Anthropological Linguistics

Perspectives from Africa

EDITED BY
Andrea Hollington
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Volume 23

Anthropological Linguistics. Perspectives from Africa
Edited by Andrea Hollington, Alice Mitchell and Nico Nassenstein

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The editors

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

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The study of African languages, cultural practices and speakers' conceptualizations is complex and multilayered. This introductory chapter provides an overview of the goals and scope of the volume. It also offers a short historical survey of anthropological linguistics as well as some reflections on the forms this field of enquiry has taken in relation to African languages. We discuss the structure of the volume, including chapter summaries and intersections, and conclude with some remarks on the future of the anthropological linguistics of Africa.

Keywords: anthropological linguistics, historical contexts, new directions, decoloniality

1. Goals and scope

The scope and remit of 'anthropological linguistics' as a field of study has been subject to long-standing debate (Foley, 2012; Hymes, 1966) and remains loosely defined – something we view as a strength rather than a weakness. The most common answer to the question "what is anthropological linguistics?" is that it concerns the relation between language and culture. This is of course a very broad field, and indeed numerous contributions deal with a great variety of topics from classical themes such as the famous linguistic relativity hypothesis (Whorf, 1956) or the much discussed theory of basic color terms (Berlin & Kay, 1969) to interdisciplinary approaches such as the ethnography of communication (Gumperz & Hymes, 1972) or cultural conceptualizations in language (Sharifian, 2011), among many others. In Foley's (1997) seminal textbook on anthropological linguistics, he positions "meaning" as central to the field and defines the discipline as follows:

> Anthropological linguistics views language through the prism of the core anthropological concept, culture, and, as such, seeks to uncover the *meaning* behind the use, misuse, or non-use of language, its different forms, registers and styles. It is an interpretive discipline peeling away at language to find cultural understandings. (Foley, 1997, p.3)

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In its concern with the manifold sociocultural meanings of language, anthropological linguistics overlaps a great deal with pragmatics,[1] sociolinguistics,[2] and linguistic anthropology.[3] These intellectual traditions concerned with language and

1. While anthropological linguistics has a long history, pragmatics is often considered the "youngest" sub-discipline of linguistics, emerging in the second half of the 20th century when the context of language use between participants (as senders and receivers of communicative acts) and the core concepts of presupposition and implicature came into focus. More generally, pragmatics is concerned with the linguistic-situational (not sociocultural) speaker context. The (studied) "context" of interactions in pragmatics also has a cultural and cross-cultural perspective that is highly interesting for anthropological linguists (see in this context, e.g., Austin (1962) with a more conventional interpretation of speech acts and Searle (1969) with a more psychological interpretation, also studied with a focus on illocutionary acts). The application of expressive speech acts to cross-cultural contexts (e.g., greetings, compliments, thanks, etc.) has generated numerous well-known publications in linguistic anthropology (Duranti's (1997) *Universal and culture-specific properties of greetings* is one). Recent work in sociopragmatics also shows a clear overlap between anthropological linguistics and pragmatics (see Haugh, Kádàr & Terkourafi, 2021 for a detailed overview volume). Swearing and cursing in language, verbal avoidance strategies, politeness, the study of language ideologies, and metapragmatics in language contexts are all very relevant and prominent areas of overlap in both fields. Several linguistic anthropologists work at the intersection of pragmatics and anthropological linguistics: Senft's (2014) introduction to pragmatics, in particular, certainly makes the clearest connection between the two subdisciplines, in part because of the Trobriand Islands data on which the author bases some of his arguments in the textbook.

2. The study of language and culture overlaps in several ways with the study of language in its social context, both in terms of the language practices studied and (to some extent) in terms of methodology (using ethnography) and, in recent years, in terms of scope. Sociolinguistics and anthropological linguistics overlap, particularly with respect to the "subfields" of interactional sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology; topics covered by sociolinguists and anthropological linguists alike include conversational practices and discourse strategies as characteristic of a particular language, socially or culturally motivated linguistic variation, speech styles and genres, emerging language practices (e.g., the language practices of urban youth), language endangerment and reclamation, political language and discourse, and more. Recent studies by scholars rooted in both sub-disciplines, in particular, no longer seem to draw a clear line between sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology: Many linguists who made their careers in sociolinguistics have now also gained a foothold in linguistic anthropology, often because the areas they study are as much "socio-" as they are "anthropological" in that they examine cultural concepts in socially relevant contexts (for some relevant studies, see e.g., Bucholtz, 2010; Paris, 2011; or Alim, 2007). It also seems that (especially in North America) linguistic anthropologists tend to move away from "classical" topics and approaches in anthropological linguistics, such as those pursued and treated in the present volume. Some other topics are not sociolinguistic per se, but are increasingly being considered from a linguistic anthropological perspective (style, language attitudes, positionality and stance, identity and ideology, indexicality, and more).

3. See Nassenstein & Völkel (2022) for a more detailed discussion of the interrelationship between these two closely related areas, focusing on language and culture.

culture have their own disciplinary histories, as well as methodological and conceptual apparatus, but, as Bucholtz and Hall (2008) argue, can now be viewed as forming a kind of "coalition", which brings together various methods and theoretical concepts. With respect to anthropological linguistics in particular, we should also recognize the importance of descriptive and typological linguistics. All the studies in this volume involve fine-grained linguistic analysis that combines the tools of structural linguistic analysis with an attentiveness to social and cultural processes. The relationship between anthropological linguistics and cross-cutting disciplines has been addressed very recently and in some detail by Nassenstein and Völkel (2022) and we direct our readers there for further discussion.

African languages open up worlds of possibility for anthropological linguistics, however we wish to define it. Yet relative to other parts of the world, Africa does not feature especially strongly in outlets for anthropological linguistics. Between 2009 and 2020, the journal *Anthropological Linguistics*, for example, published 38 pieces (including reviews) on African languages, compared with 145 on languages of the Americas (the journal's explicit special focus). There are no Africanist journals on anthropological linguistics, though relevant contributions sometimes appear in publications such as *Studies in African Linguistics* and *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics*. The current volume is, to our knowledge, the first collection of papers to address the anthropological linguistics of Africa from a holistic perspective. With sixteen content chapters, most of which focus on a single 'lingua-culture' (coined by Friedrich 1989, then borrowed and adapted as 'languaculture' by Agar 1994), the volume of course represents only selected topics in anthropological linguistics, as well as a miniscule slice of linguistic life on the continent. Further, the perspectives we offer from "Africa" are restricted to sub-Saharan Africa (though Mitchell and Zimmermann [this volume] include some North African languages in their survey of words for 'language'), and largely to East and West Africa. Despite these limitations, we believe that an areal focus on 'Africa' is productive for the study of language and culture, since long histories of contact, as well as shared origins, have led to many shared cultural preoccupations and practices.[4] As such, we hope that the topics illuminated here may inspire related work elsewhere on the continent. For non-Africanists, we hope to draw attention to the vibrancy and diversity of work currently undertaken under this disciplinary umbrella in African contexts.

Our subtitle "Perspectives from Africa" is also intended in another sense, namely, to highlight the inclusion of work by African and Africa-based scholars. This inclusion is, regrettably, limited: half of the contributions fall under this category and only five of our authors belong to African institutions of higher edu-

4. See Heine & Zelealem (2007) for a discussion of Africa as a linguistic area.

cation. Further, all three editors are based in Germany, in the Global North, with its own unique history of the study of *Afrikanistik* – see Storch (2020). Not coincidentally we are all also linked in some way to the University of Cologne, which has for decades been home to scholars producing anthropologically oriented work on African languages (Dimmendaal, 2015; Jakobi, 1992; Mietzner & Treis, 2008; Pasch, 1994, 2019; Storch, 2011; Woldemariam, 2005). Our shared interests in language as a deeply social and cultural phenomenon, and its manifestations in African contexts, have complex geopolitical dimensions worthy of reflection. Geopolitical ties, which influence intellectual networks, also play a role in whom we invited to contribute to this volume. And which of these invitations ultimately resulted in a completed contribution is also shaped by questions of privilege and access to resources. None of these issues are easily resolved, but in future we hope to see other comparable volumes lined up against ours on the library shelves that better represent "perspectives from Africa". In the meantime, we offer this book as an open-access resource for students and researchers who are curious about current approaches to language and culture in Africa.

Before sketching the contents of the volume in Section 4, we provide some historical background on the discipline of anthropological linguistics (Section 2) and the directions it has taken in African contexts (Section 3). In the final Section (Section 5), we offer some critical reflections of the field and outline possible future directions.

2. Anthropological linguistics in historical context

The intersection of language and culture comprises a multitude of themes, topics and domains, and involves several other disciplines apart from linguistics and anthropology (including philosophy, religion, oral and written literature, psychology among others; see Ameka and Amha (2022)). On the one hand, aspects of linguistic manifestations and expressions of cultural practices and knowledge have been part of early linguistic works, such as dictionaries and grammatical accounts as well as descriptive and comparative language studies, long before the advent of anthropological linguistics as a discipline.[5] On the other hand, the beginnings of

5. With regard to African linguistics, the works of early missionary-linguists, such as Johann Gottlieb Christaller or Diedrich Hermann Westermann, among many others, contain multitudinous information on cultural aspects underlying specific linguistic forms and practices. In this regard, as well as in most other instances, it is important to also consider the contexts and ideologies of knowledge production which influence the ways in which scholars perceive, describe and analyze other people's cultures and languages. Scholars such as Christaller and

anthropological linguistics as a discipline are often seen in the works of American anthropologists such as Franz Boas and Edward Sapir, who studied indigenous American languages and cultures and became important "founding fathers" of cultural anthropology and linguistics while also contributing to an understanding of the relationship between language and culture, as well as language and thought. This academic environment and intellectual work also gave rise to the formulation of the above-mentioned linguistic relativity hypothesis (also known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis) by Sapir's student Benjamin Lee Whorf. This hypothesis, which received much critique as well as praise and which was reformulated and refined by various scholars, claims that our linguistic backgrounds shape the ways in which we perceive the world, as one of Whorf's most-quoted statements illustrates: "We are thus introduced to a new principle of relativity, which holds that all observers are not led by the same physical evidence to the same picture of the universe, unless their linguistic backgrounds are similar, or can in some way be calibrated" (Whorf, 1956, p. 214). This also concerns the language and culture intersection because the relation between language and culture impacts worldview and hence, thinking about the world. This was already established by Franz Boas, who also argued for the importance of linguistics for (cultural) anthropology (or "ethnology" as he calls it here):

> Thus, it appears that from practical, as well as from theoretical, points of view, the study of language must be considered as one of the most important branches of ethnological study, because, on the one hand, a thorough insight into ethnology cannot be gained without practical knowledge of a language, and, on the other hand, the fundamental concepts illustrated by human languages are not distinct in kind from ethnological phenomena; and because, furthermore, the peculiar characteristics of language are clearly reflected in the views and customs of the peoples of the world. (Boas, 1911, p. 73)

The question whether language influences thought, worldview and culture or vice versa has been posed by Boas himself (ibid.) and it has been extensively discussed before and after him. The roots of this question are often seen in the language philosophy of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and especially in the works of Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) and Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) (see Werlen, 2002). The reception, reformulations and enhancements of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis are manifold. While the theory received harsh critique, especially from scholars subscribing to the formal, generative and universal

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Westermann can be considered as part of the colonial discourse which had an impact on the ways they conducted research and produced publications on African languages (see Abun-Nasr (1998); Hollington (2021)).

linguistics that dominated the twentieth century (see, for instance, Pinker, 1995), many linguists also took up the ideas of Edward Sapir and Benjamin Whorf and reformulated and adapted them (see, for instance, Lucy (1992, 1996), who provided empirical evidence for a reformulation of the hypothesis, and Slobin (1987, 1996) who developed a moderate version of the hypothesis). Another significant work, namely the volume *Rethinking Linguistic Relativity*, edited by Gumperz and Levinson (1996) explores newer developments of the hypothesis in light of the language-culture intersection with a special focus on language and spatial orientation. These works show the continued significance of the ideas behind the linguistic relativity hypothesis, especially in the fields of cognitive linguistics and cognitive anthropology.

An important topic in connection to the concept of relativity is the study of color terms in languages. While the twentieth century saw a huge increase in linguistic studies of color, it is important to point out that color terms had been studied before the advent of the linguistic relativity hypothesis. Dimmendaal (2015), for instance, points to nineteenth century studies of color terms in cross-cultural perspective. However, during the second half of the twentieth century, the topic of color became highly contested in the field of linguistic relativity, as Werlen (2002) and Ameka and Amha (2022) describe. While scholars from the 1950s down to the present day have presented empirical studies in order to prove the significance[6] of cultural knowledge for linguistic color terms (for example, Brown and Lenneberg 1958; for a short summary of twentieth century works on color terms and linguistic relativity see Werlen 2002, p. 62ff.), the famous work of Brent Berlin and Paul Kay (1969) aims at proving the contrary: The authors of *Basic Color Terms* argue for a universal hierarchy of color terms in the world's languages with the explicit objective of disproving the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis.

According to Berlin and Kay's (1969) now largely obsolete theory, the world's languages draw on eleven color categories which result in eleven basic color terms following a universal hierarchy. They argue that this hierarchy determines which color terms a language would have according to the number of existing basic color terms in the respective language. They focus on basic color terms, which the authors state must be monolexemic (no compounds or derived terms, excluding terms such as *bluish* or *fir green*), no terms transparently derived from objects (e.g., *amber, olive*), no terms with a narrow reference frame (e.g., *blonde*) but rather terms with a general application. These terms must also be psychologically salient, which means that they must be common and widely used among the speakers. Numerous authors have pointed out problems with the universal

6. Significance here also refers to the relativity and particularity of color terms and their underlying cultural contexts.

hierarchical theory, the ethnocentricity of the color category itself and the linguistic findings of the study, the methodology of data elicitation and a lack of cultural sensibility (see Dimmendaal, 1995; Wierzbicka, 1996; Levinson, 2000; Lucy, 1997 – to name just a few).

With numerous works arguing against Berlin and Kay's universalist approach, the study of color became one of the key topics in anthropological linguistics, testifying to the significance of cultural context in our understanding of color conceptualizations and linguistic manifestations. In a recent discussion of color, Ameka and Amha (2022) focus on African languages and show that the ongoing debate on the linguistics of color presents substantial critique even to the newer and reformulated versions of Berlin and Kay's approach. The authors summarize various scholarly works that criticize the universalistic basic color term theory and present data from African languages that illustrate that numerous languages do not have a term for the concept of 'color', but rather use other generic terms that refer to culturally salient concepts such as 'appearance', 'pattern', or 'outer surface' (thus covering a broader domain than 'color') while other languages provide terms that cover a narrower concept (e.g., Ewe) or use no superordinate terms at all (e.g., Chumburung) (ibid.). Moreover, they discuss the importance of cultural context with regard to the framing of color in East African bovine cultures and pastoralist societies, where generic terms for color + pattern referring to the appearance of cattle build the foundation, whereas color terms for other domains are derived from the cattle terms. Also, the authors show that in many African languages, terms relating to color do not fall within the same grammatical class. Concluding their account of color in African languages, Ameka and Amha (ibid.) suggest that more studies on African color practices are needed in order to arrive at a more nuanced picture of the linguistics of color within their respective cultural contexts. We can safely assume that many of the scholars working on color terms and anthropological linguistics agree that it is important to study the meaning of linguistic expressions referring to color beyond the elicitation of lexical items by using the Munsell color chips.

Meaning, as we recall from the above-quoted definition by Foley (1997), is at the center of anthropological linguistics' agenda. The creation of meaning is a fundamental theme in the study of cultural conceptualizations, an approach combining cognitive linguistics and anthropological linguistics (Hollington, 2015). Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) seminal work is foundational in the cultural branch of cognitive linguistics. They argue that our human conceptual systems are shaped by our experiences and that they are crucially involved in meaning-making processes. The cognitive processes that our mind undertakes to make sense of our experiences and the world are referred to as conceptualizations (Kövecses, 2006). These meaning-making processes are highly influenced by culture and bodily

experiences which is why our mind is "embodied and cultured" (ibid., see also Hollington, 2015). While conceptualizations emerge in the individual's mind, they can become collective conceptualizations as they spread across cultural groups through interaction and become shared cultural knowledge (Sharifian, 2011). Shared cultural conceptualizations, then, often result in linguistic manifestations of the respective cognitive process. While cognitive linguistics emerged as a distinct branch of linguistics from the late 1970s onwards, the subfield that intersects with anthropological linguistics and which focuses on the cultural aspects of cognitive and linguistic practices has sometimes been referred to as 'cultural linguistics', a term coined by Palmer (1996) (see also Polzenhagen 2007). This subfield of linguistics, similar to scholars investigating linguistic relativity, deals with the relation between language, culture and cognition.

One cognitive process that has received much scholarly attention in the study of conceptualizations is metaphor. Most famously, metaphor has been discussed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) who argue "that large parts of our cognitive system are metaphorical and that metaphor structures thoughts and concepts" (Hollington, 2015, p. 20). In conceptual metaphors, an abstract domain is often linked to a more concrete one. In other words, concrete concepts, which are based on cultural and bodily experiences, are used to represent abstract concepts (Polzenhagen, 2007, p. 61). One important topic of anthropological linguistics can be located in this broad interdisciplinary field of cultural conceptualizations and of metaphor in particular: the study of emotion in languages. In African languages (and beyond), as several works show, emotion is often expressed with metaphors that involve body parts (e.g., Dimmendaal 2002; Ameka 2002; Storch 2014; Hollington 2017; see also Seel and Nassenstein, this volume).

Another approach which combines linguistic and anthropological research methods, and which has been influential in anthropological linguistics as well as in sociolinguistics, is the ethnography of communication (also called the ethnography of speaking). This approach was first proposed by Dell Hymes (1962) and then extended and developed (Bauman & Sherzer, 1989; Gumperz & Hymes, 1972). It generally focuses on actual linguistic practices (as opposed to studying language as a system) and looks at how particular ways of speaking (or communicating) are linked to patterns of social organization and cultural ideology. By applying ethnographic methods, scholars explore how patterns of speaking are established, how meaning is created within groups and in which ways society and culture are communicatively constituted (Baumann & Sherzer, 1989). In other words, the ethnography of communication is a holistic approach to communication and meaning-making which looks at communicative events, linguistic performances and human interactions (ibid.).

While these approaches constitute some of the most influential fields of anthropological linguistics, there are many other themes, subfields and theoretical approaches. For example, Ameka and Amha (2022), in a recent account of anthropological linguistic studies of African languages and cultures, name the areas ethnosyntax, ethnosemantics and ethnopragmatics as major domains of research. Other approaches include various interdisciplinary themes that intersect with disciplines such as psychology, history, philosophy and (oral) literature (among others). Additional themes and research areas are highlighted in the next section, which considers anthropological linguistics in relation to the study of African languages in particular.

