective of gender, unless they combine it with either title or first name, e.g. Doctor Halima, Doctor *Àlmáajìr*, Professor *Sámbò,* etc. It is noted that, like place names, family names alone are also not used in the Faculty to address a female staff, for example, Úmmùlkáir Àmíinù *Ɗántàatá*, to be addressed as *Ɗántàatá* or Hàlíimà Àbdùl*ƙ*áadìr *Ɗángàmbó* to be addressed as *Ɗángàmbó* alone. However, the degree of intimacy between communicators plays a major role when chosing a term to address a person in the Faculty.

4.3. Kinship terms

The third linguistic feature the academic staff of the Faculty employ in addressing colleagues is kinship terms. Presumably, these terms are commonly used to mark biological relationships. So, their use by Faculty academic staff assumes intimacy between them.

The most common kinship terms used is *Bàabá,* which means *Father* for male staff. This address form is often used as a term of endearment, as the exchange below shows:

14. Junior Staff: *Bàabá,* zân káawó áikìináa gòobée.
    'I will bring my article tomorrow Dr.'

The above interaction took place between a senior staff and his junior colleague, who was his former student. He informed his senior colleague that he would submit his corrected article to him the next day. There is a staff in the Faculty whose name is *Bàabá* (he got the name from his family members as practiced in the Hausa society; according to this tradition, anyone that is named after his

grandfather is called *Bàabá*, in order to avoid mentioning the name of the head of the family). So, he was addressed by the Faculty members irrespective of age, gender, status or intimacy with the term, which is very common among the Faculty academic staff. But the usage in another context indicates relationship and intimacy, as shown below:

15. Junior Staff: *Bàabá*, káa mântáa bà kà rúfè mótàrká báa.
'Professor, you have forgotten to lock your car.'

The above example demonstrates an interaction between a daughter and her father, who are both staff of the Faculty. The daughter was informing the father that he forgot to lock his car. It is noted that kinship terms are not used to address female academic staff in the Faculty but are used by both males and females to address a male academic staff. In general, this is the least used term among the academic staff of the Faculty.

The research discovered that the staff of the Faculty use three forms of address to address one another in formal and non-formal interactions. These include titles (occupation- and religion-related titles), nicknames, and kinship terms. It is also discovered that there is variation with regard to the use of the terms among academic staff depending of their Departments. Staff of the Departments of English and Literary Studies and Islamic Studies and Sharia mark hierarchy in their usage of the terms, while History Department staff usage indicates power, as a teacher-student relation. Also staff of Nigerian Languages, Arabic, and Linguistics and Foreign Languages Departments normally use traditional address terms, as is commonly accepted in the Hausa society, instead of professional terms. In addition, the research reveals that title is the main address form used by Faculty members to address one another, in particular *Máalàm*, followed by nicknames and kinship terms. Deans and Heads of Department are addressed with their administrative terms by their age-mates and senior colleagues, while *Máalàm* and *Sir* are used to address them by their junior colleagues.

5. Conclusion

The findings of the research reveal that the use of address forms in the Faculty of Arts and Islamic Studies reflects the way address forms are used in the Hausa. In addition, address forms are culture specific and that dominant culture usually prevails in academic and non-academic settings. The research clearly shows the influence of Hausa culture on the use of address forms in the Faculty, particularly when it comes to politeness, respect and honor. Other tribes of the Faculty are influenced by the Hausa culture and they are integrated in the

dominant culture. The findings are in line with the results of the previous studies conducted in different settings in Africa and beyond, e.g. by Afful (2006a, 2006b, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c), Arua and Alimi (2009), Dornyo (2010), Mwinlaaru (2012).

The findings show that there is no much gender variation among the Faculty staff with respect to the use of the address terms. Social variables, such as gender, age, social status, degree of intimacy, and context of communication, determine the use of address forms among the academic staff of the Faculty of Arts and Islamic Studies at the Bayero University, Kano. Its academic society uses the titles in a non-conventional manner. The professional titles are not always used to mark the professional hierarchy, but rather to mark politeness or respect. Nicknames and kinship term are also used to stress the social relationships in both formal and non-formal contacts rather than other types of relations. On the other hand, the term *Máalàm* is a universal term which unifies the Hausa society.

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Magreth J. Kibiki
Dar es Salaam University
Dar es Salaam University College of Education (DUCE)

The pragmatic functions of the marker *sawa* in spoken Swahili[1]

Abstract

This study examines the pragmatic functions of the marker *sawa* in spoken Swahili. The data have been obtained from informal conversations made by Swahili speakers in informal social settings. These settings include "vijiwe vya kahawa" (setting of informal conversations created around people drinking coffee) and "vijiwe vya mamantilie" (setting of informal conversations created around women preparing and selling food on the streets). The analysis of the data, performed within the framework of the contextualization theory (Gumperz 1982), shows that, apart from its basic connotation of *agreement*, the marker *sawa* conveys other meanings, depending on these very contexts of communication, and therefore acquires also various pragmatic functions. The pragmatic functions identified in this work include: *to show that the speaker agrees with what has been said but on a condition* (I agree, but…), as a *receipt marker*, as *a tag-positioned-comprehension check*, as *an answer to the question showing that the speaker has understood what has been said* (Yes, I understand)*,* as *a continuer*, as *a negative releasing marker*, and as *a gap filler.* Interestingly, the study shows also that intonation and other paralinguistic features (like gestures) play a role in determining the pragmatic functions of this marker. The article concludes that the pragmatic markers in spoken Swahili are rich in meanings and are used to show speakers' attitudes and emotions, therefore manifesting a deep and meaningful interconnection between the language and its contextualized experience.

Keywords: pragmatic markers, spoken Swahili, contextualization theory

[1] This study is part of my PhD research entitled *The Analysis of functions of pragmatic markers in spoken Swahili* that is still in progress.

1. Introduction

Recently, studies on spoken language in real life contexts increased substantially. As a result, some of the features previously considered "empty", "superfluous" and "redundant", are now regarded as crucial aspects of interpersonal communication (Alami 2016: 250). These aspects include what we call Pragmatic Markers (PMs). PMs are linguistically encoded clues which signal the speaker's potential communicative intentions (Fraser 1996: 168). They provide information for interlocutors how to interpret the relation between the current utterance and the previous utterance, or the other way around. PMs have one core meaning which is procedural rather than conceptual, although their specific meanings can vary depending on the context (thus becoming pragmatic meanings) (Nasir 2017: 15). Since the invention of the PMs by Schiffrin (1987), who worked on discourse markers in English, research efforts have expanded and PMs have been researched across languages, such as English (Beach 1995, Guthrie 1997), German (Barske 2009), Dutch (Hoek 2013), Modern Greek (Archakis 2001), Chinese (Chen & He 2001), Italian (Banzanella 1990), Spanish (Durán & Unamuno 2001), Turkish (Yilmaz 2004), and Indonesian (Nasir 2017), to mention but a few. PMs have been explored within a large number of frameworks reflecting a variety of research interests, methods and goals (Schourup 1999). Despite more general acknowledgement that PMs serve a purpose within utterances, the definition of PMs itself is disputed among researchers. Even the term PMs is not completely uniform. They have been studied by different researchers under different labels, like, for instance, pragmatic markers (Brinton 1996; Fraser 1996), discourse markers (Schiffrin 1987), discourse connectives (Blakemore 1989), discourse operators (Redeker 1991), discourse particles (Abraham 1991), pragmatic particles (Ostman 1983), and pragmatic expressions (Erman 1987). The various terms used to name these features are illustrative of the diversity of functions PMs perform (Alami 2015). In this study I will refer to *sawa* as a marker; a general term to cover both lexical-semantic and pragmatic functions.

Scholars also argue on how PMs work in language. O'Neal (2013) for example argues that PMs are polysemous, that is to say they manifest different meanings in different contexts. According to Yang *et al*. (2006) intonation, pitch and duration can differentiate the intended meaning of the speaker. On the other hand Barske (2009) explains that embodied actions such as eye gaze, hand movements or facial expressions are important clues that help to understand the meaning of PMs. Therefore PMs have some unique linguistic characteristics in conveying meanings which need to be investigated taking into consideration not only the spoken language but also and importantly its unique communicative

experience. The current study examines the pragmatic functions of the marker *sawa* in spoken Swahili. The marker *sawa* is equivalent to *okay, yes*, *well* and *like* in English. In this paper we will make reference on the PM *okay*[2] because it is more equivalent to *sawa* in Swahili.

PM *okay* has been researched more in English (cf. Schegloff & Sacks 1973, Guthrie 1997, Kovarsky 1989, Condon 2001, Schleef 2008, Gaines 2011) to name but a few. Outside the corpus of research on *okay* in English, only few scholars examine other language contexts, such as American English (Levin & Gray 1983), Canadian French (Heisler 1996), Nigerian English (Adegbija & Bello 2001), Israeli Hebrew (Maschler 2005), German (Barske 2009), Taiwan Mandarin (Wang *et al*. 2010) and Arabic (Azi 2018). The differences in meaning of the PM *okay* in two different varieties of English, as noted by Adegbija and Bello (2001), help us to understand that despite the similarity, the meanings of the PM *okay* are specific to specific language.

While *okay* is receiving growing consideration in literature, however, there has been little effort to investigate PMs in the Swahili language. Few studies have been done in spoken Swahili. The examples are the works by Habwe (1999) and Susan (1999). Since it was not their aim to investigate the marker *sawa*, we lack some useful information on how *sawa* is used in natural conversations. We only get few meanings from Swahili dictionaries like those of BAKIZA (2010), TUKI (2012), Gicharu (2015), BAKITA (2017), and Wamitila (2018). These include its use in showing *correspondence*, *agreement* and *correctness*. Therefore, this paper aims to present a systematic interactional use of this marker in natural settings. The marker *sawa* has been chosen because the results of a pilot study showed that *sawa* is frequently used by Swahili speakers in different conversational contexts and hence it performs various pragmatic functions. The study investigates the pragmatic functions of the marker *sawa* in spoken Swahili. The spoken language was chosen because language is designed for communication, so there are some important cues in conveying meaning that can be found in spoken language and not in written language. Also, spoken language is rich in PMs compared to written language (Stede & Schmitz 2000: 125, Fung & Carter 2007: 410).

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[2] It is important to acknowledge that different authors use various spellings of *okay*. For instance Schegloff and Sacks (1973) spell this PM as 'O.K', Condon (1986) uses the spelling 'OK', Adegbija and Bello (2001) use both 'Okay' and 'OK', Barske (2009) uses 'ok' and others prefer 'okay' (e.g. Beach 1995, Guthrie 1997). All four spellings refer to the same phenomenon. I chose to use 'okay' when quoting directly from the research carried out by other authors because this spelling has been used most frequently.

2. Theoretical and methodological background

This research adopted the contextualization theory, as intended by Gumperz in his *Discourse Strategies* (1982). The theory deals with natural language or natural interaction. Gumperz argues that any utterance can be understood in numerous ways, and that people make decisions about how to interpret a given utterance based on their definition of what is happening at the time of interaction. He insists on how utterances are anchored in contexts, contexts which in turn make the interpretation of these utterances possible. Aspects of a context may be the larger activity participants are engaged in (the speech genre), the small-scale activity (or speech act), the mood (or key) in which this activity is performed, the topic, but also the participants role (the participant constellation, comprising "speaker", "recipient", "by-stander", etc), the social relationship between participants, the relationship between a speaker and the information he/she conveys via language (modality), even the status of focused interaction itself. A context, therefore, is not just given in such an interaction, but is the outcome of participants' joint effort to make it available. It is about what is relevant for the interaction at any given point of time. A context can be revised, i.e. assumptions can be removed or added to it.

According to Gumperz, language is considered as an activity, emphasizing that although we are dealing with structured ordering of message elements that represents the speakers' expectations about what will happen next, it is not a static structure, rather it reflects a dynamic process which develops and changes as the participants interact. Therefore, meaning is also assessed as the activity which is shaped by and shaping context. Thus meaning cannot only be adequately described by the lexical items glosses used, but also with an attentive analysis of the whole communicative experience in which they occur as part of routinized interactive exchange.

Gumperz (1982: 131) defines contextualization as a relationship between a speaker, a context (a cognitive construct like a frame, a schema), an utterance and a (non-referential) contextualization cue. Contextualization cue is, then, any feature of linguistic form that contributes to the signaling of contextual presuppositions; contextualization cues include features of language (i.e elements of linguistic structure such as words and syntax) and paralinguistic features such as pitch, tempo, intonation[3], stress, rhythm, laughter, and nonverbal signals

[3] Prosodic features such as intonation, tone grouping, accent placement and tune play a role in segmenting the stream of talk, signaling thematic connections and providing information about activities. These contextualization cues are considered as semiotic entities that help to convey meaning (Gumperz 1982).

(gestural signs[4]). I decided to use this theory because the functions of *sawa* depend much on the context of use. Thus, our research hypothesis is that the functions of the marker *sawa* depend on various contextualization cues such as what has been said before or after the PM *sawa*, the intonation used, and the embodied actions accompanying the utterance containing *okay*.

This research was conducted in Dar es Salaam and Tanga in Tanzania from August 2018 to September 2018. In Dar es Salaam, the research was conducted in Manzese ward found in Ubungo region. In Tanga the research was done at Ngamiani-Kati ward found in Tanga-Mjini Region. Data were obtained from "vijiwe vya mazungumzo" (informal conversation in specific settings). Two types of *vijiwe* were used to collect data. These were "vijiwe vya kahawa" (setting of informal conversations created around people drinking coffee) and "vijiwe vya mamantilie" (setting of informal conversations created around women preparing and selling food on the streets)[5]. I decided to use the two kinds of *vijiwe* because it was easy to get data on PMs as people always talk about different issues in their lives while drinking coffee or preparing food[6]. The symbols used in the transcription especially for the PM *sawa* are explained in the attachment.

3. The functions of the marker *sawa* in spoken Swahili

Data obtained from "vijiwe vya kahawa" and "vijiwe vya mamantilie" revealed that the marker *sawa* has various functions. It can be used as a receipt marker.

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[4] Gumperz further argues that in the act of talking eyes, face, limbs and torso all emit automatically produced signs which tend to go unnoticed yet nevertheless convey information. The non-verbal signs are language-like in the sense that they are learned through interaction, culturally specific and analyzable in terms of underlying processes. They are coordinated with the verbal signs both at the micro-level of syllables and at the level of clauses and longer discourse segments. They can be used to show speakers' emotional states. They can also be used to frame the interaction and simultaneously reflect and signal transition from one stage of an encounter to another.

[5] From each region, 5 *vijiwe* were for *kahawa* and 5 *vijiwe* were for *mamantilie*. In order to get 20 *vijiwe*, Snowball sampling technique was used. Researchers got some information about the location of one kijiwe from one person, then participants of one *kijiwe* were used to get information for other *vijiwe*.

[6] This research is not a gender based study but we decided to use two types of *vijiwe* (*vijiwe vya kahawa* which are dominated by men and *vijiwe vya mamantilie* which are dominated by women) so as to obtain the data that reflect the use of PM by both genders. There were some cases where women participated in *vijiwe vya kahawa* and men participated in *vijiwe vya mamantilie*. Therefore, as long as the needed data were available, they were used irrespective of gender.

Here the marker *sawa* is used to respond to the previous utterance showing that the speaker has accepted the prior instruction, it is well understood and there is no problem with it. The following data from "kijiwe cha kahawa" and "kijiwe cha mamantilie" show that function:

Data No. 1 (kijiwe cha kahawa)

1. … A. Mteja: nipatie kahawa.
   'Customer: Give me coffee.'
2. B. **Sawa**. (Anamimina kahawa na kumpa mteja).
   'Okay. (He takes coffee and givesit to the customer).'

Data No. 2 (kijiwe cha mamantilie)

3. A. (Akimwambia msaidizi wa kazi:) Nenda kamuhudumie mteja.
   '(Telling the helper:) Go and serve the customer.'
4. B. **Sawa**. (Anakwenda).
   'Okay. (She goes).'

From the data, it is evident that the speaker A (in both conversations) gives some instructions to the speaker B (to be given some coffee or to serve the customer) and the speaker B responds by using the marker *sawa* to signal that they have received and understood what has been said. Here, *sawa* serves to link between the verbal and non-verbal actions. This means that after using the marker *sawa* the speaker performs the requested action.

In other contexts, it was observed that *sawa* can be used to mean *I agree with you but on a condition (I agree with you but…..)*. Here, the speaker can use the PM *sawa* to agree with what has been said but also indicating that he/she either needs some more explanations or he/she wants to add something contrary to what has been said.

Data No. 3 (kijiwe cha kahawa)

5. A. … Sio kama nakutania we: muulize anakaa wapi.
   'I am not joking, ask him where does he stay.'
6. B. Ana nyumba yake huyu.
   'He owns his own house.'
7. A. **Sawa**: anayo nyumba, wapi::?
   'Okay, I agree that he has a house but where is it located?'
8. B. Ah! iwe Malamba: iwe Kifuru=
   'Ah! Wherever it is, Malamba or Kifuru, I don't care.'
9. A. =Kifuru:::?
   'Kifuru?'

10. B. Ndio kwake huko.
'Yes, it is where he lives.'
11. C. A:::h sio kifuru bwana…
'Oh! No. I am not living at Kifuru.'

Data No. 4 (kijiwe cha kahawa)

12. A. Raisi si mlimchagua wenyewe. Kwani mlichaguliwa? eh? Kura si mlipiga?
'You are the ones who voted for the president. Is there anybody who voted for you? Eh? You went there and voted, is it?'
13. B. Tulipiga kura **sawa**: lakini swali linakuja hazikuibwa? si ziliibwa tu=
'It is true that we voted but the question is weren't they stolen? They must be stolen.'
14. C. =Tunaaminije kama matokeo hayakuchakachuliwa?
'How can we believe that there were no some maneuvers?'
15. B. Wale bwana wana mbinu nyingi za kubadilisha matokeo.
'Those people have a lot of techniques to change the results.'
16. A. Ndiyo tushamchagua sasa. Tupambane na hali zetu tu…
'Now, we have already put him into position. The only thing we can do is to struggle with our own life.'

In these two conversations, *sawa* has been used to mean *I agree with you but on a condition*. For example in the Data No. 3 speaker A wanted to know where somebody mentioned in the conversation lives. Speaker B seemed to give an unrelated answer – instead of explaining where that person lives, he explains that that person owns a house. Speaker A in line 7 agrees by using the marker *sawa*: *it is true he has a house but he needed more information (where he lives)*. In the Data No. 4 participants in the conversation are discussing the voting for election. Speaker A is accusing others of being responsible as they are the ones who voted for. Speaker B agrees that they voted for but asks whether the votes were not stolen; the implied meaning of the speaker is actually an accusation: even though they voted, the votes were stolen. Therefore, in this context the marker *sawa* is used to convey the meaning *I agree with you but on a condition*.

In this function the marker *sawa* is used to signal that *the speaker agrees with what has been already said but is not happy about that*.

Data No. 5 (kijiwe cha kahawa)

17. A. …Uwezo wako wa elimu ni mdogo:
'Your educational ability is low.'
18. B. **Sawa↓**, uwezo wangu wa elimu ni mdogo sana:::. Mimi hata 'certificate' sina.
'Yeah, okay, I don't have much ability. I don't possess even a certificate.'

Sasa tunataka wewe mwenye uwezo mkubwa utueleze
'So we want you who are more educated to explain to us.'

19. A. We nenda kalinde tu ndio kazi unayoiweza.
'Go and guard because that's what you can manage to do.'
20. B. Mimi kulinda nilishaacha siku nyingi.
'I am no more guarding, I left it long time ago.'
21. C. Jamani! haya yote maisha tu.
'Dears this is just life.'
22. B. Mcheki Wema Sepetu ana digrii yule?
'Lookt at Wema Sepetu, does she have a degree?'
23. A. Hana digrii yule.
'She doesn't have a degree.'
24. B. Ahah, nisikilize digrii hana, siyo?
'Okay, listen to me, she doesn't have a degree. Has she?'
25. C. Kwani digrii kitu gani?
'After all, what is a degree?'
26. B. Aha::! kumbe digrii sio kitu?
'Oh! So degree is not an issue?'
27. C. Digrii sio kitu?
'Degree is not an issue?'
28. B. Ni kitu cha kawaida tu? (huku akimtazama mzungumzaji A)
Sasa mbona huyu anaringa na digrii zake mbili?
'Is it just normal thing? (while looking to speaker A)
Why are you showing off with your two degrees?'

Atuambie elimu yake imemsaidia nini?
Mbona tunaishi wote maisha haya kawaida tu…
'He should tell us what does education help him?
I wonder we still live normal life together.....'

Here, while different speakers are talking, speaker A accuses speaker B to be uneducated. Speaker B replies using the marker *sawa* (see line 18) to show agreement with what has been said but also to demonstrate he was not happy with that (*I agree with you but I am not happy with that*). Contextualization cues such as what has been said before and after the PM, facial expression of the speaker (demonstrating him not being happy about speaker A's argument) together with the intonation (falling intonation) are clues to determine this function.

Also, the marker *sawa* can be used to signal that *a speaker has understood what has been already said but he/she needs some more information about some-*

thing else, different from what has already been said. The data from "kijiwe cha mamantilie" perform this function:

Data No. 6 (kijiwe cha mamantilie)

29. A. (Anafika, anamwangalia msaidizi wake) niletee kiti hicho.
'(She reaches, looking to her helper) Give me that chair.'
30. B. (Anachukua kiti na kumpa).
'(She takes the chair and gives her).'
31. A. Enhe: za hapa?
'Tell me, how are things going?'
32. B. Nzuri, alikuja mwenyekiti wa kijiji=
'Fine, the Village Chairman came here.'
33. A. =Mh! Amesemaje?=
'Mhmm! What did he say?'
34. B. =Alikuja hapa mimi nilikuwa naosha vyombo=
'He came here while I was washing kitchen utensils.'
35. A. =**Sawa**, akasemaje?
'Okay, what did he say?'
36. B. Akaulizama mama yako yupo?
'He asked is your mother around?'
37. A. Enhe.
'Mhmm.'
38. B. Nikamwambia hayupo amekwenda sokoni=
'I told him she is not around she has gone to the market.'
39. A. =**Sawa**, AKASEMAJE?
'Okay, what did he say?'
40. B. Akasema akirudi mwambie anahitajika serikali ya kijiji kesho saa tatu.
'He said when she is back tell her that she is needed by the village government office tomorrow at nine o'clock.'
41. A. Mh! Kuna nini tena!…
'Mhmm! What happened again...'

In this conversation speaker B is interested to know only what the village officer said and does not need any other information. Because his helper is not going directly to that point she keeps using the marker *sawa* to push for new information. In line 39 speaker A uses the marker *sawa* accompanied with the word *amesemaje* which is now spoken louder than before to push the other speaker to give the needed information. Speaker B in line 40 understands this and now she explains what the village officer said. Speaker A is now satisfied with the

information and the topic changes to what has happened for her to be called by a village officer. Therefore, from this context, it is evident that the marker *sawa* has been *used to signal that a speaker has understood what has been already said but he/she needs some more information about something else different from what has already been said*.

The marker *sawa* is also used as tag-positioned comprehension check. See the following example from the conversation made from "kijiwe cha mamantilie":

Data No. 7 (kijiwe cha mamantilie)

42. A. Angalia maji kama yamekauka kwenye nyama.
'Look if the meat has got dry.'
43. B. **Sawa**. (Anakwenda, anafunua sufuria, kisha anajibu) Bado.
'Okay. (She is going, opening the pan, then she answers) Not yet.'
44. A. Subiri mpaka maji yakauke kabisa ndiyo uongeze maji, **sawa**?
'Wait until it is almost dry then add some water, okay?'
45. Sawa.
'Okay.'

From the data above, I noted that the function of the marker *sawa* as a receipt marker was also observed (see lines 43 and 45). After every instruction speaker B responds with the marker *sawa* to show that she has heard and understood the instruction. Furthermore, here the marker *sawa* is also used as *a tag-positioned comprehension check*. In fact, *sawa* here is placed at the end of a sentence, therefore it is used to monitor the listeners' comprehension, to check and prove if the other speaker understood what has been said or not (*Did you get me? Understood?*). This function is always accompanied by rising intonation and is always followed by the response *sawa* (see line 45) to signal that the speaker has understood what has been said (*yes I understand*).

In other contexts, *sawa* was used as a tag question, but with slightly different functions from the one we have just observed before. Here the speaker uses *sawa as a tag question not only to check for understanding, but also to put emphasis, to insist on what he/she is saying and to gain attention from other interlocutors*.

Data No. 8 (kijiwe cha mamantilie)

46. A. … lakini, umekaa naye chini ukaongea naye?
'But did you have time to speak with her?'
47. B. Nimemshauri sana lakini hasiki:::.
Ananiambia mama mimi nimempenda hivyohivyo.

'I have advised her a lot but she is not listening.
What she tells me is that I love that guy no matter what.'

48. A. Kama umeongea naye na bado hataki kubadilisha msimamo,
Mi nafikiri wewe mkubalie tu. **Sawa**?
'If you have spoken to her and still she doesn't want to change her stand, Just agree with her. Okay?'

Watoto wa siku hizi hawa hawakawii. Utasikia keshakunywa sumu hapa. **Sawa**?
'Nowadays, Children can easily decide to take some poison. Okay?'

Yeye ni mtu mzima, maadam ameamua na anajua anachofanya mwache. **Sawa**?
'She is now matured and she knows what she is doing that's why she decides this. Okay?'

Yale unayomwonya leo atakuja kuyajutia baadaye na hilo litakuwa somo kwake.
'She will regret for what you are trying to warn her today.'

49. B. **Sawa**, nimekuelewa shoga yangu…
'Okay, I have understood my dear friend.'

In this "kijiwe cha mamantilie" speaker B keeps asking *sawa?* after making some arguments to emphasize what she is saying, to check for understanding and to gain attention from other interlocutors. When the PM *sawa* is used to perform this function it is also uttered with rising intonation like when it is used as tag-positioned comprehension check. There are some cases where the other interlocutors respond by saying *sawa* after every tag question and some where interlocutors just respond by nodding as it was the case with these data. When the PM *sawa* performs this function, it is always uttered repeatedly so as to make emphasis.

A further function of the marker *sawa* is to signal a sense of equality (or inequality).

Data No. 9 (kijiwe cha kahawa)

50. A. …..Watu wanachagua kazi matokeo yake wanabaki kuwa tegemezi tu.
'People choose what kind of job they prefer, as a result they just remain dependent.'

51. B. Mimi huwa nawakubali wakinga. Mkinga atakuja mjini hapa, anaanza kuuza karanga.
'I always appreciate Kinga tribe. People from this tribe will come here and start selling groundnuts.'

Baada ya muda anamiliki duka Kariakoo. Sasa hapo kuuza karanga na kukaa bila kazi ni **sawa**?
'and after some time he owns a shop at Kariakoo. So, selling groundnuts and remaining without work are they equal?'

52. A. =Sio **sawa**.
'They are not equal.'

53. B. Eh! Anayeuza karanga ana uhakika hata wa kula lakini sio mtu anayeshinda kijiweni ilimradi siku iende. Ndiyo wanaishia kulalamika maisha magumu.
'Yes, the one who sells groundnuts is even sure of getting some food but not the one who just stays at kijiweni to pass time. They are the ones who end up complaining that life is difficult.'

54. C. Nyie mnaongea tu. Unafikiri ni rahisi kijana katoka Chuo Kikuu leo aanze kuuza karanga?
'You just talk. Do you think it is easy for a young man coming from the University to start selling groundnuts?'

Sio rahisi hata kidogo.
'Not easy at all.'

55. B. Unasikia bwana (anataja jina) hatusemi kama ni rahisi. Wewe unajua kuwa mfumo wetu wa elimu haujawaandaa vijana kujiajili.
'Listen my dear, we don't say it is simple. You know that our educational system didn't prepare youth for self-employment.'

56. C. =**Sawa**:
'Yeah.'

57. B. Sasa kama mfumo haujawaandaa wanapokuja uraiani si wanaona wengine wanavyohangaika kutafuta maisha?
'So if the system didn't prepare them when they came back into normal life didn't they see how other people suffer for life?'

58. C. **Sawa**:
'Yeah.'

59. B. Sasa na wao wanatakiwa kujiongeza. Biashara kama ya karanga inahitaji mtaji wa shi- ngapi?
'So they should think critically. How much capital is needed to do such business like selling groundnuts?'

60. C. Hapo ndiyo tunapishana. Wewe unafikiri ni rahisi kijana na digrii yake akauze karanga mtaani?
'That's where we do differ. You just think it is easy for a young man with his degree to go and sell some groundnuts.'

Mi- nafikiri suruhisho tubadili mfumo wa elimu. Kijana aandaliwe namna ya kujiajili ili akifika mataani maisha yaendelee…
'I think the solution is to change the education system. Youth should be prepared on how to employ themselves so that when they come to the community their life becomes easy.'

In this discourse, participants are discussing the problem of unemployment, especially in youth. In line 51, speaker B uses *sawa* to ask a question whether the person selling groundnuts and the one with no job are equal or not. On the

other hand, Speaker A in line 52 uses the *sawa* as an answer, to show that they are not equal. So it is clear that in this context *sawa* is used to convey the sense of equality. The marker *sawa* has also been used in line 56 and 58 *as an affirmative releasing marker* (as a continuer). Here it is used to indicate approval of the previous utterance and to allow the speaker to continue talking. The continuation and the intonation used are the contextual cues that help the researcher to identify this function. In this context *sawa* is spoken with some continuation of sound /a/ in the second syllable and after each utterance of this marker speaker B continues talking to show that the use of *sawa* by speaker C allows him to continue speaking.

The marker *sawa* can also be used *as a negative releasing marker*, i.e. to release the other speaker from having to continue speaking, but in this case it indicates dissatisfaction with the previous utterance.

Data No. 10 (kijiwe cha kahawa)

61. A. Umewahi kuingia Manzese mapema:.
    'You have arrived early at Manzese.'
62. B. Kwa nini?
    'Why?'
63. A. Saa hizi ushafika unaamka saa ngapi?
    'You are here this time, at what time do you get up?'
64. C. Muulize mjomba anaamka saa ngapi.
    'Ask my uncle at what time does he wake up.'
65. A. Ah! sasa mi nitamuuliza kwani wewe na huyu mnakaa nyumba moja?
    'No, how comes I should ask him? Are you staying in one house?'
66. D. Ngoja nikwambie umbali wa pale-, wewe sikiliza kwanza mimi nataka nikwambie huyu kwanza ni mjomba wangu.
    'Wait, let me tell you, the distance there- listen first, I want to tell you that this is my uncle.'
67. A. Eh **sawa↓**.
    'Okay.'
68. D. Nataka nikusaidie kwamba wewe labda ulikuwa hujui.
    'I want to tell you may be you didn't know.'
69. A. **Sawa↓**.
    'Okay.'
70. D. Anajua huyu mpaka chumba ninacholala mimi.
    'He knows even the room I am sleeping in.'
71. **Sawa↓**.
    'Okay.'

72. D. Sio nyumba tu, ninajuaa mpaka chumba anacholala
'Not only the room, I know even the room he sleeps.'

73. A. **Sawa↓**, haina shida.
'Okay, no problem.'

74. D. Mi nikifika kwake mimi naagiza tu nina njaa:: naletewa chakula si nipo kwa mjomba angu...
'If I go to his house I just order food if I feel hungry because I am at my uncle's house….'

In this context speaker A is just wondering how the other speaker has managed to come early to Manzese. Then speaker B, instead of explaining himself why he manages to come early, gives the chance to speaker C (whom they call "uncle") to explain it. Speaker A is not satisfied with that as he asks why should he explain it instead of speaker B. Speaker C doesn't care about that and he continues explaining. After every turn, speaker A uses *sawa* as a negative releasing marker. Here speaker A allows the speaker to continue speaking but also showing that he is not satisfied with what speaker C is talking about. Speaker A uses the marker *sawa* accompanied by some facial expression of annoyance with the conversation. Also, in this context, the PM *sawa* was said with the falling intonation that shows dissatisfaction.

With respect to the previous function, it was observed that *sawa* can be used to show *dissatisfaction but also conveying an ironic sense of "I will catch you or I will deal with you later"*. Data from "kijiwe cha kahawa" and "kijiwe cha mamantilie" show this function:

Data No. 11 (kijiwe cha mamantilie)

75. A. (Mama akiongea na mwanaye wa kiume:) Nimekwambia rudisha hapa!
'(Mother talking to her son:) Bring it here!'

76. B. Sirudishi!
'I won't do that.'

77. A. **Sawa**, wewe si unajifanya mjanja bwana…
'Okay then, you think you are clever. We shall see!...'

Data No. 12 (kijiwe cha kahawa)

78. A. … Mh:: ikawaje?
'Tell me what followed?'

79. B. (Alimwambia:) bwana nasikia unatembea na mke wangu. Tafadhari achana naye.
'(He told him:) I heard that you are having an affair with my wife. Please leave her.'

(Alipoona hasikii akamwambia:) **sawa**, sasa tutapambana.
'(After realizing that he didn't listen he told him:) Okay, then I will deal with you.'

In the Data No. 11, speaker A is ordering the other participant to bring back something. Speaker B refuses to do that and speaker A uses the marker *sawa* followed by the utterance: *wewe si unajifanya mjanja* ('"You think you are clever. We shall see!"), expressing a sense of dissatisfaction. Considering the relationship (being mother and son) it was expected the son could obey his mother. The act of disobeying brings dissatisfaction to his mother. Therefore the mother uses *sawa* as a warning she will deal with him later on (in this case the son might receive punishment). The Data No. 12 show a similar function: two participants are talking about somebody else's love affair. In line 78 speaker A encourages speaker B to tell the story and speaker B continues telling while quoting what was said by other people, sometime in the past. In this story somebody recognizes that the man under discussion was having a love affair with his wife and he warned him. Because he has not listen, he says *sawa, tutapambana* ("okay, then I will deal with you"). By using the marker *sawa* in this context the person shows dissatisfaction and communicates his intention to deal with him later on. Therefore *sawa* here *is used to signal dissatisfaction and, more importantly, it is ironically used to warn the speaker on what is going to happen in the imminent future*.

The marker *sawa* can be also used *as a predicative adjective or adverb to mean that the speaker is in good health or is used as a question to ask if the other person is in good health or not and if there is no other problem*. Let us consider the following example:

Data No. 13 (kijiwe cha mamantilie)

80. A. Vipi upo **sawa**?
'Hey! Are you okay?'

81. B. Nipo **sawa**, mbona unauliza?
'I am okay, why are you asking?'

82. A. Naona kama umekosa amani vile.
'You look like you don't have peace of mind.'

83. B. Hapana, Nipo ***sawa*** tu…
'No, I am just okay.'

Data No. 14 (kijiwe cha mamantilie)

84. A. Yaani, kichwa kinaniuma.
'You know, my head is aching.'

85. B. Pole sana, pumzika. Naamini utakuwa ***sawa*** si muda…
'Very sorry, have some rest. I believe you will be okay soon.'

In these two different contexts, the marker *sawa* signals a sense of being in good health. In line 80, speaker A is asking speaker B by using *sawa* whether

speaker B is in good health or whether there is any problem. In line 51, speaker B answer the question by using *sawa* to reply that she is in good health and there is no problem. Here *sawa* has been used as a question, uttered with rising intonation, and as an answer to a question, with normal intonation. In these examples *sawa* is used accompanied with verbs indicating state of being (like *upo*, *nipo* or *utakuwa* [*sawa*]) and others to mark the sense of being in good health. The same is also noted in line 85 where speaker B says *utakuwa sawa* to mean she will get better soon or she will be in a good health.

Related to the sense of being in good health, the marker *sawa* was also used *as a predicative adjective or adverb to mean all is correct, all is right, is satisfactory, is good, is well and that everything is in order.*

Data No. 15 (kijiwe cha kahawa)

86. A. Mezani pako sawa?
'Is it okay with everything on the table?'
87. B. Eh, nimeshasafisha.
'Yeah, I have already cleaned.'

Data No. 16 (kijiwe cha kahawa)

88. A. Vipi za kwenye sherehe?
'How was the celebration?'
89. B. Nzuri tu.
'It was good.'
90. A. Kila kitu kilikuwa **sawa**?
'Was everything okay?'
91. B. Ndiyo, mambo yalikuwa **sawa**…
'Yeah, everything was okay.'

Data No. 17 (kijiwe cha kahawa)

92. A. …Vipi kuhusu taarifa za mwezi? mbona hamjatupa safari hii.
'How about the monthly report? You didn't provide it to us this time.'
93. B. Bado tunaweka mambo ***sawa*** tutawapa taarifa.
'We are still putting things in order, we will provide it to you.'

Data No. 18 (kijiwe cha kahawa)

94. A. Vipi, kesho utakuja?
'How about tomorrow? Will you come?'
95. B. Najaribu kuweka ratiba ***sawa*** nije.
'I am trying to schedule my timetable so that I can come.'

In these four different conversations, *sawa* is used to signify that things are in good order and satisfactory. In cases where the speaker is asked to report about the recent events, speaker B responds using the *sawa* to signify that he/she is trying to put things in order so that they can provide the report. Also in the Data No. 18 speaker B shows that he is trying to schedule the timetable so that everything could be okay for him to attend the meeting. Therefore, apart from showing the condition of being in good health, the marker *sawa* is used to signal that *all is correct, all is right, is satisfactory, is good, is well and that everything is in order*.

In other contexts the marker *sawa* performs slightly different functions from the two above-mentioned. In fact, it can be used to signal that *something was not well understood but now is well understood, was not in good order or in proper manner but now it is in good order or proper manner*.

Data No. 19 (kijiwe cha mamantilie)

96. A. …Akasema nimpe elfu kumi.
'He told me to give him ten thousand.'

97. B. Na ukampa?
'And you gave it to him?'

98. we::! naanzaje?
'Not at all, how should I start? '

99. Hapo **sawa**. Nilidhani ulimpa. Yule akikukopa, hiyo hela samehe tu maana hairudi.
'Now I got you. I thought you gave it to him. He usually doesn't return the money if I borrow it to him.'

Data No. 20 (kijiwe cha mamantilie)

100. A. ...Wee! unaendaje na hicho kisketi dukani? Kavae baibui haraka.
'How can you go to the shop in such a miniskirt? Go and put on your purdah quickly.'

101. B. (Anakwenda kibandani anavaa baibui na kurudi).
'(She goes inside, puts on her purdah and then she comes back).'

102. Hapo **sawa**, mwanamke unatakiwa kujistiri bwana sio unavaa vaa tu nguo za ajabu.
'Yeah, now it's all right, a woman should cover up and not just wear improper dress.'

Data No. 21 (kijiwe cha mamantilie)

103. A. Hiyo sufuria imekaa upande.
'That pot is not properly set.'

104. B. (Anaiweka vizuri sufuria).
'(She goes and puts the pot the rigt way).'

105. A. Hapo **sawa**.
'Now it is okay.'

106. B. (Anaiachia sufuria).
'(She leaves the pan).'

In these three different conversations, *sawa* is used to signal that something was not well understood or was understood differently but now is well understood (see line 83). Furthermore, it is used to show that *something was not in good order or in proper manner but now it is in good order or in proper manner* (see lines 99 and 102). When the marker *sawa* is used to convey this meaning, it is always accompanied by the word *hapo* (*hapo sawa*).

The marker *sawa* can be used to mark *whether something is correct or not or whether what is said is correct or not*.

Data No. 22 (kijiwe cha mamantilie)

107. A. …Hili jambo la viwanja limetokea mpaka Amboni.
'This issue with land has also happened to Amboni.'

108. B. Eh.
'Yeah.'

A. Kuna watu yaani wameuziwa mashamba kwa ajili ya shughuli zao, ushaelewa?
'There are people who bought a piece of land for their activities, do you get me?'

109. B. Kama ulipewa sehemu ya kujenga sasa?
'What if you were given a place to build something?'

110. C. Kupewa sehemu ya kujenga ina utata kivipi::
unatakiwa ujue asili ya ile ardhi.
'To be given a place to build is ambiguous
because you need to know the nature of that land.'

Je, hii ardhi imeshaondoka kwenye mikono ya Serikali imeingia kwa wananchi moja kwa moja?
'If this is no longer owned by the Government and it is now directly in the hands of the citizens.'

111. A. Sasa si waliamua kuwagawia watu wajenge.
Watu wameanza kujenga, sasa wanasema bomba.
'If they decided to give it to people so that they can construct something.
People have started to construct it, why now they introduce another issue of pipeline?'

Eti bomba linapita hapa kwenye kiwanja chako unatakiwa ubomoe ni **sawa**?
'That the pipeline is passing to your plot so you have to destruct it, is it correct?'

112. A. Sio **sawa**.
'Not correct.'

113. C. Ni hivi, kama ile ardhi ilikuwaa inamilikiwa na wananchi
basi kubomoa sio **sawa** lakini kama bado
ilikuwa kwenye mikono ya Serikali, kubomoa ni **sawa**
kwa sababu Serikali ianaweza kuchukua ardhi yake muda wowote.
Kama iliwapa wananchi kihalali ndiyo inawalipa fidia.
'Let me explain, if the plot was owned by the citizens,
then the act of destructing is not correct but if
it was owned by the Government, then the action of destructing is correct
because the Government can take its land any time.
If the citizen were given the land legally it could refund them.'

114. B. EH! Sasa huyu mkurugenzi hataki kulipa!
Mtu umeshamwaga na mawe halafu unaitwa unaambiwa
wewe huwezi kulipwa kwa sababu hujaanza kujenga
na bomba linapita kwenye kiwanja chako. Kwanini wewe usilipwe?
'Yeah! But this director does not want to pay!
People have already poured out stones, then they call them and start telling
you cannot be paid because you have not started the construction
and the pipeline is passing to your plot. Why shouldn't you be paid?'

115. A. Unatakiwa kulipwa…
'You deserve to be paid.'

In this context of use, participants are discussing about the government evicting the citizens from their land to construct new pipelines. In line 111, speaker A is asking, using the marker *sawa,* whether for the other participants that action is correct or not. Speaker B answers the question using *sawa* to convey the meaning that that action is not correct (see line 112). Therefore in this context the marker *sawa* performs the function of conveying the meaning of *whether something is correct or not*.

Observing the following conversation made from "kijiwe cha kahawa", the marker *sawa* appears to convey the meaning of "acceptability", *to mean it is acceptable to me or the decision is acceptable to me*.

Data No. 23 (kijiwe cha kahawa)

116. A. …Tukikutana jumatano si **sawa**?
'Will it be okay if we meet on Wednesday?'

117. B. Mimi **sawa**
'It is okay to me.'

118. C. Hata mimi **sawa**
'Even to me it is okay.'

119. A. Basi tukutane Jumatano.
'Okay, then we meet on Wednesday.'

120. B. [**Sawa**.]
'Okay.'

121. C. [**Sawa**.]
'Okay.'

Speaker A (see line 116) uses *sawa* as a question in order to get information if it is acceptable to meet on Wednesday. Speakers B and C (see lines 117 and 118) answer the question by using the PM *sawa* to mean that it is *okay* to them (the day is acceptable to them). In the same conversation, the marker *sawa* marks the closure of the conversation. After all members agree to meet on Wednesday, the speaker A (see line 119) says *okay* to mark the beginning of the closure of discussion (*Basi tukutane Jumatano*). Afterwards, speakers B and C use *sawa* to *agree but also to conclude the conversation*.

In a different contexts the marker *sawa* can be used as *a gap filler*:

Data No. 24 (kijiwe cha kahawa)

122. A. …Unasemaje kuhusu hili bwana Ali.
'What is your argument about this agenda, Mr Ali.'

123. B. Sa::wa, unajua kuna mambo mawili, tunaweza kwenda moja kwa moja kwa mhusika au tukapitia kwa mjumbe wa mtaa.
'Okay, you know, there are two possibilities, either we can go directly to the responsible person or we go first to the street representative.'

Speaker A wants to hear speaker B's stance about the target issue. Speaker B starts speaking by using the marker *sawa* which, in this context, does not signal agreement or is not a receipt, rather it is used as a gap filler. In this context it is uttered with the prolonged sound /a/ in the first syllable. Here the PM *sawa* provides the speakers the opportunity to better organize his thoughts, in fact, after using the PM *sawa*, speaker B continues to give his suggestions. This is the kind of gap-filling role the marker *sawa* assumes here.

It was also noted that the marker *sawa* can be used as a quotative marker. The following data from "kijiwe cha kahawa" suggest this function:

Data No. 25 (kijiwe cha kahawa)

124. A. ...Unaonaje kama tukimpa masharti kwamba "**sawa**, tunakupa hizi pesa lakini utatulipa kwa awamu"?
'What if we set him a condition "okay, we give you these money and you will pay us back in phases"?'

125. B. Sawa, nafikiri ni wazo zuri lakini inabidi tuandikishiane kabisaa maana anaweza kuturuka muda wowote

'I agree with you, I think it is a good idea but we have to document it
because he can deny us any time.'

The speaker uses *sawa* to quote what one is planning to say sometimes in the future. Besides, in other contexts, it was observed that *sawa* can also be used to quote words that were spoken by somebody else in the past. Therefore, from this context it is evident that the PM *sawa* is used as *a quotative marker*.

In other contexts, the PM *sawa* is used to convey the sense of "I don't care", like in the following conversation:

Data No 26. (kijiwe cha mamantilie)

126. A. …Mimi huwa nasema ifike kipindi
wanawake tuache kuwa ombelezi KWA WANAUME.
'I always say that it should come a time
when we women stop being beggars to men.'

127. B. Ni kweli, maisha ya kumtegemea mwanamme tu ni shida sana.
'You are right. Depending only on a man is a very big problem.'

128. C. Walau uwe na kitu cha kufanya sio kila siku kuomba tu.
'At least you should have something to do and not only beg every day.'

129. A. Ukiwa na pesa yako unaepuka hata baadhi ya maudhi.
Mimi bwana baba Jose akiamua kutoa hela **sawa**:
asipoamua **sawa**:.
'If you have your own money you even avoid some chaos.
For my side, if Jose's dad decides to give me some money it is okay,
and if not, it is okay as well.'

130. B. Eh, akikukumbuka **sawa**: asipokukumbuka **sawa**:.
Sio ndiyo mume hana pesa unaishia kulalamika tu
o:h mume wangu haachi hela ya kula…"
'You are right, if he remembers you it is okay, and if not, it is okay.
Not just that your husband has failed
to provide money for food and you remain complaining…'

By considering the contextualization cues (what has been said before and after the PM *sawa*), the way the PM was uttered (with a prolonged sound /a/ in the second syllable) and the gestures (like the hand movements) the marker *sawa* acquires the function of signaling that *the speaker doesn't care* (whatever will be done to him is correct).

In the following conversation too, the specific attention to the context (gestures, contextualization cues, and voice intonation) discloses how the PM *sawa* can be used as an answer carrying the meaning of "no problem".

Data No. 27 (kijiwe cha mamantilie)

131. A. (Anafika na mzigo amejitwisha kichwani) Niweke hapa?
'(Reaches the place while carrying a luggage on his head) Should I put it here?'

132. B. **Sawa** tu.
'It's okay.'

133. A. (Anautua mzigo na kuuweka chini).
'(He puts the luggage down).'

Data No. 28 (kijiwe cha mamantilie)

134. A. … Nile chakula chote?
'Should I eat all of it?'

135. B. **Sawa** tu.
'It's okay.'

136. A. (Anaendelea kula).
'(He continues eating).'

In these two different conversations, Speaker A asks for permission (to put the luggage to a pointed place or to eat all food). Speaker B (in both conversations) answers using the PM *sawa* which is accompanied with the PM *tu* to signal that *there is no problem* (an indirect way of granting the asked permission). The action of doing the actions requested after the use of the PM *sawa* (see lines 133 and 135) shows that the permission has been granted and there is no problem about it.

Moreover, *sawa* is used to signal *whether something is correct or not correct*.

Data No. 29 (kijiwe cha kahawa)

137. A. …Hivi kuchepuka ni ***sawa***?
'Let me ask you, is it correct to cheat your wife?'

138. B. [[Hapana, si **sawa**]].
'No, it is not correct.'

139. C. [[Sio **sawa**]]
'It is not correct.'

140. A. Sasa kwanini watu wanachepuka wakati wanandoa zao kabisa?
'Why then people cheat while they have married already?'

141. C. Labda tumuulize Jose hapa (kisha anacheka kidogo).
'Maybe we ask Jose here (while looking at Jose).'

142. B. Kwani mimi ndiyo nachepuka?
'Is it me who is cheating?'

143. (A na C wanacheka).
'(A and C are laughing).'

144. C. Sijasema unachepuka labda unaweza kuwa na uzoefu wa watu wanaochepuka.
'No, I didn't say you cheat, I meant you might have the experience from people who cheat.'

145. B. Sasa kama ni uzoefu huo hata wewe unao bwana.
Tamaa tu, ninaweza kusema hivyo.
'You also have experience if that is the case.
What I can say it is a matter of personal desire.'

146. C. Eh, wengi wanaochepuka ni kwa sababu ya tamaa tu….
'Yeah, many people cheat because of their personal desire.'

In this conversation participants are discussing whether cheating is a correct behavior. Speaker A uses the marker *sawa* to ask the question and speakers B and C use it as an answer conveying the meaning that *it is not correct*.

One last example shows that the marker *sawa* can be used to signal that *the speaker doesn't want to hear anymore what the other person is talking about*.

Data No. 30 (kijiwe cha mamantilie)

147. A. We Anna hujasafisha meza. Mama akija HAPA.
'Anna, you didn't clean the table. You will see the consequences when mother arrives.'

148. B. (Anamwangalia mzungumzaji A bila kuongea lolote).
'(She just looks at her without saying anything).'

149. A. We Anna we: hujasafisha [meza-] shauri yako.
'Hey! Anna, you didn't clean the table. It's up to you.'

150. B. [**SAWA**] si nimesikia au?
'Okay, didn't I hear it?'

Speaker A is reprimanding speaker B because she hasn't cleaned the table. Speaker B seems not to care about it as she just looks at her without talking. Speaker A decides to repeat what she was saying and speaker B interrupts speaker A by saying *sawa* with increasing the voice tone and adding emphasis to show that the speaker doesn't want to hear anymore what the other person is talking about. Also by saying *si nimesikia au?* ("Didn't I hear it?") means that she is not happy with that conversation so she uses *sawa* indirectly to stop the conversation. Speaker A seems to understand what speaker B means as she decides to stop talking. Therefore, the marker *sawa* here has been used to signal that *the speaker doesn't want to hear anymore what the other person is talking about*.

4. Conclusion

The preceding analysis examined the functions of the marker *sawa* in spoken Swahili. The findings reveal that *sawa* performs various functions depending on the context of use and specific conversational experiences. In this research I have underlined some interesting functions of the marker *sawa*: as a receipt marker, tag-positioned-comprehension check, tag-question used to check for understanding, continuer, negative releasing marker, gap filler, and quotative marker. It can be also used to make emphasis and gain attention, to signal whether things are equal or not equal, to signal acceptability (whether something is acceptable or not), to mark the transition from the state of not understanding to the state of understanding, to signal that everything is in good order or someone is in good health, to signal dissatisfaction, to mark ironic sense of "I will deal with you later", to signal that the speaker doesn't care ("I don't care"), to signal that the speaker doesn't want to hear anymore what the other speaker is talking about, to signal the sense of "no problem" and to signal the topic change. The results also show that, apart from relying on contextualization cues indicating what has been said before and after the PM *sawa*, also some paralinguistic features like gestures and intonation are among the contextualization cues that help to determine the functions of this marker. It would be certainly interesting if further research could focus on the marker *sawa* as used in other contexts in order to explore its more possible functions. It could also be worth investigating if there are any regional differences in the use of PM *sawa* and any possible codeswitching to replace it by English "OK" in some social contexts.

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Attachment

In the discussion we have used various symbols to show variation in the intonation of the PM *sawa* as proposed by Psathas and Anderson (1993):

SIGN	MEANING
Capital letters	Words that are spoken with an increase of loudness
:	Sound is prolonged
__	The underline shows stress
SAWA	Capital letter shows increase in loudness
SAWA	The word spoken with an increase of loudness and with stress.
,	Continuing intonation
? and ↑	Rising intonation
↓	Falling intonation
!	Exclamation

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Nataša Raschi
Università degli Studi di Perugia, Italie

Le camfranglais comme exemple de parler jeune

Abstract

Bien que le français soit la langue officielle de nombreux pays africains, on trouve, selon les régions et le contexte sociolinguistique, maintes spécificités qui divergent du standard de la France métropolitaine. C'est ce qui se passe au Cameroun, où les règles locales sont privilégiées pour déterminer une langue qui corresponde à la construction de l'identité du pays. En particulier, le camfranglais est un langage composite développé par les jeunes Camerounais afin de communiquer entre eux. Le présent article dessine le cadre historique de cette langue et en illustre les nombreuses propriétés lexicales, morphologiques et syntaxiques.

Mots-clés: parlers jeunes, camfranglais, lexique, morphosyntaxe, continuum linguistique

1. Introduction

À partir des années 1980, l'on a commencé à parler en France du français des banlieues, des cités, des quartiers, définitions qui paraissent toutes dans l'ouvrage *Français des banlieues* dirigé par Marie-Madeleine Bertucci et Daniel Delas en 2004 et encore dans l'article de Marie-Madeleine Bertucci *Les dictionnaires des parlers jeunes 1980-2000*. On y fait le point sur la recherche concernant le français dans ces espaces de marginalisation où tous ceux qui sont exclus, ou qui s'autoexcluent, cherchent une identité à mi-chemin entre leur culture d'origine et la culture française (Bertucci et Delas 2004: 47-62).

Un fait parallèle dans l'évolution du français en Afrique noire francophone est la création, en particulier chez les jeunes, de codes métissés résultant du croisement

de plusieurs langues parmi lesquelles, le français. Le livre *Parlers jeunes, ici et là-bas. Pratiques et représentations*, de l'équipe dirigée par Thierry Bulot en 2004, propose un panorama de la situation linguistique de ces parlers jeunes dans une dizaine de capitales africaines. On y met l'accent sur la sociolinguistique urbaine dont le thème identificateur est de considérer le langage comme une activité socialement localisée, et dont l'étude est menée directement sur le terrain.

2. Les parlers jeunes: caractéristiques et fonctions

La première caractéristique de telles productions linguistiques est l'intelligibilité très réduite, voire nulle, de ce type d'énoncés pour les Francophones unilingues qui, pour déchiffrer un message de ce genre, ont souvent besoin de traductions. Ces parlers qui constituent l'élément le plus frappant du multiculturalisme et du métissage des sociétés africaines, au moins dans la réalité des villes, représentent pour les chercheurs, de par leur singularité, un domaine d'études très difficile et complexe, mais passionnant, parce qu'ils soulèvent plusieurs problèmes par rapport à la définition des parlers mixtes, à leur genèse et à leur fonctionnement linguistique (Quéffelec 2007: 277-291). En effet, ils ont tendance à se bâtir systématiquement dans l'innovation et l'écart, et ont pour caractéristique commune la volonté de marquer les frontières.

Ces mêmes parlers relèvent typologiquement des mélanges codiques, terme employé pour désigner tout type d'intégration entre deux ou plusieurs codes linguistiques différents dans une situation de contact de langues (Blanc 1997: 207). Pour qu'émergent les parlers mixtes, il ne doit pas exister de langue véhiculaire couvrant l'ensemble du pays. Lorsque tel est le cas (comme cela s'est vérifié pour le wolof au Sénégal ou le bambara au Mali), cette langue véhiculaire assure l'essentiel de la communication informelle et laisse à la langue officielle les secteurs formels (administration, tribunaux, université).

Ces parlers mixtes ont aussi une fonction identitaire dans le sens de l'appartenance à un groupe social spécifique par son code et son positionnement. À l'origine, les parlers de ce type sont considérés comme la langue des voyous, des bandits, des marginaux, tous exclus d'un système scolaire sélectif et pour cela en rupture avec la société. Ces parlers jeunes ont ensuite débordé de leur milieu d'emploi initial et se sont étendus à l'ensemble de la jeunesse urbaine. Un exemple intéressant parmi les multiples formes de cette éclosion linguistique est constitué par le camfranglais du Cameroun.

3. Rappels socio-historiques

Comme nombre de nations de l'Afrique contemporaine, le Cameroun est le fruit de la cartographie dessinée à la Conférence de Berlin en 1885, mais il présente plusieurs particularités. D'un côté, une position géographique assez spéciale, vu qu'il relie l'Afrique Occidentale à l'Afrique équatoriale. De l'autre, une politique linguistique bilingue français et anglais, comme l'énonce l'article 1 de la Constitution, selon lequel il y a deux langues officielles avec la même valeur partout (paragraphe 3).