3. Anthropological linguistics in African contexts

Students of African languages cannot fail to notice the manifold ways in which linguistic forms and structures, i.e., words, grammatical constructions, ways of organizing discourse, and their deployment in context, seem to bear some relation to 'culture', or shared modes of perceiving, experiencing, and acting in the world. As a result, there is a vast scholarly literature on the "cultural construction of meaning through language", as Dimmendaal (2015, p. 3) puts it, in African contexts. Yet this literature tends to be strewn about the scholarly landscape, published in diverse outlets, and rarely brought together in areal perspective (as we attempt here). Scholars such as Dell Hymes, William Foley, and Gunter Senft, who have played an influential role in defining anthropological linguistics and staking out its metaphorical tent, have worked in other parts of the world – the Americas, Australia, Oceania.[7] Since anthropological linguistics itself occupies only a small and somewhat ill-defined niche within linguistics (in comparison to syntax, semantics, sociolinguistics, and so on), the anthropological linguistics of Africa has been even less visible in the linguistic and anthropological landscape. Nonetheless, studies of African languages have made important contributions to our understanding of the "language-culture nexus" (Silverstein, 2004), as this section points out. The very absence of strong disciplinary traditions has arguably led to more pluralistic, wide-ranging scholarship. Here we offer a brief historical sketch of anthropological approaches to African languages in the Anglophone tradition and highlight some especially vibrant strands of research on the co-

7. While the Africanist Joseph Greenberg was also involved in charting the field with his (1968) textbook *Anthropological Linguistics*, this poorly known work deals primarily with structural linguistics and has little to say about culture. Greenberg's typological work has been far more influential.

constitutive nature of language and culture in African settings. See also Ameka and Amha (2022) for a more in-depth, state-of-the-art review on research on language and culture in Africa.

European research on African languages arose in the context of colonialism and much early work was descriptive in nature, intended to support the teaching of African languages for purposes of colonial administration and missionization or to contribute to the European project of classifying African peoples (Pugach, 2012). Of anthropological linguistic interest in this era was, perhaps most notably, verbal art: collections of riddles, folk tales, proverbs, etc., abound (see Okpewho 1992 for a historical overview). Colonial-era anthropologists in the British tradition did not have a great deal to say about language, despite Malinowski's plea for an "ethno-linguistic theory" (Malinowski (1920, p. 69), cited in Senft (2014, p. 105)). This absence perhaps has to do with limited knowledge of the languages of the people these Western anthropologists studied (Owusu, 1978). One important exception here (at least in regard to thematic focus, though possibly not language competence) is Evans-Pritchard, who wrote short papers on anthropological linguistic topics such as special registers and disguised forms of speech (1954), "obscenity" and linguistic taboo (1929), and cattle color terms (1934). All these topics continue to be of major interest to contemporary Africanist anthropological linguists (Nassenstein & Storch, 2020; Petrollino, 2022; Storch, 2011). So-called 'special' registers are varieties of language used in ritual contexts, such as initiation or spirit possession, or in the presence of royalty, that often involve extensive lexical substitution (see Mitchell & Neba (2019) for an overview). This is an area of anthropological linguistics that did attract early attention (e.g., Carrington, 1947 on a Lokele initiation language; Leiris, 1948 on a Dogon secret language; Leslau, 1949, 1964 on various Ethiopian "argots"), though such texts are typically descriptive, without much interpretation of how language realizes forms of social differentiation.

In the postcolonial period, the anthropological linguistics of Africa has taken many different directions, very much steered by trends in linguistic research outside of Africa. The previous section highlighted several prominent strands: (i) cognitive anthropology and the related area of linguistic relativity; (ii) cultural-cognitive linguistics, including the study of cultural conceptualizations and metaphor; and (iii) the ethnography of communication. With respect to (i), post-war cognitive anthropology carved out color, kinship, and ethnobiology as especially productive domains for studying the relation between language, culture, and cognition. See Section 2 for a discussion of Africanist work on color. While linguistic terminologies relating to kinship are to a large extent *passé* in social anthropological research, this topic has recently been taken up again in a major way in the field of cultural evolution, this time with scaled-up statistical

approaches to linguistic data (e.g., Passmore & Jordan, 2020). Book-length studies of the semantics and pragmatics of kinship terms in African languages include Zeitlyn (2005) and Kronenfeld (2009) (see also Schneider-Blum & Veit, this volume), though overall this topic has not been elaborated to the degree it has elsewhere (e.g., Australia). Linguistic studies of ethnobiology are also seeing a revival in the context of drastic environmental change in many parts of Africa (e.g., Lusekelo, 2021). Besides these classic topics, anthropological linguistic studies have focused on lexicalization patterns relating to sensory perception (including descriptive words for smells – see, e.g., Storch, 2013), space, motion, time, and the human body (see Dimmendaal, 2015 for an overview). The conceptualization of these basic domains of human experience is also taken up in cultural-cognitive linguistics, in which metaphorical mappings form a central focus of study: see e.g., Ameka (2002) or Bisilki & Yakpo (2021) for studies on body-part metaphors for emotions in West African languages. Attempts to generalize findings across language-specific studies are, perhaps wisely, few and far between.

The third research area mentioned above that pertains to the study of "the interaction of language and social life" (Hymes, 1972a) is the ethnography of communication, programmatically developed by Dell Hymes, and explicitly realized by a relatively small school of mostly US-based practitioners. Irvine's (1974, 1979) still inspiring studies on Wolof are representative of this approach. While few scholars today work explicitly in this framework, the ethnography of communication has fed into the broader field of linguistic anthropology as practiced in the US. The combination of ethnographic techniques with fine-grained, multimodal linguistic analysis produces particularly rich, insightful work on language in society in African contexts – see, e.g., McIntosh (2005) and Hillewaert (2016) for recent examples. Ethnography and linguistics have traditionally been taught in separate departments outside of the US, meaning that less of this kind of work has been produced elsewhere, though this situation is now changing with the major uptake of ethnographic approaches in sociolinguistics and the emergence of the field of linguistic ethnography (Copland et al., 2015; Rampton, 2007). These theoretical and methodological approaches are increasingly being taken up in African contexts, too, particularly as a way to push back against notions of named languages as entities to which speakers 'belong' – a major problem with a lot of work in the anthropological linguistics tradition. See Nassenstein (2020) and Goodchild & Weidl (2018) on translanguaging practices as examples. For a more comprehensive review of ethnography-of-communication approaches in Africanist work, we refer the reader to D'hondt (2019).

Two additional research strands can be identified in the anthropological linguistics of Africa which have taken on particular significance among Africa-based scholars. First, work which could be subsumed under the broad title of 'verbal

art and ethnopoetics', and second, onomastics. With respect to verbal art, Kwesi Yankah's work deserves mention here, especially his brilliant monograph *Speaking for the Chief* on Akan royal oratory, which presents a many-layered multimodal analysis of rhetorical communication, weaving in questions of historical context, gender, and spiritual power (Yankah, 1995). Yankah has also loomed large in the study of proverbs (Yankah, 1989a, 1989b), a genre which continues to receive major attention in African Studies, including their role in political discourse (Orwenjo, 2009), their relation to issues of gender (Diabah & Appiah Amfo, 2015; Yitah, 2012), and even the ways they reflect understandings of disability (Ebenso et al., 2012). Verbal art does not feature strongly in this collection, but see especially the chapter by Brühwiler and Hollington (this volume). The second strand, onomastics, currently attracts a huge amount of research attention (to the point where certain African linguistics journals no longer accept papers on naming practices). Personal naming practices in Africa, which very often involve semantically meaningful forms, bear obvious connections to sociocultural and spiritual dimensions of human existence and as a result inspire masses of work: see the edited collection by Mensah & Rowan (2019) as a good starting point. Another, less well-studied branch of onomastics is place names – see, e.g., Alphonce & Sane (2019) on the semantic content as well as ethnic associations of place names in Hanang' District, Tanzania. We can expect to see more such studies as part of the growing profile of the environmental humanities in Africa.

A volume such as this one, which assembled contributions under the broad banner of the anthropological linguistics of Africa, also gives a good indication of the preoccupations of Africanist linguists as regards language, culture, and cognition. The following section discusses the contents of the book, pointing out areas of convergence but also underscoring the heterogenous nature of the field.

4. Contents and organization of the volume

All the contributions to this volume share an interest in the ways language and culture are mutually shaping. For most of our authors (Alamin & Schneider-Blum, Ameka, Essegbey, Mitchell & Zimmermann, Sall, Seel & Nassenstein, Schröder, Veit & Schneider-Blum, Widlok) the focus is on referential or representational meaning as it reflects culture-specific concepts and distinctions. This work builds on a long tradition in anthropological linguistics of studying lexicalization patterns in various conceptual domains (time, space, color, motion, etc.), though many of the chapters draw attention to understudied domains or address them from new perspectives. Two chapters (Zelealem, Bashir & Ali) address referential meaning in the domain of proper names (specifically eth-

nonyms and anthroponyms), though the sociohistorical and political contexts of naming traditions are also an important topic here. The remaining chapters are more concerned with pragmatic than semantic meaning, looking at the sociocultural embedding of discourse patterns and practices (Brühwiler & Hollington, Cobbinah, Rüsch), language ideologies (Knipping), as well as politeness strategies (Pasch and Dusa). One benefit of an edited volume over a special issue is the potential generosity in terms of space. Several of the chapters make the most of this opportunity to go into detail and are 'long-form' papers.

This assembly of texts, which was guided only by the rubric 'anthropological linguistics of Africa', indicates something of the breadth of possible areas of inquiry in our field. We have nonetheless tried to delimit this area with a four-part structure intended to provide readers with a sense of the general thematic terrain and to help them locate topics of particular interest. The theme of each part and its contents are detailed below.

4.1 Time, space, and language

As outlined above, anthropological linguistics has long been concerned with the linguistic expression of fundamental dimensions of human experience, including time and space. We begin the volume with two papers addressing these 'traditional' topics. Thomas Widlok discusses different cultural conceptualizations of time and their profound relativity as he critically assesses previous accounts of time in terms of their methodological set-up (experiments) and their failure to recognize diversity, including diversity among speakers of the same language, let alone taking multilingual contexts into consideration. His discussion of African conceptualizations of time highlights the importance of social relations as well as environmental factors, bringing an anthropological as well as a linguistic lens to the study of time concepts. Unlike most of the other papers in the volume, Widlok also offers some thoughts on interdisciplinary exchange and the relation between anthropological linguistics and the much more high-profile quantitative approaches to language and culture currently taking shape in cognitive science and cultural evolution. While he very much defends fine-grained, qualitative linguistic studies, such as those found in this book, he encourages us to engage with the "larger theoretical strokes" of other disciplines (Widlok, this volume, p. 46) – a point we briefly return to in 5.

Turning to space as another fundamental aspect of human experience, Suzan Alamin and Gertrud Schneider-Blum provide a detailed and culturally grounded account of spatial reference in Tima. Their chapter focuses on the encoding of topological relations, looking in particular at 'source' and 'goal', as well as the frames of reference (FoRs) involved in referring to space in Tima. As they demon-

strate, absolute (in the form of cardinal directions and landmarks), intrinsic (object-oriented), and relative FoRs are all available for Tima speakers. Analyzing spatial reference in Tima is an especially complex task in view of the ambiguity of the cardinal direction terms 'north' and 'south', which can also have a 'left'–'right' reading, respectively. In turn, 'left' and 'right' can be used both intrinsically and relatively. Alamin and Schneider-Blum are careful to tease out the different perspectives, illustrating many of their points with photographs. While the chapter addresses a cross-linguistic literature, the discussion (as well as many of the photos and examples) are rooted in local details and highlight how histories of interaction with a particular geography shape language use.

Like time and space, 'language' is a concept that pervades human experience. But in contrast to the former two conceptual domains, 'language' as a concept has received very little attention in anthropological linguistics. By chance, two papers in this volume consider how people refer to languages: Alice Mitchell and Nicola Zimmermann provide a cross-continental survey of sources of the word 'language' in over one hundred languages, while Zelealem Leyew looks at the derivation of glottonyms (names for languages) from ethnonyms (names for people groups) in the Ethiopian context. Both papers underline the importance of parts of the body, and in particular speech articulators, in deriving words for language. In particular, the concepts of 'mouth', 'tongue' and 'tooth' are metonymically related to the notion of 'language' in Ethiopian languages. Mitchell and Zimmermann find that 'mouth' and 'tongue' are widespread metonyms for 'language' across the continent, but also point to a much rarer metonym of 'EAR for LANGUAGE', a conceptual link they attend to in some detail. Zelealem's chapter also includes a detailed discussion of diversity with regard to ethnonyms and glottonyms which reflect historical movements, contact and social relations. In particular, the author sheds light on self-names versus imposed names.

4.2 Personhood, sociality, and naming

The second, and largest, part of the book groups papers concerned with how people use language to talk about selves and others. Felix Ameka's chapter focusses on personhood from a cultural-linguistic perspective. In particular, the author investigates Ewe conceptualizations of a 'person' by examining several expressions in Ewe that relate to the concept of 'person'. His discussions of the Ewe examples and the theoretical debate surrounding the notion of 'personhood' illustrate the relevance of various psychological, cultural and social aspects of a person, as well as the physical and non-physical parts of a person. By employing a cultural semantics approach, Ameka is able to integrate discussion of biological, physical, social, moral and spiritual dimensions of a person and its components.

Moving from concepts of the person to relations between persons, Agnes Brühwiler and Andrea Hollington address the innovative question of how the Swahili ethical concept of *utu* is revealed in language and linguistic practice. Weaving in contemporary anthropological discussions about conviviality, they discuss the meaning of *utu* as a humanist philosophy and consider its relevance with respect to the linguistic genre of proverbs as well as a careful study of the set of speech events known as *unyago* ('coming-of-age rituals'). A further section brings linguistic structure into the discussion, suggesting that reciprocal morphosyntax in Swahili might be linked to notions of mutuality and a communal attention to social relations. This contribution deftly illustrates how multiple ethnographic and linguistic themes, as well as a range of methods, can successfully be brought together to examine and further elucidate philosophical concepts and their instantiation in social life.

Focusing on language ideologies, a strand of research that has gained prominence in recent decades, especially but not exclusively in the study of North American languages (for an overview, see e.g., Gal & Irvine, 2019; Kroskrity, 2022; Hollington & Storch, 2016), Jan Knipping's chapter focuses on Northern Uganda and examines evidence and markers of "Northernness", i.e., how people from Northern Uganda and their lingua-culture (particularly speakers of the Western Nilotic language Acholi and the Central Sudanic language Lugbara) have historically been categorized as different from communities speaking Bantu languages further south, and how these communities strategically invert and perform this ascribed Otherness today, for example in metalinguistic discourse. Methodologically and conceptually, Knipping focuses on "small stories", i.e., what he calls "small-scale utterances and narrations", while also considering data from social media. He approaches these discourses of Otherness from an emic perspective, based largely on speakers' ideas, thoughts, and metalinguistic judgments about their own languages, demonstrating the power of linguistic analysis for exploring ideas about social differentiation and belonging.

Two further papers in this part investigate person reference in the Nuba Mountains of Sudan. Nataliya Veit and Gertrud Schneider-Blum provide a detailed look at what they call 'kin-relational expressions' in the Tima language. Following a useful overview of the history of kinship studies, they explain the Tima system of clan membership and document paternal and maternal clan names, with many lively details about the contemporary relevance of clan for Tima people. The following discussion of kin terms incorporates not only relational terms but sociocentric kin group terms, and considers address as well as reference. Their analysis makes clear the cultural significance of generation, side of the family, and gender, and is also sensitive to ways in which linguistic representations can lag behind contemporary cultural practices. In this regard, Veit

and Schneider-Blum highlight at various points the major influence of Islam in reorganizing aspects of kinship among Tima. The influence of Islam on linguistic practices in the Nuba Mountains is an even more central topic in Abeer Bashir and Osman Ali's chapter on personal naming practices among Tagoi people. They describe several historical naming systems and their relation to one another, including names based on birth order, names based on the day of the week of birth, and Islamic/Arabic names that the parents choose based on their own preferences. Bashir and Ali's chapter serves as a reminder of the importance of considering religion in a culture-oriented approach to linguistics.

4.3 Perception and classification

Part 3 of the book groups papers on the loose theme of how languages 'carve up' the world lexically, including words relating to the natural environment, visual experience, emotional states, and bodily motion, among other themes. All the papers speak to the way in which "cultural preoccupations find their way into linguistic structures" (Evans, 2003, p.14), and specifically, the lexicon. James Essegbey's chapter deals with endangered indigenous knowledge in the field of ethnobiology of the Dwang people of Ghana. In particular, the author examines *kese*, a communal fishing practice in which the plant of the same name is used to poison and catch fish. Moreover, the names of several freshwater fish, their linguistic peculiarities and the cultural knowledge surrounding these fish are discussed. Essegbey's careful and engaged account of these local practices offers an important contribution to the intersection of linguistics and ethnobiology by including an indigenous perspective on cultural knowledge.

Contributing to one of the "classic" core topics in anthropological linguistics, Adjaratou Oumar Sall examines the expression and perception of color terms in Wolof, focusing on color term-adverb combinations that lead to gradations of color "shades" in the language, but also exploring the semantic properties of Wolof color terminology. One aspect less covered in other work on color terms in African languages is the symbolic representation of colors in Wolof society and the ways in which people identify with or through particular colors.

Helga Schröder's chapter examines lexicalization patterns in Toposa verbs, considering how particular verb meanings relate to cultural practices. She pays particular attention to the domain of 'mobility', which she argues is a fundamental domain of experience for pastoralist Toposa and as a result highly differentiated in the verbal lexicon. One lesser-studied aspect of mobility as expressed in language is the activity of driving cattle, for which she identifies four basic verb roots. In addition to mobility, Schröder considers lexical distinctions in the domains of sacrifice, ritual, as well as everyday activities such as carrying. In the process of

her lexicographic analysis, she distils a great deal of information about Toposa lifestyles.

The expression and encoding of emotions is the focus of Laura Seel and Nico Nassenstein's chapter on Chiraphai, an undocumented Bantu language spoken on the coast of Kenya. In their paper, they examine speakers' public displays of emotional states and the ways in which they talk about these emotions. In addition to identifying core emotions and their sociocultural significance in Rabai society, Seel and Nassenstein discuss how certain items of clothing and their culturally significant colors convey and "translate" certain emotional states when worn in public. In addition, their chapter looks at the use and selection of body part metaphors and how they are used to express emotions. They also examine 'evaluative morphology' in the Rabai language and how certain noun class morphemes (diminutives, augmentatives) can transport or evoke emotional states and speakers' emotional attitudes (following previous work by Ponsonnet 2018, which focused mainly on Australian languages).

4.4 Sociocultural dimensions of discourse structure

Part 4 of the collection of chapters focuses on the connections between language and culture in different narratives, conversation types, and text genres, and on how discourse structure exhibits and contributes to culturally important conventionalized or ritualized language patterns. Maren Rüsch approaches conversational structure in narratives of individual speakers on a Kenyan television program from the perspective of conversation analysis, a core area at the intersection of anthropological linguistics, pragmatics, and sociology. Conversation analysis (or CA) as a research strand was inspired by Garfinkel's (1967) ethnomethodology and "first developed for American English in the 1970s by the sociologists Gail Jefferson, Harvey Sacks, and Emanuel Schegloff" (Dimmendaal 2022, p. 269), with a number of influential studies in African linguistics published in recent years – see e.g., Rüsch (2020). In her contribution, Maren Rüsch analyzes how individuals present and structure their narratives in the Bantu language Swahili in the context of a Kenyan television show and how specific ritualized patterns in Swahili recur and are recontextualized in these performances on television – with different purposes and goals. She also addresses the use and meaning of specific gestures and facial expressions (an important field of study of nonverbal communication in contemporary anthropological linguistics; see also, e.g., Dimmendaal, 2022, Chapter 12) and analyzes how conversational structure is presented and used in TV storytelling (in reporting specific witnessed incidents).