Le nom du pays vient des premiers explorateurs portugais qui en 1471 le baptisent « rivière des crevettes»[1] , expression devenue, par déformation, Cameroun. Les commerces voient ensuite s'alterner Hollandais et Anglais, jusqu'aux Allemands, qui en 1884 en font un protectorat et veulent commencer une politique de germanisation. Très peu d'étudiants camerounais apprennent l'allemand avant la Première Guerre mondiale, parce que cette politique tarde à être mise en pratique (Nzesse 2009: 19). En 1919, le Traité de Versailles qui établit les conditions de la fin du conflit, signifie aussi le partage du Cameroun entre la France d'un côté et l'Angleterre de l'autre. Dans les faits, on impose le français aux quatre cinquièmes de la région et l'anglais au cinquième restant (Nzesse 2009: 22).

Le français prime toujours, vu que huit provinces sur dix sont francophones, c'est-à-dire que la population reste majoritairement francophone. Les deux villes principales, Yaoundé, la capitale politique, et Douala, la capitale administrative, se trouvent également en zone francophone. La situation linguistique au Cameroun, ainsi que dans les autres pays africains francophones, apparaît comme particulièrement enchevêtrée, s'il est permis de penser qu'il y a à peu près autant de langues différentes que de grands groupes ethniques recensés, et qu'il est toujours difficile de distinguer entre langues et variétés dialectales.

Ladislas Nzesse énumère au moins deux cent quatre-vingts langues présentes sur le territoire du Cameroun, ce qui est à la base d'une situation sociolinguistique hétérogène et détermine l'émergence d'un idiome hybride appelé camfranglais qui connaît une dispersion et une pénétration importantes dans la totalité du pays (Nzesse 2009: 15).

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[1] Plus précisément, ils appellent « Rio dos Camarões » l'estuaire du Wouri (Tsofack 2006: 111).

4. Le camfranglais: insurgence et dénominations

Dans une étude importante d'il y a vingt ans, Fosso note que « le camfranglais apparaît comme un phénomène discriminatoire, réservé à des classes de jeunes de quinze à vingt-cinq ans qui ont envie de montrer qu'ils peuvent s'exprimer en toute liberté et en toute complicité » (Fosso 1999: 192). Cela signifie nécessairement une volonté de se différencier des gouvernants, des parents et des professeurs, de tous ceux qui véhiculent les normes sociales et linguistiques puisque détenteurs d'une forme de pouvoir.

Connu aussi sous l'acronyme CFG, le camfranglais est généralement présenté comme un parler composite de jeunes, né du contact et du mélange entre le français, l'anglais et les langues camerounaises. Selon Edmond Biloa, son évolution est très rapide à cause du fait qu'il s'agit d'un phénomène essentiellement oral: l'écrit resterait marginalement confié à quelques textes de chansons rap ou à des reprises sporadiques dans la presse, notamment dans les titres des articles. Les spécialistes tentent de quantifier les éléments qui entrent dans la composition linguistique de ce parler jeune. Il s'agirait essentiellement d'une créativité lexicale composée d'une dominante française autour de 60% des occurrences, de 25% d'anglais, de 10% fruit de la créativité langagière et le reste emprunté aux langues camerounaises (Biloa 2008: 18). L'appellation traduit dans sa syllabe d'ouverture « cam- » l'affirmation d'une certaine identité nationale et, implicitement, le désir d'une langue commune à tous, pour essayer de dépasser ainsi les clivages ethniques, géographiques et même sociaux (Quéffelec 2007: 282).

C'est sur le camfranglais que se concentre Carole de Féral, qui à partir de 1989 publie ses recherches dans la revue *Le français en Afrique Noire* de l'Équipe IFA, le même groupe qui avait produit l'*Inventaire des particularités lexicales du français d'Afrique Noire* dont le premier volume remonte à 1983 (Équipe IFA 1983). C'est seulement en 2008 que les Editions Peter Lang ont publié un ouvrage collectif entièrement consacré au phénomène linguistique analysé (Ntsobé, Biloa & Echu 2008), alors qu'en 2009 le numéro 24 de la revue scientifique citée ci-dessus porte sur le français du Cameroun.

À son origine, le camfranglais a une double fonction: identificatrice (c'est par sa pratique que les jeunes marginaux se distinguent des autres et se recomposent en groupe) et cryptique (pour se communiquer des messages que l'on ne veut pas partager avec ceux et celles qui sont exclus du groupe des proches). L'idée maîtresse est qu'il s'agit d'un langage codé, dans le sens qu'il est inaccessible aux non-initiés, et limité à une utilisation entre jeunes, parce qu'il est à même de

leur garantir une certaine confidentialité. Au début, le camfranglais n'était employé qu'à la maison pour ne pas se faire comprendre des parents lorsqu'on voulait aborder certains sujets plus délicats, voire interdits, sans s'attirer leur colère. Peu à peu cet idiome est sorti du foyer familial pour gagner d'autres milieux tels que les lycées et collèges, les campus universitaires, les centres urbains et spécialement les rues de villes comme Yaoundé et Douala. Il a également assumé une fonction ludique, repris comme il est par les humoristes, les journalistes et dans certaines bandes dessinées[2].

Une telle pratique rappelle ce qui se passe en France (il suffit de penser au verlan) et un peu partout en Afrique (rappelons le nouchi en Côte d'Ivoire, autre phénomène très étudié)[3] (Boutin & Kouadio 2015: 251-271), non seulement à cause des processus linguistiques mis en œuvre, mais aussi par le fait que ces parlers sont nés et évoluent dans des contextes plurilingues où il ne s'agit plus pour les jeunes de revendiquer une identité ethnique ou régionale à travers une langue transmise par la famille, mais de construire de nouvelles identités. Les termes du camfranglais ne sont pas utilisés à cause d'un manque d'équivalents en français tout spécialement, comme c'est le cas de termes empruntés qui font référence à des « realia » (plats, danses, musiques). Ici, ils doublent des termes appartenant au français courant que l'on veut expressément éviter.

Au Cameroun, en particulier, les jeunes qui parlent camfranglais s'approprient le français de telle façon qu'il leur permet de véhiculer une identité non seulement francophone, mais également urbaine et sans doute un jour nationale (Feussi 2011: 23). La raison d'un tel succès est à rechercher dans l'absence des contraintes normatives des langues officielles, ainsi que dans l'adaptation aux besoins et à la créativité de ses utilisateurs (Harter 2007: 253-266).

Dès les années 1970, Carole de Féral relevait chez des jeunes de Douala et de Yaoundé, l'existence de pratiques langagières faisant appel à certains mots (par exemple, reme, « mère »; kolo, « mille »; kwat, « quartier »; do « faire »; go, « aller ») qui seraient identifiés aujourd'hui comme camfranglais, mais que les locuteurs interrogés, élèves et étudiants pour la plupart, appelaient « français makro » ou « français des voyous » (De Féral 1989: 20-21). Cette dénomination semble avoir disparu et depuis les années 1980, les enseignants, chercheurs et journalistes font référence au camfranglais, qui est sans doute une manifestation

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[2] Par exemple, le mensuel *100% jeunes* cité par Andriot-Saillant (2009), pp. 313-320.

[3] À ce propos, Ambroise Queffélec rappelle aussi l'hindoubill de Kinshasa au Congo démocratique qui aurait désormais disparu (Queffélec 2007: 282).

de l'évolution et de l'expansion de ce « français makro ». Dans certains articles parus sur le sujet, le terme « camfranglais » (prononcé [kam]) est fortement concurrencé par « francanglais »; c'est surtout Valentin Feussi (2007: 33-50) qui insiste sur cette dernière dénomination.

Contrairement à l'appellation « français makro », « camfranglais » ou « francanglais » n'affichent pas la pratique d'une langue (comme le français) assortie d'une classification d'ordre social plutôt dépréciative (makro), mais un objet linguistique apparemment bien délimité, socialement et linguistiquement valorisé, puisqu'on a réuni en un mot valise (camfranglais ou francanglais) les noms des deux langues officielles du Cameroun.

Les deux dénominations attestées mettent en évidence le fait que l'anglais est en contact avec le français. Cela peut laisser supposer que le camfranglais est parlé par des sujets effectivement bilingues, qui feraient ainsi de l'alternance codique. Or, la plupart des jeunes Camerounais francophones ne possèdent de l'anglais que ce qu'ils ont appris à l'école, dans un pays officiellement bilingue, mais où la communauté francophone et la communauté anglophone ne se mélangent généralement pas (Ethe 2013: 114-119). S'il est absolument nécessaire d'être francophone pour parler camfranglais, il n'est point besoin de connaître l'anglais. Le camfranglais n'est pas un code mixte comme le franlof (ou francolof) des intellectuels de Dakar, par exemple, où « les locuteurs recourent au mélange des deux codes [français et wolof] de manière telle que la compétence en français du sujet parlant apparaisse comme étant au moins égale à sa compétence en wolof » (Thiam 1994: 33).

La présence du terme anglais risque d'entraîner une surestimation de l'influence directe de cette langue (non seulement co-officielle dans le contexte analysé, mais aussi expression privilégiée de la mondialisation) dans les pratiques des jeunes, ainsi qu'une sous-estimation du rôle du pidgin-english en tant que pourvoyeur de termes. En effet, la très grande majorité du lexique pidgin est d'origine anglaise et le pidgin-english est parlé non seulement dans toute la partie anglophone du Cameroun, mais aussi dans une partie de la zone francophone (région bamiléké, Douala, et même, dans une moindre mesure, Yaoundé).

5. La formation du lexique

Comme pour les parlers des jeunes en général, ce qui est saillant en camfranglais, et ce qui semble lui être spécifique, a trait au lexique utilisé qui, de par son hétérogénéité, constitue nécessairement la partie la plus savoureuse du

point de vue de la panoplie des modalités créatrices utilisées. Si l'on peut observer des productions originales, il faut également se rappeler qu'elles sont souvent dues tantôt à des processus sémantiques (parmi ceux-ci, on peut citer extension, dérivation, métaphore, métonymie) tantôt à des procédés formels (par exemple, la dérivation et la troncation) qui ne sont pas originaux, mais qui se retrouvent aussi bien dans le français populaire que dans le français des jeunes de l'Hexagone (Bertucci 2011: 13-25).

Le numéro de la revue *Le français d'Afrique Noire* de 2009 dresse un inventaire du camfranglais qui occupe toute sa deuxième partie (Nzesse 2009: 168). Les mots répertoriés renvoient à des domaines bien précis qui seraient reconductibles aux différentes formes d'échange, telles que le commerce, l'argent et la drogue d'un côté, les aventures amoureuses de l'autre, ou encore la politique. Des sujets alors partagés par des jeunes à problèmes, tenus à l'écart, aux prises avec les réalités d'une existence de plus en plus embrouillée. Le glossaire proposé signale les domaines d'utilisation et insiste sur les motivations de création, mais il est loin d'être exhaustif, comme on peut le comprendre par la créativité langagière qui en ressort.

Carole de Féral, qui insiste sur le fait que faire appel à un mot camfranglais est un choix discursif et non pas une contrainte linguistique, souligne deux mots particulièrement récurrents en camfranglais : « nga » pour fille (par exemple, la nga était dans le train) et « do » pour argent (comme dans la phrase, il veut toujours que ses do augmentent) (De Féral 2006: 212).

Au total, le lexique utilisé ressemble à une mosaïque composée de néologismes mélangés aux emprunts effectués aux différentes langues interpellées. Parmi les modalités de dérivation les plus exploitées, figure le dédoublement dans le cas des noms, par exemple « bilibili » (bière locale à base de mil ou de maïs) (Nzesse 2009: 63) et « zoua-zoua » (onomatopée qui désigne un carburant de mauvaise qualité) (Nzesse 2009: 167-168). Un dédoublement qui est aussi présent dans le cas de locutions adverbiales dont la signification est immédiate pour renforcer l'insistance (« fort-fort » pour intensément, « hier-hier » pour il n'y a pas longtemps, « long-long » pour interminable) (Nzesse 2009: 95, 103, 112). On fait recours à l'altération et c'est le cas de « ministrion », péjoratif de ministre, très fréquent dans la presse écrite pour désigner politiciens et intellectuels dans le sens de leur inefficacité et corruption (Nzesse 2009: 122). On détermine la naissance de mots-valises, par exemple de chômeur et Cameroun vient « chômecam », très utilisé dans les journaux en prise directe sur l'actualité (Nzesse 2009: 73). On assiste aussi à des cas de troncation, comme pour « asso », terme affectueux pour un compagnon, un associé (Nzesse 2009: 57), et « clando »

de clandestin pour tout ce qui reste en dehors de la légalité, qu'il s'agisse de personnes comme les sans papiers ou de choses, comme par exemple les véhicules collectifs sans assurance ni enregistrement (Nzesse 2009: 73).

En général, la tendance est à la francisation pour les termes provenant des langues ethniques, par exemple « ngangament », où la racine doublée, vient d'une langue africaine, l'ewondo du groupe des langues beti (Ebongue 2017: 67), et la désinence est typique des adverbes français de modalité. « Nga » signifie petite amie, donc ici coquettement. On trouve d'autres cas d'hybridation interne associant une base anglaise à un suffixe français comme « knoweur » pour connaisseur. L'ensemble des études analysées souligne l'instabilité et la richesse de la production comme reflet d'une société en plein ferment évolutif qui se construit et se dynamise au quotidien (Feussi 2007: 44).

6. Morphosyntaxe et continuum linguistique

On observe une déstructuration des langues européennes-sources lorsque les paradigmes tendent à une simplification morphologique et à une certaine invariabilité : dans le cas du substantif et de l'adjectif, les marques de genre et de nombre sont le plus souvent absentes en camfranglais même si dans la langue d'origine existe une opposition morphologique masculin / féminin et singulier / pluriel. Pour le verbe, la situation est plus complexe d'autant plus que les lexèmes verbaux sont majoritairement empruntés à l'anglais. Un signe d'hybridation forte consiste à ajouter des morphèmes d'origine française aux lexèmes verbaux d'origine anglaise, que ce soit des morphèmes de personne ou de temps, venant surtout de l'imparfait dont la désinence est bien présente, par exemple, « Je mimba-ais qu'il allait recame » (je pensais qu'il allait revenir) (De Féral 2006: 218).

Sur le plan de la syntaxe, c'est-à-dire de l'agencement des constituants de la phrase, puisque les deux langues principalement sollicitées, le français et l'anglais, respectent l'ordre direct sujet-verbe-objet, alors l'organisation de base garde le modèle des langues européennes et adopte ce même ordre de manière assez régulière.

À l'intérieur du camfranglais, Augustin Ebongue et Paul Fonkoua envisagent un pôle haut et un pôle bas, plus une variété intermédiaire, chaque variété ayant des locuteurs bien précis. Pour affirmer cela, ils s'appuient sur des témoignages enregistrés au Lycée Joss de Douala, tout comme sur un autre corpus de Cécile Edith Ngo Nlend (Ebongue & Fonkoua 2010: 260).

Le camfranglais simplifié des lettrés est utilisé par les lycéens et par les jeunes professeurs de l'enseignement secondaire, ainsi que par un certain nombre d'aspirants fonctionnaires. L'usage de cette variété (acrolecte) leur permet, tout en affirmant leur appartenance à la jeunesse, de casser les barrières institutionnelles et formelles. Elle sert à se rapporter et à se raconter les faits divers ou à échanger de petites plaisanteries sur différents sujets. Sur le plan syntaxique, elle se caractérise par une structure essentiellement française (« J'ai buy un book ») (De Féral 2006: 213), ce qui rend les messages échangés somme toute compréhensibles.

La variété intermédiaire (mésolecte) appartient aux moyens scolarisés, c'est-à-dire à ces jeunes qui n'ont pas terminé le cycle secondaire pour des raisons diverses. La crise de l'emploi et l'émergence de nombreux métiers précaires favorisent le contact entre jeunes désœuvrés qui vivent d'expédients, la plupart du temps sur des marchés. La différence se situe au niveau du lexique et la raréfaction progressive des mots français rend le message presque inaccessible aux non-initiés (« Ma meuf bonjour. Ma big rémé n'aime pas que je go chatte les meufs du lage parce qu'elles sont gniè », pour « Bonjour, ma chérie. Ma grand-mère n'aime pas que je traîne avec les filles du village parce qu'elles sont négligées ») (Ebongue & Fonkoua 2010: 263).

En dernière position, le camfranglais des peu scolarisés (basilecte), communément nommés « nanga boko (enfant de la rue, enfant qui dort dehors) » (Nzesse 2009: 125) qui flânent dans les quartiers administratifs ou commerciaux à la recherche d'un emploi occasionnel. Cette variété est d'autant plus complexe qu'elle est farcie de mots puisés dans les langues camerounaises. Par exemple, « Je go d'abord tum les kakos pour falla les dos des tongos (Je dois d'abord aller vendre quelques objets pour chercher l'argent des bières) » (Ebongue & Fonkoua 2010: 264), où l'on trouve plusieurs mots d'origine camerounaise, « tum » (vendre), « kakos » (objets divers), « falla » (chercher) et « tongo » (bière). Les locuteurs de cette variété de camfranglais aiment aussi utiliser des formes abrégées (son, pour chanson) et des néologismes de sens (ballon d'or, pour grossesse). Pour les verbes, on a tendance à adopter des désinences de la conjugaison française sur des radicaux anglais ou issus des langues locales. Dans la plupart des associations lexicales de l'anglais au français, on remarque souvent que les radicaux sont anglais, même si le préfixe est français (le préfixe le plus utilisé en camfranglais étant re-). Par exemple, « Regive-moi mes ngops » (redonne-moi mes chaussures). Il en arrive de même pour les suffixations, où les radicaux sont issus de différentes langues, mais les suffixes restent d'origine française. Dans les cas suivants, on trouve -eur signifiant l'agent. De l'anglais

incorrect « by foot » (l'expression correcte est on foot) vient « byfooteur », celui qui est féru de la marche à pieds. Le douala « njoh » donne « njohteur » pour opportuniste, profiteur (Ebongue & Fonkoua 2010: 265-266).

7. En guise de conclusion

Au total, il s'agit d'une langue en évolution perpétuelle, parce qu'elle fonctionne en réponse à des exigences pragmatiques d'hermétisme, et à la fois très dynamique puisque rivée sur l'oralité. Du point de vue sociologique, on a tendance à remarquer que l'éloignement de la forme la plus cryptique du camfranglais est directement proportionnelle à l'avancement dans les études à cause desquelles les locuteurs sont plus sensibles aux règles apprises. Pourtant, ces derniers ne se détacheront pas totalement de l'oralité initiale pour garder le contact avec leurs camarades de jadis ou du quartier des origines.

Valentin Feussi affirme que l'instabilité du camfranglais « permet de le considérer comme un discours plurilingue, mélangé grâce auquel le locuteur peut s'identifier et reconnaître son groupe d'appartenance » (Feussi 2007: 47). Sa fluidité est un atout social pour les locuteurs, pour la présentation de soi. Plus que le quartier ou le rattachement ethnique, c'est l'appartenance à un groupe de pairs qui importe. Encore, la fonction identitaire est certes essentielle, mais il faut souligner également la dimension ludique et l'essor des nouvelles technologies. Enfin, il ne faut pas oublier non plus que le devenir de ces parlers jeunes dépend largement de la résistance que l'école peut leur opposer[4].

Tenter de cerner le champ flou de l'imaginaire linguistique, aux contours presque insaisissables puisque déterminés par le subjectif, est bel et bien une gageure où l'euphorie langagière se mêle à la polyphonie d'une outrance hétérogène et multilingue. Et pourtant, c'est un pari qui mérite d'être fait pour essayer d'approfondir ces contradictions non seulement linguistiques, mais aussi culturelles, surtout dans l'optique de Lise Gauvin qui parle d'une esthétique du divers apte à réaliser « l'utopie d'une Babel apprivoisée » (Gauvin 2004: 341).

Les images et représentations de cette langue des jeunes Camerounais sont des données qu'il faut prendre en compte dans l'élaboration d'une politique linguistique spécifique. Il reste à approfondir les particularités sociohistoriques du français du Cameroun en tant que reflet de la crise sociopolitique en cours (Sol Amougou 2018: 87-104). Il s'agit en effet de formes que l'on retrouve dans

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[4] Voir le film d'Edwin Erkwen, *Le camfranglais*, tourné à Yaoundé en 2009.

la presse, en particulier dans les titres des journaux ayant pour fonction d'attirer l'attention du public ciblé, tout comme dans les slogans qui sont affichés dans les rues principales des centres urbains en période électorale et qui peuvent cacher des messages dont la portée réelle échappe aux observateurs internationaux. Il en est de même pour le rap qui s'approprie ce parler jeune pour exalter son pouvoir d'attrait multiplicateur (Auzanneau 2001: 711-734).

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Taiwo Ehineni
Department of African and African American Studies
Harvard University

The ethnopragmatics of Yoruba personal names: Language in the context of culture

Abstract

While the subject of Yoruba names has been significantly explored by previous studies, this paper discusses extensively the nature of such names from an ethnopragmatic framework, with the aim of explicating how Yoruba names are formed, their various cultural contexts as well as the significant functions they play in the Yoruba ethnolinguistic ecology. It identifies and categorizes personal names based on contexts such as family situation, circumstantces of birth, religious orientation, death situation and profession. This paper reinforces that names are not just arbitrary labels, but most notably, linguistic categories – lexical, phrasal or sentential – that have indexical relationship to sociocultural meanings and functions, places, time, people, and events.

Keywords: Ethnopragmatics, Yoruba, names, context of situation, culture

1. Introduction

Yoruba personal names are deeply rooted in the language and culture of the Yorubas; this chapter, therefore, provides an indepth study of the sociocultural context that informs their forms and functions. Working within the framework of ethnopragmatics, this paper identifies the naming contexts and the various factors within the Yoruba ethnic community that influence and/or motivate the formation of these names. The various functions of these personal names are

also discussed. The main observation we put forward is that the linguistic forms in names are invoked by their overall *context of situation* (Malinowski 1923). Put differently, we argue that Yoruba personal names are linguistic forms that relate to social norms. They foreground elements of Yoruba human experience and ways of life and reinforce the fact that language and culture are inseparable. Essentially, this paper claims that names are not just arbitrary labels, nor ordinary linguistic features (i.e words, sentences and other aspects of language), but are linguistic categories that have indexical relationships to socio-cultural meanings and functions, places, time, people and events.

The paper is organized into different sections for ease of discussion. Section 2 provides a general overview of the framework of ethnopragmatics and its various applications in previous studies. Section 2.2. explores, more specifically, the application of the ethnopragmatic approach to the study of African names. In section 3, an ethnopragmatic analysis of Yoruba personal names is presented, which also includes a discussion of the Yoruba naming context (Section 3.1.) and factors motivating the choice of personal names (Section 3.2.). The functional roles that names perform in the Yoruba society are examined in Section 3.3. Section 3.4. provides a conclusion.

2. Ethnopragmatics

Ethnopragmatics examines "speech practices from a culture-internal perspective" (Goddard 2006: 2). Thus, for Goddard, ethnopragmatics seeks to understand how people use language specifically in the way it makes sense to them in terms of their "indigenous values, beliefs and attitudes, social categories, and emotions" (Goddard 2006: 2). The notion of ethnopragmatics correlates with the idea that people in different cultures speak differently because they think differently, feel differently, and relate differently to other people (Wierzbicka 2003, 1997). As Clyne (1994: 3) puts it, "cultural values constitute 'hidden' meanings underlying discourse structures". Therefore, a community of people may use language to reflect certain views and orientations that identify them uniquely from other people. Thus, it is beneficial to explore linguistic forms in terms of social and cultural contexts of use, as it uncovers more specific meanings. This is particularly true of names which are products of such specific contexts as speakers' emotions and surrounding circumstances. This is exemplified and elucidated later in the chapter.

Futhermore, as Goddard and Ye (2015: 67) explain, ethnopragmatics highlights the claim that there is an explanatory link between *indigenous values* and *social models*, on the one hand, and *indigenous speech practices*, on the other. Eth-

nopragmatics is an approach to language-in-use where culture is viewed as playing a central explanatory role, by helping to see the connection between language and other cultural phenomena. Thus, in ethnopragmatics, speech is culturally motivated, which suggests that culture provides a context in which we discuss language. More lucidly, Duranti (2011: 151) defines ethnopragmatics as a term involving *ethno* and *pragmatics*, where *pragmatics* focuses on the contextual uses of language in general and *ethno* highlights local communicative practices and native speakers' orientation to these practices. To Duranti, ethnopragmatics is an interdisciplinary approach that draws extensively from "the sociocultural context of language use, which includes an understanding of specific linguistic activities as embedded in and constitutive of locally organized and locally interpretable events(...)" (Duranti 2011: 155). Thus, ethnopragmatics deals with exploring cultural dimensions in linguistic representations. In this perspective, language is seen first and foremost as a cultural element that reflects a specific ethnic community.

However, ethnopragmatics as a field of study is primarily informed by the concept of cross-cultural pragmatics – developed through several studies by Wierzbicka (1991, 2003). In fact, Goddard and Ye (2015: 67) comment that "ethnopragmatics is a re-conceptualization of the approach to 'cross-cultural pragmatics'" inaugurated by Wierzbicka's (1991, 2003) work where she dealt with how different people operating in different cultures possess different communicational strategies. Wierzbicka proposed a more intercultural approach to discussing pragmatics, by arguing that previous models such as Grice's account of conversational implicature (Grice 1975), Brown and Levinson's (1978) Politeness Theory, and aspects of speech-act theory (Searle 1975), are predominantly universalist, and descriptively anglocentric. Wierzbicka's intercultural approach to the study of meaning in discourse is based on conversational practices grounded in cultural values. Therefore, the use of language should be analyzed in terms of how it is used by a specific community and how it reflects sociocultural realities in the studied community.

More important is the fact that names have also been examined from an ethnopragmatic perspective. This is an attempt to underscore the sociocultural underpinnings that inform the formation of names. The ethnopragmatic discussion of names, which is the focus of this study, will be examined in subsequent sections.

2.1. An ethnopragmatic study of Yoruba names

While names have been largerly discussed from an ethnopragmatic perspective, this study provides an analysis from a specific Yoruba ethnic context. In this

section, we shall explore how the formation of Yoruba names is influenced by the sociocultural context of the Yoruba ethnic community. Certain factors that motivate the choice of names will also be identified and discussed. Thus, the general naming context among the Yorubas is discussed in Section 2.2., whereas Section 2.3. highlights the factors that inform the choice of the names. Section 2.4. deals with the social functions of the names.

2.2. The naming context among the Yorubas

Naming is a very important socio-cultural facet of the Yoruba community; hence it is always accompanied by ceremonial activities. Like every aspect of culture, naming is a symbolic event that is usually historically constructed, socially maintained, and based on shared assumptions and expectations of members of a particular community. It is a ritual that is based on historical traditions passed down from generations to generations. In other words, naming is a communal festive occasion celebrated jointly by relatives, friends, neighbors, acquaintances and well-wishers. In Yoruba society, naming is referred to as *ìsọmọlórúkọ*, which literally translates as "giving a child a name". Traditionally, the naming ceremony usually takes place on the 7th day after birth, if the child is a girl, but if the child is a boy, it occurs on the 9th day. However, in the case of twins, the 7th day is also the day of naming if the twins are both females; the naming ceremony is held on the 8th day, if the children are male and female twins, while if both twins are male, then the naming takes place on the 9th day (Ilesanmi 1987). The difference in days of naming is based on the traditional Yoruba belief that females have seven ribs while males have nine (Akinnaso 1980). This belief is based on the orientation among the Yorubas that males are physically stronger than women. Furthermore, several studies on naming in Yoruba culture have also identified the use of symbolic elements, such as *omi* 'water', *epo* 'palm oil', *orógbó* 'bitter kola', *obì* 'kola nuts', *ataare* 'alligator pepper', *àádùn* 'grounded roasted corn made into paste with palm oil', *iyọ̀* 'salt', *ìrèké* 'sugar cane', *ọtí* 'liquor' and so on (see Adeoye 1979, Daramola & Jeje 1967, Ilesanmi 1987, Ladele *et al.* 1986, Ogunbowale 1979). It should be noted that all these traditional elements are significant, as Akinyemi (2005: 116) points out. Due to the contact of the Yoruba people with Europeans and the adoption of the Western calendar by the Yorubas, the naming ceremony now takes place in the morning of the 8th day after the birth of a child, with a party or social gathering following later in the afternoon. Akinyemi explains that unlike customary practice in the American and European societies, where parents are expected to provide a name for their child on the day of birth, the Yoruba people must not announce a child's name until a week after his/her birth. Tradition allows

parents, grandparents, great grandparents, relations, and family friends to give names to a newborn during the naming ceremony (Akinyemi 2005: 116). Hence, a Yoruba child may have as many as five to six names. Basically, it is the biological parents who decide on the name that a child will eventually use (Akinyemi 2005: 116). It should be noted, however, that many factors come into play when making this decision as discussed later in this paper.

Basically, as Akinnaso (1980: 278) comments, the naming ceremony is a symbolic initiation of the baby into society and into life. Hence, all members of the society are expected to attend and participate in the ceremony, joining in the cooking, eating, singing and dancing as well as contributing goods and services to the utmost of their ability. They owe the new baby and the parents these obligations which are expected to be reciprocated in the future. Hence, it is common for older people to refer to a younger people in the Yoruba ethnic community as "my child", "my son" or "my daughter" to relate with them. As Akinnaso elucidates, this reflects the emphasis put on cooperation and communalism among the Yorubas with respect to child raising. Thanks to their coming together as a community to celebrate the birth of a child and support the new child's parents, the Yoruba naming event serves to reinforce the virtues of cooperation and relationships in the Yoruba community.

2.3. Factors motivating the choice of names

The Yorubas have a popular maxim which says *ilé làá wò kató sọ ọmọlórúkọ*, meaning "the condition of the home determines a child's name". This maxim emphasizes the indispensability of the social or circumstantial context when naming a child. In other words, names are not arbitrarily or indiscriminately chosen, they are deliberately informed by sociocultural considerations. In this perspective, Obeng observes that names may "reflect geographical environment where a child or its parents inhabit, as well as their fears, religious beliefs and philosophy of life and death. Children's names may even provide insights into important cultural or socio-political events at the time of their birth" (Obeng 1998: 163). Among the Yorubas, the choice of names may be motivated by family situation, birth circumstances, religion, profession, death-situation, among others. These factors are discussed in the following sections.

2.3.1. Family situation or parents' experiences

The family situation refers to current experiences or events in the family when the child was born. They include the experiences of the parents. For instance, if a child was born after a major breakthrough in a family or during a successful

achievement by the parents, the child could be given the names listed in (1) – (8) below.

name	*meaning*
(1) ayọ̀mideji	'my joy has doubled'
(2) ayọ̀mipọ̀si	'my joy has increased'
(3) ayọ̀dipúpọ̀	'joy has become much'
(4) ọlámilékan	'my wealth has been added to'
(5) ayọ̀dipúpọ̀	'wealth has become much'
(6) ayọ̀mikún	'my joy is now full'
(7) ọládipúpọ̀	'wealth has become much'
(8) iremidé	'my goodness has come'

These names are given to commemorate good moments in a family's life. Parents usually give these names to express emotions such as joy and happiness. Also, these names are given to show that the child was born at a time when things were going well in a family. Thus, a name is given to mark progress or positive developments in a family. For instance, a child named *ayọ̀mipọ̀si* 'my joy has increased' or *ayọ̀mikún* 'my joy is now full' is perceived to be a child whose birth has brought more joy to the family.

Names may also be given to as a result of parents' tough times or misfortunes. Some of such names are enumerated below in (9) – (15).

name	*meaning*
(9) ọ̀tẹ́gbẹ̀ye	'conspiracy deprived us of our honor'
(10) àbáyọ̀mí	'they would have made jest of me'
(11) ọlániyọ̀nu	'honor is full of troubles'
(12) fìjàbí	'born while in conflict'
(13) ayésòro	'life is difficult'
(14) ayéjùsùnlé	'life is not worth relying on'
(15) ajéníyà	'success has suffering'

These names are motivated by hard times and problems endured by parents during the time of the birth of a child. For instance, the name *ọ̀tẹ́gbẹ̀ye* 'conspiracy deprived us of our honor' may specificially be given if a couple gives birth to a male child shortly after other people conspired to deprive the parents either of their social, financial or political entitlements. Also, *ọlániyọ̀nu*, 'honor is full of troubles' may be given to a child whose parents suffered several tribulations because of their reputation. *Fìjàbí*, 'born while in conflict' is a name given to a child born in time of war or during rivalry between the parents or the community and other people/communities. As Akinyemi (2005) observes, names are significant means through which Yoruba people document their histories; the names given in this section document parents' experiences.

2.3.2. Birth circumstances

This is a factor that relates to the peculiar situations of delivery of children among the Yoruba people. Usually, names given based on the birth circumstances describe the physical condition of a child at delivery, his/her posture at birth or position while coming out of the mother's womb. Hence, a child may be said to have 'orúkọ àmútọrunwá' – a name brought from heaven – when such a child is born with a unique posture at birth. In other words, such a child is said to have been "born with his/her name" (Akinyemi 2005: 117) since the situation of birth imposes certain names on the child. The Yorubas believe children are often born with their head first. However, when a child is born with the feet first, it is considered unique. Hence, a name is given to indicate this uniqueness. Essentially, names based on the circumstances surrounding the birth of a child may relate to the manner of birth, place of birth or period of birth. Manner of birth relates to *how* a child was born whereas period of birth relates to *when* he/she was born – e.g. during a festival or sacred days. Names given to children born in such circumstances are listed below in (16) – (22).

Names based on manner of birth

name	*meaning*
(16) ìgè	'born feet first'
(17) àjàyí	'born face down'
(18) ọ̀kẹ́	'born with amniotic sac'
(19) òjó	'male child born with umbilical cord twined around neck'
(20) àìná	'female child born with umbilical cord twined around neck'
(21) dàda	'born with knotted hair or dreads'
(22) olúgbódi	'born with the sixth finger'

These names reflect the situation in which the new child is born from his/her mother's womb. The Yorubas believe that the way a child is born may say a lot about his/her destiny. Specifically, *Ìgè* is a name given to a male or female child born feet first, in other words, in a breech position, *Àjàyí* is a male or female name given to a child born face down, while *Òkẹ́*, which literally translates as 'a sack', is a male or female name for a child wrapped in a thin membrane or amniotic sac during the birth. Also, when a male child is born with the umbilical cord twined around his neck, he is called *Òjó*, while if it is a female child that is born with the umbilical cord twined around her neck, she is named *Àìná*. Hence, the choice of a name may be a result of the posture in which the child comes out of the womb. Some families among the Yorubas, according to my informants, see such children as having special abilities since they were not born in the 'usual' or 'normal' way of delivery. Another aspect of the circumstancial names

is the period of birth. Names of this kind are given to indicate the time or moment when a child was born. These names commonly reflect periods such as traditional festivals, religious celebrations or other social events (coronation, war, etc). When a child is born during these periods, he/she can receive a name indicating the period of birth. Such names are presented in (23) – (28) below.

Names based on period of birth

	name	*meaning*
(23)	abíọ́dún	'born during a festive period'
(24)	abọ́dúndé	'come with the new year'
(25)	abíọ́yè	'born during coronation'
(26)	abíogun	'born during war'
(27)	ogundínà	'war blocked us'
(28)	ogunléndé	'war pursued me'

The name *Abíọ́dún* may be used when a child was born during any of the traditional festivals (*Egúngún* (masquerade) festival, *Iṣu túntún* (new yam) festival, *Iléyá* (homecoming) festival etc.). Names such as *Ogundínà*, *Ogunléndé* are given to denote that a child was born during fierce moments of war. It should be noted that children given such 'war names' are perceived as potentially strong and vigorous, and therefore able to confront and deal with any tough challenges they face later in life. According to Blum (1997: 364), "these names are viewed as governing the child's fate in some ways, they should harmonise with the time and often place of the child's birth". Thus, it is believed that by designating the period of birth, these names suggest the personality or destiny of a child.

2.3.3. Birth order

Some names reflect the order in which children were born into a family. For instance, the first child in a family may be called *Àlàbí* 'first to be born', as he/she is the one that opens the mother's womb. However, names based on the order of birth among the Yorubas are given mainly to twins. Children who are born twins and those who are born after them are given names that show the order in which they follow the twins. These names are cited below in (29) – (33).

	name	*meaning*
(29)	táyéwò	'have the first taste of the world'
(30)	kẹ́hìndé	'one who comes later'
(31)	idòwú	'one that comes after twins'
(32)	àlabá	'one that survives for us to meet'
(33)	ìdògbé	'one born third after twins'

The first of the twins is called *Táyéwò* (also known as *Táíwò*) while the name *Kẹ́hìndé* is given to the second twin. The next child born after the twins is called

Ìdòwú, which means 'one that comes after twins'. The child born after *Ìdòwú* is named *Àlàbá*, while the child born after *Àlàbá* is called *Ìdògbé*. The child born after *Ìdògbé* receives the name *Ìdòkún*. These names are positionally determined and reflect the order of birth of the children. It is also important to note that among the twins, although *Táyéwò* is born before *Kẹ́hìndé*, *Kẹ́hìndé* is considered as *Táyéwò*'s senior. This is because the Yorubas believe that *Táyéwò* [tọ́-ayé-wò], meaning 'taste the world to see", is a forerunner of *Kehinde* ('last to come'). *Táyéwò* comes first to taste the world to check if the world is a place to live and "after tasting the world to see how it looks like". *Táyéwò* gives *Kẹ́hìndé* a good report about the world. Hence, *Kẹ́hìndé* comes after *Táyéwò*. Thus, *Táyéwò* is a messenger, who went to the world on errands for *Kẹ́hìndé*. The Yorubas believe it is the older that sends the younger on errands. This makes *Táyéwò* (although first of the twins) the younger, while *Kẹ́hìndé* (although the last of the twins) the elder. Thus, birth order names also foreground Yoruba psychology and philisophy.

2.3.4. Gender

Another important factor that affects the name selection in Yoruba is gender. A child may be given a name based on his/her gender. For instance, if a woman suffered several losses of children at childbirth, a surviving male child born after that experience is named *Àjàní* 'fight to have', while a surviving female child is called *Àbẹ̀bí* 'a child who was begged to be born'. It should be noted that a male child may not be named *Àbẹ̀bí*, neither can a female child bear the name *Àjàní* – it is culturally inappropriate. More examples of these gender-based names are given below in (34) – (40).

Masculine-names	*meaning*
(34) máyọ̀wá	'bring joy come'
(35) bánkọ́lé	'build a house for me'
(36) akin	'strong one'
(37) àjàní	'fight to have'
(38) àkànní	'meet to have'
(39) wálé	'come home'
(40) gbádé	'take crown'

Feminine-names	*meaning*
(41) títílayọ̀	'forever is joy'
(42) bíọ́lá	'born into wealth'
(43) àdùnní	'sweet to have'
(44) àríkẹ́	'see to pamper'
(45) àjíkẹ́	'wake up to pamper'

(46) wùnmí 'desire me'
(47) yẹ́misí 'honor me'

What is important to note in describing the nature of gender-oriented names in Yoruba is that feminine names often reflect ideas such as sweetness, pampering, desiring, etc., while masculine names may be characterized with ideas involving action or responsibility. Similar observation was also made by Suzman on Zulu names which may be given according to sex of children, where male children are seen "as future providers and heads of families; so, it was particularly good to have a boy first, in which case he received a name like *uVusumuzi* 'Revive the home'" (Suzman 1994: 263). This example is similar to *Bánkọ́lé* 'build a house for me' in Yoruba, where a name is associated with social responsiblity given to a male child at birth.

2.3.5. Religion

A child may also be given a name based on the religious inclinations of his/her family or deities affiliated with his/her ancestral lineage. Akinyemi (2005: 118) observes that "some Yoruba personal names reflect the religious inclination of families or the name of the bearer's personal patron deities". Akinyemi further explains that a name like *Ògúnjìmí* 'Ogún has given this child to me to keep' projects the image of Ogún, the hero-deity associated with the introduction of iron in Yoruba society, and also worshipped by the warriors, hunters, blacksmiths, and wood carvers because they all make use of metal in their profession (Akinyemi 2005: 118). There are different deities that are revered in the Yoruba traditional society and children may be given names to reflect the beliefs in these deities. A description of these deities is given in Table 1 below.

TABLE 1. Yoruba deities and their desription

Deities	Description
Ogún	god of iron
Ifá	god of wisdom
Ṣàngó	god of lightning and thunder
Èṣù	god of roads and schemes
Ọ̀sanyín	god of forest
Ọ̀ya	goddess of fertility
Yemoja	goddess of sea
Ọ̀sún	goddess of beauty and love
Ajé	god of wealth

In Yoruba traditional religion, the deities described in Table 1 are seen as supernatural beings endowed with extraordinary powers. Thus, they are worshipped by people who desire their blessings, since each deity has a specialization. Each deity has a shrine with priests or a priestess that people meet for spiritual consultations. Also, every clan or lineage in the Yoruba community has a family deity that is worshipped and venerated via the ancestors. Thus, when a child is born into such a family, he/she is given a name to reflect the deity that is worshipped by this family.

Similarly, if a couple has not been able to have a child after several years of marriage, they may go to the shrine of a deity to ask for children. If they get a child shortly after visiting the shrine, the child may be given a name to indicate their gratitude to the deity. For instance, the name, *Ọ̀ṣunfúnkẹ́* 'Ọ̀sun-deity-gave-me-(a child)-to-pamper', is given to a child by parents to appreciate Ọ̀ṣun-deity for giving them a child. Apart from using names to show appreciation to these deities, names may also be given to valorize them. These names may indicate their qualities, express their actions or foreground their exploits. Elaborate examples of the various deity-informed names are presented below in (48) – (77).

Ògún-deity informed names	*meaning*
(48) ògúnnọ́wọ̀	'ògún has respect'
(49) ògúnrótìmí	'ògún stands with me'
(50) ògúnmọ́lá	'ògún brings wealth'
(51) ògúnlànà	'ògún paves way'
(52) ògúnṣakin	'ògún makes a strong one'
Ifá-deity informed names	*meaning*
(53) fábùnmi	'ifá gives me'
(54) fáṣọlá	'ifá makes wealth'
(55) fálọlá	'ifá is wealth'
(56) fábíyì	'ifá gave birth to this one'
(57) fákòyà	'ifá rejects suffering'
Èṣù-deity informed names	*meaning*
(58) èṣùgbayì	'èṣù has earned respect'
(59) èṣùyẹ́mí	'èṣù befits me'
(60) èṣùdé	'èṣù has come'
(61) èṣùsànyà	'èṣù repaid my suffering'
(62) èṣùgbèmí	'èṣù support me'
Ọ̀ṣun-deity informed names	*meaning*
(63) ọ̀ṣunfúnkẹ́	'ọ̀ṣun gave me to pamper'
(64) ọ̀ṣuntókun	'ọ̀ṣun is up to the river'

(65) ọ̀ṣunkójọ̀	'ọ̀ṣun gathers'
(66) ọ̀ṣunyọ̀mádé	'ọ̀ṣun rejoices with the crown'
(67) ọ̀ṣundáre	'ọ̀ṣun creates justification'

Ṣàngó-deity informed names	*meaning*
(68) ṣàngódélé	'ṣàngó arrived home'
(69) ṣàngówúnmi	'ṣàngó attracts me'
(70) ṣàngódéyí	'ṣàngó became this one'
(71) ṣàngóyọ̀mí	'ṣàngó exonerates me'
(72) ṣàngógbàmí	'ṣàngó saves me'

Ọya-deity informed names	*meaning*
(73) ọyadìran	'ọya become a vision'
(74) ọyadámilọ́lá	'ọya celebrates me'
(75) ọyasanmí	'ọya pays me'
(76) ọyadárà	'ọya performs wonders'
(77) ọyaṣèyí	'ọya has done this'

Essentially, names are "pointers to their users' religious beliefs and practices" (Obeng 2001: 144) and through names "Africans are able to reveal how the natural and the supernatural function together to construct an individual's fate and destiny" (Obeng 2001: 144). Yoruba religious personal names underscore how the Yorubas view their deities and celebrate them. Most of these names are expressives or declaratives – they assert who the deities are or what they have done.

2.3.6. Profession

Names may also be given based on the profession ancestrally associated with a family. Akinyemi (2005: 118) explains that Yoruba society is characterized by all kinds of professions and even though these professions vary according to gender, each has a prefix that can be added to names to reflect the professional affiliation of the name bearer's family. For instance, as Akinyemi illustrates, the prefix *Akin* in *Akinjídé* "the strong one has arrived" may only be used in naming male children born into a family of warriors (Akinyemi 2005: 118). It should be noted that what is meant by the designation "warriors" is that there is a specialized group of people (often referred to as warrior groups) who are trained to fight for a community against external forces. Also, it is pertinent to note that among the Yorubas, there used to be inter-ethnic wars where ethnic groups fought against one another to show superiority and assert dominion over others. Thus, the Yorubas, as a major ethnic group, have a trained group of warriors, skilled in the use of armory (including but not restricted to spear, arrows, traditional guns and cutlass) to fight. This is a respected and revered profession among the Yorubas,

as they provide security in different Yoruba sub-communities. Hence, a child born into such family is given a name to show that he or she is from a family of warriors.

Furthermore, there is the family of hunters. Usually, children born into a family of hunters have the prefix *Ọdẹ* (hunter) in their names. Similarly, in the family of drummers, the word *Àyàn* (drum), is prefixed to their names. Even though "only men are actively involved in the hunting and drumming professions in Yoruba society" (Akinyemi 2005: 118), both male and female children are given names that contain the prefix *Ọdẹ* and *Àyàn*. To illustrate how the names may reflect profession, Akínyemi (2005: 118) identifies *Ọdẹwálé* 'the hunter has returned home' to identify the bearers as male, and *Ọdẹfúnkẹ́* 'the hunting profession has given this child to me to pet' to identify the bearers as female.

Apart from these aforementioned professions, Yoruba families are also involved in artwork and sculpture work. Children born to these families often have names that prefix the title *Ọnà* 'art' to their names. For instance, *Ọ̀nàmúyiwá*, 'Artwork has brought this child' to show that the artwork has been helpful in making the birth of the child possible, while *Ọ̀nàyẹmí*, 'Artwork befits me', demonstrates a family's pride in their art profession.

TABLE 2. Profession-oriented names

Professions	Personal names
hunters	*ọdẹkúnlé* 'the hunter fills the house' *ọdẹgòkè* 'the hunter climbs the hill'
warriors	*akínwálé* 'the strong one has come home' *akíngboyè* 'the strong one takes a title'
artists	*ọ̀nàrìndé* 'art has travelled back' *ọ̀nàyẹmí* 'art befits me'
drummers	*àyángbẹ̀yẹ* 'the drummer recieves dignity' *àyándoyin* 'the drummer becomes sweetness'
priests	*awopìtàn* 'the priest/cult reveals a story' *awogbèmí* 'the priest/cult supports me'

As illustrated in the above examples, names may be given based on the professional affiliation of a family. Ikotun (2014) identifies the name *Àgbẹ̀dẹ* 'goldsmith' as a profession-oriented personal name, but the word *Àgbẹ̀dẹ* may not be used productively as a prefix to derive similar personal names like the other profession-oriented names shown in Table 2 above. However, a child born into such

family may be called *Ọmọ-Àgbẹ̀dẹ* 'child of a goldsmith'. Another factor that may inform the choice of a name is the event of death. This factor is discussed in next section.

2.3.7. Death situation

A name may be motivated in the context of death. The Yorubas believe that if a mother suffers constant infant mortality, then the reason is that it is the child's mother in the underworld that does not want the child to stay in the world of the living. Such a child is regarded as an *àbíkú* 'born-to-die'. Akinyemi (2005) explains that these death-associated names are personal names given to children who are believed to have prearranged before birth the precise time of their deaths. Hence, as Akinyemi comments, the Yorubas believe that such names can prevent the untimely death of such children. This has also been observed in other African communities that by "giving children death-prevention names, the children's biological parents hope that even if the members of the spirit world recognize the children eventually, they will be so angry (because of the ugly nature of the death-prevention name) that they will not call the child to the spirit world. Specifically, the spiritual parents will be 'incapacitated' by the death-prevention names and this will enable the child to live" (Obeng 1998: 166). Death-prevention names among the Yorubas are presented below in (78) – (90).

Death-prevention name	*meaning*
(78) kúforíjì	'death, forgive this one'
(79) kúfisílẹ̀	'death, leave this one alone'
(80) kújẹ́nyọ̀	'death, allow me to rejoice'
(81) kúmáyọ̀mí	'death, don't make jest of me'
(82) kúmápàyí	'death, don't kill this one'

The above names in (78) – (82) are structured as an address to Death to allow an *àbíkú* child to stay and not die "again". The names may also be presented in a form of a command to the child to stay, especially when the parents are deeply frustrated after losing many children. These command-like names are given below in (83) – (89).

Death-prevention name	*meaning*
(83) málọ́mọ́	'don't go again'
(84) máku	'don't die'
(85) dúrójayé	'wait to enjoy life'
(86) dúrósimí	'wait to bury me'
(87) dúrótìmí	'wait with me'
(88) bánjókòó	'sit down or stay with me'
(89) bámitálẹ́	'stay with me till the night'

Furthermore, death-prevention names may also be formed to show nagginess or nastiness among the Yorubas. This reflects the observation that "they [death-prevention names] may be nasty names of migrant labourers, dangerous animals, nasty objects, filthy places and expressions of emotions" (Agyekum 2006: 221, see also Obeng 2001, 1998). Examples of these groups of death-prevention names among the Yorubas are provided in (90) – (93) below.

Death-prevention name	*meaning*
(90) akísàátán	'no more rags'
(91) ìgbẹ́kọ̀yí	'the bush rejects this'
(92) emèrè	'the bewitched'
(93) kílànkó	'what are we gathering'

The name *Akísàátán* 'no more rags' is a nagging name to inform the *àbíkú* child that the parents do not have clothing material in which to bury him or her, if he or she dies. Also, by using the word 'rags', the child is being humiliated as someone who deserves only rags, not good clothes. *Ìgbẹ́kòyí* 'even the bush rejects this one' is another nasty name to insult the *àbíkú* child that he or she would be rejected in case he or she dies again. In this section, we have discussed various factors that may determine the choice of a personal name among the Yorubas. The discussion thus far indicates that the use of a language is influenced by the worldviews and philosophy of the society that uses that language. In other words, names may be seen as linguistic forms with cultural features. For instance, Yoruba names reflect people's beliefs and cultural orientations about birth-order, manner in which a child is born, deities, infant mortality, profession, and so on. This also reiterates Akinyemi's observation that "Yoruba personal names carry specific cultural information about the people's societal values, philosophical thoughts, worldviews, religious systems, and beliefs" (Akinyemi 2005: 121). Apart from the fact that the used names are selected according to various social factors, names also perform specific functions in the Yoruba society.

2.4. Functions of names in the Yoruba community

Yoruba names perform a number of functions in the Yoruba community. These functions include indicating identity, marking status, expressing past experiences or emotions and feelings, showing solidarity, and so on. These functions are discussed in the following subsections.

Identity

Yoruba names provide information about a person's socio-cultural background and family identity. It is thus possible to use one's name to trace his/her back-

ground or lineage. A personal name may indicate that one is from a royal family – for instance names with *Adé* (crown) prefix – or reveal if one was an *àbíkú* child that survived – for example names with *Ikú* (death) prefix. Personal names may therefore reflect a person's birth day, period, events surrounding his/her birth, as well as family profession or status in the society, or even inform society that the child was an *àbíkú* child that survived. Thus, among the Yorubas, a personal name is a person's private porfolio.

Status-marking in conversation

Yoruba personal names, especially hypocoristic personal names, may be used to index different contexts of conversation, including a peer interactional, superior-to-subordinate, and subordinate-to-superior contexts. This has also been observed in Akan personal names (Obeng 1997). Obeng comments that, among the Akans, hypocoristic day names are used to mark status in different contexts, such as among equals or in superior-subordinate or subordinate-superior interaction. Similar to Akan hypocoristic names, Yoruba hypocoristic names may perform different communicative functions relative to the issue of status. Apart from the fact that in a superior-to-subordinate context the hypocoristic names express affection, warmth, the idea of being loved or worth caring for, hypocoristic names denote the smallness of the referent when used in this context (See Obeng 1997, 2001). That is, among the Yoruba, an older person may use a hypocoristic personal name such as *Akínakìn* (from *Akín* 'the strong one'), or *Búkì* (from *Bùkọ́lá* 'mine is God's') when referring to a younger person to show that he or she is a superior to the younger person. However, when such a hypocoristic personal name is used among peers, it is used to indicate equality or solidarity.

Crucially, as far as status is concerned, it should be noted that the hypocoristics may not be used by a suboordinate to refer to a superior (suboordinate-to-superior-context). It is considered disrespectful for a younger person to call an older person using his/her hypocoristic personal name. Such a young individual may be immediately cautioned and/or reprimanded by the members of the community. However, it is also possible for an older person to offer permission or consent to a young person to use a hypocoristic to refer to him or her, to show familiarity, love or intimacy. This is particularly possible in situations including parent-child context or a boyfriend-girlfriend situation, where the older wants the younger to be able to relate freely with him or her. Hence, there are social "constraints" that regulate the use of the hypocoristic personal names among the Yorubas.

Expression of experiences

As Obeng (2001: 8) indicates, generally, names in African societies "may express emotional features as anger, disappointment and anxiety of the name-giver or the child's immediate family". Yoruba names may convey the experiences of a child's parents or family. These experiences may be negative and may include parents' frustrations and challenges. Such negative experiences are often revealed through death-prevention names such as *Máḷọmọ́* 'don't go again', *Mákú* 'don't die', *Dúrósínmí* 'wait to bury me', *Dúrójayé* 'wait to enjoy life', which illustrate the name-giver's frustration having witnessed previous loss of children. The name *Máḷọmọ́* 'don't go again' suggests that the child had once come into this world (that is, has been born before) and gone back (to the spirit world), hence a plea is given to make him or her stay here on Earth. Additionally, names may communicate positive experiences such as recent successes and accomplishments. For instance, names such as *Iremidé* 'my fortune has come' *Ọlámipọ̀si* 'my wealth has increased' show that the name giver (who is indexed through the use of 'my' first person possessive pronoun) has made some breakthrough.

For praise or description of a child

Personal names may be given to convey certain attributes peculiar to a specific family. Such personal names are referred to as *oríkì àbísọ* 'attributive personal name' (Oyelaran 1976). These names may also "express what the child is to his or her parents, and what the parents hope that the child will become later in life" (Akinyemi 2005: 120). As Akinyemi further explains, such names may convey some heroic, brave, or strong characteristics about a child. For instance, *Àjàní/ Àjàmú* 'one who fights to have or possess' is a name usually given to a male child conceived after prolonged arguments (fights) between parents; whereas for female children, this type of name often suggests tender care or endearment. For example, *Àdùkẹ́*, 'one whom people shall contest to endear' is a name for a child considered to be lavished with love and care, and *Ajike* 'one whom we rise up early in the morning to endear' is a name that typifies a child as someone people should pamper every morning. An aspect of personal names where the function of praise is largely manifest is totemic names. Totemic names may be referred to as *oríkì orílé* (Oduyoye 1982). The term *oríkì orílé* literally means 'praise belonging to family'. These names, as Orie (2002: 119) comments, are characterized by poems that encode information such as family origin, character and taboos. Totemic names derive from totems such as *ọ̀kín* 'peacock', *erin* 'elephant', *ọ̀pó* 'staff', *oyin* 'honey', which are used to categorize family character. For instance, in the family of kings, apart from a kingship personal name, a child may also be given a totemic personal name based on the totem associated with

dominion in the Yoruba community. In other words, such a child may be referred to as *Adeníyí Erinfọlámí* 'crown has honor' 'the elephant that breathes with wealth'. These totemic personal names are presented below.

TABLE 3. Totemic personal names

Totem	Corresponding personal names
Erin	*Erinfọlámí* 'the elephant that breathes with wealth' *Erinlákátabú* 'the mightily built elephant'
Ọkín	*Ọkínbàlóyè* 'the peacock occupies a position' *Okíngboyè* 'the peacock takes a title'
Oyin	*Oyínkánsọ́lá* 'the honey drops into wealth' *Oyíndàmọ́lá* 'the honey mixes with wealth'
Ọpá	*Ọpáyímiká* 'the staff surrounds me' *Ọpábúnmi* 'the staff adds to me'

These totemic personal names draw meanings from objects or animals used as emblems to symbolically represent a family or serve as a distinctive mark of a lineage. Basically, they are given to children to eulogize and valorize certain qualities of the family into which such children are born. Another important function of personal names among the Yorubas, that of giving instruction and passing commentary on human nature, is discussed in the next section.