In their chapter focusing on Pazande, an Ubangian language from the Central African Republic and the DR Congo, Helma Pasch and Faustin Dusa Gumekpala

are interested in the differences and overlaps between rules of politeness on the one hand and social and verbal taboos on the other. While politeness rules govern Azande social hierarchies with regard to certain (honorific) modes of speech, terms of address, and complex kinship relationships, disregard for such behavior is sanctioned – but not to the same extent as violating verbal and social taboos, resulting in harsher (including physical and figurative) punishments, as Pasch and Dusa Gumekpala show. Thus, rather than examining the organization of conversations or discourse, the authors focus on differences in "speech style" and the structuring of interactions (based on politeness rules), including "speaking in a soft voice, silence, and following avoidance strategies" (as explained in terms of the linguistic coding of positive politeness), while also discussing different politeness models and approaches to taboo language.

Finally, the chapter by Alexander Cobbinah analyzes the discourse phenomenon of tail-head linkage (THL) in the Baïnounk Gubëeher language and other languages of Upper Guinea. THL occurs in typologically diverse languages around the globe and refers to the repetition of parts of phrases one after another to make narratives or texts more coherent, a phenomenon that has been largely neglected in African linguistics. The use of tail-head linkage, however, is of particular interest not only to syntacticians, but also to the study of language and culture, as it demonstrates speakers' rhetorical and stylistic devices for structuring discourse when highlighting or narrating particular events. Cobbinah's contribution is based primarily on a corpus of transcribed texts in the Baïnounk Gubëeher, Joola Kujireray, and Banjal languages.

5. Whither anthropological linguistics?

Before we hand over to our authors, we take this opportunity to address the question of where the future of anthropological linguistics might lie and what research topics and foci it might cover. This question is legitimate, given the changes, redirections and realignments that this subdiscipline of linguistics has undergone from its beginnings (focusing on the indigenous languages of North America, historical linguistics, etc.) to the present. The future of anthropological linguistics depends on the development of prominent scholarly themes and discourses, on the individual research foci and collaborations of researchers, and also on institutional issues (i.e., at which universities and in which research centers the study of language and culture from a linguistic or anthropological perspective is enabled or facilitated).

What anthropological linguists will focus on in the future will undoubtedly also be influenced by prominent foci in neighboring disciplines: while in linguis-

tic anthropological studies the inscription and negotiation of 'identity' in speakers' linguistic practices is a well-researched topic (see, e.g., numerous works by Mary Bucholtz, Elinor Ochs, Paul V. Kroskrity, Asif Agha), anthropological linguistic studies have rarely addressed language and identity, or have provided simplistic analyses of 'identity' concepts derived from semantic encodings of speakers' color terminology, emotional language, notions of kinship, etc. In many cases, anthropological linguistics (in its most "classical/traditional" understanding) has not yet caught up with the findings of linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics in terms of identity, linguistic practice – and ideology.

Anthropological linguists' continued attention to linguistic structure, in particular, often results in limited engagement with speakers' language practices, or the focus on "speaking" in a Hymesian reading. Studies often take "speech communities" for granted, despite this concept being much problematized in other subfields (when considering individuals' multilingual language practices and repertoires in interaction). In recent years, sociolinguists and applied linguistics, for example, have focused on so-called *languaging* approaches, i.e., they have examined various language concepts and addressed how language can be conceptualized, how its supposed fixity (as a grammatical system) contrasts with the fluidity of its use in speakers' different repertoires, and how individuals actually communicate "translingually" by using their entire repertoire rather than neatly separating different codes.[8] In the study of language and culture, this "new" direction is not yet fully integrated (apart from some studies in anthropological linguistic oriented book series, see e.g., Sabino, 2018) although it offers promising overlaps when approaching language as "a set of socially embedded practices" (Ahearn, 2017, p.3), which could then also stimulate the study of how other (trans)cultural practices and resources influence speakers' translingual practices. Furthermore, analyzing how individuals talk about ethnosemantic classifications in their languages (lexical taxonomies of plants, body parts, kin, etc.) with a focus on translingual metapractices and metacategories could also benefit from a turn to (trans)languaging. Investigating different understandings of language or languaging itself may also be interesting in terms of source concepts of 'language', as pursued by Mitchell and Zimmermann (this volume). In anthropological linguistics, Dell Hymes' (1972b) concept of 'communicative competence' (as opposed to 'linguistic competence') could serve as another axis of connection in this regard, highlighting an application-based understanding of competence that in practice includes speakers' multi- and translingual strategies. This is just one possible area

8. Sometimes it has been superficially or erroneously claimed that the focus on (trans)languaging would replace or override the codeswitching model, which is not the case. Both are based on very different theoretical approaches.

that could yield new insights and broaden the scientific focus of anthropological linguists.

Interdisciplinary exchange with colleagues from other fields (social and cultural anthropology, sociology, psychology) and also efforts to identify common interests is one of the activities to be pursued in the future. Although (especially in North America) scholars with an interest in language and culture cross paths regularly with social and cultural anthropologists or are located at the same institutions (with "linguistic anthropology" as a research area and study program found at numerous universities, unlike in Europe), a decisive move by anthropological linguists in this direction might be a favorable undertaking in the future, especially since ethnographic methods are becoming increasingly important in anthropological linguistics as well (see Brühwiler & Hollington's contribution, this volume), and exchanges with social and cultural anthropologists in many core areas are promising. A key rethinking among anthropological linguists in this regard might be to discuss what 'culture' is and means for linguistic studies – building on current debates around this problematic concept in social and cultural anthropology (see, e.g., Lentz, 2017). Anthropological linguists may need to make their work more visible (or, more understandable?) to colleagues in other disciplines that have started seeking out correlations between linguistic and cultural traits (and preferably also to a wider audience beyond academia, since fine-grained studies of language and culture are also important for discourses in the media, to take just one example).

One of the tasks that must be pursued vigorously in the future in the field of anthropological linguistics is the decolonization of the discipline. An important step toward decolonizing academic practice must be achieved with a change in the representation of indigenous languages and cultures, but must also target the representation of indigenous scholars in academia (the enormous Western bias in this domain has its roots in disciplines such as African linguistics, whose emergence was linked to colonialism). In social and cultural anthropology, critical (and self-reflexive) debates about the discipline as a research object in itself have been going on for the last fifty years, while in linguistics critical self-reflexive approaches have only recently begun to gain prominence. Increased awareness of practices of academic erasure, whereby people, languages, and indigenous researchers were (for a long time) intentionally erased (or not given a voice), left unmentioned, or systematically disadvantaged, while research findings may have been "polished" or appropriated by non-indigenous scholars, has impacted emerging decolonial debates and reflections. Research traditions originating in the Western world consolidated inequalities (and would also, in Fabian's (2007, p. 5) words, produce 'ethnographic authority') but also (eventually) led to a much-needed focus on indigenous epistemologies – and to the emergence of a sub-

discipline labeled 'postcolonial linguistics'. Methodologically and conceptually, this broad field combines sociolinguistics, critical discourse analysis, linguistic anthropology and pragmatics. In its emergence, this new direction has been influenced by *Southern Theory* (Connell, 2007) or *Theory from the South* (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2012), and especially by the work of South American scholars such as Walter D. Mignolo (2011); Santos and Meneses (2009) and Quijano (2000). For recent linguistic overview works that display various of these perspectives, see Deumert, Storch, & Shepherd (2020), and several monographs in the book series *Colonial and postcolonial linguistics* (CPL; De Gruyter, ed. by Engelbert et al.). For a thought-provoking methodological contribution, see Tuhiwai Smith's (1999) *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous people*.

Jim and Webster (2022, p. 389) summarize the problem that many studies lack the critical, reflexive or specifically dialogical perspective (in which communities themselves provide a 'literary criticism' of their own ethnopoetics, following Tedlock's (1983) ideas of a 'dialogical anthropology', and Kiowa linguist Palmer's (2003) incentive for 'dialogue and participation', both cited in Jim and Webster (2022)):

> [T]oo often, the literary criticism offered by Zunis, Puebloan people of the Southwest of the United States, for example, is submerged under the voice of the anthropologist. Actual Zuni views are thus hidden, and, in their place, we find fictions such as "the Zuni". Imaginary whole cultures are thus circumscribed by way of such totalizing visions that obscure the ways that such knowledge was acquired in the first place.

Dialogical work, which will hopefully take a more prominent position in the design of future studies, does not stop at collaboration, but must logically lead to self-directed discourses and intra-community projects around language endangerment, reclamation and shift (as sensitive topics requiring the voice and agency of indigenous speakers) – popular topics in anthropological linguistics that have been historically dominated and led by non-indigenous linguists, who often attested to a lingua-culture's endangerment or "death" (a highly unfortunate terminological choice) from the outside.

More and more indigenous scholars in linguistic anthropology but also anthropological linguistics are working on their own languages and cultures (see, e.g., Sall, this volume, Ameka, this volume) and providing important analyses that include and emphasize an emic perspective. There has also been an increase in the number of collaborations between indigenous and non-indigenous scholars (some of which are "dialogical", others not); in addition, African scholars at universities in Africa are now studying language cultures of other African countries (this is the case at some South African universities, where scholars are focusing

on languages and cultures from Lesotho, Eswatini, Zimbabwe, etc., or the study of Swahili language and culture at the University of Ghana).

In linguistic anthropology, the study of language ideologies of exclusion, Othering, and inequality (Knipping, this volume) has become a productive and important field of research that revolves around decoloniality, epistemology and changes in perspectives (see, among others, Bauman and Briggs, 2003; Shaul, 2014, or studies (co-)authored or (co-)edited by North American indigenous scholars, such as Meek, 2010; Kroskrity and Field, 2009; Wyman, McCarthy, and Nicholas, 2014).[9] In some ways, the growing awareness of continued coloniality and exclusion in or through language (based on the inspiring work of the late Jane H. Hill; see e.g., Hill, 2008) has contributed, at least in part, to the emergence of a new field of study called 'raciolinguistics', which critically examines race and inequality through a linguistic anthropological lens and the relationship between race and language, and which has produced influential studies such as Reyes and Lo (2009); Alim, Ball, and Rickford (2016); Rosa (2016), and many others. In terms of anthropological linguistic research on African languages, a clear step and decisive shift in this direction has yet to occur, but may be an important future milestone (ideally leading to new collaborations between African and non-African scholars).

In general, the study of linguistic parameters, semantic encodings, and cultural conceptualizations seems to be moving toward a focus on speaking as a cultural practice and resource (showing a continuity from the early Hymesian ethnography of speaking to a "neo-Hymesian linguistic ethnography" as sociolinguist Ben Rampton (2007, p. 584) puts it, evident in areas of sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology) in various contexts – however, "classical" studies of anthropological linguistics, especially in lingua-cultures beyond the Western world with a focus on Africa (as pursued in this volume), are not expected to be completely replaced, but will have to adapt to changing research landscapes and scholarly trends.

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PART 1

Time, space, and language

CHAPTER 2

The cultural, linguistic and cognitive relativity of time concepts

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There has been a considerable boost in studies on the cognitive foundations of language, including the fields of space, time, and causality. While Africa has increasingly been included in these studies, the attention to cognitive constraints has sometimes overlooked possible diversity as captured by anthropological linguistics. The study of cultural relativity with regard to time concepts which flourished initially in anthropology and linguistics has been overshadowed by research in economics and neighboring disciplines. Linguistic distinctions such as that between weak FTR (Future Time Reference) and strong FTR languages become associated with cultural differences such as saving for the future. This contribution looks critically at these typologies and argues that research would benefit from closer cooperation between comparative and intrinsic approaches to the study of African languages.

Keywords: anthropological linguistics, time, relativity

1. Introduction

It is sometimes difficult to tell an Anthropological Linguist from a Linguistic Anthropologist, or an Africanist Linguist from a Cognitive or Comparative Linguist with an interest in Africa for that matter. This is partly because Africa, together with other parts of the world that have for a long time been marginalized in scholarly work, has in recent decades become included in major debates, not only in anthropology and linguistics but also in the large field of cognitive sciences. It has dawned on dominant disciplines such as psychology and economics that many of their findings had been based on a sample of WEIRD people, the self-acclaimed Western, Educated, Industrial, Rich and Democratic parts of this world, i.e., typically the average students at American or European universities (see Henrich et al., 2010). As a consequence, the interest in African languages has grown but only in

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a limited, extrinsic way. Interest has also grown through neo-Whorfian debates about the role of language in the constitution of fundamental phenomena of human culture, namely space, time and causality. However, as Dimmendaal (2015, p. 124) has noted, even though Africa has increasingly been included in these studies, the attention to underlying cognitive similarities and constraints has in practice sometimes come at the cost of the description of diversity as captured by anthropological linguistics. In practice, there is a difference between cognitive linguists who harvest the record of world languages for their arguments and the anthropological linguists and linguistic anthropologists who not only participate in these debates but who are also involved in creating the underlying record through language documentation in the first place. While the former tend to have only an extrinsic interest in African language phenomena (for the purpose of making particular arguments), the latter are also driven by an intrinsic interest in African ways of speaking. In the spirit of a double interest, extrinsic as well as intrinsic, that is pursued by the contributors of this book, this contribution looks at the conceptualization of time in African languages. It is not an attempt to "harvest" African materials for any particular theory and consequently no attempt is made to cover as many cases from Africa as possible or to create a representative sample. Rather, the interest is also intrinsic: When being in Africa, how does one establish sufficient common ground for mutual understanding? This intrinsic interest in the ways of speaking found in Africa, I shall argue, is also conducive to a critical advancement in dealing with long-standing theoretical problems surrounding the relation between language, social practice and cognition.

2. Relativity in space and time

Space and time are often considered in parallel since they are similarly fundamental for human life. With very few and fairly recent exceptions most anthropology introductory books map out 'cultures around the world' spatially (see for example Haviland et al., 2011; Kottak, 2008). Less frequently today, they also sort cultures according to an evolutionary grid (Vivelo, 1978). Moreover, specific conceptualizations of space and time may be considered hallmarks of what makes 'a culture' and they are often considered in some way homomorphic. That is, within these deep structures of cognition, language and culture are often expected to play out similarly in the domain of time as they do in the domain of space. Research on spatial frames of reference and orientation accelerated in the 1990s (see Levinson, 1996) with a strong neo-Whorfian revival that highlighted cultural difference. In a group effort by the Cognitive Anthropology Research Group (later renamed the "Culture and Cognition" branch of the MPI in Nijmegen), led by Stephen Levin-

son and associates, it was convincingly shown that philosophers such as Kant got it wrong when considering a body-centered frame of spatial orientation to be universal. Far from it, there are numerous examples around the world, including Africa, which show that people may operate with an absolute or geo-centered frame of reference instead, i.e., they use north/south/east/west rather than left/right/front/back in their everyday conversation and arguably in their everyday cognition (see Widlok & Neumann, 1996 for Hai//om and Kgalagadi, examples from Southern Africa). Moreover, there appear to be more alternatives than either using the body or cardinal directions since in some places we find yet other systems, for example relying on uphill/downhill/traverse or relying on the intrinsic shape of things (see Levinson, 2003). In any case, these diverse cultural and linguistic strategies of framing space differed from what Kant and most Europeans considered to be the "standard" human way of framing spatial differences and of orienting yourself in space accordingly (Levinson & Brown, 1994).

It is worth noting that the reason this debate took place in the domain of space was to a considerable extent a strategic and methodological choice: it was much simpler to concentrate on the domain of space when developing a stimulus-kit for tasks to be carried out comparatively in the field than to do this for the domains of time or causality. It is therefore not surprising that there have only been a few attempts to transpose the same neo-Whorfian debate to the domains of causality (Bender & Beller, 2016; Beller et al., 2017) and time (Boroditsky & Gaby, 2010; Bender et al., 2010) and with much less traction in the scholarly landscape. However, it is still worthwhile to have a closer look at the results of these attempts in particular since there is evidence that spatial and temporal frames of reference need not have the same underlying structure (Brown, 2012).

Bender, Beller, and Bennardo (2010) present an initiative by linguists and cognitive anthropologists to elicit temporal frames in parallel to the spatial frames elicited by Levinson and his group. The point of departure were observations that helped develop a comparative toolkit. For instance, even among English speakers responses vary when interlocutors are asked the following question: "Next Wednesday's meeting has been moved forward two days. What day is the meeting now?"

In the United States, roughly half of the English speakers asked responded with "Friday", the other half with "Monday" (see McGlone & Harding, 1998). Cognitively, the answer depends on how the direction of the forward movement in conceived or, as Bender et al. (2010, p. 283) put it "where the "front" is: towards the future or towards the past". Or, to put it differently again, whether speakers consider the forward movement from their own perspective looking into the future lying ahead of them (from Wednesday to Friday) or whether they consider themselves as being facing a future that approaches them and that gets closer to the person speaking as it moves towards them (from Wednesday to Monday). This

intriguing difference in positioning has been noted in other contexts, for instance when etymologically comparing French *l'avenir*, the future that comes to us, with the English *future*, the future we are heading to. In more abstract terms, Bender et al. (2010, p. 284) remind us that these differences, glossed as "moving ego" versus "moving time" perspectives, have been used as a typology for some time but that diversity goes beyond this typology.

It is African languages (such as Igbo and Ewe) that further complicate the picture. These languages distinguish lexically proximate from distant days rather than the direction of time, i.e., the same lexeme is used to express "the next day" and "the previous day" (i.e., one day away), which is not captured by the moving ego versus moving time distinction. Moreover, if speakers of one and the same language can conceive of both answers (Monday and Friday) to be possible answers, it is obviously not just a question of the lexicon but of choosing different reference points from which the temporal flow is being considered. Orienting themselves by the idea of spatial frames of reference, Bender et al. then suggested that the different responses are different choices in the temporal frame of reference that allows speakers to position themselves and their perspectives at different points within the frame. In our example speakers can either position themselves temporally (1) at the subjective present (now) or (2) at another point, namely Wednesday when the meeting was initially supposed to take place. In the second frame, when reaching Wednesday, Friday is still ahead. In the first frame, however, it is maintained that Monday precedes or is "in front of" Wednesday in time. As Bender et al. put it: "the way in which front is ascribed to the time line depends on which point of view is taken: In (1) the future or later event is in front, in (2) the past or earlier event is in front" (Bender et al., 2010, p. 285).

The authors then proceed by trying to design a master frame of reference onto which the various ways of framing can be mapped comparatively. They show that dyadic classifications (such as the moving ego versus moving time distinction) do not capture diversity as well as a frame of reference approach which allows for more dimensions of difference. Moving ego suggests that time is consistently considered "futureways" away from ego. Moving time, by contrast, suggests that time is consistently considered "pastways", moving from a future vantage point towards the now of the speaker. They label these frames "absolute" and "intrinsic", respectively, mapped onto vocabulary of the better-known spatial frames of reference. What is missing, they argue, are two "relative" frames of reference, namely a frame (3) in which futureways movement is accepted for events in the past – i.e., meetings last week – and pastwards movement is accepted for events in the future – i.e., meetings next week (they call this the "relative-reflection frame") and (4) the opposite constellation in which pastwards movement is accepted for past events and futurewards movement is accepted for future events (they call this the

"relative-translation frame"; see 2010, p. 293). They then go on to show experimentally (2010, p. 300) how this extended set of distinctions can help to specify differences between German/Chinese (both overwhelmingly "intrinsic" in orientation) and US English (almost equally "absolute" and "intrinsic") and Tongan ("intrinsic" closely followed by "relative-translation" and then "absolute", with some "relative-reflective" responses, too, which are virtually absent in all other groups). Separating the Tongan sample even further into "students" and "non-students" shows that the "relative translation" frame is in fact dominant among Tongan non-students. Moreover, this matches a dominant relative frame in Tongan spatial orientation.