Instruction and commentary on human nature

Names in this category are given to teach morals and equip people with wisdom. These names are derived from lessons learnt from behaviors of certain people in the society. They may be referred to as *proverbial names* since they express cultural truisms and inform about human nature in general. These proverbial names may state such general facts as expressed in *Olówóòkéré*, 'the wealthy one is not a small person', *Ọláòṣebikan* 'wealth alone does not solve a problem' or *Olówópọ̀rọ̀kú* 'the wealthy one destroys poverty'. They may also ask rhetorical questions to call people to logical or critical thinking. Among such names are: *Tanimọ̀la* 'who knows tomorrow?', *Tántọ́lọ́un* 'who's like the supreme God?', *Tanimọ̀ọ́wò* 'who knows how to cater for him or her?' Furthermore, these names may also be clipped as *Ẹ̀hìnẹni* 'one's back' (from *ẹ̀hìnẹniníbanikalẹ́* 'one's back stands with one till the end', *Báọ̀kú* 'as long as we are not dead' (from *báòkúiseòtán* 'as long as we are not dead work does not end'). Hence, based on the complex nature of proverbial names, different structural patterns may be identified as illustrated in Figure 1 below.

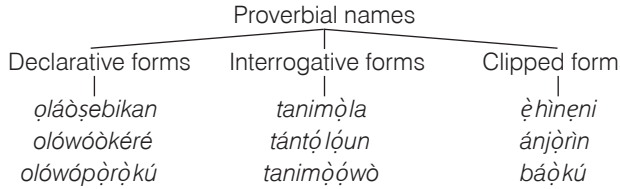

Fig. 1. Discourse-pragmatic structures in Yoruba proverbial names

The different structures in proverbial names are provoked by their various ethnopragmatic imports. In other words, even though these names are all proverbial names, they communicate different messages and inform people about different aspects of human nature and character. Basically, they tend to educate people on topics such as life, wealth, poverty, hard work, trust and so on. It is also important to note that the message in proverbial personal names may be indirectly communicated – for instance, in *tanimọ̀la* 'who knows tomorrow?' a message that no one knows everything is indirectly conveyed (see Obeng 1994, 2001: 49-68 for a more detailed discussion of indirectness). More importantly, Yoruba proverbial names demonstrate that names are deeply rooted in the sociocultural context of the Yoruba people and it is difficult to understand the names without a thorough knowledge of the Yoruba society, beliefs, philosophy, and psychology.

3. Conclusion

This paper has revealed that names are formed not only based on a context of situation (Malinowski 1923, Halliday and Hassan 1985) but more specifically derived from a context of culture – where certain sociocultural factors in a particular community determine what name is given to a child, why such a name is given, and for what purpose the name is given. In other words, we demonstrate that names are formed based on significant contexts in Yoruba culture. Furthermore, the exploration of personal names in terms of the various functions they perform in the society suggests that names have communicative relevance. They may be used to convey people's identities, status, experiences and emotions. They may also be used to provide instruction to people in the society. Thus, names also have didactic significance. Hence, we argue that names are not just ordinary labels, they play significant social and pragmatic roles in the Yoruba society.

Yoruba names have ethnopragmatic significance since they reflect language in a sociocultural context. They reinforce the fact that language is deeply grounded in the context of cultural beliefs, traditions and practices of a particular ethnic

community. Language is a sociocultural mirror. It is a pragmatic lens through which we may view social structures (i.e. royalty via royal names), human relationships and social roles (i.e. hypocoristic personal names), people's frustrations or fortunes (i.e. death-prevention names and circumstancial names). Ultimately, it is argued that names are neither mere arbitrary labels nor ordinary linguistic features (i.e. words, sentences and other aspects of language), but most importantly, names are linguistic categories that have an indexical relationship to socio-cultural meanings and functions, places, time, people and events. This also advances the view that language and culture are inseparable.

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Marcin Krawczuk
University of Warsaw

The image of Muslims and Islam in Christian Ethiopic hagiographies written in Gə‘əz

Abstract

The purpose of the article is to reconstruct the image of Muslims and Islam in the Ethiopic hagiographical texts written in the Ethiopic (Gə‘əz) language. On the basis of ca. 20 texts (both edited and remaining in manuscripts) the author surveys how various themes related to Muslims and Islam are present in this genre of Ethiopic literature and what literary purpose they serve. These themes include: economic activities of Muslims, comparing them to Biblical figures, their conversion to Christianity or associating them with the satanic forces. Additionally, the article offers a comprehensive overview of the Ge'ez terms which are used in reference to the adherents of the Muslim faith.

Keywords: Hagiography, Ethiopian Islam, stereotype, Christian-Muslim relations, Ethiopia, Ethiopic language

The period after the year 1991 has witnessed an unprecedented growth of the scholarly literature devoted to Ethiopian Islam/Islam in Ethiopia[1] . Many sources have been published, which shed a new light on the life and history of the Muslim communities in the areas which now form the territory of the Federal Democratic

[1] This distinction is somewhat charged politically (see e.g. Østebø 2013: 1037). In the present text the term ‘Ethiopian Islam’ will be used. For a summary of pre-1991 research on this subject see Hussein (1992).

Republic of Ethiopia. Thanks to, among others, the efforts of the scholars centered around the ERS-funded project based in Copenhagen, entitled "Islam in the Horn of Africa", our knowledge of the Arabic Muslim literature written in Ethiopia has greatly expanded[2].

And yet, there is a large corpus of the indigenous Ethiopian writings which has virtually not been studied with the purpose of extracting therefrom information on Ethiopian Islam. This corpus is Christian literature written in Gəʿəz which flourished from Antiquity until the 18th century.

At first glance, Gəʿəz literature seems an unlikely source to seek for information on Ethiopian Islam[3]. A cursory glance at any catalogue of the largest collections of Gəʿəz manuscripts in Europe (such as British Library, Bibliothèque Nationale de France or Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana) will reveal that the majority of these collections consists of the Biblical and liturgical texts which usually do not provide any information on Islam. Even if the proportion between Biblical or liturgical and other texts is at times biased due to the preference of European collectors, it will probably not be a mistake to apply this conclusion to the Gəʿəz literature in general[4].

Among the non-Biblical and non-liturgical texts hagiography is in all likelihood the most popular genre. This article presents a preliminary survey of this corpus guided by three research questions: 1) Can Ethiopian hagiography contribute to our knowledge of Ethiopian Islam? 2) What image of Ethiopian Islam is conveyed by the hagiographical texts? and 3) What purposes did this image serve for those who produced and transmitted it?

1. Introductory remarks

Before presenting the relevant source material it is important to put forward some methodological remarks concerning Ethiopian hagiographical tradition.

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[2] See the website of the project available at: http://www.islhornafr.eu/ [Accessed 1 August 2019].

[3] Cf.: "(…) Ethiopic religious literature makes only brief and occasional reference to Islam. It is almost as if the mention of or a direct reference to Islam in religious works were believed to violate their sanctity" (Abraham 1972: 4).

[4] To quote a foremost expert on the subject: „It is important to stress that, contrary to what one may think looking at some Ethiopian manuscript collections gathered by the Europeans, in reality service books, directly related to the liturgical life, outnumbered those which can be described as 'literary works', and came second only after biblical books (among which the New Testament and the Psalter dominated)" (Nosnitsin 2007: 55).

We owe to the unfailing efforts of the Société des Bollandistes the conclusion that a critical study of hagiographic texts may produce important factual information (Aigrain 1953). Much like elsewhere, the study of Ethiopian hagiographical tradition must take into consideration that first of all, these texts were constructed within a framework of a specific literary convention, and secondly, that a number of factors must be weighed in order to establish the factual credibility of a given text, the most important of them being the date of the composition in relation to the date of the life of its protagonist (Chernetsov 1995). There are instances of hagiographies (in Gəʿəz *gädlat*, plural of *gädl*, literally 'combat', modeled after Greek αγών) written many centuries after the life of their protagonists who in turn may be entirely fictitious[5]. They cannot, however, be disregarded as historically useless, as they may reflect the situation at the time when they were put to writing (Fridman 2015). Some case studies undertaken so far have demonstrated the usefulness of the hagiographical sources for the study of such issues as the territorial expansion of the Ethiopian Empire (Taddesse 1972) or the pandemics in Ethiopia (Derat 2018).

Ethiopian literature in Gəʿəz knows a variety of hagiographical genres. A standard hagiography will usually include three parts: a hagiography proper that is a biographical account of a saint's life, collection of miracles attributed to him or her (*tä'ammər*) and a *mälkə'*-type hymn in his/her praise. Such an arrangement is most common both in the manuscripts and therefore also in their academic editions. Other types of texts which may be classified as hagiographical are for example: homily, prayer, monastic genealogy, entry in the Synaxary, martyrdom. It will be assumed here that the narrative texts, in particular *gädlat* and the collections of miracles are particularly useful for extracting factual data and reconstructing mentality of their authors. Interestingly, collections of miracles are often much more "realistic" than usually very conventional *gädlat* and can offer insight into the daily life of Ethiopians.

Regarding the corpus of texts used in the present volume, I have relied primarily on critical editions of the Ethiopic hagiographies and the unpublished manuscripts. I have decided to exclude instances where I had no access to the Gəʿəz original texts, in other words, where only translation was available to me[6]. Also,

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[5] This is the case of indigenous saints who flourished during the Axumite era such as Yared or the so-called Nine Saints.

[6] This resulted i.a. in the omission of the hagiography of ʿƎnbaqom (Ricci 1954ff) whose protagonist is a convert from Islam.

I have excluded the "foreign hagiographies", i.e. *gädlat* of various personages who were not active in Ethiopia[7]. The corpus is definitely far from exhaustive and many other texts may be found which will either confirm or disprove the arguments presented here. When referring to the hagiographies I use the name of a saint rather than of the editor (see bibliography) and the page numbers in brackets refer to the Gə'əz text only.

2. Identifying Muslims in Ethiopian hagiographies

In the course of studying hagiographical texts for the present contribution it became clear that the seemingly simple task of identifying the presence of Muslims is in fact rather difficult. The reasons for this difficulty are at least twofold. First of all, in the texts we very rarely encounter attributes which would unequivocally point to Islam. Secondly, the lexical terms which the texts use for conveying religious "otherness" are often quite confusing. Let us start with the second problem.

The most common name for Muslims in Gə'əz is in singular *tänbäl* (variants: *tänbal*, *tänbəl, tänbalatawi, tänbalatay*), the plural of which is *tänbälat* (variants: *tänabəl*, *tänabəlt*, *tänbəlan*) (Dillmann 1865: col. 562-563). Its etymology is open to debate (Leslau 1991: 576-577). What is certain is that it is a proper noun with the meaning 'mediator, ambassador, envoy, messenger' which functions also as a name for the adherents of Islam[8]. This word in most cases unequivocally points to Muslims and is not charged with any negative connotation. A similar semantic shift is observable in the case of the name of Ethiopian Jews referred to as *fälasi* (from which the English *Felasha* is derived), the meaning of which is 'landless person, an exile, stranger, monk, or ascetic' (Dege-Müller 2018: 261).

Another word the meaning of which is perfectly clear is *'əsma'elawi* (plural *'əsma'elawəyan*), which like its English equivalent *Ishmaelite*, derives from the name of Ismael, Abraham's eldest son (Gen. 25: 17). Equally obvious, though

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[7] This effectively means that all the texts taken into consideration are biographies of Ethiopian monks. But note that as I pointed elsewhere (Krawczuk 2017) "foreign" hagiographies may contain interesting references to Islam and Muslims.

[8] In the corpus I did not find this word occurring in a context that would clearly mean 'messenger etc.' and not a Muslim, but such occurrences are listed in the entry in Dillmann's dictionary. The nominal form used in reference to Christians attested in the corpus is *mätänbəlan* ('Ananya f. 45r).

seemingly less frequent, is the word *'əslam* used as a collective noun[9] or *'əslamawi*.

A frequently occurring name which can be interpreted as a name for Muslims is *'aräb* and its various derivates (such as *'arämawi*). Theoretically, this name should be regarded as ethnonym 'Arab' and in many passages this is the most appropriate translation. In the present corpus the name appears in the context in which their Christian protagonists are outside Ethiopia[10]. It cannot be excluded, however, that it may also refer by extension to Muslims. For example, the hagiography of 'Isayəyyas describes a persecution (*səddät*) of Christians by the people called Qʷändäla who are described with an epithet *täkwəlatä 'aräb* 'Arab wolves' ('Isayəyyas 250). While I was not able to locate the Qʷändäla name elsewhere, there is no reason to believe that actual Arabs are involved. Rather, it is a pejorative epithet for Muslims, particularly since this group is also called in the same place *'igəzuran* 'uncircumcised', a phrase used explicitly for describing Muslims (see below)[11].

A very problematic issue is the presence in the Ethiopic hagiographies of various words which can be translated as 'pagan'. These words include: *'arämi* (variant: *'arämawi*), *'aləw* (variant *'alawi* the basic meaning of which is 'treacherous, rebellious, disobedient'), to some extent also *ḥaqal* which, however, conveys the sense of 'uncivilized'. The question here is whether these words can refer to any non-Christian or whether they specifically describe the followers of what could be called indigenous beliefs or, somewhat offensively, 'pagans', i.e. people who are neither Christian, Muslim nor Jewish. These 'pagans' or 'idol-worshippers' appear very frequently in hagiographies, much more frequently than Muslims. Converting them and destroying the idols is almost an obligatory point in an Ethiopian saint's résumé (Kaplan 1984: 109-120).

Only occasionally there are contexts in which the two groups are neatly distinguished from one another. For example, the hagiography of Tadewos describes

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[9] Cf. [ላዕከ] **ነገሮ ለአቡነ ተክለ አልፋ ከመ ዓገትዋ ለይእቲ ሀገር አስላም** "[The Messenger] told our father Täklä 'Alfa that the Muslims had besieged this city" (Täklä Alfa 37) or **ወሜጦሙ ለብዙኃን አስላም** "and he converted many Muslims" (Mäzgäbä Śəllase f. 52r).

[10] Cf. **ወነገሮ ዝካርያ ለአቡነ ኤዎስጣቴዎስ ከመ ፄወውዎሙ ዓረብ ለአርዳኢሁ** „Zəkarya told our father 'Ewosṭatewos that Arabs had taken his disciples captive" ('Ewosṭatewos 97). **ወእምዝ መጽአ አሐዱ ዓረባዊ እንዘ የኀልፍ ይእተ ፍኖተ** „Afterwards a certain Arab came who was passing through this road" ('Ǝzra 97). Both episodes take place in Egypt, not in Ethiopia, therefore it is reasonable to assume that the narrators refer to ethnicity, not religion.

[11] Also, in another text we find a similar phrase *kälabatä 'aräb* (Yonas f. 124v) 'Arab dogs', this time referring without a slightest doubt to Muslims.

how ‘Anorewos and Samu’el destroyed pagan idols, after which they were taken captive by an “idol-worshipping king” and taken to “a Muslim king” called Mäy*ə*ṭ. The Muslim king approves of destroying the idols because their worship is not in accordance with Islam[12].

Much more frequent are passages where a word for pagans is used interchangeably with a word for Muslims. For example, in the *gädl* of Yoḥannəs of Däbrä Bizän we read how some of his flock were ambushed and killed by Muslims (*’əsma‘elawəyan*). Those who managed to escape communicated the bad news to Yoḥannəs describing their attackers as *’arämi* (Yoḥannəs zäDäbrä Bizän 138). The famous ruler of Ifat, a Muslim polity neighbouring the Ethiopian empire, Sa‘daddīn (1386-ca 1413), is referred to as *‘alawi* in one of the hagiographies (Märqorewos 38)[13].

If therefore the language itself does not always clearly separates Muslims from other non-Christians, we must go back to the first question, namely: are there any attributes or particular features which can help recognize the Muslims in the corpus?

The answer to this question must be largely negative. In the gathered texts we find no reference to the Islamic holidays, the Qur’ān and other religious literature, the Islamic customs or places of worship. In some instances we encounter characters bearing Arabic Muslim names even if their religion is not explicitly stated, for example Məḥammməd (Yoḥannəs zäDäbrä Bizän 144) or ’Abdəl Mal (Zena Marqos f. 20r). In my opinion, with some caution such episodes might be added to the survey.

Another clue which should be used with utmost caution are the place names. One can infer from certain passages that on the mental map of the hagiographers, areas where the position of Christianity was firm were distinguished from those where Muslims or pagans were numerous or prevailed. The Muslim or pagan territories were regarded as lesser or marginal. The land of Dara, to which Bäṣälotä Mika’el is exiled, is described as a place where Muslims lived and to which “the king would send those whom he wanted to punish so that he would

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[12] Cf. ሰቢረ ጣዖታትሰ ሠናይ ውእቱ በኀበ አልሀዋህድ። ዘአምለኮ አምላክ እንበሌሁ በኀቤነ ለሰብእ ተንባላት። „Destroying the idols is good in the eyes of Al[l]əhwahəd. Among us Muslims there is no worship but worship of him” (Tadewos 183-186). Note the transcription of Arabic *Allāh al-wāḥid* ‘Allah the only’.

[13] As a final note it can be added that the Gə‘əz language knows yet another term for Muslims i.e. mäläsay, see https://betamasaheft.eu/Dillmann/lemma/Lcc202775959b40b6863075ce716e02bd [Accessed 27 August 2019]. I did not encounter this word in any of the texts analyzed here. I thank the anonymous reviewer for this suggestion.

be punished by them [i.e. Muslims]" (Bäṣälotä Mika'el 31)[14]. The life of Samu'el of Wäldəbba offers advice to its readers: "do not live in a pagan land but rather pray in a Christian land" (Samu'el zäWäldəbba 27)[15]. In the lives we find places well known from the history of Islam in Ethiopia, such as 'Ifat or 'Adal. The fact that they are now remembered as Muslim territories does not mean, however, that they were Muslim when the events described in the hagiographies took place or when they were put to writing.

At least two passages point to the fact that Muslims could be distinguished by their physical appearance. The monk Mäzgäbä Śəllase is at one point visited by "an evil spirit with the appearance of a rich Muslim" (Mäzgäbä Śəllase f.46v)[16]. No details are provided, but one can assume that this description would evoke a certain image in the mind of the readers[17]. In one of the miracles of Zena Marqos monks tell a Muslim woman who came to visit the saint's grave that her clothes are different than the clothes of a Christian and are uncivilized[18] (Zena Marqos f. 81r). Again, sadly, no specific details of the difference are provided.

To sum up, identifying Muslims in Ethiopic hagiographies requires careful reading of the texts and the possibility of an error cannot be entirely excluded. With this in mind, let me proceed to a survey of various ways in which Muslims and Islam are present in the texts.

3. Economic activities of the Muslims

The hagiographies provide certain information about the economic activity of the Muslim population of Ethiopia. These pieces of information can be corroborated with the data extracted from other sources.

In a number of texts Muslims are associated with camel herding and, as a consequence, participating in transportation and caravan trade. When 'Ewosṭatewos travels to Jerusalem, he is guided by a Muslim and the belongings of his company are loaded onto camels ('Ewosṭatewos 79-83). The disciples of Filəṗṗos of Däbrä Bizän help Muslim camel drivers to rescue three camels which fell into a pit (Filəṗṗos zäDäbrä Bizän 108). Camels are kept by the Muslims among whom Tadewos is performing his missionary work. They even take part in a miracle

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[14] ይትበቀል ንጉሥ ይፈኑ ኀቤሆሙ ከመ ይትቤቀሉ ሎቱ.

[15] ኢትንበሩ ውስተ ብሔረ አረሚ ይኄይስ ትግበሩ ጸሎተ በምድረ ክርስቲያን.

[16] መንፈስ ርኩስ በአምሳለ እስላማዊ ባዕል.

[17] Or perhaps the listeners, as the large part of Gəʿəz texts was intended for reading aloud.

[18] ወልብስኪ ሊሉይ እምልብሰ ክርስቲያን ዘከመ ልብሰ ሐቃል።

by passing through an eye of a needle, an obvious reference to a passage from the Gospel of Matthew (Matthew 19: 23-26, Tadewos 246). It is even observed that Muslims drink camel milk (Filəṗṗos zäDäbrä Bizän 139), a powerful accusation since camel meat (and consequently milk) is considered impure by the Christians (Guindeuil 2014: 64). Camel herding is typically a Muslim business to this day since camels are less useful in the highlands where the majority of the Orthodox population live[19].

Related to the above is the Muslim involvement in long-distance trade. After crossing the Täkäzze river (traveling northwards) Märqorewos encounters a group of merchants (most probably Muslim though it is not clearly stated) heading for Gojjam whose camels are loaded with "clothes made of linen dyed in black for grief or in red fit for noblemen and kings, purple and scarlett, cotton stuff and salt" (Märqorewos 22). Muslims are also depicted as sailors, a profession generally not common for Christian Ethiopians, as in the story of a Christian woman who was kidnapped by Muslims but was miraculously saved when the ship became stranded in the sea (Yonas f. 125r).

A most interesting situation is described in one of the miracles of Zena Marqos. After a Muslim community residing in Morät and Wägda converted to Christianity, a famine struck their land. We learn that previously their tax duty was to provide the king with garments which they purchased "from the people of India and Arabia"[20] in exchange for slaves and cotton clothes. Now as Christians they no longer can participate in slave trade therefore they appeal to the king to have their tax duty relieved. After a miraculous intervention by Zena Marqos the king agrees and also grants them concession to trade in his name with ivory and horses from Šäwa under condition that they will donate part of their revenue for the *tabot* of Däbrä Bəśrat, a monastery of Zena Marqos (Zena Marqos f. 66r-67r).

An episode from the *gädl* of Märqorewos describes how Muslim merchants are stranded due to a local conflict in a region of Səre (contemporary Šəre) where

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[19] It may be added that camels are depicted in Ethiopian Christian art as accompanying Muslims. See for example the miniatures from *Tä'ammərä Maryam* ("The miracles of Mary") at the website Mäzgäbä Sə'əlat, available at: http://128.100.218.174:8080, reference numbers MG-2002.078:018, MG-2000.039:029, MG-2000.037:022, MG-2002.081:031 [Accessed 30 September 2019].

[20] ሱብአ ጎንድኪ ወዓረብ. Note the explicit reference to the participation of Muslims in the transnational trade routes. This is not uncommon: the hagiography of Märqorewos mentions a Mulim trader named ʾƎmär who carries goods from Wäfla and Doba with the intention of trading them in Egypt and Jeddah but eventually he manages to sell his entire merchandise in Massawa (Märqorewos 30-31).

they set up a camp and for six months hunt elephants in order to sell ivory overseas (Märqorewos 30-31). This points to yet another important commodity traded by Muslims in the Horn of Africa[21].

Another economic activity typically associated with Muslims is slave trade. This issue has already been expertly covered by Marie-Laure Derat, who took into consideration also the hagiographical sources (Derat 2013). The attack on a monastery connected with taking captives, apparently for the purpose of selling them as slaves, is recorded e.g. in the life of ʾIsayəyyas (ʾIsayəyyas 250)[22].

Finally, a unique testimony in our corpus may point to the involvement of Muslims in cultivating land. It is often reported in literature that Muslims were excluded from the system of land tenure of the Ethiopian Empire and consequently were forced to live off trade and craft, with only small part of the population working in agriculture but only as tenants (Abbink 1998: 114; Abdussamad 1989: 441). And yet in the life of Zena Marqos we read that Muslims and Christians lived side by side on the lowlands of Morät but their estate (*rəst*) was twice as small as the estate of the Christians[23]. This may describe Muslims working the arable land alongside Christians but with an inferior status under conditions of *rəst* i.e. hereditary inalienable right to land. Interestingly enough, after their conversion their *rəst* is made equal to that of Christians (Zena Marqos f. 67r)[24].

To sum up, the hagiographic texts depict various forms of economic activities of the Muslims. Since they are usually different than those of Christians, their depiction serves to mark the border between the two communities. The texts do not reveal an outright contempt for traditionally non-Christian jobs.

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[21] This episode is quite unique in that it does not feature any Christian presence at all. Rather its function is to explain the etymology of the name of the site ʿAdmär which is derived from the name of the merchant ʾƎmär. This particular *gädl* contains many similar etiological narratives.

[22] ወካዕበ መጽአ አረማዊ ቁላፍ ወአጥፍአ ወቀተለ ወፈወወ ብዙኀ „Again the uncircumcised pagan came and destroyed and killed and took many into captivity".

[23] ወነበሩ ብዙኃን እምሰብአ ተንባላት ውስተ ሀገረ ሞረት ታሕተ ቁላሐ እስመ ምድረ ቁላቲሃ ለሞረት እስከ ተጉለት ወወግዳ ነበረ ርስቶሙ ለተንባላት አሐቲ እዴሃ ወፀጥቲ እዴሃ ነበረ ርስተ ሕዝበ ክርስቲያን (Zena Marqos f. 64r).

[24] In my corpus I did not find a clear reference to Muslim involvement in craft. Again, the *gädl* of Zena Marqos offers an interesting episode in this regard. After their conversion, the Muslims build two churches "from the *pika* stone like the houses of the people of Egypt which they had seen while trading" and they decorate it with gold and precious stones in an intention to imitate the church of Mäʿal(lə)qa, an obvious reference to the famous Muʿallaqah church in Cairo (Zena Marqos f. 68r). This may mean that these (ex-) Muslims had some superior skills in the building craft which, it seems, they learned abroad.

4. The Biblical allusions

Much scholarly attention has been paid to various aspects of the phenomenon of the self-representation of Orthodox Christians in Ethiopia as the chosen people, the new Israel, the new Zion etc. (Schattner-Rieser 2012). It is not the place to present many threads of this discussion. What concerns us here is that one of the methods of perpetuating this self-representation was the skillful use of Biblical allusion and quotation in Ethiopic literature. This raises the question: if Ethiopia is Israel, its kings are heirs to David or Solomon etc., what does it make of others with whom Ethiopians were in touch? The exploration of this issue has already been started with historical literature as the source base (Pankhurst 1987).

In the hagiographical material Muslims are associated with various enemies of the Old Testament Israel, which by way of analogy means that Ethiopia and its sovereigns are symbolically represented as Israel and its righteous kings. Let us quote some examples.

When king Dawit is waging war with Sa'daddīn and must beg Märqorewos for intercession as Christian troops are about to be defeated, he refers to the Muslim king as the "second after Sennacherib, the king of Nineveh who was disrespectful to the Lord, your God, in the days of Hezekiah, king of Judah, my father"[25] (Märqorewos 38).

The *gädl* of Yoḥannəs Məśraqawi describes how a Muslim woman makes a pilgrimage to the saints' tomb. The local Orthodox community is, however, very hostile to her and call her *känänawit* 'the Canaanite woman' (Yoḥannəs Məśraqawi 400).

After some disciples of Yoḥannəs of Däbrä Bizän are murdered by Muslims he wants to punish them. He asks God to send draught onto their lands. While doing so he compares himself to the prophet Elijah and refers to the strife the prophet had with king Ahab (1 Kings: 18) saying: "[just like] Israel prevailed over the house of Achab, isn't the evil of those Muslims [even] greater?" (Yoḥannəs zäDäbrä Bizän 141)[26].

In the same text we find a story of a local Muslim ruler (strictly speaking his religion is not specified but his name is Məḥammәd) who orders Yoḥannəs to provide him with nuns whom he could take as wives and young men whom he

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[25] ካልኡ ለሰናክሬም ንጉሠ ነነዌ ዘተአየሮ ለእግዚአብሔር አምላክከ በመዋዕሊሁ ለሕዝቅያስ ንጉሠ ይሁዳ አቡየ. Notice how the king explicitly traces his lineage to the kings of Israel which remained a crucial element of the royal ideology in Ethiopia until the very end of the Empire.

[26] አምዕበዶሙ ለቤተ አካአብ ፳ኤል ይፈደፍድ ወይበዝኅ እከዮሙ ለእሉ አስማዔላዊያን.

could sell into slavery. The saint sends a messenger who informs the king that should he pursue this he will perish "like Nebuchadnezzar, Nimrod, Tyre and Sidon and the pharaoh and his army" (Yoḥannəs zäDäbrä Bizän 144)[27].