The authors then discuss these results in terms of how spatial and temporal frames may be connected and how much "deep relativity" there is in terms of whether these are cases of language influencing cognition or vice versa. What concerns us here is the fact that this study emphasized that speakers of all languages have a choice and that conventionalization is needed (in all languages) to deal with the possible ambiguities that emerge as speakers are able to choose different vantage points or perspectives in the overarching frame or, in other words, as they activate one frame over another. In any conversation and interaction participants will look out for cues to decide which frame is the appropriate one and for which one the interlocutors are settling in their interaction. This underlines the importance of what Bender et al. had to say about frames of reference in the first place:

> When describing relations between and movements of objects or events, we have to take a perspective and *choose one particular frame* of reference. In order to facilitate communication within a group, *conventions are required* with regard to which frame of reference should be *preferred*.
>
> (Bender et al., 2010, p. 286, emphasis added)

It seems that conventionalization is hardly ever so hermetic and complete that it would not allow for within-language diversity as speakers have a choice of different FoR (frames of reference). The linguistic and paralinguistic context is unlikely to force them into one possible answer only, but it may well nudge them into choosing one possibility over another. Bender et al. continue:

> If a language does not generally restrict which FoR is to be used in a certain situation, then situational cues may be used to trigger either FoR, and it is quite reasonable to assume that spatial as well as temporal cues can serve this purpose.
>
> (p. 302)

This is the underlying lesson that I derive for the remainder of this contribution when attempting to understand and to classify different ways of expressing temporal differences: The research focus shifts as we no longer search for the one lex-

eme response ("Monday" or "Friday") to a convoluted question but rather try to document the situational cues that speakers provide to each other or derive from the situation at large in order to choose from what their repertoire provides. This would also take care of the very basic critique of this kind of research which argues that there are hardly any monolingual speakers, certainly not in Africa, and that the boundary between languages may be overemphasized in any case. The Tongans mentioned above are a case in point since students with a greater exposure to English were choosing a different strategy than non-students. The repertoire of a speaker may be at the more limited or at the extended side of things but whatever the case may be they will have to make choices. Instead of essentializing languages and their speakers we are well advised to investigate the conventional ways that speakers employ when they search for cues in the social environment and in interactional and linguistic contexts – and we should allow for idiosyncratic strategies, too. As the next section will show, the speakers' search for cues begins with the linguistic cues contained in the question being asked.

3. The cue is in the questions: Results from a pilot study

On the basis of the experiment by Bender et al. I conducted a pilot study with the help of a number of students.[1] We used the phrase "The meeting that was supposed to happen on Wednesday next week has been moved forward two days. On which day of the week will it now take place?" (in its English and German version) to elicit responses from speakers of various languages.[2] Since it was an exploratory study no statistical representativeness was sought (or reached). Nevertheless, an interesting pattern emerged: Speakers of Indo-European languages, namely English (1), German (15), French (1) Russian (2), and Brazilian/Portuguese (2), responded with "Monday" whereas speakers of (very diverse) African languages responded with "Friday", namely speakers of Ewe (5), Twi (2), Hausa (1), and Khoekhoe (1). A rich point emerged when a student tried to translate the stimulus question into Turkish. It turned out that there were two possible translations depending on whether the English version or the German version from the original experiment was used.

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1. The students who contributed to this project were Stefanie Bergmann, Katharina Monz and Sylvanus Job whose assistance is gratefully acknowledged. Sylvanus Job also assisted with the interlinearization of the Khoekhoekowab example.

2. We used the same German version as Bender and Beller did in their original research project: "Das Treffen, das in der nächsten Woche am Mittwoch stattfinden sollte, wird um zwei Tage vorverlegt. An welchem Wochentag findet es nun statt?" (A. Bender pers. com.).

The interlocutor was fluent in German and Turkish with very good knowledge of English. When translating from the German stimulus question the result was "Monday" but when translating it from English into Turkish the answer was "Friday".[3] In Ewe the English and German stimulus sentences also generated two different translations. However, in this instance this did not affect the answer since all Ewe speakers settled for "Friday" as an answer. What this suggests is that the minute differences in the way in which the question is phrased can be exploited as cues by the interlocutors to formulate their response. It also suggests how much care and knowledge is needed on the side of any researcher, even with decent competence of the local language, to conduct this seemingly simple task. A researcher may inadvertently lay cues in the way he or she presents the question and thus nudge respondents in either direction. Moreover, the home language of the researcher may easily influence the experiment to the extent that interlocutors may provide different answers. The whole task therefore is open to translation effect, and unless the language is well-known to the researcher (and even then) it is easy to misinterpret results as indicating different frames of reference where in fact we are primarily dealing with an effect triggered by a particular formulation chosen in the translation.

The most extreme illustration emerged from the attempt to translate the stimulus into Khoekhoekowab (formerly known as Nama/Damara) and it is worthwhile to provide interlinear glossing for this case:

> The meeting that was supposed to happen on Wednesday next week was moved forward two days. On which day of the week will it now take place?

Question translated:

(1) *!Goaxa wekhe.b Wunstaxtsē ga hâ hâ ǂnû.s ge ǀgam*
approaching week.MS Wednesday SUBJ stay COMPL meeting.FS IND two
tsē-ra ǀkhā nî mâi-ǂui-he [*or mâi/gu*]
day-FD with FUT put-out-PASS [or put.close.pass]
'The meeting that was supposed to happen on Wednesday next week will be moved forward [or backward] two days.'
O ǁnā-ti ī ǂnû.s-a nēsisa mâ-tsē.s wekhe.b di-s
then that-so appear meeting.FS-OBL now which-day.FS week.MS POSS-3FS
ai-s nî hâ?
on-3FS FUT stay
'Then such a meeting now, on which day of the week will it take place?'

3. The question translated from German read "*Haftaya çarşamba günü olacak toplantı, iki gün öne alındı. Toplantı hangi gün olacak*?". Translated from English it read "*Haftaya çarşamba olması gereken görüşme iki gün ileriye ertelenecektir. Haftanın hangi gününde görüşme gerçekleşecek?*"

Khoekhoekowab's system of deriving composite verbs from basic verb roots allows – and forces – speakers to make a choice from the start between *mâiǂui* ("putting further away") versus *mâi/gu* ("bringing closer"). One would either say *"ǂNûs ga hâ hâ tsēs ge |gam tsēra |kha go* ***mâi|gūhe***" (the day for which the meeting was scheduled has been put nearer, i.e., made earlier than initially announced) or "*ǂNûs ga hâ hâ tsēs ge |gam tsēra |kha go* ***mâiǂuihe***" (the day for which the meeting was schedule has been put further away, i.e., later than initially announced). In other words, trying to set up the experiment in Khoekhoe was a mission impossible. This also sheds some doubts on the employment of strict language-based experiments more generally. After all, an ideal experimental setup requires that a stimulus question is posed in a way that allows respondents more than one possible answer but at the same time only a controlled number of possible responses, ideally two only. Researchers working with English as their tool for research may be excused for presupposing that the question "The meeting that was supposed to happen on Wednesday next week was moved forward two days. On which day of the week will it now take place?" allows for a near to ideal experimental question with an exhaustive set of two opposite answers. As pointed out above, in the English-speaking sample of Bender et al. (144 US American students at Northern Illinois University) this led to a near to 50/50 result (41.0% absolute vs 45.8% intrinsic responses). This was replicated in our very modest sample of two English speakers, one American ("Friday", the absolute response) and one British English ("Monday", the intrinsic response). To native speakers of English, and probably only to them, the stimulus question can easily appear to be ideal for an experiment but this changes even when moving to a closely related question such as German, let alone to a more distant language such as Khoekhoe. Our German-speaking students who conducted the pilot study felt that the German verb *vorverlegen* did clearly nudge speakers into answering in an "intrinsic" way in a way that the English *move forward* did not.

Where does this leave us with regard to the underlying question of temporal frames? We may conclude that this is another example in which a WEIRD sample, American students (see Henrich el al., 2010), leads to weird or at least skewed results, and in a double fashion. Not only would an all-American student sample not show the diversity that there is in the domain of conceptualizing time, as Henrich et al. (2010) found to be the case with regard to many psychological and economic experiments. Such a sample would also structure the space for diversity in a very peculiar way, namely into a bifurcated and exhaustive choice of either adopting an "absolute" frame or an "intrinsic" frame, and lead to the assumption that a simple stimulus sentence was sufficient to elicit the difference. It is intriguing to speculate how a native-speaking Khoekhoekowab researcher would have approached the problem, or a speaker of another African language. Possibly, they

would have hesitated to rely exclusively on a single sentence elicitation task. In any case, triangulating results from a number of elicitation methods and a battery of tasks seems a more promising strategy. One could, for instance, expand to include other cues, cues that include both linguistic and non-linguistic expressions and a diversity of domains.

In the African setting this could be achieved by connecting this research to earlier investigations about "African time" (for a summary see Widlok et al., 2021). Africans sometimes conceive of themselves as following their ancestors (i.e., people of the past, who lived before them) when moving into the future so that moving into the future does not take place with ego continuing futurewards having previous generations "behind his or her back" but rather by following the footsteps of elders and previous generations (who have passed on, forwards, but who also gradually disperse into the past), having people of the past in front of them, so to speak. In this cue, taken from social relations and kinship, the future is folded into past, as it were. John Mbiti (1969) based his presentation of African time in large parts on such relational, including religious ideas, that influence the temporal frame of reference. He concluded that one should not be surprised if Africans do not formulate a future but would rather be concerned about the immediate present (and immediate past) as opposed to a historical past or a remote future. There has been, over the years, considerable critical debate about Mbiti's scheme, especially from other African scholars. However, what is worth exploring further is how to integrate other, non-linguistic features into our investigation, a point that will be discussed in the following section.

4. The temptation of generalization

Mbiti's generalization that all Africans lack the idea of an abstract future was met with repeated critique from within Africa. To a large extent it was the generalization that provoked counter-arguments (see Fasholé-Luke, 1969; English and Kalumba, 1996). Critics complained that Mbiti was overgeneralizing a specific East African example and they provided cases from other African languages as counter-evidence (Aja, 1994; Gyekye, 1996; Kazeem 2016). Gyekye (1996), for instance, showed that Akan proverbs from West Africa clearly have a future tense and even if some Bantu languages did, in fact, lack a future tense, there is evidence that speakers of such 'future-tense-less' languages nonetheless have a conception of the distant future. Masolo (2010) criticized Mbiti's argument in a similar vein as he doubted that a lack of future tense in a language was sufficient proof that the concept of an abstract future is absent. Likewise, the "African" in "African time" was problematized because it would presuppose the idea of a homogenous

African culture (Beidelman, 1995). Instead, the cultural variation of time frames on the African continent was emphasized (Horton 1967). Other scholars who worked comparatively on notions of time (see for example Horton, 1967; Adam, 1994) insisted that all cultural or linguistic groups have a fairly broad repertoire of ways to conceptualize time. This, again, highlights intragroup diversity and seeks to establish instead a conception of temporality in terms of different *uses* of time frames along the lines of practical issues and preoccupations (see for example Munn, 1992; Loimeier, 2012) rather than attributing monolithic ontologies of time to linguistic or ethnic communities.

However, other commentators supported Mbiti's arguments (for example Kagame, 1996; Kalumba, 2005; Onyeocha, 2010) and since then a whole new strand of research has developed that does not shy away from classifying languages and nationalities into an even more general bifurcated template of two opposed temporal orientations. Economist Keith Chen has eloquently proposed that there are local concepts of time that can be derived from linguistic evidence and that do reflect underlying cultural structures nudging people to either a more or a less future-oriented life (Chen, 2013, see also Roberts et al., 2015 for discussion of methods). His argument, in a nutshell, is that there are languages that grammatically associate the future with the present. German would be a case in point because in German, unlike in English or French, it is possible to use the present tense for saying "It will rain tomorrow". This feature has been labeled a "weak Future Time Reference language" (weak FTR, in the case of German and other languages) vs a "strong Future Time Reference language" (strong FTR, in the case of English and other languages). The comparison is global and it includes several African examples on the two sides of the big divide (see Chen, 2013, p. 708). Burkina Faso is home to Dyula as a weak FTR case and Fula or Moore as strong FTR cases. Ethiopia has Amharic, Oromo and Sidamo as weak FTR cases and Chaha, Gamo and Tigrinya as strong FTR cases. Nigeria has Yoruba as a weak FTR language and Hausa and Igbo as strong FTR languages. It is noteworthy that languages are considered weak or strong FTR languages to different degrees. The larger number of African languages in the sample are strong FTR languages, including Akan, Bemba, Chichewa, Dagbani, Ewe, Isekiri, Lingala, Lozi, Luba, Luganda, Sotho, Sesotho, Swati, Swahili, Tenyer, Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, Wolaytta, Wolof, Xhosa and Zulu. Among the few weak FTR languages in Africa are Bambara, Kongo, Kikuyu and Soddo (see Chen, 2013, appendix). The purpose of the exercise from the economist's perspective is to try and correlate the weak FTR (Future Time Reference) languages with various types of social and economic behavior. To cut a long story short, the basic argument is that speakers of such weak FTR languages "save more, retire with more wealth, smoke less, practice safer sex, and are less obese" (Chen, 2013, p. 690) and that

they "save, exercise, and plan more, and spend, smoke, and over-consume less" (Chen, 2013, p. 697).

The attempt to define different cultural time regimes with reference to linguistic framings of time therefore continues but it is now based on statistics rather than on case studies as in Mbiti's case. In the process it has shifted from theology, anthropology and linguistics to economics, psychology and politics.[4] It is interesting to note that the linguists who provided the original data that Chen uses in his argumentation are highly critical of the causality assumptions on which the argument is based (see Dahl, 2013). While there are also some linguists who are prepared to argue for a close causal link between specific cultural features and specific features of a language (for example Everett, 2005) it is noteworthy that by and large disciplines seem to part ways in this regard. It is likely that this has to do with the way scholars are "disciplined" by their subjects but also with the way in which their voices are heard in the audience of the wider public. Economics and psychology in particular follow closely the probabilistic paradigm, and they are also keen to reduce complex relations and to operationalize features (of languages and societies) into factors that can be experimentally isolated and statistically analysed. Some features of language lend themselves to these operations. This is the lexicon (as in the 100-words-for-snow debate) but also grammatical features such as those selected and re-bundled by the FTR-theorists. Anthropological linguists and linguistic anthropologists, by contrast, less readily isolate features as factors or attributes of languages and speakers and instead are keen to show how speakers exploit the diversity of features that the languages and ways of speaking in their repertoire provide them with in the process of interactive conversation. This tendency is amplified by shifts in the public reception of science which has become more materialist and less patient with regard to complex scientific explanations. A psychological explanation that involves neuroimaging or an economic explanation that involves material/monetary factors often trump other considerations and with growing complexity there seems to be also a growing demand for simple explanations. Only such combined effects in the disciplines and in the shifts in the authority granted to particular brands of science seem to account for a situation in which correlations between language features on the one hand and socio-economic features on the other hand are readily accepted as causality from the former onto the latter. These developments are reason enough to take a closer look at the domain of causality and its relation to temporal frames, which is what the following section of this contribution will aim to do.

4. For a recent attempt to bridge linguistics and economics see the contributions in Vigouroux and Mufwene (2020). With regard to the relationship between linguistics and studies of behavioural practice see Lucy (1997).

5. Causality and language

Apart from work on space and time, the domain of causality has been the third field that has seen collaborative interdisciplinary efforts that involved anthropologists and linguists (see the group at the ZiF in Bielefeld https://www.uni-bielefeld.de/(en)/ZIF/FG/2011Cognition/). In African studies this has been an established field of research covered in the classic ethnographies, for instance in the work by Evans-Pritchard with Azande (on causality) and with the Nuer (on time). Working with the Azande, Evans-Pritchard was able to capture aspects of causal thinking by witnessing (and eliciting) their reactions to everyday and extraordinary events such as the attribution of causal agency in mishaps. This concerns not only the "internal" construal of causality but rather how far causal explanations are employed in conversation and what entities are included as causal agents. His celebrated case study is that of how Azande deal with "accidents" involving grain storage baskets. These are mounted on poles and also serve as shady resting places for people to sit under but occasionally the baskets eventually collapse and hurt or even kill people who are seated underneath. Evans-Pritchard (1937) shows that Azande are well aware of the role of termites in making the poles brittle and in contributing to the collapse of grain storage baskets. However, when people get hurt in the process, the activity of the termites is not considered sufficient but the causal explanation is expanded to include the possible effect of the socially malevolent agency of witches (Evans-Pritchard, 1937, p. 69). Thereby Azande seek to explain why the storage collapsed at exactly that point in time when particular people were seated underneath. The causal cognition is expressed by Azande in a metaphor of "two spears" whereby "natural" causes and "witchcraft" can supplement one another, like how two spears hitting an elephant are considered equally causally effective (Evans-Pritchard, 1937, p. 74). Considering two causes with equal impact is neither weird to "Westerners" today nor was it to Evans-Pritchard. After all, despite consensus that a house fire is as much enabled by oxygen in the air as by something (or someone) igniting inflammable materials, legal and insurance investigations usually concentrate on the latter and largely disregard the former. There is also growing awareness that speakers of all languages have different "logics" available of which the "monotonic" logic of Greek debates that feature large in philosophy textbooks is but one of many possible arenas, and a very peculiar competitive one at that. To be rational is no longer seen as choosing one particular logic across all situations but rather aiming for an appropriate match between the type of situation and the type of logic chosen (see Widlok & Stenning, 2018).

Evans-Pritchard concluded that Azande follow the same logical thought as anyone else, but that they differ with regard to the premises on which they

base their inferences. The inclusion of witches as agents is such a premise and, although Evans-Pritchard would maintain that not all premises are equally valid, the extension of agency to witchcraft therefore seems to be a matter of degree rather than kind. After all, humans universally attribute personhood (and as a consequence, causal agency) to fictitious entities, since we accept corporations, companies, and institutions (such as "the crown" or "the state") as legal persons that can take action and must take responsibility when taken to court.

With many of the subsequent debates centering around witchcraft and rationality (see Winch, 1964), another feature in Evans-Pritchard's work on the Azande is often overlooked: He also reports on considerable internal cultural diversity and debate amongst the Azande who would discuss whether and when there is the need (or the justification) to refer to witchcraft. One example he gives is the case of a potter whose clay pot cracks during the process of burning. The potter may attribute this to witchcraft whereas others may rather consider this a case of negligence on the side of the potter who failed to free the clay from stones that may cause cracks to occur in the process of pot-making (Evans-Pritchard, 1937, p. 77). It is easy to draw a parallel between these kind of choices in causal agency and the choices made with regard to the temporal frameworks that have already been alluded to. Going back to the FTR example: In German (and surely in other "weak FTR" languages) it is possible, without much difficulty, to also use the future tense when talking about tomorrow's rain just as a non-Inuit can come up with manifold adjectival expressions of different types of snow. In the process not only semantic but also pragmatic aspects may nudge speakers to shift their strategies.