The above examples illustrate how Muslims are compared to people, ethnic groups or lands which are known from the Old Testament as opposing or persecuting Israel (and which in most cases were punished by God for doing so)[28]. Through this rhetorical device the hagiographers seek to emphasize the place of Muslims in the divine order which God had planned for Ethiopia. By using the examples which certainly were easily recognizable for the Bible-educated audience they create the image of Muslims as opponents of Christian Ethiopia.

5. Conversion

Conversion of Muslims into Christianity is possibly the most frequent context in which they appear in the Ethiopic hagiographies. The episodes of conversion demonstrate the Christian God's omnipotence and the spiritual superiority of Christianity over Islam. At the same time this hagiographical *topos* may be to some extent based on actual reality of the Christianization of some parts of the Muslim population.

In some instances the conversion is stated as a mere fact alongside other miraculous activities which are a visible sign of the saint's charisma. No details are provided and conventional fixed phrases are used. Thus we read about Zena Marqos that "many people of Adal and Muslims believed through his action and he baptized them in the name of Christ and he healed the sick by performing miracles and wonders" (Zena Marqos f. 19v)[29]. Most hagiographies, however, provide more detailed accounts of the conversion process and certain repeating patterns can be distinguished.

First of all, in most cases conversion is a direct result of a miracle. The miracle can have a twofold effect on conversion process: it may be a punishment for the Muslim stubbornness in keeping to their faith or it may be an impressive demonstration of Christian God's power which encourages Muslims to willingly abandon Islam.

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[27] ከማከ ናቡከደነ ጾር ወናምሩድ ወሰናከሬም ወጲሩጳይዳን ወፈርዖን ምስለ ሰራዊቱ.

[28] To this we may add a passage from the *gädl* of Mäzgäbä Śəllase which, when speaking about the Oromo invasions (they were not religious in nature), refers to the Oromo as Moab (ሞአብ ዘውእቶሙ ጋላ) (Mäzgäbä Śəllase f. 35r).

[29] ውብዙኃን እምሰብአ አዳል ወተንባላት አምኑ በእደዊሁ ወአጥመቆሙ በስሙ ለክርስቶስ ወፈወሰ ድውያኒሆሙ በገቢረ ተአምራት ወመንክራት.

We read in the life of Yafqərännä ’Ǝgzi’ about a village where Muslims and Christians lived side by side. One day a lightning strikes the church which makes the Muslims deride the Christian faith. Archangel Michael in revenge destroys the Muslim huts killing people and animals by a lightning. On the spot where the lightning stroke, the Muslims find a *tabot* dedicated to Michael together with an incense burner and a cross. As a result, they convert out of fear (Yafqərännä ’Ǝgzi’ 110-112). Yoḥannəs Məśraqawi on one of his journeys is approached by a Muslim king with seemingly evil intentions and when asked, introduces himself as the servant of Christ. The king replies that if this be the case Christ should come to his rescue. At his moment archangel Gabriel appears in all his glory and orders the king to convert which he does after some deliberation (Yoḥannəs Məśraqawi 207-213).

In some instances the miracle is part of what could be described as a *quid pro quo* transaction. The already mentioned Muslim ruler Mäyəṭ declares that he will convert if Tadewos heals his son who is possessed by a demon (Tadewos 202-204). During the sojourn of Filəṗṗos of Däbrä ‘Asbo near lake Zway he meets a Muslim whose son in possessed by demon. None of the soothsayers (*’aqabəyänä śəray*) are able to get rid of it. The saint explains that the son will not be healed if the father does not believe in Christ. The father is ready to follow whatever the saint will order. He is given a portion of blessed water and instructed to treat the son with it and after the boy is healed the whole family eventually converts (Filəṗṗos zäDäbrä ‘Asbo 232-234). One day Zena Marqos during his stay in ’Ǝžara meets a Muslim man who is in despair because he is pursued by a man-eating monster[30]. The saint asks whether the Muslim will abandon his religion if the God of St. George[31] saves him.

The Muslim manages to kill the beast with a rod[32] given to him by Zena Marqos and asks to be baptized (Zena Marqos f. 88r-90r).

In the consulted texts the instances where the conversion is not associated with some supernatural event are very rare. But for example we learn that the Muslims among which Bäṣälotä Mika’el was preaching the Gospel decided to convert only through the inspiration of his teaching. What is quite interesting, the saint is reluctant to baptize them himself, sending them instead to the king and the royal

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[30] አርዌ እኩይ ዘይውኀጥ ሰብአ.

[31] Like elsewhere in Christianity, St. George of Lydda is depicted in Ethiopia as a dragon-slayer and his depictions are ubiquitous throughout the Christian parts of the country.

[32] The motif of a rod with which miracles are performed, frequent in the Ethiopic hagiographies, is an allusion to the rod of Aaron (cf. i. a. Ex. 7:17, 8:5, 8:16-17, 9:23, 10:13).

priests. The king, however, sends them away[33] and Bäṣälotä Mika'el eventually takes them under his spiritual protection (Bäṣälotä Mika'el 31).

A second motif which appears in nearly all accounts about the conversion of Muslims is the fact that converting is a collective act. People hardly ever are baptized individually, rather they approach their evangelizer as a group (Bäṣälotä Mika'el 10, Yafqərännä ʾƎgziʾ 110-112, Zena Marqos f. 65v). The decision of one man to change the denomination is immediately followed by his wife and children in the case of a *pater familias* (e.g. Märqorewos 232-234) or by his subjects in the case of a ruler.

The top-to-bottom model of conversion is very well exemplified by the story of Mäyəṭ, the ruler of Ṣäqʷän. After a series of test debates with the monks, he announces to his troops: "We Muslim people are dumb and the Christian people are chosen". He receives baptism and his people duly follow, after which the saint is free to conduct a successful mission among them (Tadewos 220, 258). An identical scene (the Muslim king gathers his army and orders them to convert which they do seemingly without any resistance) occurs e.g. in the life of Yoḥannəs Məśraqawi (Yoḥannəs Məśraqawi 207-213).

The presence of certain motifs can be deduced but only expanding the corpus could definitely tell whether they are typical or incidental. For example, in one *gädl* we find an episode in which newly converted Muslims not only embrace their new faith but excel in it or even make an ecclesiastical career. We learn that the already mentioned Muslim who was saved from a dragon by Zena Marqos became a priest and was ordained by the patriarch Yoḥannes in ʾAksum (Zena Marqos f. 90r). This might be a conventional way of further stressing the miraculous effect of the saint's activity.

It should, however, be noted that not all encounters between the monks and Muslims end in conversion. Yet even when the conversion is absent, the texts tend to emphasize the superiority of the Christian faith over Islam. Let us recall one such episode.

On their way to Jerusalem ʿƎzra and his companions pass through the desert of Egypt. They are approached by an Arab. He asks them about their origins and

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[33] In a somewhat remarkable act of tolerance the king tells them: **ሖሩ ንበሩ በሕገ አበዊክሙ** "Go and live according to the law of your fathers". This rather unexpected attitude is perhaps to be explained by the fact that this particular *gädl* is attributed to the period called by the great Russian scholar B.A. Turaev *времия гонения* 'the time of persecution' (Turaev 118-203). In the hagiographies from this period the relations between the monks and the royal power are depicted as often strained and difficult.

destination, concerned that they are alone in the wilderness. ʿƎzra explains that they come from Ethiopia and they are forbidden to travel on Sabbath. The Muslim chief (*mäkwännanä tänbəlat ʿarəbawi*) is so surprised and impressed, that he tells to his troops: „See how they do not break their law, unafraid of hunger nor thirst nor death?". Then the Arabs give them food of abstinence (*sisayä təḥrəmtomu*) such as bananas, sugar cane, honey, almonds, wine and butter (ʿƎzra 76).

Occasionally it occurs that Muslims experience the power of the saint yet it does not lead to their conversion. This is the case in the life of Yoḥannəs of Däbrä Bizän. Some monks from his congregation are killed by Muslims on their way back from the market. In great anger the saint asks God to punish them and the rain stops falling on their lands. After three years of draught they realize that their crime brought this cruel fate upon them. They visit the saint and perform the traditional Ethiopian gesture of repentance by tying stones to their necks. They are forgiven and "the rain fell on the good and the wicked, on the righteous and the lawless"[34] (Yoḥannəs zäDäbrä Bizän 143).

To sum up, the motif of conversion is frequent and it serves as a justification for the presence of non-Christian Other in the texts. By including it, the hagiographers demonstrate the appeal of the Christian faith and the fact that the saintly monks are chosen by God and act in His name.

6. Muslim women

In the corpus there are only two episodes with a Muslim woman in the center. Interestingly, they are quite similar in terms of their plot[35]. Also it is quite telling that they are listed among the miracles and not in the main hagiographic narrative because they take place after the death of the saints who are main characters in these *gädlat*. Perhaps the idea of a saintly monk interacting with a Muslim woman would have been too shocking for the audience.

During a commemoration feast for Yoḥannəs Məśraqawi (*bäʿalä fəlsätu*) a Muslim woman comes, having heard about his deeds. She carries a torch on a string and incense. She explains to the officiating priest that she has heard strange things about Christian ways and wants to observe them. She begs the priest to allow her to spend the night with the assembled or at least accept her gifts. After

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[34] ወእዘንም ዝናመ ላዕለ ሐራን ወ እኩያን ወላዕለ ጻድቃን ወዐማኒያን.

[35] This may be simply explained by the fact that intertextual connections between *gädlat* are very common (Mersha 2015: 146).

some hesitation he accepts the gifts and allows her to enter the church. However, some of the congregation oppose but the priest confronts them and offers her food and water. After the feast the woman wants to go back home and the people demand that she take her gifts with her. They explain that the Christians should not mingle with Muslims[36]. The priest accepts this suggestion and the despaired Muslim woman heads back to her country. She complains to Yoḥannəs Məśraqawi about the mistreatment she experienced for her Muslimhood (*məsləmənna*)[37]. Yoḥannəs Məśraqawi appears to the priest and orders him to bring her back. The woman is brought back and with joy receives baptism (Yoḥannəs Məśraqawi 397-409).

Another *gädl* tells a story of a Muslim woman from the country of 'Argobba who was barren and decided to travel to Zena Marqos's grave. The deacons prohibit her from entering and she is forced to stay outside. Having taken a little *ṣäbäl*[38] from outside the tomb she heads back to her country. Soon after her return she gets pregnant and gives birth to children. She goes back to the monastery to tell this miraculous story but stresses that she did not allow the midwives to come near her because they were pagan. She recalls how the men from her village surrounded her house and wanted to set it on fire thinking she had become a Christian and Zena Marqos appeared to her rescue. Eventually she is baptized (Zena Marqos f. 81r-83v).

A common theme here is that the Muslim women seek conversion which is denied to them and only through the intervention of the deceased saint they are able to achieve it. For a proper understanding of this motif it would be necessary to conduct a study of the image of women in *gädlat*. Tentatively, I would seek an analogy with the female figures of New Testament who are humble and faithful to Christ even when they are frowned upon by men such as the adulteress

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[36] The somewhat ambigous phrase used here is **ወከርስቲያን ብዐ·ዳን እሙ·ንቱ ኢየኀብሩ በግዝረት ወበተ·ነፅዐ** rendered by the editor as „Ben altra cosa sono i cristiani, e non hanno niente a che vedere con loro, per il fatto della circoncisione e delle abluzioni" (Yoḥannəs Məśraqawi 405). What is implied here, according to Marrassini, is that Muslims are different from Christians because they are not circumcised and have the custom of ablutions. The assumption that Muslims are uncircumcised may seem surprising but it appears frequently in the texts. The word used is either *qʷälafan* (e.g. Yoḥannəs zäDäbrä Bizän 139), *kəfturan* (ibidem) or *'igəzuran* (e.g. Yoḥannəs Məśraqawi 212). It is open for debate whether it is to be understood literally or as a metaphor.

[37] This is the only instance where this word appears in the corpus.

[38] In Ethiopia this word (literally 'dust, powder') is used to describe a physical item such as dust or water which through the contact with a grave of a holy person has acquired miraculous properties.

whom Jesus refuses to condemn (John 7:53-8:11) or the sinful woman who anointed him (Luke 7:36-50).

7. Islam as the realm of Satan

Anyone who has read at least a couple of *gädlat* will notice that Satan, the lesser devils, the evil demons etc. are frequent guests on their pages. Their presence is in some way a reflection of Ethiopian Christian spirituality, here however I will try to analyze the association of Islam with diabolic forces as a literary motif in the hagiographic texts[39].

There are instances when the association of Muslims with Satan is used as an epithet. For example, on one of his journeys Filəppos encounters a haughty Muslim named Ḫəṭäṭay who is referred to as "Satan's son" (*wäldä Säyṭan*) (Filəppos 110). Similarly, the Muslims who attacked some monks from the congregation of Yoḥannəs of Däbrä Bizän are called "children of Śamra in which the spirit of Satan is hidden"[40] (Yoḥannəs zäDäbrä Bizän 138) and "audacious from the fiery breath of Satan" (Yoḥannəs zäDäbrä Bizän 139)[41]. It may be argued, however, that these epithets are a comment on the evil ways of those Muslims (in both cases they physically attacked Christians) rather than an automatic association of Islam with the demonic presence.

A very interesting way of associating Islam with Satan (though one could say not explicit) can be found in the *gädl* of Märqorewos. The hagiographer recounts a story dating back to the days of the Aksumite Kingdom. Before the coming of the Ark to the Holy City, there was a devil who lived under a rock within the enclosure of a church there. When he heard the news of the Ark's coming, he was frightened and left this place. He went to "Mecca that is Jeddah, the place which was blessed and adorned by the Devil for his son, Mäḥammäd, and he gave it to him as an abode in which he appeared"[42]. From there the devil went to Šäwa but was chased away by Täklä Haymanot. Finally, he settled in 'Adal.

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[39] This section is very much inspired by Wiśniewski (2003).

[40] ቂቀ ዛምራ እለ ኀዱር ላዕሌሆሙ መንፈሰ ሰይጣን. I was not able to identify the name Śamra, perhaps the use of the word *däqiqä* 'children of' might suggest some ethnic or clan affiliation.

[41] ምርዱዳን በለኀበ እስትንፋሱ ለሰይጣን.

[42] ሀገረ መካ ዘይእቲ ጅዳ ዘወድቀ ባቲ ቅድመ ዲያብሎስ ሊቁ ከመ ይባርከ ኪያሃ መካነ ለመሐመድ ወልዱ. ወዝይኩኒ ሰይጣን ፩ እምሐራሁ ለዲያብሎስ ነበረ ውስተ ይእቲ መካን እንዘ ያስተዛኒ ኪያሃ መካነ ለመሐመድ ወልዱ እስከ አስተራየ መሐመድ. As a side note, the purpose of this episode is to explain the etymology of the name 'Aksum (or rather 'Akʷəsəm, according to the orthography employed in the text) as deriving from the word *som* 'sardonyx'.

Upon the death of Täklä Haymanot he returned to Šäwa but this time he was met by Märqorewos who successfully forced him into a deep abyss (Märqorewos 24-25).

In this passage the wandering devil symbolizes the pre-Christian, i.e. pagan or Islamic presence in the areas that were subsequently subjected to a Christian mission. What is striking here is the depiction of the holy city of Islam as a devil's residence.

In the same way one could explain the motif of the dragon or snake who ruled the people until the coming of the true religion (Six 1974: 113). This motif can be observed i.a. in the lives of the Nine Saints (Brita 2010: 13, 27, 64) or in the *Kəbrä nägäśt* in its oral version (Littmann 1904: 2-12).

As already mentioned when discussing the narratives of conversion, we hear often about Muslims possessed by the evil spirits (*ganen*) in the context of a punishment for their wickedness (e.g. 'Ewosṭatewos 97) or as an opportunity for the saint to demonstrate God's power (Filəṗṗos zäDäbrä 'Asbo 232-234, Tadewos 202-204). This ill fate, however, is by no means exclusive to Muslims, there are numerous examples of Christians who turn to the holy monk to relieve them from demons.

While all the above mentioned literary techniques seek to vilify Islam in the eyes of the Christians by associating it with Satan, the analyzed *gädlat* rarely go as far as to fully depict Islam as the product of the satanic evil.

8. Hagiography as apology in disguise

A common opinion, often expressed even with some degree of astonishment, is that the long co-existence of Muslims and Christians in Ethiopia did not result in flourishing of an apologetic and polemical literature among the latter, like it happened among the Syriac or Arabic Christian authors. The most famous exception to this rule is *'Anqäṣä 'amin* („The Gate of Faith") by 'Ǝnbaqom (Van Donzel 1969) [43].

The reason for this striking absence may perhaps be sought in the literary conventions of the Ethiopian authors. Just like the Church artists valued reproduction of conventional scenes over originality, the writers felt confined to the

[43] Cf. the opinion of Enrico Cerulli who calls *'Anqäṣä 'amin* "una delle opere più curiose della letteratura etiopica" (Cerulli 1968: 126).

literary genres inherited from the Axumite (i.e. 3rd-7th centuries) phase of Ethiopic literature. These included the lives of saints, sermons, codes of canon law, Biblical apocrypha and the Bible itself but nothing similar to the apologetics or *refutatio* (Bausi 2018: 79-80).

Perhaps in an intention to compensate for this absence, some of the *gädlat* contain passages of various length which serve precisely the purpose of demonstrating through scriptural arguments the superiority of Christianity over Islam. The line of argumentation used in this passages deserved to be fully studied and should contribute to our understanding of the Christian-Muslim polemics in Ethiopia. Here I will confine myself to pointing a few of these instances.

The longest such fragment I was able to find is in the life of Tadewos. It consists of a series of debates between its Christian and Muslims protagonists (Tadewos 186-224). A very striking feature of these debates is that the Muslims consequently use Arabic, not Gəʿəz, terms, for example they refer to the Gospel as *mäṣḥafä ʾənǧil* instead of Gəʿəz *wängel* or call Jesus ʾIsa not ʾIyäsus[44] and Mary Marima and not Maryam.

Let us mention in brief the theological positions defended by both sides. Thus the Muslims, who are definitely an offensive side initiating the debate, argue that Jesus is their prophet but is not the creator, that the Gospel is indeed the word of God but was purposefully distorted by the Christian interpretation and that Christianity is not monotheistic, for it worships three gods. The monks, in return, refute these arguments with an ample use of Biblical quotations to demonstrate that Jesus existed before the creation, that the prophecies of the Old Testament are fulfilled and confirmed in the New Testament and that the scriptural passages do not refer to three gods but to the fact that "God is worshipped in three names"[45].

In another text, the monk is approached by a Muslim who knows the Gospel and is asked to explain certain passages from the Gospel of John, namely why Jesus asked Philip about the bread (John 14:8-9) and asked Jews about the grave of Lazarus (John 11). The theological problem here is that asking questions seemingly

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[44] These forms are perfectly normal and regular in the Christian Arabic literature. Incidentally, the same *gädl* mentions a situation in which the Eucharistic liturgy was on one occasion performed in Arabic alongside Gəʿəz in Ethiopia, to the best of my knowledge the only text to do so (Tadewos 324). On the role of Arabic in the Christian context in Ethiopia see Lusini (2009/2010).

[45] ፫ስም ፭እግዚአብሔር በዘቦቱ ያመልኩ (Tadewos 238).

contradicts Jesus' omniscience. Through his exegesis, Zena Marqos demonstrates that Jesus is in fact God and how the Gospel is a reflection of God's light and the children are drawn to it[46] (Zena Marqos f. 64v-f.66r).

Another important theological question is raised in a short debate included in the life of Yoḥannəs Məśraqawi. There a Muslim king states that Jesus did not die for the sins of human kind but for himself only. Yoḥannəs Məśraqawi proves by quoting 1 Cor. 15:21 that he truly died for our sins and adds furthermore that "he died in his human nature and through his divine nature he rose from the dead"[47] thus referring to the ever-returning question of two natures of Jesus Christ, an idea that Muslims of course do not share (Yoḥannəs Məśraqawi 207-213).

9. Other depictions of Muslims

In the final section I will consider some themes which do not fit neatly into any of the above categories.

The anthropological literature on the Christian-Muslim relations in Ethiopia often addresses the problem of preparing and consuming food as a religious boundary between the two communities (Ficquet 2006). This has found its reflection also in the hagiographies. Thus in the life of Yonas we read a story of a monk who during his sojourn in Egypt refuses to share a meal with a man whom he (wrongly) believes to be a Muslim. His refusal is justified by a quote from 1 Cor. 10: 23-25 (Yonas f. 108v)[48].

An event which is mentioned probably in every single academic text concerning the relations of Muslims and Christians in Ethiopia is the invasion of Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ġāzī (nicknamed *graññ* 'the left-handed' in Amharic) which ravaged much of the Ethiopian Empire in the first half of the 16th century. It is not surprising that these events, which are remembered to this day, are reflected in some of the hagiographies, however I have identified this in only two sources. In both cases the dramatic events are not recalled with much horror, they are not depicted as God's wrath nor is al-Ġāzī styled in them as a messenger of Satan.

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[46] Earlier in the text it was stated that the Muslim children abandoned their parents' faith and were drawn to Christianity.

[47] **ሞተ በትስብእቱ ወበኃይለ መለኮቱ ተንሥአ.**

[48] It may be added here that this prohibition also extends to pagans as can be deduced e.g. from a story in which a nun refuses to take food from her pagan servant (Wälättä Ṗeṭros 47-50).

The times of the invasion are called in the texts *mäwa'älä səddät* 'the days of exile' (Täklä 'Alfa 36) because Christians had to wander around the country fleeing from the Muslim army[49]. The commander of the Muslims is not mentioned by name but referred to as *grañña nəguśä tänbalat* (Zena Marqos f. 51v) or *nəguśä 'əslam* (Zena Marqos f. 136r), both meaning 'the Left-Handed, the king of Muslims'. It is stated that he burned churches and monasteries (including the famous Däbrä Libanos monastery) (Zena Marqos f. 136v). Other than that no relevant information nor literary devices concerning these events can be found in the corpus. Similarly, an otherwise well-attested in the sources war between the Christian emperor and Sa'daddīn (Taddesse 1972: 151-154) is briefly mentioned in the life of Märqorewos, its sole purpose being to show the relationship of the king with the saint (Märqorewos 38-39).

The life of Filəṗṗos of Däbrä Bizän contains an interesting narrative about the relations between the monastery of Däbrä Bizän and the local Muslim rulers in the Red Sea coast region such as the ruler of the Dahlak island (*malk śəyumä Dahluk*) and *nayb*[50] of Massawa. The Muslims are very respectful towards Filəṗṗos comparing him to a rabbi (*räbi*), however, there is some conflict about a passage[51]. Filəṗṗos manages to convince the Muslims that it is in his power to "make the sea useless by the power of my God to you and to your children"[52] and so the Muslim ruler issues a document stating that Däbrä Bizän must be left in peace and the monks should be allowed to freely use the passage for commerce (Filəṗṗos zäDäbrä Bizän 106-107). Devoid of any supernatural elements or dramatic events this is a scene of sometimes tense yet in general peaceful coexistence between the monastery and the secular Muslim power.

10. Conclusion and suggestions for further research

While looking for the examples of the depictions of Muslims and Islam in Ethiopic hagiographies it became clear that they are not as frequent as I had originally

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[49] Interestingly, not only people were forced into wandering but also objects. The life of Zena Marqos offers a fascinating description of how books and *tabotat* are dispersed throughout the country to protect them from destruction (Zena Marqos f. 136v-137r).

[50] *Nayb* (Arabic *nā'ib*) was the local official governing the Red Sea coastal areas.

[51] The Gə'əz text uses the words *maḫläft* and *mäkf*, both quite problematic but judging from the context they should mean the same. It is possible that they refer to the passage between the highlands (where the monastery is situated) and the coast (where the Muslims reside).

[52] አፈስያ ለዛቲ ባሕር በኀይለ አምላኪየ ኢየሱስ ክርቶስ እንተ ኢትበቍዕ ለከ ወለውሉድከ እምድኅሬከ.

assumed. Still, they offer plenty of material for thought and study. Regarding the three questions posed in the introduction, at this stage of research one can present but tentative answers.

The hagiographic material definitely corroborates many facts known from elsewhere, for example regarding the economic activities of the Muslims. It does not seem to contain very relevant historical information since recording facts was not the primary concern of the authors (Nosnitsin 2009: 83). Even when the *gädlat* present facts, for obvious reasons they focus on the Christian community.

The Islam in the texts is to a large extent reduced to a stereotype and there is no intention to understand and describe its specific traits. Hagiographies therefore do not appear to be a valuable source for the study of religious customs of Ethiopian Muslims.

In fact, the depictions of Muslims and Islam teach us more about the people who wrote them than about those who are described. In general, Muslims appear in the texts for a specific narrative reason. Their presence gives the protagonists, the holy monks, the opportunity to demonstrate their moral virtues and the power of the Christian God. Also, through the use of negatively charged language and the selection of facts, the texts seek to alienate the Muslims in the eyes of the Christian readers and through this to strengthen their morale and self-appreciation.

This short survey is of course in many ways imperfect, not only because the corpus of the hagiographic texts can surely be greatly expanded. A very important fact which I utterly ignored is that each *gädl* belongs to a very specific time and place. It would certainly be instructive to group the texts and to find whether for example the hagiographies which take place in the present Eritrea[53] depict Muslims in another way than those from Šäwa. Another question which immediately comes to mind is: during which era the presence of Muslims in the *gädlat* was most prominent and how it corresponds with the historic events in the Ethiopian Empire and the Orthodox Church?

What this study proves more than anything, in my opinion, is the need for comprehensive study of various motifs in Ethiopian hagiographies (such as women, demons, magic, conversion etc.) which together with the study of the literary conventions of this popular genre will surely enable a better understanding of their content.

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[53] On the production of hagiographies in modern-day Eritrea see Villa (2018).

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Robert Piętek
Siedlce University of Natural Sciences and Humanities

Christianity and the formation of the ideology of power in Soyo in the 17th century

Abstract

The aim of the article is to present the role of the Christian elements in the formation of the ideology of power in Soyo in the mid of the 17th century. Thanks to its location, the province of Soyo played an important role in Kongo's relations with Europe. Its location also meant that European influences in this province were stronger than in the rest of the Kingdom of Kongo. A permanent mission of the Capuchin order in Soyo was established as early as 1645. The province became virtually independent from Kongo in the 1640s. By that time, the political elite had formed an ideology of power largely based on the traditional elements of the Kongo culture. While it contained references to Christianity, the emphasis was put on the separateness and uniqueness of Soyo gained in victorious military conflicts with Kongo. The use of the Christian elements in rituals caused occasional conflicts between the secular authorities and the Capuchins.

Keywords: Soyo, Kongo, Christianity, ideology of power

1. Introduction

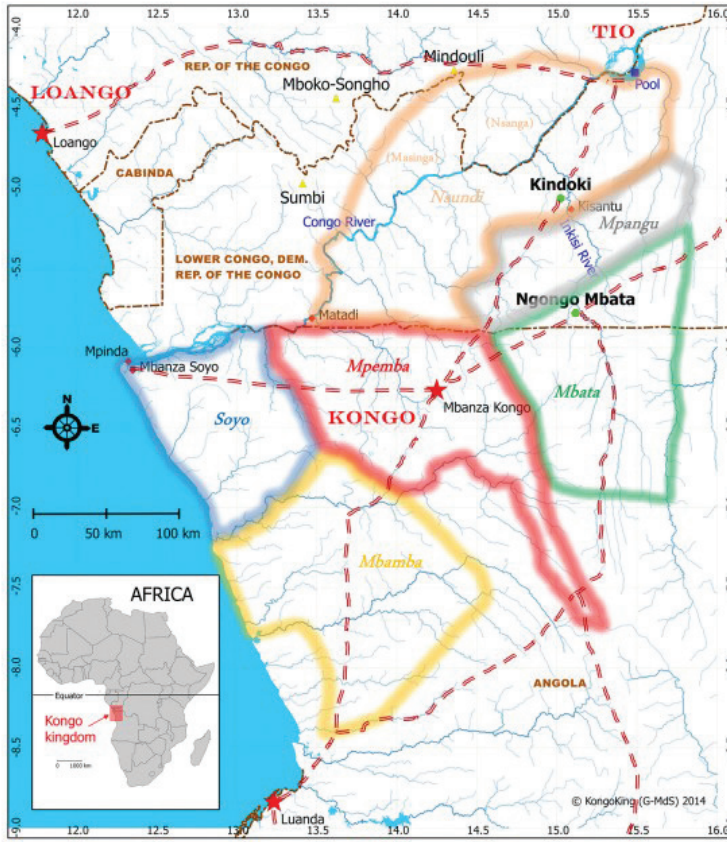
During the early modern period, Kongo constituted a fascinating example of an African state whose ruler and a considerable amount of political elites were interested in maintaining close relations with Europe, from the very first contacts established with the Portuguese toward the end of the 15th century. It resulted in

the adoption of Christianity by the political elites of the country, as well as in the introduction of a number of European institutions and standards. The custom of using Christian names was expanded among Kongolese (Dapper 1686: 350, Heywood & Thornton 2007: 208-209). However, this did not signify that the previous institutions, beliefs and customs disappeared completely. Nevertheless, gradually Christianity became an important element of the ideology of power in Kongo. In 1639, king of Kongo Alvaro VI (1636-1641) addressed a letter to the *Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith* (Latin: *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*) asking for priests to be sent to Kongo. The Congregation reached the decision to dispatch the Capuchins (Cuvelier & Jadin 1954: 503, Cavazzi 1965: II, § 120, 247). The group of the Italian Capuchins enlarged by an addition of seven Spanish Capuchins arrived in Kongo's province Soyo on 25th May 1645, which had just gained independence. The Capuchins founded their post at first in Soyo. Afterwards the posts were also established in the capital of Kongo and other places throughout the kingdom (Bontinck 1964: 26-29, Jadin 1975: 658-696).