There is an intricate relationship between causality frames and time frames which is beyond the limits of this contribution (see Widlok, 2014). However, it is noteworthy that Evans-Pritchard's description of time concepts in Africa matches his investigation on causality. His case study is that of the Nuer whom he found to have a marked seasonal contrast between dry river villages in the savanna where they subsist mostly on cattle-keeping and the wet season in which floods force them to aggregate and retreat to the hills where they practice agriculture and focus on communal rituals and kinship ties. All of this, Evans-Pritchard argues, is reflected in Nuer time concepts. Their "cattle clock" is determined by daily and seasonal routines of cattle-keeping. They measure their time according to the tasks that need to be done as required by the needs of the animals which in turn is conditioned by the environment and the material world at large (Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. 103). This "ecological" and task-oriented time management made the Nuer appear to Evans-Pritchard to be less bothered with time pressure and therefore more fortunate than people living in Europe. Added to this "defiance" of time (pressure) is that the Nuer seem to be only interested in the past as a means to

establish relative distance or nearness with regard to one another in their kinship obligations of the present. All Nuer consider one another to be genealogically related – as members of clans, major and minor lineages that have branched off from another. To know the point in time when the lineages of two individuals have split is to know the relative distance between them. The further back in time the split occurred the more distant one's kinship link. Given the importance of time in the construction of causality, it is easy to see that reports on such "diverging" time concepts lend themselves to the interpretation that the Nuer also have different concepts of causality, giving less importance to chronology and to before–after relationships. Other ethnographers in Africa have since tried to show that local causality concepts rely on conceptualizations of time that are "cyclical," "reversible" or in some other way departing from a linear mode of time-reckoning (e.g., Alverson, 1978, p. 170) thereby fuelling a relativist agenda that challenges sequentiality as one of the defining features of causal relations. However, as Maurice Bloch has pointed out, "The Nuer" and other ethnographies deserve a more careful reading and a more complex interpretation (Bloch, 2012, p. 91–97). He underlines that the faculty to live by imagined time regimes that are not dictated by ecology or "nature" is an important feature that marks off humans from other species (Bloch, 2012, p. 108). This capacity to "time travel" includes the examples already given, for instance when Nuer are "freezing" seasons into two modes of social and cognitive organization and two modes of grappling with problems and of seeking explanations. This capacity allows us humans to make past and future events relevant for memorizing, planning and structuring our lives. It has wide-ranging implications since the "normal rules of time and space are temporally suspended" for the benefit of imagining alternative scenarios to the ones that we find ourselves in at a particular here and now (Bloch, 2012, p. 108). The Nuer "cattle clock" is an example of "concrete, immanent and process-linked" time reckoning of one action and one task leading to the next, at the microscopic level. By contrast their lives at the long-term macroscopic level, like in most African societies documented in the classic ethnographies, are structured by intricate social concepts of generations, age sets and other socially "constructed" units (Gell, 1992, p. 17). The construction of a lineage and generation in a sense "immunizes" these social units of "generation", "age set" etc. from the duration of time. A generation has no fixed number of years and age sets can cover more or less years depending on demographic factors since a sizable group of young men need to grow up to form such a ritually constructed age set. People belong to an age set or a lineage not due to a specific time that has lapsed but with regard to the cultural limits set by rituals and other cultural means. The relationship between socially defined "cultural epochs" and the relationship between ancestors and present-day people is not altered by the durational intervals between them. However, these cultural

rules do not undermine an understanding of a (before–after type) preceding of one epoch before the other (Gell, 1992, p. 22).

At the same time, and this is the point underlined by Bloch (2012), this human ability to imagine different time regimes concurrently goes hand in hand with the before–after linear time reckoning still in place that is instrumental for causality. In fact, it is the particular strength of ethnographic monographs based on long-term field research (in comparison to narrowly focused survey or experimental work) that they usually contain evidence of the parallel existence of at least two modes of time-reckoning. Evans-Pritchard's work on the Nuer is a case in point. He not only shows how Nuer "imagined" genealogical time and how pastoralist task oriented time helps them organize their society in a way that allows them to lead complex and satisfactory lives. He also describes scenarios and rules which show that the Nuer take account of the linear time that structures for instance the calculated give and take of cattle when negotiating bride wealth (Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. 222; see also Bloch, 2012, p. 94). Here the marrying out of a girl in one generation will cause cattle to be transferred to the wife-givers which in the next generation in turn will cause an inverse flow of cattle when the daughters of that girl are married off with cattle going the other way. There are irreversible, calculable time sequences. In this sense, both Nuer cattle owners and the Azande potters therefore have a repertoire of strategies to reckon time and causality at their hands.

6. Conclusions: Dealing with time in the field and in analyses

The disciplinary divide already alluded to above may also be revisited in light of the debate surrounding the relativity of time, space and causality: Anthropologists in particular tend to focus on the cultural imagination that differs between groups while cognitive scientists such as developmental psychologists focus on the level of time and causality concepts that are acquired early in life and are universal. Anthropological linguists and linguistic anthropologists often find themselves in an in-between situation which makes their task particularly demanding but which in turn makes them produce records that are comprehensive enough to show the co-existence and the interplay of apparently exotic "cyclical" ideas about time and an underlying before-and-after time reckoning that can be found across cases. It is the detailed field record that allows us to understand the time-framing practices of the Nuer in terms of their intricate combination of two ways of framing time, or more precisely of positioning events and actions in temporal frames of reference.

Alfred Gell, who argues along similar lines, provides another reason why disciplines differ in their approaches to non-Western time and causality concepts. Gell's example (1992, p. 169) relates to preparations for a ceremony which inter-

locutors in the field may describe in the following terms: "Six moons pass before the Great Ceremony: one moon for fishing, one for hunting, one for making gardens, one for gathering nuts, one for visiting relatives, and then the Great Ceremony occurs." A common situation in which researchers find themselves in when communicating with locals is that after several months the announced ceremony is still not carried out. Is there a completely different worldview and concept of time and causality at work, after all? Outsiders tend to understand the statement about the right time of a ceremony as a prescriptive sequence whereby any question on "Why is there (or isn't there) a great ceremony?" may be answered with reference to fishing, hunting, gardening, gathering, and visiting as causal prerequisites that lead to a great ceremony. However, locals may not be concerned about counting the months. They typically know the correct sequence but what they need to establish is whether enough hunting, gathering, visiting, etc., has occurred such that these tasks can be considered "past" and "done". To solve everyday problems requires a knowledge of both the sequences of appropriate circumstances (springtime, lack of frosts etc.) that need to be in place "to cause" a good harvest or reproduction of animals (see Gell, 1992, p. 173) but also the ability to know which point in the sequence has been reached. Speakers need to know the frame of reference but also where they currently stand with regard to this frame. The Nuer who leave the flooded savanna to start gardening in the hills rely on their ecological calendar, "causing" their seasonal movement. And at a more microscopic level their "cattle clock" works in a similar way as an orientation for the daily tasks for tending cattle that are necessary for a herd to survive. The ecological calendar or cattle clock may be understood to be sequences that are true at all times and for everyone. In order to act, however, I need to establish where we are in the sequence. What tells me that it is indeed the rainy season now and indeed time to plant or to move to the hills and so forth? Experiencing specific changes from yesterday to today or from dry to rainy season or from taking the cattle out to bringing them back into the corral is decisive here. It is only such a sense of the current moment that enables me to act. With reference to causality we might say that the spectrum of (immediate, distant, intermediate etc.) causes are important to know but for taking action I also need to know which of these causes needs attention right now, which are the ones that are unproblematic at that particular point in time, and which are the ones that can or should be influenced at any particular moment.

Gell (1992) observes that the combination of the two time series often leads to confusion when conducting research – a common problem of "reading" cross-cultural data. A researcher from Psychology or Economics who wants to establish the cultural model of the systematic order in which things are said to happen is actually given a processual type of response of where the participants see

themselves in the process. Respondents may repeat, month after month, that the months of fishing, hunting, gardening, gathering, and visiting have to pass which may lead the researcher to either classify respondents as unreliable or as confused. Similarly, such an observer may ask Azande what caused the death of a person but will not be given a comprehensive response about all contributing factors such as termites eating away poles of grain storages and so forth but instead be provided with a witchcraft account and the need to ask a diviner about current social conflicts because these are the factors that are relevant to clarify at that particular point in time. It is not far-fetched to recognize the different interests of different disciplines here: Non-regionalists with an extrinsic interest in harvesting data from case studies may be interested to get at the more stable sequences. They may also statistically distil them from a variety of responses. By contrast, the field-working anthropologist or linguist with an intrinsic interest in understanding the life of people in which he or she participates in field research will try to understand the complexities of the unfolding case.

With this example we have returned to the issues that were highlighted at the beginning of this contribution. A strengthening of regional expertise with intrinsic interest in local strategies does not only add more detail to the larger theoretical strokes drawn by other disciplines. Rather, the minutiae of social interaction and conversation, the variation found on the ground, is not the micro-size version of larger statistical trends but rather they are the "normal size" of social exchanges and of social life (Schegloff, 1988, p. 100). The "danger" of cognitive scientists extracting data from the records compiled by the field-working linguist or ethnographer is that they easily mistake comments about what is relevant "here and now" for remarks of generality or, conversely, they mistake comments about what typically occurs for remarks of what necessarily should occur in that particular instance. Experiments geared toward general statements of "what causes what" may get interpreted by the respondents in different ways and the responses may be interpreted by those conducting the experiments in inappropriate ways. At the same time, this explains an important strength of a researcher who is directly involved in both the documentation and the analysis. They can place the responses collected in the appropriate context of unfolding activities, events and relationships. Humans effortlessly switch between the different modes of framing time (and space and causality) but documenting these switches with regard to events and processes unfamiliar to the observer does require considerable effort and it requires being appropriately positioned in the research process. As Dimmendaal (2015) has observed, there is something to be said for anthropological linguists and linguistic anthropologists to work in language documentation in Africa and to be interested in the larger issues of language, agency and cognition *at the same time*.

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CHAPTER 3

A cautious approach to spatial orientation in Tima

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This study investigates two subdomains within the semantic field of space among the Tima in Sudan: first, topology (and toponymy), and second, frames of reference. Like many European languages, Tima uses adpositions to indicate a goal/location and a source. Furthermore, Tima uses locative prefixes (remnants of a noun class system) to designate an area. With respect to frames of reference, we show that Tima uses a mixed system, availing of all major frames, i.e., absolute, intrinsic, and relative. The data at our disposal suggests that mobility as well as the shape of figure and ground play a role in the encoding of spatial relations in Tima, a hypothesis which needs testing with more data.

Keywords: spatial reference, Tima (Niger-Congo)

1. Introduction

Over the last few decades, studying spatial orientation in different language communities has attracted increasing attention. This interest arises from the fact that there is a close interrelation between "non-linguistic concepts and the semantics of linguistic expressions" (Levinson, 2003, p. 15) concerning spatial language and beyond. In general, understanding each other means sharing knowledge, i.e., sharing the language in its cultural setting, because, "when we communicate we communicate in a certain context, and this context shapes our utterances" (Senft, 1997, p. 2). Spatial thinking is inseparably linked to everyday activities and communication (see Levinson 2003, p. xvii), and differences in spatial thinking may lead to differences in coding of spatial expressions and their usage. Thus, the description of diverse patterns in spatial thinking/spatial language "may reveal fundamental properties of human thought" (Brown, 2015, p. 89).

A major division in spatial language is made between non-angular (contiguous) relations between FIGURE and GROUND and angular relationships (coordi-

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nate systems).[1] With respect to the latter, scholars typically differentiate between absolute, intrinsic, and relative systems (see again Levinson, 2003; see also Figure 3.1 based on Levinson, 2003, p. 66).

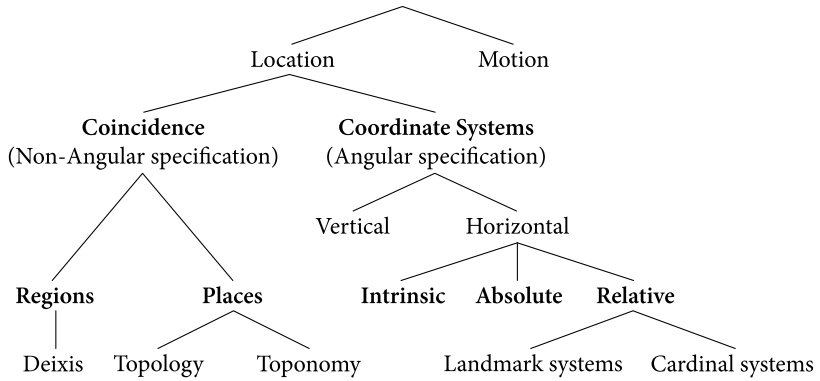


Figure 3.1 Major semantic subfields in spatial language (Source: Levinson, 2003, p. 66)

The intrinsic frame of reference is considered to be object-oriented. That is, the description here is "determined by the 'inherent features', sidedness or facets" (Levinson, 2003, p. 41) of the GROUND; e.g., "He's in front of the house" depends on features of the house itself (for the relevant graphic see Levinson, 2003, p. 40). In the absolute system, either a relationship is described by cardinal directions or by involving features of the environment, i.e., it is an environment-centered system (Levinson, 2003, p. 55). Relative systems involve the speaker/viewer in the description of the relation between FIGURE and GROUND, with the speaker being the ANCHOR (see Levinson, 1996, p. 140 and passim; see also Danziger, 2010). Broadly speaking (and ignoring the vertical dimension), relative systems are based on a left/right and front/back distinction (for an extensive discussion on the complexity of this system and its subtypes see Levinson, 2003, Chapter 3.4.2.2).

Danziger (2010) adds a further type to the systems, namely the direct frame of reference (see Table 3.1). This type "distinguishes binary locutions with a speech participant as Ground/Anchor [...] from 'Object-Centered' binary locutions in which Ground/Anchor is not a speech participant [...]" (Danziger, 2010, p. 167). As she further explains, the ANCHOR "can be defined as that element in the scene

1. For a summarizing discussion on spatial expressions see Brown (2015). For a comprehensive work on 'Language and Space' the interested reader is referred to Levinson (2003). FIGURE and GROUND (see Talmy, 2000, who we follow with regard to the terminology) correspond to RELATUM and LOCATUM, preferred by e.g., Skopeteas et al. (2006).

which, if rotated, falsifies the description" (Danziger, 2010, p. 174). Table 3.1, based on Danziger (2010, p. 172), provides a useful overview.

Table 3.1 Frames of reference (source: Danziger, 2010, p. 172)

	Allocentric	**Egocentric**
	Anchor is not a speech-situation participant	Anchor is a speech-situation participant
Ternary	**Absolute**	**Relative**
Anchor is not Ground	*The milk is at the east of the kettle.* (Or: *The milk is at the east of you.*)	*The milk is to the right* of the kettle.* (Or: *The milk is to the right* of you.* *from the speaker's perspective
Binary	**Object-centered**	**Direct**
Anchor is (part of) Ground	*The milk is at the spout of the kettle.*	*The milk is in front* of me.* *with reference to the speaker's own front

Being inspired by the diversity of spatial language (see e.g., Levinson, 2003; Levinson & Wilkins, 2006; and references therein), the present authors want to contribute to the description of systems in the world's languages by focusing on a language from the African continent, Tima. Our starting point is Levinson's analysis of the spatial domain, as described above.

The data we took into account partly come from single elicited sentences, the majority of which were elicited with the help of photos taken in the area between 2007 and 2012. Furthermore, certain tasks of Skopeteas et al. (2006) proved relevant for this topic.[2] Last but not least, we considered staged recordings from different Tima speakers.

The core of this paper is structured as follows: After giving some useful background information on the language in Section 2 (for more information on the social background see Veit & Schneider-Blum, this volume, or Meerpohl 2012 for a detailed social anthropological study on Tima society), we dedicate 3 to a discussion of topology. That is, in 3.1, we look at nominal prefixes which play a role with regard to Tima spatial expressions, before dwelling on the prepositions marking GOAL and SOURCE in 3.2. Though locative prefixes and prepositions are an inter-

2. The description of the photos as well as the chosen tests from the *Questionnaire on Information Structure: Reference Manual*, designed by Skopeteas et al. (2006) were conducted with our main Tima consultant, Hamid Kafi Daldum, in Khartoum. The sentences elicited through photo stimulation were cross-checked by other Tima speakers under the supervision of Hamid Kafi Daldum.

esting aspect of spatial language in and of themselves, analysis of these linguistic forms is also essential for understanding derived spatial expressions, which we will introduce in 3.3. In Section 4, our focus shifts to the frames of reference as described by Levinson, 2003, i.e., absolute, intrinsic, and relative frames. We will see how these frames are realized in the Tima language. In Section 5 we summarize our findings.

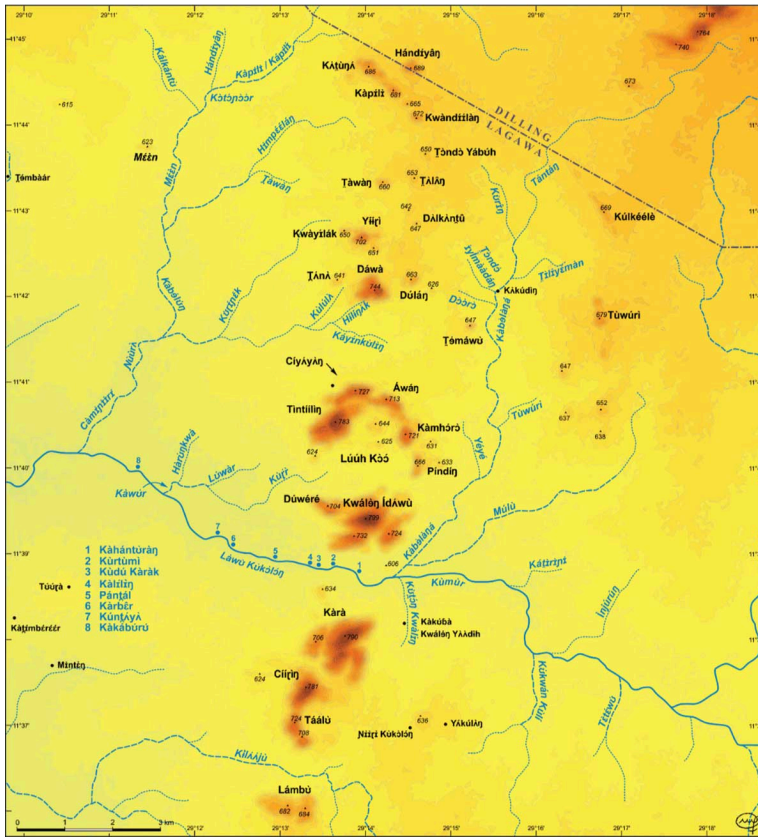
2. Background information on Tima

Tima is a language spoken by roughly 7,000 people in the Nuba Mountains in the Sudan (see Map 3.1 for the homeland of the Tima, kindly provided by Monika Feinen, African Studies, University of Cologne). The language, together with the more closely related languages Katla and Julut, belongs to the Katla group (see e.g., Tucker & Bryan, 1956, p. 67) of the Niger-Congo phylum.

Here we briefly describe the grammatical profile of Tima. As already outlined in more or less detail in various publications by the present authors (e.g., Alamin, 2012; Schneider-Blum, 2013a as well as Dimmendaal, 2014), Tima "has a restricted system of noun-class prefixes synchronically, but internal reconstruction and comparative evidence show that this is due to various restructuring processes historically" (Dimmendaal, 2014, p. 103). As we will see later (Section 3.1), locative prefixes are but one such piece of evidence. Apart from locative nouns, Tima generally exhibits a singular/plural distinction and uses special marking, i.e., *b(V)-*, for abstract nouns derived from adjectives. Further attested is the derivation marker *d(V)-* which transmits the notion of manner, e.g., in *(t̪àmáá) dùmùrík* 'Tima (language)', literally '(the language) like Tima/the way of Tima'.

The verb is the most complex constituent in Tima. Verbal agreement is sensitive to person and number, but not to noun classes/groups. Person and TAM markers may precede the root, while different derivation markers, pronominal object, subject and oblique argument markers may follow the root. The ventive marker *-Vŋ*, as one of several derivation markers, is of particular importance for this contribution, since it plays a role with regard to spatial relations, as will become obvious in the course of the paper. Suffice here to say that "[t]he ventive marker indicates a movement towards the deictic center, i.e., the speaker" (Alamin et al., 2012, p. 19).