2. Tensions between the Capuchins and Dom Daniel

In 1649, in Soyo a conflict arose between the Italian Capuchin missionary Bonaventura da Corella and Dom Daniel de Silva, the ruler of Soyo. Dom Daniel accused the missionary of conspiring against him. He suspected that Bonaventura da Corella, on the instructions of King Garcia II of Kongo (1641-1660), intended to cast a spell on him. For this reason, he repeatedly refused to grant the friar an audience (Saccardo 1982: I, 403). The Soyo's ruler hostility towards the missionary who had arrived from São Salvador (capital of Kongo), according to Capuchins was a result of the intrigues spun by his advisors, who feared that the Capuchins, who had established their post in Soyo, would win the favour of the ruler to their detriment (Cavazzi 1965: IV, §59, 182).

The situation deteriorated even further after the forces led by the governor of Quiova, a sub-province of Soyo, defeated the Kongo troops. The severed heads of three important Kongo dignitaries killed in the battle were sent to the capital of Soyo. The ruler of Soyo intended to recreate the skirmish in which the dignitaries had died on the square located next to the Capuchin church. Their heads were to be placed at the foot of the cross that stood in the square. Following the ceremony, they were to be forwarded to a "pagan" tribe living on the other side



TIO kingdom
Soyo main province of the Kongo kingdom
(Nsanga) northern sub-province (in Nsundi)
★ capital city (of the kingdoms of the Kongo, resp. Loango, and the Portuguese colony of Angola)
◆ place name
● fieldwork site
▲ production centre (of copper, resp. pots)
■ bodies of water and rivers
≈≈≈ trade route
ANGOLA modern-day nation-state or province
— — — modern-day border

[Source for the Kongo kingdom's 16th-17th century main provinces: Randles (1968: 22).
Sources for the main 16th-17th century trade routes in the region: Hilton (1985: 76) and Vansina (1994: 264).
Note that this map, which depicts just six so-called 'main provinces' following Pigafetta (1591), is a simplification. The number of provinces and sub-provinces as well as their seizes varied greatly with time. For a more detailed perspective, the reader is referred to the map in Thornton (1983: 40) for the year 1641, as well as the discussion in Thornton (2001).]

Fig. 1. Map of the Kingdom of Kongo

Source: Clist et al. 2015, available at: http://antiquity.ac.uk/projgall/clist347 [Accessed 19 August 2019]

of the Zaire River. The tribe was suspected of cannibalism[1]. According to the Capuchins, the idea was to humiliate the defeated enemy even more. The friars were indignant about the plan, especially considering that the killed men were Christians (Cavazzi 1965: IV, §59, 182, Saccardo 1982: I, 403). Probably a similar ritual was also to be held on the other side of the river by the Soyo's allies, but this time presumably without any elements related to Christianity.

Bonaventura da Corella decided to intervene. He took away the heads and secretly buried them in the church. The ruler of Soyo demanded their return. The Capuchin refused despite the repeated demands and threats made by the ruler. Eventually, Dom Daniel sent armed men whose task was to intimidate the friar into surrendering the remains. Still, the missionary did not succumb to threats and repeated his refusal. He proclaimed that his fear of God was stronger than the fear of death. He rebuked the assailants and the provincial ruler for violating the sanctity of the church, invoking divine wrath and threatening them with the church penances. As recounted by G.A. Cavazzi, on hearing his words, the assailants retreated in confusion and fear. On the following day, Bonaventura da Corella, after celebrating Mass, once again admonished the assailants and their master for their heavy-handed incursion into the church, adding that Heaven would not leave their deed unpunished. These words were passed on to Dom Daniel, who again sent his guards to recover the remains. This time, they succeeded. They exhumed the heads and laid them under the cross in the square, where subsequently the battle scene was re-enacted. Other acts "unworthy of the place" reportedly occurred, too, but regrettably Cavazzi chose not to describe them.

On the next day, Bonaventura da Corella, after celebrating Mass in the presence of numerous inhabitants, excommunicated Dom Daniel and those who had recommended him to remove the remains from the church or had taken part in the sacrilege. He also warned them of the retribution excommunicated persons can face if they do not publicly admit their mistakes and repent. As a reaction, Dom Daniel forbade the inhabitants of Soyo to visit the Capuchin church. Fearing the wrath of the provincial ruler, people stopped visiting the church and the

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[1] The intention to hand over the heads of the killed dignitaries indicates that the Soyo warriors acted in an alliance with the "pagan" communities (presumably from Ngoyo), who saw the heads of defeated enemies not only as a valuable trophy but also as objects having magical power. In its turn, the fact that "pagan" tribes took part in the battle on Soyo's side means that conflicts between Soyo and Kongo involved their neighbours, motivated by the possibility of capturing prisoners who could be subsequently sold to European slave-merchants. In this period Soyo formed an alliance with Ngoyo (Dapper 1686: 340).

church hospice. In addition, the Capuchins were denied provisions[2] (Thornton 1984: 160-161).

The account evidently exaggerates the scale of the "persecutions". Supplies could not have been cut off completely, since the friars would not have been able to survive without help from the locals. Despite all the reported difficulties, they continued to hold services and ring the bells at the beginning of the canonical hours. The author of the account probably wanted to emphasise their determination by stressing that, despite the pressure exerted by the provincial ruler, the lack of food, and other difficulties, they continued to live by the monastic rule and dutifully celebrated Masses. Church services and bell-ringing at the beginning of the canonical hours were effectively the acts of defiance of the excommunicated ruler, the more so because he was barred from entering the church.

The friars could be seen as a completely independent force that refused to succumb to pressure and could curb the authority of the leader. On the one hand, the clergy were treated as an important reinforcing element of the ideology of power, but on the other hand, they were perceived as a threat because of their independent stance and were suspected of conspiring with the King of Kongo. The suspicion was only deepened by the fact that Bonaventura da Corella, who had arrived from the capital of Kongo, opposed the ceremony involving the heads of the defeated Kongo warriors. It is worth noting that the spectacular ritual, which was meant to confirm Soyo's independence from Kongo, was to be performed in close proximity to a Christian place of worship.

In Soyo, as in other parts of the Kingdom of Kongo, Christianity was an important element of public life even before the arrival of the Capuchins. However, the establishment of a permanent Capuchin mission in 1645 introduced some major changes. Having arrived directly from Europe, the friars were not fully aware of the local realities; correspondingly, they acted in ways they had learned and become accustomed to back at home. From the perspective of the ruler of Soyo, a permanent mission was a novelty which he did not quite know how to tackle. Until that time, control over the religious cult had been held by representatives of the local political elite (Brinkman 2016: 255-276, Thornton 2013: 53-77, Jadin 1966: 215-220).

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[2] The Capuchins subsisted on gifts from local inhabitants. However, the bulk of provisions was given by the ruler of Soyo. Only with the passage of time did the monks receive or purchase slaves who would keep up the hospice, so that the missionaries would no longer be totally dependent on the charity of the locals.

A continuous presence of clergymen, while desirable for a number of reasons, set a limit on the power exercised by the local political elite. Now, it was the missionaries who made public pronouncements on what was consistent with the teachings of the Church and what was a misdeed. Besides the native elements, the local rituals associated with the exercise of power contained a number of references to Christianity. In some cases, the missionaries considered such references sacrilegious and barbaric and, correspondingly, publicly condemned their use. Irrespective of the missionaries' intention, the condemnation was perceived by the ruling elite as an attempt to publicly undermine their authority.

Objectively speaking, the Capuchins' expostulations did indeed pose a threat to the authority of the provincial ruler, especially as their admonitions were made in public. Moreover, excommunication prevented the ruler from attending Mass and other religious ceremonies, during which he was able to demonstrate his special status. When attending the Mass, he wore a robe of the Order of Christ and a golden cross, and held a staff in his hand as a sign of power. He was carried to the church in a hammock, surrounded by courtiers who carried a chair, a kneeler, a carpet, and a pillow. The procession was preceded by musicians playing trumpets, double bells, and other instruments. At Mass, a candle was handed to him during the Gospel; after the reading was finished, he was given the missal to kiss. After the Mass, he approached the altar for the priest's blessing (Dapper 1686: 357, Gray 1999: 44). The exceptional position of the provincial ruler during the Mass was modeled on the Kongo royal court (Bontinck 1964: 125-127). Like in Kongo, the ruler of Soyo was considered as an intermediary between his subjects and the priest. The priest, a representative of the Christian God, bestowed special favours on the ruler and his people.

Being banned from attending the Mass, the ruler of Soyo could no longer perform his role as an intermediary. Even worse, this was a clear demonstration to his subjects that the missionaries could limit his authority and deprive him of divine protection. Like other monarchs in pre-colonial Africa, the governor of Soyo, who aspired to become an independent ruler, was deemed personally responsible for the well-being of his subjects. This, in fact, was one of the cornerstones of his authority. By the same token, an African ruler was believed to be responsible for any misfortunes of his people and could be removed from power (Dapper 1686: 355, Tymowski 2009: 61-64).

It is probably for these reasons and on advice of his relatives that Dom Daniel requested that his excommunication be removed. However, it was not Bonaventura da Corella who reunited him with the Church but another Capuchin monk, Giovanni Maria da Pavia. In order not to exasperate the ruler any further,

Bonaventura da Corella had left the capital of Soyo. After the excommunication was lifted, the ruler of Soyo confessed his sins in the presence of his subjects (Cavazzi 1965: IV, § 60-66, 382-385).

Shortly afterwards, Dom Daniel fell gravely ill. Although friends and relatives asked him to confess, he refused because he did not want to part with his numerous concubines. Besides that, he gave heed to one of the local "wizards", who promised to cure him. Dom Daniel died without confession. The people of Soyo pleaded with the missionaries for him to be buried in the cemetery next to St. Michael's Church, like the previous Catholic chiefs. The friars disagreed but, despite their opposition, the deceased was buried in the church cemetery, albeit without the participation of clergy and without any Christian symbols. Apparently, the compromise was reached thanks to some dignitaries from Soyo who understood the reasons of the Capuchins (Cavazzi 1965: IV, § 66, 385).

Dom Daniel considered Bonaventura da Corella's refusal to surrender the heads of slain Kongo dignitaries as an act in favour of the Kongo royal house rather than an act following from objection to the desecration of dead bodies and to the fact that the fallen warriors were being denied a Christian burial. The popular majority saw the ruler's excommunication not as an ecclesiastic punishment potentially leading to damnation but as an act directed against their well-being that could bring misfortune in the form of natural disasters.

Also in later years, this understanding of excommunication was the source of conflicts between the monks and the rulers of Soyo. In 1673, it even resulted in the temporary banishment of the missionaries from the province. In some cases, excommunicated rulers were subsequently overthrown. One such example is Dom Pedro de Castro, who was dethroned after the Capuchins had been brutally expelled from Soyo on his order (Cuvelier 1953: 151, Jadin 1966: 296, 304, 318, 336).

In the case described by Cavazzi, excommunication was probably also seen as an act that would bring misfortune to Soyo, thus weakening its ability to oppose the King of Kongo. The submission of the ruler of Soyo to the Church, which was the necessary prerequisite to the removal of excommunication, was due to the fear of natural disasters rather than the fear of damnation. This is why some of the Soyo dignitaries were putting pressure on the ruler to reconcile with the Capuchins. As follows from Cavazzi's account, the ruler of Soyo refused to confess. One has to realise, however, that the author must have left some details out, thereby distorting the actual course of events. Going to confession is a necessary condition for excommunication to be removed. This means that Dom Daniel must

have confessed his sins and shown repentance in public. The refusal to receive the sacrament of confession must have happened at a later point, after he had fallen ill. One of the purported reasons for this behaviour is his unwillingness to part with his concubines. It is unlikely that, until that time, the missionaries had been unaware of the "depravity" of his ways. Yet, there is no evidence they had voiced their condemnation in particularly strong terms. On the other hand, it is known that Catholic rulers of Soyo directed or supervised trials by ordeal, which was in contravention of the teachings of the Church (Cavazzi 1965: I, § 205, 210, 102-103, Jadin 1975: 1159-1160). Devotion to Christianity did not make them abandon the old customs and healing rituals. Presumably, Dom Daniel turned to witch doctors for help, thinking that the Capuchins were unwilling or unable to heal him through their prayers. In fact, the ruler of Soyo could even suspect that the missionaries might want to do him harm, considering the previous excommunication. His refusal to confess when he was on his deathbed was likely due to these fears.

In one of the previous passages in Cavazzi's account the Capuchins, in order not to exacerbate the conflict, decided that the ruler's excommunication should be removed by a missionary other than the one who pronounced it. This is an indication that, in certain situations, the Capuchins accommodated themselves to local conditions and were not overzealous about the strict observance by the locals of the principles of the Christian faith and morality. It is not improbable that other incidents of this kind may have been omitted in the accounts written by the friars, since one of the goals of the authors was to highlight the successful nature of the mission. Besides, the conflict between Dom Daniel and Bonaventura da Corella could be seen as an interpersonal conflict. Had Bonaventura da Corella himself removed the excommunication, this would have been treated as a sign of the ruler's submission to the missionary and recognition of his supreme authority. In order not to create such an impression, Bonaventura da Corella left the capital city of Soyo, and the ruler's excommunication was removed by another Capuchin.

3. Ideology of power in Soyo

The events are described from the perspective of the Capuchins, who did not fully understand how they were perceived by the local community and what role was ascribed to them. This lack of understanding influenced their actions and reactions. The fact that some people in the Kongo (including Soyo) ruling elite spoke and even wrote Portuguese led the missionaries to treat them as if they

had been Europeans, which was not always appropriate. The members of the first Capuchin mission were favourably impressed by the friendly and ceremonial welcome they received from the ruler of Soyo and local inhabitants and by the signs of piety they showed (Bontinck 1964: 22-29, Jadin 1975: 658-685, 688-696). For this reason, the missionaries were initially convinced that Christianity had been well established in Soyo. However, along with the elements of Christianity, many old beliefs and customs were still cultivated there, including those related to the ideology of power.

The same problem applied to the whole of Kongo. Apparently, early Christian missionaries tolerated some elements of the native tradition. A good example is provided by the description of the coronation of Pedro II in 1622 by the canon André Cordeiro, in which the new ruler is depicted as a pious Christian. The canon was not bothered by the fact that one of the royal insignias was a drum covered with leopard skin and decorated with silk fabric and golden threads, to which the teeth of killed enemies were attached. During the enthronement ceremony, the drum was placed near the Christian altar (Jadin 1968: 379). The use of body parts of defeated enemies, often alongside objects related to Christianity, was an element of the native culture that had not been openly condemned by the clergy. For Dom Daniel, the placing of the heads of slain enemies under the cross was a regular ritual, so he was greatly surprised by the negative reaction on the part of Bonaventura da Corella and became suspicious of the missionaries' intentions.

Although the ruler of Soyo died without confession, he was buried at the place where other Catholic rulers had been laid to rest. Christian religious symbols were undoubtedly present at the place of burial, including the graves. Prior to the arrival of the Capuchin mission, Soyo had occasionally been visited by clergymen in the first half of the 17th century (Bontinck 1964: 34, Jadin 1975: 658-674, 688-696, Piętek 2009: 27-33). At the time of the events described above, there was already an influential group of Soyo locals who thought the presence of clergy to be important. For this reason, they pushed Dom Daniel into asking for his excommunication to be lifted, and later negotiated a compromise with the missionaries as to the place of the ruler's burial. This group of people must have had the support of at least some other locals. The cult of deceased rulers and chiefs was an important element of the ideology of power in Kongo. After the adoption of Christianity, churches or crosses were erected on many of the burial sites. The sanctuaries were visited in emergency situations, especially during a war, to ask the deceased rulers for support (Jadin 1975: 1158, Thornton 1981: 62, Hilton 1985: 101-102, Hilton 1987: 291-295, Gray 1999: 140). The grave

of a deceased Soyo ruler who had defeated Kongo troops would conceivably become a place of worship, to which Christian elements would impart additional power. At any burial ground, the old native tradition was rivalled by the new Christian one, which sometimes led to conflicts between the ecclesiastical and secular authorities. The cemetery where Dom Daniel was buried was probably of a pre-Christian origin, as was usual in Kongo (Bontinck 1972: 112-115, Gray 1999: 140). The disagreement over the place of burial of the Soyo ruler was simultaneously a conflict over the control of the cemetery. The Capuchins saw it as a churchyard over which they were entitled to exercise exclusive control. This was met with resistance from the locals, for whom it was a place of ancestor worship. Ultimately, the Capuchins could refuse to attend the funeral of Dom Daniel but were unable to prevent his burial.

Battle reconstruction, apart from being an important ritual aimed at acknowledging the strength of the chief, was also a means of conveying factual information about the victory achieved. During this ceremony, the heroic deeds of the rulers and their ancestors were recounted. This was a way to reaffirm their competence and their right to exercise authority. Throughout Kongo, the oral tradition was accompanied by a dance called *sangamento*. The dance was essentially a demonstration of strength. It could be performed before a military operation or indeed as an act of declaration of war. *Sangamento* was also performed as part of celebrations such as the enthronement of a new ruler or the welcoming of envoys. The dance is also known to have been performed during church ceremonies (Cavazzi 1965: I § 314, 151-153, Fromont 2014: 21-23). In effect, it was an attempt by the ruler of Soyo to present his latest military success during a re-enactment of the victorious battle that met with opposition from Bonaventura da Corella.

4. Soyo's position in the Kongo politics

The province of Soyo occupied a special position within the Kingdom of Kongo. The Portuguese made their first contact with the king of Kongo through the provincial ruler of Soyo. In 1491, the ruler of Soyo received baptism and took the Christian name of Manuel – even before the king himself was baptised. According to Thornton, Soyo already had a unique status at that time. The province was presumably ruled by the members of Kongo's ruling dynasty. Thornton even suggests that the position of the provincial ruler was hereditary, unlike in the other provinces of Kongo, where the provincial governors were appointed by the monarch and could be dismissed by him, with the exception of Mbata during the rule of Afonso I (1509-42). Thornton also points out that the sources dating back

to the first half of the 16th century contain little information about Soyo. He takes this as an indication of a special status enjoyed by the province, namely, that it lay outside the strict control of Kongo (Thornton 2018: 104-107). This issue is of particular interest, since Soyo played an important role in Kongo's relations with Portugal. Envoys of the kings of Kongo had to pass through Soyo when travelling to Portugal. Portuguese ships arrived at a port located on the coast of Soyo until at least the year 1576, when the Portuguese colony in Luanda was founded. The lack of more precise information does not necessarily point to a weaker control of the central government over Soyo. From the perspective of the kings of Kongo, control over Soyo was crucial for political as well as economic reasons. One can surmise, therefore, that the lack of detailed information about Soyo does not necessarily indicate a weaker control over the province.

Detailed information about Soyo reappears in sources that date back to the end of the 16th century. The sources emphasise the prominent role played by the provincial rulers of Soyo in the adoption of Christianity in Kongo. They also relate the victory of Afonso I over his pagan brother. Thornton ascribes the increase in number of references to Soyo to its growing role in Kongo's domestic politics, especially in crisis situations related to the succession to the throne. The prominent role of Soyo is reflected in the official version of the history of Kongo as recounted in the sources from that period. He also suggests that the ruler of Soyo was involved in the power struggle following the death in 1587 of Álvaro I (1568-1587) (Thornton 2018: 107-110, 114).

At the beginning of the 17th century, Soyo's independence was limited. In 1612 or 1613, the province was ruled by Ferdinando, appointed by King Álvaro II of Kongo (1587-1614), which would indicate that the Kingdom of Kongo had regained closer control over Soyo. Daniel Da Silva, son of the former ruler Miguel, took refuge in the province of Mbamba, ruled by his relative António Da Silva. At that time, Mbamba supposedly enjoyed a degree of independence, just like Soyo did before. After King Álvaro II died in 1614, António Da Silva had enough influence to decide the succession to the throne of Álvaro III (1615-1622), one of the sons of the deceased king (Thornton 2018: 112-114, 120).

Information about the person of the ruler of Soyo does not reappear in the sources until 1622. According to the sources, António Manuel, a half-brother of Álvaro III, ruled the province until 1620. His rule, however, did not mean that Kongo had regained full control over Soyo. Although nominated by King Álvaro III, the new provincial ruler was not entirely loyal to the monarch. Unfortunately, the reasons behind the tensions between the ruler of Soyo and the King of Kongo remain unknown.

After the death of António Da Silva, the ruler of Mbamba, control over the province was assumed by his son. But king Álvaro III invaded this province, killed the new governor and appointed Pedro Afonso, who was not a member of the Da Silva family, as the governor of Mbamba. Following the death of Álvaro III in 1622 Pedro Afonso was elected king and ruled as Pedro II (1622-1624) (Thornton 2018: 114-115). Under his reign, power over Soyo was entrusted to Paulo, one of King's brothers, who held the position until 1636. After Pedro II died unexpectedly in 1624, his son Garcia I (1624-1626) ascended the throne. However, in 1626, he was overthrown and fled to Soyo, where he died the same year (Thornton 2018: 116-117).

The new King of Kongo, Ambrósio I (1626-1631), appointed members of the Da Silva family to important posts. Among them was Daniel Da Silva, who became the governor of Mbamba. A few years later, Ambrósio I was also overthrown and replaced by Álvaro IV (1631-1636), son of Álvaro III. In 1636, in an attempt to gain more control over the juvenile king, Daniel Da Silva marched on the capital. King Álvaro IV fled to Soyo, where a battle was held. Daniel Da Silva was killed in battle by Garcia Afonso. Álvaro IV died shortly afterwards, presumably of poison. He was succeeded by his half-brother, Álvaro V (1636). The new king wanted to remove Álvaro Afonso, brother of Garcia Afonso, from the position of the governor of Mbamba. However, he was defeated and beheaded, and the throne passed to Álvaro Afonso, who ruled as Álvaro VI (1636-1641). He appointed his brother Garcia Afonso as the governor of Mbamba. After Álvaro VI died in 1641, it was Garcia who succeeded him (Thornton 2018: 118-120).

Around the same time, Paolo, the ruler of Soyo, also died. Daniel Da Silva, son of Miguel Da Silva, the former ruler of Soyo, took advantage of the situation and seized power in the province (Thornton 2018: 120). King Garcia II (1641-1660) sought to replace Daniel Da Silva and waged a number of military campaigns toward this end. However, he failed to subjugate the rebellious province.

The reconstruction of the events by Thornton proves that, in the first half of the 17th century, the central government of Kongo did not have full control over its territory. In crisis situations, the kings could not always count on the support of their provincial governors. Quite the reverse, the latter often raised revolts against the central authorities. On the other hand, the position of provincial governors was also far from stable. There were cases where governors were removed from power even in those provinces where they had an established position. One example is the province of Soyo, which at the end of the reign of Álvaro II was ruled by Ferdinando. The King appointed the ruler from outside the Da Silva

family, which, if one accepts Thornton's hypothesis, was contrary to the custom that required governors of Soyo to be members of that family. The Da Silva family was also forcibly removed from power in the province of Mbamba by Álvaro III, although António Da Silva had helped him to ascend to the throne.

It is not known to what extent the provinces of Kongo developed separate identities, nor is it known if they managed to create power structures that were independent of São Salvador. However, in the case of Soyo, more frequent contacts with Europeans could have resulted in stronger centrifugal tendencies. Furthermore, the province had a port that was an important commercial centre, which increased its economic independence and the ability to maintain the mechanism of government. As pointed out by Thornton, Soyo also occupied a special position at the Kongo royal court at least from the end of the 16th century.

It was this tradition that Dom Daniel referred to in his 1648 letter to the Pope. Asking for the papal blessing and requesting that more priests and devotional articles be sent to Soyo, he stressed the fact that Kongo had adopted Christianity through Soyo (Jadin 1975: 975-976). By 1649, Soyo already had the custom of electing its ruler and, at least according to Bonaventura da Corella, a board of four electors had been established (Jadin 1975: 1160). The ruler of Soyo sought to create a political structure that would be independent of Kongo and where the ruler would be selected without outside interference. Simultaneously, through contacts with the Holy See and the expansion of the church organisation, he wanted to lay an ideological foundation for his authority.

5. Summary

Christianity constituted an important legitimising factor for the independence of Soyo. Local political elite and, quite probably, a significant portion of the general population saw the fact that Soyo was the first Kongo province to adopt Christianity as a confirmation of its exceptionality. Soyo's unique role in the spread of Christianity was emphasised in the local tradition recorded at the end of the 17th century (Jadin 1970: 452-453, Fromont 2014: 35-37).

After coming to power in Soyo and successfully repelling the attacks of the Kongo forces, Dom Daniel sought to strengthen his position also in terms of ideology, in which Christian elements were to play an important role. With this end in view, he even tried to discourage the Capuchins from going to the capital of Kongo in order for Soyo to have "the exclusive rights" to the mission. This would have increased the importance of Soyo relative to Kongo (Jadin 1975: 658-674).

In the case of Soyo, despite the special status of the province, its independence was not fully established, nor could the ruling Da Silva dynasty be sure of its position. Dom Daniel seized power after the province had been ruled for a number of years by a governor who came from a different family. The authority of the Da Silvas in Soyo had to be reaffirmed, also in the sphere of ideology. Thanks to the consolidation of the ideology of power that put a strong emphasis on the distinctiveness of Soyo an important element of independence was created. The inclusion of elements related to the victory over Kongo forces emphasised Soyo's independence from Kongo even stronger. The ceremony held under the cross in the church square followed the Kongo tradition. It referred to the victory of Afonso I (1506-1543) over his pagan brother, which, according to tradition, was achieved thanks to a miraculous intervention by St. James. The victory resulted in the consolidation of Christianity in Kongo. During the reign of King Afonso I, a number of European models were adopted in the country. For the province of Soyo, references to that battle – held on St. James' Day – were of particular relevance, since Soyo defeated the Kongo troops on July 25th 1646, that is, also on St. James Day (Bontinck 1964: 54-55, Cavazzi 1965: III, § 32, 283-284, III, § 79 vol. I, 313). Opposition from Bonaventura da Corella made it very difficult for the ruler of Soyo to give final shape to his ideology of power. Similarly, the refusal of the Capuchins to give Dom Daniel a Catholic burial hampered the shaping of a cult of the dead rulers that would have strengthened Soyo's independence and the position of the Da Silva family. Elements of Christianity were already so deeply rooted that they were used to strengthen the position of the ruler. By the time the Capuchin mission arrived to Soyo, Christianity had already become an important part of the local culture. Some members of the local political elite had acquired elements of European education, spoke Portuguese and sometimes even Latin. These persons were employed for diplomatic contacts, also by the rulers of Soyo. They taught prayer and the catechism and conducted church services in the absence of priests (Brinkman 2016: 255-276, Thornton 2013: 53-77, Jadin 1966: 215-220).