Word order tends to be SV/AVO for sentences uttered in isolation with S/A (most agent-like arguments in intransitive vs. transitive clauses) also representing the attentional center (see Himmelmann & Primus, 2015) of the utterance. If a change of attentional center occurs, or with constituents receiving focus marking, word order can alter to OVA, OAV or AOV. Whenever the O argument (i.e., the



Map 3.1 Lúmúrìk 'the Tima area' in the Nuba Mountains of the Sudan

most patient-like argument in a transitive clause) precedes the A argument, the latter receives ergative marking, which means A is then preceded by a homorganic nasal *N*= (consider Example (3)).[3] Otherwise, neither A nor O are marked for case but determined by word order. Semantic roles such as INSTRUMENTAL, BENEFICIARY, GOAL, and SOURCE are all indexed by a proclitic, as will be discussed in Section 3.2, with special consideration of GOAL and SOURCE markers.

3. Dimmendaal (2009) was the first to describe ergative marking in the language of Tima and to prepare the ground for further research. Since then, several more papers on the Tima ergative system, among them Schneider-Blum & Hellwig (2018) and, on the origin of ergativity, Casaretto et al. (2020) have been published.

3. Topology (and a glance at toponymy)

The first subdomain in the field of locative expressions which we consider is that of topological relations. Tima has basically two kinds, namely locative nouns and adpositions. Combinations of these with a lexical (though sometimes opaque) base give rise to even more spatial expressions.

3.1 Locative prefixes

The three existing locative prefixes *l(V)-*, *y(V)-* and *w(V)-*, "reminiscent of the locative classes in Bantu" (Dimmendaal, 2014, p. 121), replace the singular or plural number prefix, as illustrated in Table 3.2 (based on Alamin et al., 2012, p. 16 and Dimmendaal, 2014, p. 112; for a detailed discussion on locative prefixes see Dimmendaal et al., in preparation).

Table 3.2 Tima locative markers

Loc	Function	English equivalents	Example	Source noun
l(V)-	locative (area)	(at/in)	*lɘ́-bààbɔ̀*	*kɘ̀-bààbɔ̀*
			'at/in the graveyard'	'SG-graveyard'
y(V)-	locative (exact)	at/on	*yà-dìí*	*kì-dìí*
			'at/on the leg'	'SG-leg'
w(V)-	locative (under)	under/in/by	*w-ʌ́cùk*	*k-ʌ́cùk*
			'under the baobab'	'SG-baobab'

Some examples serve to illustrate the use of locative nouns as compared to a non-locative form which is given below the translation line of each example. The roots are bound morphemes.

(1) *kùlʌ́ y-ʌ̀húnèn ŋ̀kíyʌ́ l-ɔ́ɔ̀*
yesterday PL-woman COP LOC-family
'yesterday, the women were at home' (08.04.09, 2_06–05)
cf. *k-ɔ̀ɔ́* 'SG-family'

(2) *l-úmúrík à-mmál ʻḿ-pślá=ná ḿbɛ́ɛ̀h*
LOC-Tima STAT.SG-EMPH:good P-want=ERG1SG very
'Tima (area) is wonderful (and) I love it terribly' (20200205_13)
cf. *kù-múrìk* 'SG-Tima (i.e., a Tima person)'

(3) *y-ànn̰ɔ́ŋ=è díṯʌ̀k ŋ̀=k-ʌ̀húnén=ʻnʌ́ yà-dìí*
PL-rattle=FOC.PL tie:AP ERG=SG-woman=DEM.PROX LOC-leg
'this woman tied *rattles* to the leg' (12.04.09–02–10)
cf. *kì-dìí* 'SG-leg'



Figure 3.2 Stimuli for Examples (3) and (4)

(4) *k-úy k-àmhàhóŋ=ˈlí ó-ɓɔ̀ɔ̀ yà-dàwún*
SG-locust SG-Kamhahung=FOC.SG P-put LOC-arm
'the locust called *Kamhahung* is lying (put) in the hand' (12.04.09–08–09)
cf. *kɨ-dàwún* 'SG-arm'

(5) *ìnìín=ˈé kúllú ì-díyáŋ wɔ̀-rɔ̀kwáy ˈkáhàtùn=í*
1PL.EXCL=FOC.PL all PL-walk:VENT LOC-passage Kahatun=SEL
'all of us (excl.) came by the passage of Kahatun'
(310108_31_AdlaanWayExplaining 022)
cf. *kʊ-rʊkway* 'SG-passage'

There are certain body part terms (see also below in Section 3.2) which serve as a preferred base for locative prefixes in the construction of place names.[4] These are *káàh* 'head', *kíɲɛ̀* 'mouth, *kùdú* 'vagina' and *kúùh* 'bone', though their meaning has been metaphorically extended when derived for the locative, and many compound expressions of which the first component is a locative noun are no longer analyzable from a semantic point of view (see Schneider-Blum, 2011, p. 246f.).

4. For literature on body part terms as the main source for spatial expressions see Levinson 2003 and references therein, e.g., Svorou 1994; Heine 1997.

Toponymy, together with topological and deictic expressions, form the domain of non-angular specifications, and will not be considered in depth here. As our data reveal, place names in Tima are not formed differently from ad hoc compositions of locative expressions. Over the course of time, names may only have lost their full transparency. Consider the toponyms in Table 3.3:

Table 3.3 Tima toponyms

Toponym	Gloss
líŋé ˈkwáɲòk	'lit.: at the mouth of Kwanyuk'; worshipping place of the Gwale between Raawa Hill and the 'White Mountain'
lááh kútˈún	'lit.: on the dark head/top'; the peak of the mountain *Tìntíílìŋ* (see *Map 3.1*)
lúúh kɔ̀ó	'lit.: inside the family'; name for the Tima center (see *Map 3.1*)
wúdú kɔ̀n̪tɔ́l	'lit.: at the foot of Kothol'; place name in the area of *T̪ɨmʌ̀*, north-west of the mountain *Tìntíílìŋ* (see *Map 3.1*)

The noun *kánn̪ɔ̀* 'inside' is also found in the domain of toponymy and designates a formation of hills: *kánn̪ɔ̀ yálɔ̀ŋ* 'lit.: in the mountains' is the name for a group of hills in the Tima area (see Figure 3.3).

Likewise, in two of the cardinal directions, namely *líŋɛ̀ɛ̀* 'east' and *líhì* 'west', further discussed in Section 4.1, we find one of the locative markers, namely *l(V)-*.

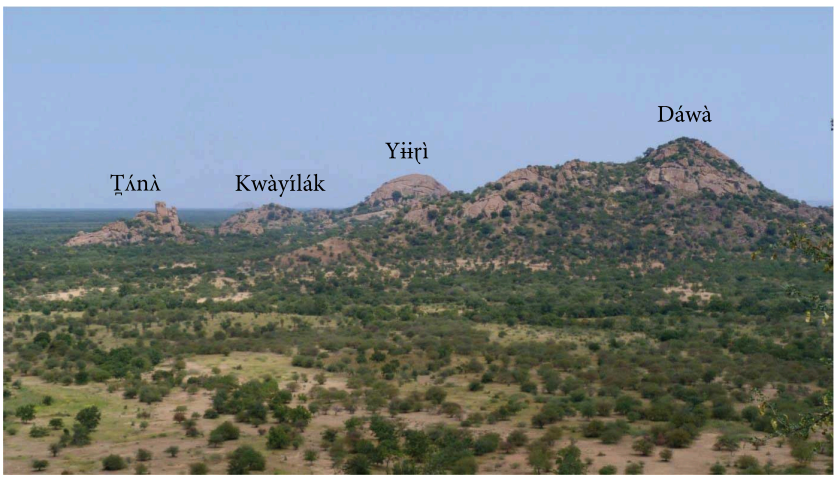


Figure 3.3 Kánn̪ɔ̀ Yálɔ̀ŋ: T̪ʌ́nʌ̀, Kwàyílák, Yɨɨr̪ì, Dáwà

3.2 Prepositions

Dimmendaal (2015, p.116f) characterizes the use of adpositions in African languages as follows:

> Most African languages [...] use either prepositions or postpositions (or sometimes both, as in linguistic areas where verb-initial and verb-final languages border on each other). Such adpositions are commonly derived from body part terms in languages such as Hausa (Chadic), Swahili (Bantu), and Maasai (Nilotic).

For Tima, postpositions are not attested. Prepositions differ from locative noun markers in that they are clitics preceding the noun phrase (rather than prefixes which are part of the noun itself). Among the Tima prepositions, and not further considered here, we find a comitative and an instrumental marker (which are assumed to be historically related), as well as a benefactive preposition (see Dimmendaal & Schneider-Blum, accepted). Rather, for the topic of this paper, goal and source markers are of importance. Thus, we confine our discussion to these two prepositions: *a*=, marking the source, and an underspecified vowel *V*=, marking goal, recipient, and location. An etymological source for the two prepositions cannot be determined, but in combination with body part terms, further spatial expressions are created which are discussed in 3.3.

The source marker a=

Example (6) shows the source marker in its prototypical function, i.e., marking the source in combination with a verb of motion. The clitic is found with the question word *nímɛ̀* 'where' as well as with the place name *kàrtóòm* 'Khartoum'.

(6) *à=nɪ́ˈmɛ́ nà-díyáŋ=á? – à=kàrtóˈőm=á*
source=where PL-walk:VENT=FOC SOURCE=Khartoum=FOC
'where do you (pl) come from? – from Khartoum' (2011_06_30_4_19)

In (7), the proclitic not only occurs after the verb *dɔ́ɔ̀* 'stand up, start' to indicate the starting point of a movement, but also after *tɔ́ɔ̀* 'go through, pass' in order to make clear that the movement went beyond the place being passed through.

(7) *wɔ̀rt̪ʂmáádʂh án-dɔ̀ɔ̀ à=l-úmúrík án-tɔ̀ɔ̀ à=dílíŋ*
SG:man 3PRF-stand.up SOURCE=LOC-Tima 3PRF-pass SOURCE=Dilliny
áyìn kàrtóòm
towards Khartoum
'the man left (lit.: went from) Tima via Dillinj to Khartoum' (15.03.10_07_08)

Further examples are presented to illustrate the range of meaning of the source marker. In (8), the source marker still indicates that a FIGURE (i.e., the 'flour') leaves its GROUND (i.e., the 'grinding stone').

(8) *k-ʌhúnén=nʌ́ y-ámɔ́h='ɛ́ ɔ́-t̪ɔ̀ɔ̀l á=kì-t̪í*
SG-woman=DEM.PROX PL-flour=FOC.PL P-clean SOURCE=SG-grinding.stone
'this woman is brushing the flour from the grinding stone' (12.04.09–06–08)



Figure 3.4 Stimuli for (8), (9), and (10)

In (9), the figure, which would be 'water', is not explicitly mentioned but understood from the context.

(9) *í-mìì=yɛ̀ mɔ́wàk á=tàbɔ́rɛ́ɛ̀, […]*
PL-goat=FOC.PL drink:AP SOURCE=SG.watering.trough
'the goats are drinking (water) from the watering trough, […]' (16.04.09–16–02)

The source marker, as demonstrated with (10), may indicate a material source:

(10) *dɔ́lá=ná à=k-ɔ̀yɔ́hɔ́ ɔ́-kɔ̀yɔ̀*
SG.roof=DEM.PROX SOURCE=SG-reed:FOC P-do
'this roof is made from reeds' (03.03.07–2–144)

Also attested is a partitive notion (cf. examples from Krongo in Reh, 1985, p. 149). The prepositional phrase *áyòlɓá* in (11) translates literally as 'from the feathers'. In former times, Tima soldiers decorated themselves with feathers, which is still practiced when wrestling or dancing (see Figure 3.5). Linguistically, we are dealing here with synecdoche, in which the 'feather' as a part stands for the 'soldier' as the whole.

(11) *dɔ́ɔ́-wáá ɲ́=írbà hílt̪-ík á=y-ɔ̀lɓá í='íhwáá=ná*
stand.up-INS ERG=Irba send-CAUS SOURCE=PL-feather DIR=people=DEM.PROX
'i=pínʌ́=yí
DIR=PRON3SG=SEL
'then Irba sent (one or two) of his soldiers'
(280117_10_Hamid_Clandividing 87)



Figure 3.5 Wrestling decoration

Well attested in the world's languages is the use of a source (or ablative) marker as the "marker of standard noun phrases in comparative constructions" (Heine & Kuteva, 2002, p. 30, with examples from Latin, Bulgarian, Tibetan, Turkish, and Aranda). They come to the conclusion that "this grammaticalization appears to be an instance of a more general process whereby spatial concepts are used as structural templates to express the standard of comparison" (Heine & Kuteva, 2002, p. 31). In Tima, too, the source marker occurs in comparisons, as in (12) and (13).

(12) *k-ǒmbɔ́yɔ́ŋ à-lìl=à=t̪àŋ á=kɔ̀-ɽɔ̀lɛ̀*
SG-wasp.SP STAT.SG-cold=SOURCE=LOC SOURCE=SG-wasp.SP
'the wasp Kumboyong is more harmless (lit.: colder) than the wasp Kerhele'[5]
(08.04.09, 2_03–12)

(13) *kɔ́ɔ̀=lɛ̀ɛ́y ì-cáá l-úmúrìk ŋántùn=í*
walking=LOC1PL.INCL PL-go.INS LOC-Tima present=SEL
à-màl=à=t̪áŋ á=cú=wééŋ ì-cáá tɨ̀ɨ̀rɨ́
STAT.SG-good=SOURCE=LOC SOURCE=SG=DEM.REF PL-go.INS formerly
'our journey to the Tima area went better than the first time' (17.02.08–26)

Unlike *l(V)*-derived nouns which may indicate a goal/location without the presence of a preposition (as in (13); see also Example (1)), nouns which are not derived with the locative demand a preposition, i.e., the goal marker, as discussed next in similar contexts.

5. A fact which one of our team had to learn the hard way during fieldwork.

The goal marker V=

The goal marker, glossed here as DIR (following the glossing choice made for previous publications on Tima), is a homorganic vowel whose quality is determined by the first vowel/glide of the noun it is precliticized to. The marker is used to indicate the goal of verbs of motion (including recipient, but not the beneficiary), the location with stative verbs/copulae and to mark modifying nouns in a possessive relationship (in which context Dimmendaal 2014, p. 114 uses the term "genitive linker" with regard to his Example (36)). Last but not least, the goal marker may also have a partitive function (for an overview see Table 3.4).

When explaining the route from a place in the Tima center, *lúúh kɔ̀ó*, to his home (as the goal), Adlaan says in his description:

(14) *àààh, ì-cí ɔ̀=ˈdóláŋ*
aaah PL-go DIR=Dulang
'aaah, we go to Dulang (i.e., a small hill)'
(310108_31_AdlaanWayExplaining 036)

Table 3.4 Meanings of the goal marker

Marker	Semantic role	Example	More examples
V=	goal	*àyí ɔ́=kàrtóɔ̀m* go DIR=Khartoum 'go to Khartoum'	(14), (15), (16)
	location	*ŋ̀kɔ́ ɔ̀=kwálɔ́kàyì* COP DIR=trap:PRES 'it is in the trap'	(17)
	possession	*kábɔ́l ɔ́=↓kɔ́rkɔ́yɔ̀* leaf DIR=Ind.obl. 'leaf of Indigofera oblongifolia'	(18)
	partitive	*àŋ-kɨ́dɪ́t̪áŋ ì=ìhán* 3P:PRF2-fall:LOC DIR=eggs 'it/they laid eggs'	(19)

The goal may also express the purpose of an action (cf. the grammaticalization path in Heine & Kuteva, 2002, p. 247 Purpose < Infinitive). The Tima construction with the preposition precliticized to the verbal noun *kɔ̀hààlɔ́l* 'grazing' is comparable to infinitival constructions in German with 'um zu' or in English '(in order) to'.

(15) *c-íbɑ́=ˈwééŋ ɨ́=kɨ̀-ŋɑ̀wúŋ ìhìnɑ́ yàyà ó=kòhààlɨ́l*
SG-child=DEM.REF DIR=SG-hyena PRON3PL go.repeatedly DIR=grazing
'that child of the hyena, they (i.e., hyena and lion) go to graze (the cows)'
(010207_Jenge_LionHyena 017)

Recipients in Tima are marked differently from beneficiaries. While the latter receive the applicative marker *II=* (not further considered in this contribution, but see (19)), the former are flagged by the goal marker. The oblique argument is cross-referenced on the verb by a pronominal locative clitic (here: *=yáŋ*). Proper names are treated like any other noun in this respect:

(16) *í-káh-í=yáŋ=nìn y-àn hòwán ù=t̪ùt̪úŋ*
PL-give-TR=LOC=1PL.EXCL PL-thing dry DIR=Thuthung
'we gave money to Thuthung' (2012_02_20, 1_16)

A locative meaning, a possessive relationship and a partitive notion of the goal marker are illustrated in the following Examples (17)–(19).

(17) *kù-ˈdùléh=lí túh-ùk ù=kù-dùwɑ̀*
SG-neck.shaped.calabash=FOC.SG hang-CAUS DIR=SG-pole
'the neck-shaped calabash is hanging on the pole' (16.04.09–16–09)

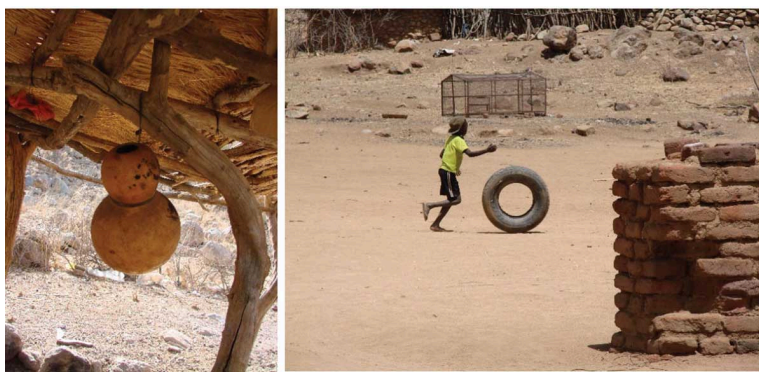


Figure 3.6 Stimuli for (17) and (18)

(18) *kɨ̀-címbɑ́rí=lí kɔ́lɔ́ɔ̀l kì-dìí ó=t̪ò-ròmbîl*
SG-child=FOC.SG steer SG-leg DIR=SG-car
'the child is steering the wheel (lit.: foot/leg) of the car' (13.04.09–02–09)

(19) *kúŋ ˈkwáŋ máá-dɨ̀ŋɑ̀ɑ̀ŋ=íí=nìn, ɨ́=í-hàŋkɔ̀réŋ=ɛ́ɛ́*
SG:thing 2SG:OPT-give:VENT=APP=1PL.EXCL DIR=PL-bed=ADD
'and you may bring anything for us (excl.), e.g., beds'
(01.10.07–09 Thambosha_TT: 19)

3.3 Further spatial expressions

As indicated above and sketched in the contribution on 'Finding your way in Tima' by Alamin et al. (2012, p. 18), body parts serve to a considerable extent as a source for spatial expressions in this language. However, body part terms can only be used as spatial relators when combined with one of the two prepositional clitics described above or when prefixed by a locative marker and sometimes only when both the locative marker and the clitic is present. Thus, *céèn* 'face', *kíŋè* 'mouth', *káàh* 'head', *kúùh* 'bone', *kùdú* 'vagina' and *kìdîi* 'back' all give rise to relational concepts. They are the ones which form more abstract notions (see Table 3.5 for a number of relational expressions). Further nouns also serve as source terms, namely, *kìhí* 'place', *kɔ́ɔ̀* 'walking' and *kántə̀* 'inside'. Two such locational nouns (*yántə(V̀)* 'inside'; *yúùh* 'inside of') are combined to yield the notion of 'in the midst of', i.e., *yántì yúùh* (cf. German 'mitten unter'). Last but not least, Tima has several adverbials occurring in topological expressions, some of which seem to be derived, though their source remains opaque.[6] These are *mètə́n* 'close, near', *ɲ́cér* 'aside', *ǹtàlí* 'in front' *tòʔàŋ* 'high, up' and the bound roots *-tìín* 'inside' and *-twááɽ↓í* 'outside'.