With the arrival of the Capuchins and the establishment of their permanent presence in Soyo, control over religious worship was taken over by the missionaries, which inevitably led to conflicts between them and the secular authorities, especially whenever the clergymen tried to eradicate the customs they considered barbaric. This behaviour was seen by the local elites as undermining the authority of the provincial ruler. The conflict between Bonaventura da Corella and Dom Daniel was one of the first cases of tensions of precisely this kind. Similar conflicts would later occur both in Soyo and in Kongo. An important source of these

conflicts was the significance of Christian elements for the ideology of power and for Kongo culture in general. In the 17th century, Kongo rulers could no longer fully control Christianity in their country due to the presence of European missionaries. Paradoxically, however, their presence was needed to strengthen the Christian elements in the ideology of power.

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REVIEWS

Studia Africana. Papers in Honour of Sergio Baldi (Topics in Interdisciplinary African Studies 46), edited by Gian Claudio Batic, Rudolf Leger. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag 2017, 169 pp. ISBN 978-3-89645-915-2

The book is a collection of articles written in honor of prof. Sergio Baldi, "an exceptional authority in the field of African languages and linguistics" (p. 9). The languages of the chapters included in the volume are English and French. The main part of the book is preceded by a short Foreword (p. 9) and a list of publications by Sergio Baldi (p. 11-17). The articles are arranged according to alphabetical order by contributors' last name. The articles are rather short, oscillating from six to thirteen pages, excluding references. The topics are as diversified as the research interests of professor Baldi and comprise lexicography, lexical semantics, language typology, historical linguistics, phonology, literature (written and oral), and culture.

Out of thirteen papers presented in the volume, the majority concern language and linguistics. Within these language-oriented papers, four focus on presenting raw language data with the commentary sections reduced to a minimum. Such is the paper by Rudolf Leger "Superstitious beliefs among the Kupto", where the short introduction of Kupto language spoken in Nigeria and the notion of superstitions are followed by a list of fifty three Kupto superstitions translated into English and deprived of any commentary or concluding remarks. Two articles that concern historical linguistics are quite difficult to follow for those who are not familiar with the specific conventions concerning the abbreviations, notation system, and the way of presenting data characteristic for the field. Anna Belova in "Lexique culturel en Afrique nord-orientale (termes de "l'or" et ses espèces)" shows various terms for 'gold' used in East-North Africa, starting from the most ancient Egyptian *nb(w)* and ending on the most recent Arabic *ḏahab-* which slowly replaces the ancient terms in the modern languages spoken in North

Africa. As claimed by the author, the spread of the terms reflects historical situation and cultural contacts between the people who were not necessarily each-other's neighbors. In "More links between Chadic, Cushitic, and Omotic (animal names)" Olga Stolbova presents the lists of 23 lexical cognates limited to animal names. The article is almost deprived of comments and seems to be devoted to the specialists interested in historical linguistics. The last article focused on presenting language data is "Origin and development of bird names in Kxoe (Kalahari Khoe): Some preliminary thoughts" by Rainer Vossen. The author lists and classifies the names of birds in Kalahari Khoe spoken in Namibia and Botswana. He divides the presentation into several sections: inherited names (names reconstructible for Proto-Khoe), onomatopoeic forms, borrowings from neighboring Bantu languages, descriptive or periphrastic names, lexical innovations, and undetermined origin.

Other papers concerning linguistic topics have more descriptive nature. Herman Jungraithmayr in "Seven precious findings in Chadic after 60 years of research: *Eine Blütenlese*" shares his personal experience in discovering certain features of Chadic languages such as passive voice in Tangale, subjunctive mood in Mokilko or attributing gender system to verbal categories (imperfective and perfective) in Gadang. The paper is vividly written with the description of author's memories of how and when the particular discovery took place.

Aliyu Mu'azu in "The interference of the first language over second language: A case of some phonological processes among Ebira speaking Hausa" focuses on presenting a process of elision which takes place when the speakers of Ebira (Niger-Congo language) speak Hausa (Afroasiatic language). The phenomenon is illustrated by the examples showing processes of deglottalization, vowel lengthening and merger. Unfortunately, the presentation of the language data uses unclear system of notation, lacks morphological glosses and contains numerous typos (e.g. on p. 87 *io* instead of *zo*, *me* instead of *mai*), making it useful only for those who know Hausa as the Hausa orthographic system was used to note the pronunciation of Hausa language spoken by Ebira. Another weak point of the paper is the lack of a slightest note of how and where the presented data were obtained.

Flavia Aiello and Maddalena Toscano in their paper "On some Swahili ICT terms" discuss the newly created words related to Information and Communication Technology (ICT), such as *password, website, web,* and *internet,* grounding them in the historical and social context. The authors draw attention to the strong cultural connotation of the newly coined term *nywila* 'password' derived from the historical term: *nywinywila* used for password during the Majimaji war

against the Germans. They also show, by providing various statistic data, that some terms developed by the linguists and language experts were either neglected or contested by the native speakers of Swahili. The paper contains a proposal of a new etymology for the word *tovuti* 'site, website'. Authors claim it developed from Arabic word *tabuti* 'Arch of the Covenant'.

In his paper "Of direction, will, and intention: An analysis of the Hausa *nufa*" Gian Claudio Batic undertakes an analysis of the Hausa verb *nufa* 'head towards the place, intend to mean something' suggesting that this semantic extension of the verb is triggered by the metaphor: "Intend to mean something is head towards a place". The paper would be more complete if the author decided to ground the phenomenon within the common semantic change of the verb 'to go' which is used cross-linguistically to state intentions, make offers and promises (Traugott 1989: 40), e.g. English *I'm gonna* or compare it with a common grammaticalization pattern from the verb 'to go' to the future tense marker (Givón 1973).

Another paper devoted to the Hausa language is written by Nina Pawlak "Measuring the content of happiness: Semantic notions coded in the Hausa word *lafiya*". The author claims that each culture developed a specific attitude towards the concept of 'happiness' and this attitude is visible in the lexicon of a given language, as well as in the language use. The Hausa data investigated by Pawlak show that there are several lexical terms conveying the concept of happiness. However, the emphasis is put on a frequently used term *lafiya*, which literally means '(good) health' and renders many positive meanings connected with the state of happiness, such as: '*good mood, peace, safety, nature*'. It is claimed that the semantic prototype of this term refers to *harmony* (*balance*), which is an important Hausa value determining the feeling of being happy.

Georg Ziegelmeyer in the paper "On the idiomacity of Kanuri *bu* 'eat' and *ya* 'drink': A case of calquing from Hausa?" touches upon an interesting topic of great similarity between the metaphorical extensions of consumption verbs 'eat' and 'drink' in Kanuri and Hausa. In both languages the extensions go along a basic semantic cut: 'eat' => overcoming = [+ control] versus 'drink' => undergoing = [-control]. Ziegelmeyer not only presents a rich linguistic material comparing the two languages, but also tries to explain the semantic similarities between the languages which are not genetically related. According to the author, there are two possible explanations: similarities between metaphorical extensions of the consumption verbs found in several African languages and contact-induct transfer of metaphorical extensions from Hausa to Kanuri.

Apart from the papers devoted to linguistics, the volume contains a few papers related to literature and culture. One of them is the contribution by Mariusz

Kraśniewski "The revolution in Hausa music: Hip-hop, the *arewa* chapter" that touches upon a fascinating issue of contemporary hip-hop music in northern Nigeria which is a mixture of rap music imported from the United States and a dominant trend in Hausa pop music – *nanaye* style of singing – taken straight from the Bollywood movies. This specific combination of music styles is further globalized by using Hausa and English language in lyrics. The author discusses various barriers to introducing gangsta-style music in the conservative, Muslim society of the Nigerian North, such as the actions undertaken by the Censorship Board as well as the dissent of the religious leaders and the government authorities. He admits that due to several obstacles the revolution in Hausa music was "not a shocking therapy, but rather a 'translation' of the foreign cultural product for the local market" (p. 67).

Henry Tourneux and Hadidja Konaï in "Les formules d'ouverture et de cloture des contes peuls du Diamaré (Cameroun)" discuss the issue of opening and closing formulas used in storytelling. The study is mainly based on Fulfulde tales collected and edited by Paul K. Eguchi in 1970 and 1980. When it comes to opening formulas, they are fairly obvious and consists of phrases such as: 'here it is', 'this is, this will be', 'this is a fairy tale', 'small fairy tale' or the religious formulas taken from Arabic. The closing parts are much more enigmatic and difficult to understand without having access to some culturally conditioned activities, such as preparing the meat in a pot digged into the ground and covered with clay. The name of the dish produced in the pot (*takkaande* in Fulfulde) gave rise to the closing formula sometimes strengthened by the use of the ideophone *mulus* or a phrase referring to chicken's or hare's droppings. The authors draw attention to various associations between preparing and eating a meal and telling the story in order to justify the use of such closing formulas.

Stanisław Piłaszewicz's paper is focused on a poem written by Alaji Umaru at the beginning of the 20th century. The poem presents the life and works of a man called Musa, who was operating in 1904-1905 on the Gold Coast territory and proclaimed himself a Mahdi. Piłaszewicz shows a broader perspective of the Mahdi's movements connecting it with the tensions and stresses present in the societies of the colonial times. Another aspect of the poem shown in the paper is the personal engagement of the poet for whom Musa is somehow a rival, an opponent who attracts the attention of the people. Therefore, Alhaji Umaru presents himself as a defender of truth, while Musa is described as a liar known of charlatanic practices.

In a nutshell, the papers presented in the book represent a broad variety of topics concerning the languages, culture, literature, and society of the whole African

continent. Such a diversity is commonly accepted in volumes published as festschrifts, which are not expected to have neither monographic nor very insightful character. However, at least to my belief, the content should be presented in a reader-friendly manner which would present contributors' research to a broader audience. Shaping the volume in a way that would present the scattered topics in an organized and comprehensive manner is the editors' responsibility. The editors of this volume decided to limit their role to composing a few paragraphs presenting the biographical note of prof. Baldi and compiling the list of his publications. They did not interfere neither in the way of presenting the topics by particular authors, nor in unifying the formal side of the book. The book does not contain any cross references, the system of presenting language data and morphological glosses differ from one paper to another. The volume does not contain an index which would direct the reader at least to the languages mentioned in the book. It is also quite difficult to understand why the editors did not eliminate the long-forgotten terminology, abandoned in the field of African studies long time ago, like Semitochamitic (p. 49), Hamitosemitic phylum (p. 53) or did not correct the obvious mistakes "Ebira belongs to the Kwa sub-group of the Niger Congo family" (p. 85) present in particular papers.

Givón, T. 1973. "The Time-Axis Phenomenon", *Language* 49(4). 890-925.

Traugott, E. C. 1989. "On the Rise of Epistemic Meanings in English: An Example of Subjectification in Semantic Change", *Language* 65(1). 31-55.

Izabela Will

***Language, Literature and Culture in a Multilingual Society. A Festschrift for Abubakar Rasheed. Vol. I-II*, edited by O.-M. Ndimele, M. Ahmad & H.M. Yakasai.** Linguistic Edition 105-106, Muenchen: Lincom GmbH 2016, 1122 pp.

This monumental two-volume publication was firstly released as one-volume book in Nigeria in 2013. It is a collection of 77 papers addressing various issues in linguistics which were presented in 2011 during the 24th Annual Conference of the Linguistic Association of Nigeria (CLAN) at Bayero University and Ni'ima Hotel in Kano. Thanks to the efforts of the Association's members, the event brought together the linguists from the northern, mostly Hausa-speaking region

of Nigeria, and the southern scholars working on various other languages, including many lesser known to the foreign academics. The conference was held to celebrate the achievements of Professor Abubakar Rasheed and resulted in a book written in his honour with a dedication "to all students of linguistics in Nigeria".

Abubakar Adamu Rasheed is a distinguished scholar in linguistic stylistics and a Professor of English who spent most of his academic career teaching at the Department of English and Literary Studies at Bayero University where, additionally, he was holding a position of Vice-Chancellor until 2015. He is known for his devotion to development, preservation and promotion of the indigenous Nigerian languages and literatures, as well as for his support for the activities of the Linguistic Association of Nigeria. His experience and achievements led him to innumerous privileges and high-rank functions, i.a. he was holding the position of executive secretary of National Universities Commission (Nigeria) and president of Oxonia University Network (international structure). During his almost 40-years-long academic career, in his many publications, Professor Rasheed focused mainly on the text linguistics, stylistics, and discourse analysis. His research covered also the issues of English teaching as well as the ideological function of language use in Nigeria. For his tremendous work Professor Rasheed was granted a title of the Member of the Order of the Federal Republic by the authorities of his homeland.

Two volumes in honour of Professor Rasheed are organized into four thematic sections which cover: Language and Society; Applied Linguistics; Literature, Culture, Stylistics and Gender Studies; Formal Linguistics. The latter field of research is represented by 34 papers and thus turns out to be the dominant one. Roughly 19 out of 77 papers focus on the Hausa language, 9 are devoted mainly to English, while many other papers additionally concern both of these languages. The remaining papers are devoted to the impressingly wide spectre of different Nigerian languages, including Igbo, Yoruba, Nigerian Pidgin English and various lesser studied languages such as, i.a. Igala, Jukun, Kanakuru, Bassa, Urhobo, Kambari, Izere, Bura, Warji. Moreover, some works take into account languages native to other parts of Africa (Swahili and Arabic) and both Africa and Europe (Portuguese and French). The variety of topics and the large number of languages addressed are a great advantage of the anthology. The authors applied diverse methodologies accordingly. Thus, formalists, generativists, ethnolinguists, cognitivists, sociolinguists and comparativists are represented among the contributors, not to mention the scholars with non-linguistic background. The papers compiled in the anthology represent high scientific standards

and the majority of them have an innovative character. Certainly, all the papers published are worth mentioning. However, for the sake of the review, only small sample of the contents of the book can be presented. Nevertheless, despite rather arbitrary selection of the papers, I will try to give a brief overview of each of the four thematic sections.

As it was already stated, Section Four: Formal Linguistics is the biggest one as it fills the whole second volume of the anthology. For this reason it deserves a special attention as well as the privilege of being reviewed at first. The section is opened by a prominent Chadologist and Hausaist Russel Schuh with the paper "Word Families in Hausa". The aim of the article is to show a historical relationship between the words (predominantly verbs) grouped into 20 word families using synchronic (comparative) and diachronic approaches in order to revise the set of rules that governed the Hausa word derivation in the past. Compared to the study of English, the main problem of this research is the insufficient number of profound reference works as well as lack of the written sources for Hausa and other closely related languages older than 200 years. Therefore, in contrast with English, the etymological development of words cannot be simply traced diachronically. Hence, Schuh supports his thesis with a comparative method and the up-to-date theories on historical sound changes in Hausa. He concludes that the salient topic of word families in Hausa is open to advanced research and expects it to be further elaborated for the sake of the Chadic studies.

Two of the major languages of Nigeria, i.e. Igbo and Yoruba, are well represented among the formal linguistic analyses included in this chapter. For instance, Adebola Ayoola Isaiah devoted his paper to the tone and vowel harmony in Oworo dialect of Yoruba while Balogun Nasrudeen Akanbi focused particularly on the vowel harmony in the Ekiti dialect. As to the study of Igbo, there are two interesting papers focused on the morpho-syntactic properties of this language. They were written by the academics representing the minimalist-generativist and structural approach respectively, i.e. "The Head-Feature Parameter and the Igbo Verb Compound" by Amaechi B. Oha and "Head-Modifier Shift in Igbo" by Stephen Madu Anurudu and Ayo Bamgbose.

Amos Dlibugunaya conducted a comparative lexical analysis of Kilba and Margi which are closely related Chadic languages spoken locally in the Adamawa and Borno states in Nigeria. Using Swadesh wordlist method and referring to the lexicostatistic and glottodiachronic estimations he formulates a significant conclusion that Kilba and Magi share 81% of their lexicons, and therefore they came from a common root and separated ca. 1299 AD. It seems to be an important fact to be noted within the Chadic linguistics.

Yakubu Magaji Azare offers interesting considerations on the deverbal noun forms in Hausa. He applies the methods of cognitive linguistics. In his rather short but pithy paper he demonstrates some interesting examples of the metonymic relation between a verb and a concrete deverbal noun derived via the verbal noun as their middle link, e.g. *shūrà* 'to push with legs' via *shὺrā* (verbal noun) to *shūrì* 'an ant hill'. Some other papers in this section include problems in general and African formal linguistics (semantics, morphology, syntax, grammar), translations, lexical borrowings, aspects of phonology and prosody, and standardisation of Hausa orthography.

Finally, we go back to the Section One: Language and Society which consists of 13 papers. At the beginning of the book Ayo Bamgbose gives the opening address to the participants of CLAN. He provides a brief description of the activities and achievements of the linguistics associations and departments in Nigeria. He mentions LAN as one of the most prominent among them. Nevertheless, he describes the fundamental problems and challenges which the young linguistics scholars are facing in Nigeria. He also addresses the question of teaching native languages. In conclusion, Bamgbose appeals for intensifying the efforts in order to lift the Nigerian languages and linguistics onto a higher level.

Ɗahiru Muhammad Argungu investigates what he calls "transmission of message of proverb". He points out the semantic similarities between proverbs in Hausa and Swahili, providing the examples of functionally equivalent sayings in both languages. On the other hand, he notes the differences which emerge mostly from unique character of each culture and environmental conditions of the places where their speakers live. He claims that while due to certain facts, in both societies the main mode of transmission of proverb's message is oral (for which he gives satisfactory and diversified examples), in Swahili there is a special device called *kanga* intended for that purpose. It is a colourful cloth worn by mostly muslim women across East Africa which has a proverb or a saying written on it. Such proverb, he claims, serves various functions. Most importantly, it is a way of expression for women who wear *kanga* with a particular saying on it. Secondly, the proverb on the cloth is a type of self-advertisement which encourages a customer to buy it. As to compare, this "commercial" dimension of the proverbs' use emanates but orally in Hausaland in the announcements of traditional peddlers selling medicines and herbs such as *mai magani* and *'yar mai ganye*.

Endangerment status of Igala is a main focus of the paper by Joseph Abuh. The language in question is a Yoruboid belonging to the Kwa group. Its community of estimated 1.5 mln people inhabits eastern parts of Kogi State in Nigeria (Igalaland). The paper argues that despite of relatively large number of speakers,

Igala is an endangered language. On the basis of the results of the questionnaires filled up by the representative groups of Igala speakers and with reference to The UNESCO Framework for Intergenerational Status of Language, it is stated that the language may become extinct by ca. 2091 if nothing is done to revitalise it. The author presents the results of a detailed analysis along with the precise recommendations on how to prevent the extinction of Igala. Worth noticing in the context of language preservation and promotion is that in the same volume another paper devoted to Igala was published, namely "Honorifics in Igala" by Abudllahi Ahmad. Some other issues in this section cover, i.a. semantics of certain domains of Hausa and Jukun languages, body language of Hausa, Arabic language use in education, and language policies in Nigeria.

17 authors contributed to Section Two: Applied Linguistics. Six of them focused on various issues related to teaching English to Nigerian students. Clifford Irikefe Gbeyonron investigated the efficiency of a classroom discourse in general English classes at Nigerian universities. Referring to numerous relevant researches, he gives an in-depth analysis of challenges in a multicultural Nigerian English classroom. The main conclusion is that both students and a teacher should be sensitive in order to avoid misinterpretations and disturbances in communication which may result from the divergence in their cultural and linguistic background. The convincing examples he provided, support his thoughtful recommendations.

Abdalla Uba Adamu gives a detailed description of the process of archiving and digitizing the Arabic sources on the history of Kano. These efforts are undertaken in order to preserve the manuscripts and provide easier access to them. He elaborates on technical issues as well as enlightens the problems of obtaining and analysing certain *ajami* manuscripts.

Two articles address the question of orthographies of Kambari and Urhobo, respectively. But let us focus on yet another paper devoted to the general problems of Nigerian languages' orthographies by Garba D. Gandu. In his richly informative article Gandu expounds the steps in procedure of elaborating and approving a new orthography for a Nigerian language. He points out all criteria and principles which are taken into consideration by the Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council which is in charge of approving the orthographies as well as specifies some of over 50 languages for whom it was already accomplished. One of the prominent scholars engaged in this process was Ozo-mekuri Ndimele who *en passant* co-edited current volumes and took the liberty of closing them with his paper entitled "Nigerian Pidgin: An Overview". To conclude, some other issues in this section cover errors in translation from

English to French in Nigeria, the preservation of endangered languages, and the choice of language for literacy in Nigeria.

As we approach towards the end – Section Three: Literature, Culture, Stylistics and Gender Studies represents a particularly wide range of topics with 13 papers including "Laughter in a Multilingual Society" by Aliyu Muhammad Bunza. In his ethnolinguistic analysis of the Hausa use he focuses on variability of meaning and problems in understanding the utterances as the factors which provoke laughter. Thus, he evokes major language-related causes of laughter: phonological disruptions (in pronunciation of phonemes and tones), cultural differences, coincidence of meanings, situational confusion and deception, choice of words and phrases as well as proper comprehending of their meaning extensions. The author observes that in a multilingual society such as the Nigerian nation, the laughter occurs often in interactions between the native and non-native Hausa speakers as well as the speakers of its different dialects. It may also be the result of meaning coincidence between certain Hausa words and words in the other languages.

Another interesting paper on Hausa investigates the symbolic values of language. Its author, a distinguished Polish Hausaist Nina Pawlak, analysed a bunch of diversified examples in order to demonstrate issues in coding and modifying symbolic values attributed to different cultures and languages through incorporating them into Hausa in various ways as well as took into account the native values of Hausa people. Thus, her source data covered i.a. lexical items, specialist terms, loanwords, forms of address, names, idioms, proverbs, and other conventional figurative structures. Her probing attitude towards the research subject and solid methodological background resulted in worth-noticing observations on globalisation influence on Hausa linguo-cultural character from the linguistic perspective.

In his paper Salisu Alhaji Sadi brought up some general aspects of Nigerian religious discourse. He concentrated on narrations of two movements, namely *Izala* (Sunni orthodox) and *Shi'a* (revolutionary Shi'ism). He fairly acknowledges that their impact on the multilingual and multiethnic society through linguistic means is manifested mainly by "infiltration of loanwords to cover the new events in our religious practices", e.g. Hausa *dan bida'a* in its first meaning is 'a religious innovator' but in *Izala*'s ideological narration drives directly to yet another meaning 'a heretic', cf. Arabic *bidā'a* '1. innovation, 2. heretic doctrine'. Thus, particular factions participating in religious discourse shape the social attitudes and opinions by intentional use of the linguistic means. These rather general observations overlap with particular conclusions of Ahmad S. Abdussalam and Abdulganiy A. Abdussalam who conducted an eyes-opening research on manipulation of

religious discourse on the basis of Islamic Yoruba *wa'azi* (sermons). Thus, it is claimed that Muslim preachers implement various strategies of manipulation on the level of lexicon, phrases and structures, context, and facts in order to persuade their audience and/or achieve benefits. Besides what was presented above, Section Three covers also such issues as the history of Hausa literature, gender and feminist interpretations of the texts written by the Nigerian novelists, discourse qualitative and quantitative analyses (i.a. political and religious discourse), communication challenges in multicultural society, and body components in Hausa idioms.

In conclusion, *Language, Literature and Culture in a Multilingual Society. A Festschrift for Abubakar Rasheed. Vol. I-II* is an anthology composed of the impressing 1122 pages. It contains 77 scientific papers written predominantly by the Nigerian scholars and a brief profile of Professor Abubakar Adamu Rasheed. Thus, it is surely an adequate tribute to him.

In the field of the African studies this anthology is a publication of worldwide importance. To support this statement let it be claimed that the topic of the diversified Nigerian linguo-cultural situation gathered tens of domestic scholars as well as some of the most prominent American and European hausaists joint in producing two magnificent volumes. I highly recommend the book to all scholars in linguistics, literature and culture. While the book is focused on Africa and Nigeria in particular, the methodological background of the contributors makes their works' results comparable and valuable also for the researchers on languages, literatures, and cultures related to other parts of the world.

Patryk Zając

Sergio Baldi, *Grammatica di lingua Hausa con esercizi e brani di lettura*. Milano: Editore Ulrico Hoepli 2017, 195 pp.

This is a revised and enlarged version of the former *Grammatica della lingua Hausa* (*versione preliminare*) published by the Dipartimento di Studi e Ricerche su Africa e Paesi Arabi, Istituto Universitario Orientale, Napoli 2001. The grammar is thought as a handbook for Italian students and is composed of 20 chapters (*capitoli*). Apart from this it contains a short introduction, exercises and solutions of the exercises, a chrestomathy (*chrestomazia*), and six appendices: Hausa dialects, proverbs and sentences, Hausa personal names, measurement of time, cardinal points of the world, and monetary system of Nigeria. At the end of the book one can find an exhaustive bibliography.

In the introduction basic information on the Hausa country and people is given. There are some considerations on the spread of the Hausa language in Africa and behind, and on its research and classification in the spectrum of African languages. When enumerating the African countries, in which there are at least traces of Hausa, the Benin Republic was considered as ex Togo (p.1). In fact it is the former Dahomey.

Hausa is a tonal language and has a set of long vowels which are disregarded in the official orthography despite their significance in the lexicography and grammar. In the reviewed handbook they are studiously marked by the apostrophes and macrons. Still, this system of marking is the main source of omissions and misprints in the book. We are going to enumerate some of them (and some others) page by page.

Fulbe instead of *Fulɓe* (p.1); 18211865 instead of 1821-1865 (p. 2 and *passim*); lack of a colon (p. 4); 'In Hausa ci sono 24 consonanti' (p. 5) and 'Lo HS presenta un sistema di 32fonemi consonantici' (p. 8); *gni* instead of *ogni* (p. 6); *boko* 'scuola' instead of 'il libro' (p. 12); *bùɗè àkwàtì* 'chiudi lo scatolo' instead of 'aprire lo scatolo' (p. 14); *nɛ̀wa* instead of *nàwa* (p. 36); *tàèmbayà* instead of *tàmbayà* (p. 41); *an ginàwà sarkī sābon gidā* instead of an *ginà wà sarkī sābon gidā* (p. 43); *sarkī biyu sun nân* instead of *sarkī biyu sunà nân* (p. 57); *yāriny à ta fi uwařsà wàyō* instead of *yārinyà ta fi uwařtà wàyō* (p. 58); *kàřànta* 'scrivere' instead of 'leggere' (p. 59); 'Aspetto compiuto II' instead of 'Aspetto incompiuto' (p.62); *kàrba* instead of *ƙàrba* (p. 62); *dànkàs shi* instead of *dàukàs shi* (p. 65); *nā bi ta kàsuwā* 'egli ando per il mercato' instead of 'io ando per mercato' (p. 79); *bà zân yìwu ba ìn tàfi* 'non e possible che tu parta' instead of 'non e possible che io parta' (p.100); *yaishē* instead of *gaishē* (p. 102); *amrya* instead of *amaryā* (p. 109); *siettin* instead of *sittin* (p. 124); *dari* instead of *ɗari* (p. 124); *bà mù gan ba* instead of *bà mù ganī ba* (p. 127); *ki* instead of *ƙi* (p. 131); *aikì dà* instead of *aikì dà* (p. 136); *'yaikin* instead of *'aikin* (p. 137); *wàyāròn* instead of *wà yāròn* (p. 139); *ko* instead of *ƙa* (p. 146); *yâ dà gồbe* instead of *yâu dà gồbe* (p. 161); *kwằnàkii* instead of *kwằnàkī* (p. 169).

The compiled list of misprints is not complete as it was rather difficult to follow the all Hausa examples with tone and vowel markings. Apart from the above errata one has to pay attention to some faults in the bibliography. *Chadic Lexical Roots* has been published by Herrmann Jungraithmayr and Dymitr Ibriszimov, not by Herrmann Jungraithmayr and Philip Jaggar. Likewise, the initial editions of *Einführung in die Hausa-Sprache* have nothing in common with Philip Jaggar: it was published by Herrmann Jungraithmayr and Wilhelm Möhlig.

Despite all these shortcomings the *Grammatica* could be considered as a significant achievement in the study of the Hausa language. It is a continuation of the former works of Prof. Sergio Baldi crowned by the *Dizionario Hoepli Hausa* (2015). His interest in lexicography is evidenced by several lists of different categories of Hausa verbs, independent and dependent nominals, classes of plural nominals, and others. Let us hope that this innovation will facilitate the learning and teaching of Hausa, especially for the Italian students.

Stanisław Piłaszewicz

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