The following examples illustrate the range of expressions which result from the various combinatorial possibilities. Example (20) is a verbless utterance, displaying the source marker and two of the locative markers combined.

(20) *ká=á=l-úùh=ʌ́=ʌ̀ŋ,* *à=yéŋè=wá*
NEG=SOURCE=LOC-bone=FOC=NEG SOURCE=LOC:mouth=FOC
'not from inside, from the mouth (i.e., lip service)' (08.04.09, 2_06–23)

Example (21) contains not only the source marker *a=* (with the phrases *ákʌ́cúk* and *áwùdú kùrtú*) and the goal marker *V=* (with *ɬ́làbà*), but is also a good example of the use of the ventive marker *-(V)ŋ* (on both verbs *àŋkídìkíŋ* and *àntɔ́ɔ̀ŋ*). The ventive marker plays a certain role with regard to spatial orientation – as will be elaborated in the section on frames of reference – and is the only such marker on the verb. It specifies the direction of a movement towards the deictic center, i.e., the speaker. Marking verbs for ventive in most cases is optional (as in (21)), but by relating the movement to the speaker, the utterance gains credibility. Thus, ventive marking enters the field of evidentiality.

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6. Derived adverbials in Tima are based on nouns preceded by the instrumental marker *N=*. Consider e.g., *céèn* 'face' and the derived adverb *ɲ̀céèn* 'immediately'. Generally, there is no noun with an initial nasal in its citation form. Thus, e.g., *ɲ́cér* 'aside' and *ǹtàlí* 'in front' are presumably derived adverbials with an unknown source.

Table 3.5 Relational expressions

Source	Engl. gloss	Relational expression	English gloss
cɛ́ɛ̀n	face	*álíyɛ́ɛ̀n*	in front of
káàh	head	*láàh*	on, on top of
kánn̰ɔ̀	inside	*yánn̰(V̀)*	inside, on, under, through
kìdîì	back	*ál↓ éédîì*	behind
kíŋɛ̀	mouth	*líŋɛ̀*	at/on
kìhí	place	*álíhì* *náhì/ǹn̰áhì*	under, underneath, lower down; underneath
kɔ́ɔ̀	walking	*àlàkɔ́ɔ̀*	behind
kùdú	vagina	*wùdú*	at the foot of, beside
kúùh	bone	*yúùh* *lúùh*	inside of inside (area)
mɛ̀n̰tɛ́n	close, near	*mɛ̀n̰tɛ́n* + DIR=*X*	next to X
ǹcér	aside	*ǹcér* + SOURCE=*X*	at the side of, beside
ǹn̰tàlí	in front	*áyìnn̰tálí(ná)* + DIR=*X*	in front of
-n̰tìín	inside	*ínn̰tìín* *ánn̰tìín*	inside (directional) from inside
tòʔàŋ	high, up, on	*òtòʔàŋ* *átòʔàŋ*	upwards above, over, upper
-twááɾ'í	outside	*òtwáá'ɾí* *átwáá'ɾí*	outside (directional) from outside

(21) *k-ádìŋká'díŋ àŋ-kídìk-íŋ á=k-ʌ́cúk àn-tɔ́ɔ́ŋ*
SG-ball 3PRF-fall:CAUS-VENT SOURCE=SG-baobab 3PRF-pass:VENT
à=w-ùdú kù-rtú àŋ-kídík=á=n̰táŋ ɔ́=làbà
SOURCE=LOC-vagina SG-house 3PRF-fall:CAUS=SOURCE=LOC DIR=LOC:well
'the ball rolled from the baobab past the house into the well (speaker is at the well)' (15.03.10_06_01)

In Example (22), taken from some turn-by-turn directions, a preposition precedes a locative noun (see also (7) above).

(22) *à-kàn̰àm à=là-kwán kúlúl à-díík …*
2SG-go.out SOURCE=LOC-opening Kulul 2SG-walk
'you leave the Kulul opening and walk …'
(310108_31_AdlaanWayExplaining 005)

Examples (23) and (24) illustrate the use of the bound root *-n̪ìín* 'inside', in (23) precliticized by the source marker, in (24) by the goal marker. Consider in (23) again the use of the ventive marker, indicating that the speaker is outside the house.

(23) *kì-bèéy=nà* *kán̪tám-óŋ* *ʻá=n̪íín=ʻá́* *àn-dóól*
SG-person=DEM.PROX go.out-VENT SOURCE=inside=FOC 3PRF-stand:MV
wù-dú *k-áyírà*
LOC-vagina SG-gate
'this person having left from inside is standing next to the gate'
(16.04.09–16–10)



Figure 3.7 Stimuli for (23) and (26)

(24) *íyìk=n̪áŋ* *í=n̪ìín*
enter:CAUS=LOC DIR=inside
'put it inside' (07.04.09_15–27)

The relational *ɲcér* 'aside' triggers the source marker. Note also that the oblique argument, i.e., *án̪ɔ̀ndɔ̀*, is cross-referenced on the relational expression by the locative pronominal *=n̪áŋ*.

(25) *ìbàrímbárí ŋ̀kíyá ǹ-dálá ɲcér=á=n̪áŋ* *á=n̪-ɔ̀ndɔ̀*
children COP P-play aside=SOURCE=LOC SOURCE=SG-road
'there are children playing at the roadside' (20190108_HamidPearFilm 012)

By way of contrast, the relational *mèn̪én* 'close, near' demands the directional marker if the ground is to be specified.

(26) *ìmìní* *í-dúk=é* *móók* *íídì* *mèn̪èn=yáŋ* *ù=kù-dùŋkùdúŋ*
PL:small PL-calf=FOC.PL drink PL:water close=LOC DIR=SG-granary
'the calves are drinking water beside the granary' (12.04.09–03–01)

In (27), source as well as goal are expressed.

(27) *ò-kʊ́ˈné=t̪áŋ=íí kɔ̀t̪àyíl y-ʌ́cúk á=nʌ́hí ì=c-ɔ̀ɔ̀rɔ́*
P-help=LOC=APP collecting PL-baobab SOURCE=down DIR=SG-basket
'[…] and helped him picking up/collecting the baobab fruits from the ground into the basket' (20190108_HamidPearFilm 014)

With these illustrative examples we leave the domain of non-angular relations and move to that of angular relations.

4. Frames of reference

In this section, we analyze the Tima data in terms of the frames of reference (building on Levinson, 2003) introduced in the introduction. In three subsections we consider the absolute (environment-centered), the intrinsic (object-centered) and the relative (viewer-centered) frames of reference.

4.1 Absolute frame of reference

Characteristic for the absolute frame of reference is that the anchor differs from the ground and does not participate in the speech situation (see Table 3.1 in the introduction). In Tima, two spatial concepts fall under the absolute frame of reference (as one of the two ternary frames). This is on the one hand cardinal directions, which the Tima refer to with the idiomatic expression 'the four roads' (see Example (28)), and on the other hand landmarks/regions in the area.

(28) *ì-yák-ɔ̀k=à=t̪áŋ=nɛ̀ɛ̀y ìndìʔíl á=y-ɔ̀ndɔ́ɔ́nɔ́*
PL-gather-CAUS=SOURCE=LOC=1PL.INCL all SOURCE=PL-road:DEM.PROX
ɲ=ìhálɘ́m=í
INS=four=SEL
'so we all come together from the four roads (i.e., from all directions)'
(240108_35_XX_Dance 006)

As for these four roads, the cardinal directions, we find *dɔ̀kwààlí* 'north', *líŋɛ̀ɛ̀* 'east', *dɔ̀kɔ̀mál* 'south', and *líhì* 'west'. With more or less semantic transparency, they are compositional terms. For instance, *líŋɛ̀ɛ̀* 'east' is etymologically related to *kíŋɛ̀* 'mouth', and *líhì* 'west' is related to *kìhí* 'place' (see Table 3.5 in the previous section). Note the locative marker *l(V)-* with both of them. The terms for 'north' and 'south' both contain the manner marker *d(V)-*. While the base of *dɔ̀kɔ̀mál* contains the root *-mal* 'good', the base of *dɔ̀kwààlí* is opaque.[7] As is not uncom-

7. Cf. also Alamin et al. (2012, p. 30) on *tai* 'right, south' in Keyo, a Kalenjin language of Southern Nilotic; Mietzner (2012, p. 168), in turn, mentions "*kùr kús* 'the right place' for 'South'" in

mon cross-linguistically (see Dimmendaal & Rottland, 1996), these four terms are polysemous (see Table 3.6), that is, they also play a role in other frames of reference, as we will show later.

Table 3.6 Cardinal directions

Toponym	Gloss
dòkwààlí	'north, left'
líŋɛ̀ɛ̀	'east, up'
dòkòmál	'south, right'
líhì	'west, down'

Some examples from our text collection illustrate these terms when used for cardinal directions. Usually, the terms are chosen in that sense when relating hills to each other, as is the case in (29).

(29) *kwálʂŋ=yáà kɔ̀-tɛ̀ʔɛ́ŋ dòkwààlì ɔ̀=kàmhɔ́rɔ́=yí híndíng*
SG:mountain=DEM.DIST SG-small north DIR=Kamhoro=SEL Hinding
dàŋ=ʌ̀ k-ʌ́hù
like=FOC SG-name
'that small hill to the north of Kamhoro is Hindiŋ' (23.10.07_22)

In (30), we can observe the source marker (see Section 3.2) precliticized to *líŋɛ̀ɛ̀* 'east'. The 'east' customarily also stands for the capital Khartoum, which in fact is north-east of the Nuba Mountains.

(30) *ìhwáá=nà dí'yáŋ=t̪ɛ́ɛ́y kùhùnàŋ à=lìŋɛ́ɛ̀=ná*
people=DEM.PROX walk:VENT=LOC1PL.INCL now SOURCE=east=DEM.PROX
'the people (who) came to us from the east (i.e., from the city)'
(15_AhmedKurmaadi 046)

In (31), we find both, *líhì* 'west' as a cardinal direction, and *t̪àwàŋ*, i.e., a place in the area of the neighboring ethnic group of the Tabaq, as points of orientation.

(31) *dámàk ì-cí ʊ́-kòdʊ́ ɲ=ìhwáá='ná líhí ì-hílt̪-ík ɔ̀=t̪àwàŋ*
then P-go P-take ERG=people=DEM.PROX west P-send-CAUS DIR=Thawang
'[…] then the people in the west go and take it and send it to Thawang (a place even further to the west belonging to the Tabaq area)' (13_AliTia_4 057)

her paper on spatial relations in Nilotic. Thus, the connection between the value-expressing notion of 'right, good' and the cardinal direction 'south' is not unique to Tima; nevertheless, we can only speculate about the reason for this association.

The 'west' in Tima traditions plays a special role in that all the words are said to spread from the holy place *Áwáng* (see map) to the west, which is what Ali Tia in (31) is referring to. Also, a certain ceremony which in the old days was performed to stop epidemics included throwing prepared sticks into a place in the west of the Tima area, called Hurul. That is, in former times all the evil was sent to the west.

In general, people prefer to use well-known landmarks for orientation in the Tima area. In his turn-by-turn directions, referred to earlier in this paper (see Examples (5), (14), and (22)), Adlaan uses 17 different place names and other landmarks when explaining the best way to his home area. Cardinal directions, on the other hand, do not occur in his description. Characteristic for the Tima area is a big river which divides Tima into a bigger northern and a comparably smaller southern part, with the Tima center, *lúúh kɔ̀ɔ́*, being north of the river (see Map 3.1). When locating the big fig-mulberry, *kùdú kúúdúh*, which is an ancient meeting place (see Figure 3.8), the speaker did not use the relevant cardinal direction, for instance, but said it is 'on the field side' of the river (comparable to German 'stadtauswärts' used a lot by Cologne residents when giving directions). If a FIGURE were to be located on the northern side, the appropriate term would translate as 'the center side' (comparable to German 'stadteinwärts').

(32) *kù-dú kúúdúh á=l-ááh ś=làwɔ́=wá ń-dɔ́wà*
SG-vagina SG:fig.SP SOURCE=LOC-head DIR=river=FOC P-stand:PLUR
'the fig-mulberry is on the field side of the river' (20210403; p.c.)



Figure 3.8 Kùdú kúúdúh

Next to hills (as in (31)) and passages (as in (5)), ancient baobab trees (*yʌ́cùk*; sg. *kʌ́cùk* 'baobab') are also used as points of reference, each having its own name, e.g., *Kʌ́cúk ˩Báátɔ̀, Kʌ́cúk Hìndìŋ, Kʌ́cúk Kàmbʌ́ʌ́lì, Kʌ́cúk Kʌ̀yìnt̪éè, Kʌ́cúk Kàlílìŋ, Kʌ́cúk Kàpà, Kʌ́cúk Kɔ́pɔ̀rárɔ̀ɔ́k, Kʌ́cúk ˩Túntúŋ* to name but a few. They have spe-

cial characteristics, such as numerous nests of the bateleur (*Kʌ́cúk Kʌ̀mbʌ́ʌ́lì* lit.: 'bateleur baobab'), or round and sweet fruits (*Kʌ́cúk ˬ Túntúŋ*, in the center of the Tima area), or, as is the case for *Kʌ́cúk Kàpà*, a folk tale is associated with it (see Figure 3.9 for photos of these three trees).



Figure 3.9 Kʌ́cúk Kʌ̀mbʌ́ʌ́lì, Kʌ́cúk Kàpà, and Kʌ́cúk ˬ Túntúŋ

All of these baobabs are so individuated, such eye-catchers, that the Tima immediately recognize whether a certain specimen is from their area or not.[8]

4.2 Intrinsic frame of reference

The second frame of reference in which the ANCHOR is not a speech act participant is the intrinsic frame of reference. Instead, the ANCHOR is at the same time (part of) the GROUND and the perspective of the speaker is not considered.

As mentioned in the previous section, the terms *dʊ̀kwààlí* and *dʊ̀kʊ̀mál* are ambiguous between the absolute and intrinsic readings – 'north' and 'left' for the former, and 'south' and 'right' for the latter (see Table 3.6). Generally, Tima people know quite well which reading is at issue. With mountains, countries, big rivers, etc., the cardinal direction meaning is the default reading; with movable GROUNDS like 'people', 'cars', and 'things', the notions of 'left' and 'right' are understood (and calculated based on the orientation of the object). Thus, the same term can occur in different frames of reference. As we will illustrate, *dʊ̀kwààlí* and *dʊ̀kʊ̀mál* are attested in the intrinsic frame of reference, discussed now, as well as in the relative frame of reference, discussed later.

8. Thus, one of the present authors compiled a booklet with photos of plants growing in the area. Her aim was to present the Tima name as well as the botanical name and for illustrations she used photos of plants taken in the Nuba Mountains. When one of the Tima people looked at the booklet and came to the photo of a certain baobab tree, he lingered for a moment before objecting: "This baobab is not growing in the Tima area."

A side-effect of doing certain tasks (mainly Task 4 on given/new information in locative expressions) from the manual on information structure compiled by Skopeteas et al. (2006) was that certain patterns with regard to spatial expressions appeared that we had not recognized before. This is mainly true for examples which exhibit the intrinsic or object-centered frame of reference (as one of the two binary frames). We cross-checked the results by letting our consultant describe photos from the area and getting him to respond to other stimuli, asking about the relation between two depicted items. The hypothesis that, whenever a GROUND has a 'face', FIGURE and GROUND are related to each other without the perspective of the speaker interfering, was thus confirmed. That means in practice that for the Tima people in the photo used as stimulus for (33) (see Figure 3.10), the 'woman' with the pot on her head (FIGURE) is to the left of 'Trudel' (as ANCHOR and GROUND), as is 'Hamid' (FIGURE) in relation to 'Dimmendaal' (as ANCHOR and GROUND) in the photo used as stimulus for (34) (see Figure 3.10). Since 'Trudel' and 'Dimmendaal' have an intrinsic/inherent front side, they also have intrinsic left and right sides (and an intrinsic 'back', for that matter). The 'woman' is standing on 'Trudel's' left side, as is 'Hamid' with regard to the left side of 'Dimmendaal'.



Figure 3.10 Stimuli for (33) and (34)

(33) *k-ʌ̀húnén=nʌ̌ dòkwààlí=ná ú=tùrúúdùl=í=yʌ́ ń-dówà*
SG-woman=DEM.PROX left=DEM.PROX DIR=Trudel=SEL=FOC P-stand:PLUR
'this woman is standing on Trudel's left'[9] (20210322; p.c.)

(34) *hàámít dòkwààlí=ná ś=dìmmɛ̀ndáál=í=yá ń-dówà*
Hamid left=DEM.PROX DIR=Dimmendaal=SEL=FOC P-stand:PLUR
'Hamid is standing on Dimmendaal's left' (20210322; p.c.)

9. The chosen translation reflects the Tima situation best, though in the context of describing a picture it would probably be more natural to say 'this woman is standing to the right of Trudel'.

Animals as well as humans can serve as both ANCHOR and GROUND as they have inherent fronts, backs and sides. Both the photos in Figure 3.11 serve as stimuli for sentence (35). And, as illustrated with Example (36) and (37) (see Figure 3.12), the GROUND can also be a vehicle with an inherent front side.

(35) *ṯáwó dòkòmál=ná ó=kò-hòmbílí=í=yá ń-dǒwà*
Thawu right=DEM.PROX DIR=SG-donkey=SEL=FOC P-stand:PLUR
'Thawu is standing to the right of the donkey' (20210322; p.c.)



Figure 3.11 Stimuli for (35)



Figure 3.12 Stimuli for (36) and (37)

(36) *kì-béέy=ná ś-táàn pàmpàŋ=ná dòkòmál=ná*
SG-person=DEM.PROX P-beat SG.drum=DEM.PROX right=DEM.PROX
í=y-ájàlà=yí=yá ń-dǒwà
DIR=LOC-SG.bicycle=SEL=FOC P-stand:PLUR
'the person beating the drum is standing to the right of his bicycle'
(20210322; p.c.)

(37) *ìhwáá=ná ó-dówà ŋ̀=ájàlà=ná dòkwàálí=ná*
people=DEM.PROX P-stand:PLUR INS=bicycle=DEM.PROX left=DEM.PROX
ó=tòròmbíl=í=yá ń-dówà
DIR=LOC-SG.car=SEL=FOC P-stand:PLUR
'these people standing with a bicycle are standing to the left of the car'
(20210322; p.c.)

It plays no role whether the FIGURE (here the barrel) has an inherent front side or not, as is illustrated with (38) and (39) (triggered with the photos in Figure 3.13). The use of the relational terms for 'left' and 'right' solely depends on the GROUND, i.e., the 'child' here.

(38) *bàrìmííl dòkòmàl ɨ́=kɨ̀-címbárí=yá ń-dówà*
SG.barrel right DIR=SG-child=FOC P-stand:PLUR
'the barrel is (standing) to the right of the child' (20210403; p.c.)



Figure 3.13 Stimuli for (38) and (39)

(39) *bàrìmííl dòkwàálí ɨ́=kɨ̀-címbárí=yá ń-dówà*
SG.barrel left DIR=SG-child=FOC P-stand:PLUR
'the barrel is (standing) to the left of the child' (20210403; p.c.)

What has been said with regard to 'left' and 'right' is also applicable for 'in front of' and 'behind, at the back of'. The reference point is at the same time ANCHOR and GROUND (here 'car', 'tractor' and 'children' in Examples (40), (41) and (42)).

(40) *ìhwáá=ná álákɔ́ɔ́nɔ̌ ó=t̪ò-ròmbíl=í=yá ń-dówà*
people=DEM.PROX behind:DEM.PROX DIR=SG-car=SEL=FOC P-stand:PLUR
'the people are standing behind/in the back of the car' (20210322; p.c.)



Figure 3.14 Stimuli for (40), (41), and (42)

(41) *kò-hòmbìlí=nă áyínálí=nă ɔ́=t̪àráktàr=í=yá ń-dîîk*
SG-donkey=DEM.PROX in.front=DEM.PROX DIR=SG.tractor=SEL=FOC P-walk
'the donkey is walking in front of the tractor' (20210322; p.c.)

(42) *máyíká áyínálí í=íbʌ̀rímbʌ́rí=ná=wʌ́ ó-hòndɔ̀nɔ́*
Meike in.front DIR=children=DEM.PROX=FOC P-sit.down
'Meike is crouching (lit.: sat down) in front of the children' (20210322; p.c.)

More examples triggered with staged photos of toys complemented the testing and confirmed our hypothesis that the intrinsic frame of reference is preferred. For instance, both stimuli presented in Figure 3.15 triggered the translational equivalent of 'the person is standing in front of the car' (43). Whether the FIGURE is facing the GROUND or not does not play a role. The front of the GROUND is the decisive factor for the spatial relation.



Figure 3.15 Stimuli for (43)

(43) *kì-béɛ́y=ná áyínálí ɔ́=l-àràbíyà=wá ń-dɔ́wà*
SG-person=DEM.PROX in.front DIR=LOC-SG.car=FOC P-stand:PLUR
'the person is standing in front of the car' (20210322; p.c.)

With *áyínálí* in Example (43), we find no morphological clue that (the view of) the speaker is considered. Also, even if we look at the scene from a different angle, the sentence would not change (cf. (42) above).

We will now look at those examples where a morphological device indicates that the speaker's viewpoint is part of the speech act. That is, Tima employs the morpheme *t̪* in certain locative expressions in order to indicate that the speaker is present (with *t̪* being a further locative marker otherwise not considered in this contribution; see Alamin et al., 2012 and Schneider-Blum, 2013b for more information). Let us consider the responses to the first picture in Figure 3.15 in more depth, and compare (43), with the 'man' being the FIGURE and the 'car' the GROUND, with (44), where the 'car' represents the FIGURE and the 'man' the GROUND.

(44) *àràbíyá=ná áyìnt̪álí í=kì-béɛ́y=ná=wá ń-dɔ́wà*
SG.car=DEM.PROX in.front:speaker DIR=SG-person=SEL=FOC P-stand:PLUR
'the car is standing in front of the person' (20210322; p.c.)

We concentrate on the relator, *áyínàlì* vs. *àyínt̪álí*. In contrast to *áyínàlì*, occurring in (43), *àyínt̪álí* in (44) signals not only that the 'man' is 'in front of' the car (a notion shared with *áyínàlì*), but also that the 'car' as FIGURE is closer to the speaker than the GROUND is. Responsible for this additional notion is *t̪*. In other words, in this scene, the FIGURE is between the speaker and the GROUND. However, we argue that this does not turn the frame of reference from intrinsic to relative. The inclusion of the speaker into the speech act adds a further notion, namely that the speaker is near the FIGURE, but the semantic core of the relation remains untouched. Even if the speaker changes position, the 'car' remains 'in front of' the 'man', only we find then *áyínàlì* instead of *àyínt̪álí* (as in (42)). The speaker in utterances like (44) is, though considered, not the ANCHOR.

Tima has, next to *áyínàlì* vs. *àyínt̪álí*, other relational expressions which are combined with *t̪* as the circumstances require. There is, for instance, the source marker *a=* and its counterpart *ant̪ə*, the latter implying that the speaker is at the source, or the direction markers *V=* and *nt̪V=*, the latter implying that the speaker is at the goal. Consider also *àlàkɔ́ɔ̀* 'behind (neutral information with regard to the position of the speaker)' vs. *án↓t̪ákɔ́ɔ̀* 'behind (near to speaker)' (see Alamin et al., 2012 for more examples). The marker *t̪* is not attested with the expressions for 'left', 'right' or *ál↓éédîì* 'in the back of, behind'.

4.3 Relative frame of reference

By contrast to the intrinsic frame of reference, in the relative frame the speaker's position and perspective is relevant for the chosen construction. That is, the ANCHOR is not the GROUND, but a speech-act participant. The situation in Tima is rather complex. Let us start by looking at the photo of a small mountain group in Tima (Figure 3.16). The consultant is not familiar with this part of the region and is thus not sure about the cardinal directions (and explained so). He hence uses the relevant term *dòkwààlí* with its second meaning 'left'. The situation seems similar to the one described for the examples in the previous section, but there is a crucial difference: The mountains do not have an intrinsic front side. Their 'front' is determined by the position of the speaker, i.e., the description is speaker-oriented. If the speaker changes his position and thus his viewpoint (e.g., by going to some other side of the mountain), the relation between the mountains would change and the proposition of Example (45) would be false (cf. Danziger, 2010, p. 168 on the importance of determining the ANCHOR; see also Table 3 on Rotation Sensitivities in Danziger 2010, p. 175). Thus, we have to analyze the situation as a relative one, with the speaker being the ANCHOR. As Levinson (2003, p. 84) states for a comparable scene: "We assimilate the tree [i.e., our mountain] to the 'canonical encounter' where speakers face each other, hence the front of the tree is towards us […]." In this sense, language use in Tima is similar to English, in that 'in front of' Handiyaang means 'between the mountain and the speaker'. But whereas English speakers (or Germans for that matter) "fail to make the rotation of 'left' and 'right'" (Levinson, 2003, p. 84), the Tima speakers do so and 'left' and 'right' are thus oriented towards the mountain's assigned front side.[10] Also a 'tree/bush' (see (46)) as well as a 'boulder', a 'pyramid', a 'well' (see (47)), and a 'fence' get their front side assigned to them in terms of the speaker's viewpoint, while a 'house (with a door)', a 'sofa' and 'chair' have intrinsic front sides.[11]

(45) *hàndíyàáŋ dòkwààlí=ná ɔ́=kàpílí=yá*
Handiyaang north=DEM.PROX DIR=Kapili=FOC
'Handiyaang is to the left of Kapili' (20210322)

10. It is also not quite correct to generalize this speech behavior over all English and German speakers. We know a German radiologist who always uses 'right' and 'left' wrongly [sic!] when describing the positions of people relative to each other in photos. His profession makes him do a 180° rotation for both axes, the front/back axis and the left/right axis.

11. These are all items which occur in Task 4 of Skopeteas et al. (2006). This task was not designed to find out about the difference between intrinsic and relative frames of reference. That means in particular, that all the people who served as figure faced the viewer. Thus, additional material, using similar grounds, but figures who/which are not facing the viewer, contributed to the current analysis.

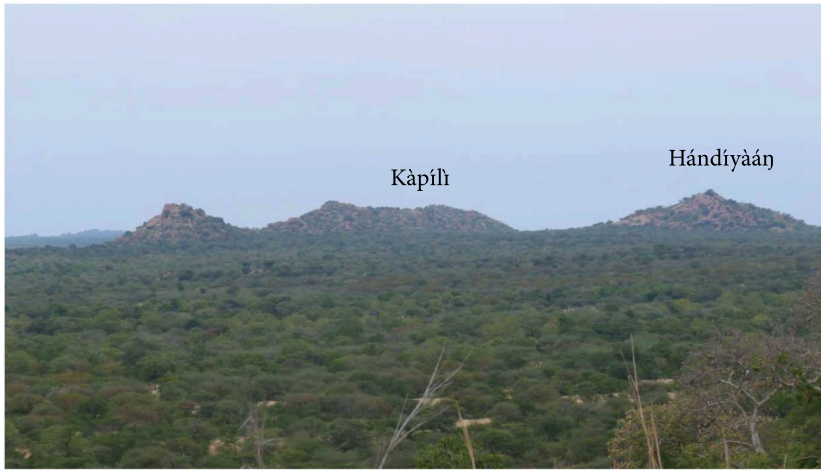


Figure 3.16 Kàpílì and Hándíyàáŋ

A simple test proves whether a certain item has an intrinsic front side or not. Next to *áyínàlì/àyínn̪àlí* 'in front of', Tima has the expressions *álíyéèn/ánn̪tíyéèn*, also designating 'in front of'. They are based on the body term *céèn* 'face' (see Table 3.5). The terms *álíyéèn/ánn̪tíyéèn* can only be used with a GROUND that has an inherent front side.[12] Since a barrel does not have a front, and neither does a mountain, cows cannot graze **álíyéèn/ánn̪tíyéèn* of the mountain or a boy cannot stand **álíyéèn/ánn̪tíyéèn* of a barrel.

Already in (21) and (23), we came across the ventive verbal derivation marker, indicating that an action is performed towards the direction of the speaker. This may be on the horizontal axis as well as the vertical axis, i.e., something can move closer from far away (see (23)), from above down (as in (21)) or from the bottom to eye height (see Alamin et al., 2012, p. 22). The following Example (46), elicited with the help of the picture series of Task 4 of Skopeteas et al. (2006), not only displays the prepositional marking that flags the speaker's perspective in the speech act (see previous section), but the verbs are also derived with the ventive. The first one *àndíyáŋ* 'it has come' tells us that a new participant enters the scene, i.e.,

12. Note that the usage of *álíyéèn/ánn̪tíyéèn* 'in front of' does not imply that FIGURE and GROUND have to be face to face to one another. For example, in (43), we could replace *áyínàlì* by *álíyéèn* independent of the situations as displayed with the photos in Figure 15. By way of contrast, *ál↓ éédîì* 'behind' seems to be further grammaticalized, since it can be used with items that do not have an inherent back side, as Examples (46) and (47) show.

comes closer. The second verb, *áŋkɨ̀dʌ̀wùlúŋ*, 'it turned around', lets us know that the 'horse' comes even nearer to the position of the speaker.[13]



Figure 3.17 Stimulus for (46)

(46) *[…] kə̀-mə̀rn̪áà àn-díyáŋ àn-dóól áléé'díí cì-bí='wééŋ;*
SG-horse 3PRF-walk:VENT 3PRF-stand:MV behind SG-tree=DEM.REF
áŋ-kɨ̀dʌ̀wùl-úŋ àn-díyáŋ dóól àyínn̪àlí cì-bí
3PRF-bend:MV-VENT 3PRF-walk:VENT stand:MV in.front.speaker SG-tree
'[there was a lion in front of the bush] a horse came and positioned itself behind that bush; it turned around and came to stand in front of the bush'
(20170131_55)

Also Example (47) contains the verb *kɨ̀dʌ̀wùl* 'bend:MV', but here the verb is not derived with the ventive marker. Not surprisingly, this bears the notion that the movement is not towards the speaker.

(47) *[…] àn-dɔ́ɔ̀ màdʌ́k áŋ-kɨ̀dʌ̀wùl-áá kə́-bá àn-dóól áléé'díí*
3PRF-stand.up again 3PRF-bend:MV-INS SG-well 3PRF-stand:MV behind
kə̀-bá
SG-well
'[A girl was first in front of a fence, went from there to the front side of a well and] again she got up and turned around the well to stand behind the well'
(20170119_45)

Thus, as was the case with the marker *n̪*, the ventive marker also relates the speech act to the position of the speaker, but unlike *n̪*, ventive marking here has an influence on the spatial relation itself since it is correlated to the position of the speaker as ANCHOR. If, for instance, the viewer/speaker were watching the scene from the

13. An ongoing grammaticalization of the forms around the verbal root *di-* glossed as 'walk' leads to a bleaching process of the semantic content, comparable to English 'go to do sth./come to do sth.'.

opposite side of the bush in the photos of Figure 3.17, ventive marking with the verbs of the second clause (i.e., *áŋkɨ̀dʌ̀wùlúŋ*) would be infelicitous.

The question may arise whether there is a change regarding frame of reference if both figure and ground are faceless, e.g., when two bowls are located relative to each other. However, this is not the case, as our tests revealed.



Figure 3.18 'bowls 1', 'bowls 2', 'bowls 3', and 'bowls 4'

This means, in detail, that in stimulus 'BOWLS 1', the small bowl is to the 'right' (*dʊ̀kʊ̀mál*) of the big one; in 'BOWLS 2', the big one is 'behind' (*àlàkɔ́ɔ̀*) the small one; in 'BOWLS 3', the small one is 'behind' (*àlàkɔ́ɔ̀*) the big one, and, finally, in 'BOWLS 4', the small one is to the 'left' (*dʊ̀kwààlí* of the big one. Similar responses were triggered with 'bottles' and 'balls'.

5. Conclusion and outlook

For this contribution we chose two subdomains of the domain of spatial language to explore in Tima. We looked at topology (with some reference to toponomy) and the three frames of reference, absolute, intrinsic, and relative, for the horizontal dimension. All these devices and patterns can be described on their own, but more interesting is to look at the interplay between them, as we tried to do.

Though Tima has to a large extent lost its noun class system, there are still locative markers to be found which replace a non-locative number-marking prefix for suitable nouns in order to designate the location. These locative nouns behave differently from other nouns in that the locative markers may function as prepositions (see e.g., Examples (1) and (3)–(5)). Furthermore, the *l(V)*-derived noun may occur as an argument (see (2)), which is neither attested for other locative nouns nor for nouns precliticized by one of the prepositions.[14] Two prepositions are relevant for the topic of our paper. These are the goal/direction marker *V*= and the source marker *a*=. They may precede a noun directly, as in (14) for the goal

14. The future will show whether the special role of *l(V)*-derived nouns will survive, because, occasionally, we find already *l(V)*-derived nouns precliticized by the goal marker (e.g., in (21)).

marker and in (6) for the source marker. In addition, they help to form more spatial relations when being combined with locative nouns, as in (7), or with other locational expressions, like the adverb *tòʔàŋ* 'high, up, on' (see Table 3.5).

As our data show, Tima makes use of the absolute, the intrinsic and the relative frames of reference. Within the absolute frame, landmarks are preferred over cardinal directions. The latter are mainly used for relationships in a wider area, such as the Nuba Mountains or the Sudan, in order to indicate the rough direction. Within the Tima area, landmarks are used far more often than cardinal directions. Of course, the Tima area is small enough and most people know the most important landmarks of the area, which are on the one side the various hills and rivers (see Map 3.1). Also, one may refer to neighboring ethnic groups (like 'go towards Tulishi', instead of saying 'go south'). On an even smaller scale, on the other hand, people use e.g., big trees (mainly baobabs), huge flat stones, or the homes of certain families as orientation tools. These trees as well as characteristic rocks each bear a proper name. In our contribution, we only touched the field of toponymy very briefly. More work on it, especially on the semantic side of the expressions and their historical background, would be desirable.

In Tima, the intrinsic frame of reference is relevant whenever the GROUND has a front side, with the logical consequence that GROUND and allocentric ANCHOR coincide. The shape of the FIGURE is irrelevant. Decisive is solely whether the GROUND has an inherent shape which can be mapped onto the planes of the human body, in that it has a front and back side as well as left and right sides.

The situation is different when the ground has no face. In that case, a pattern falling within the relative frame of reference emerges and the speaker's perspective is involved. The GROUND in this case is assigned a face according to the side we as a speaker are confronted with. This is possible for immobile items like mountains, trees, and granaries, but also for mobile, round items like balls, bowls, etc. Anything between speaker/observer and the GROUND is in front of the ground. And once having been assigned a face, the backside as well as the left and the right side of the ground are also determined (comparable to the intrinsic frame). That is, the whole relation between figure and GROUND rotates by 180° (cf. Levinson, 2003, p. 87, Figure 3.4). This pattern can only be distinguished from the intrinsic pattern by moving the observer's viewpoint: the intrinsic relation remains stable even if the viewer moves away, while with the relative pattern, the relation becomes false when the viewer moves to some other place. Table 3.7 summarizes what has been said about intrinsic and relative frames of reference in Tima.

As we also saw, the three frames of reference dealt with in this paper interact with each other. This is due to the ambiguity of the terms used for the cardinal directions 'north' and 'south' which at the same time denote 'left' and 'right'. While in the former reading the absolute frame is employed, it is the intrinsic or relative

frame of reference with the latter reading (cf. Levinson 2003, p. 49 on the ambiguity of absolute systems), in turn depending on the presence vs. absence of an intrinsic front side.

Table 3.7 Intrinsic vs. relative frames of reference in Tima

	Figure with inherent face	**Faceless figure**
Ground with inherent face	binary, intrinsic	
	(person : car)	(barrel : boy)
Faceless ground	ternary, relative	
	(person : tree)	(bowl : bowl)

For the sake of completeness, we also considered two morphological devices which at first sight seem to corrupt the system, but on second reflection fit in perfectly. Thus, the morpheme *t̲* which may be incorporated into a spatial expression indicates that the FIGURE is nearer to the speaker than the GROUND. Nevertheless, in a situation where the intrinsic frame of reference holds, the speaker is never the ANCHOR in locating two objects relative to one another (as we showed in Section 4.2). The morpheme here just contributes additional information concerning the viewpoint of the speaker, with no influence on the described relationship between FIGURE and GROUND. By way of contrast, when having identified a situation as being assigned to the relative frame of reference, *t̲* refers to the ANCHOR. The second morpheme is the verbal ventive marker. If it occurs, the action is performed towards the speaker. That is, the speaker is again part of the speech act, but again, in an intrinsic frame of reference situation, the occurrence of the ventive marker has no influence on the relation between FIGURE and GROUND, because the speaker is not the ANCHOR. Only, in a situation where the relative frame of reference holds, the speaker serves as ANCHOR and here ventive marking on the verb supports the established relation (as shown in 4.3).

Though having had an in-depth look into the two sub-domains topology and frames of references of the system of spatial language in Tima, a lot remains to be done. First of all, the findings of this paper with regard to the frames of reference should be strengthened by more systematic testing of the rotation sensitivities (cf. Danziger, 2010, p. 175; for methods see Levinson, 2003, Chapter 5) and some investigation of the direct frame of reference should be taken into consideration. Other domains have not been touched at all, such as the non-angular specification deixis. However, this is a topic worth describing on its own. Toponymy would also be a rewarding field to explore. Tima is rich in transparent and semi-transparent place names, and as long as people remember their history, the circumstances which led to these names will also not be forgotten.

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Abbreviations

=	indicating cliticization
-	indicating affixation
1,2,3	1st, 2nd and 3rd person
ADD	additive
AP	antipassive
APP	applicative
CAUS	causative
COP	copula
DEM	demonstrative
DIR	direction/goal
DIST	distal
EXCL	exclusive
EMPH	emphasis
ERG	ergative
FOC	focus marker
INCL	inclusive
INS	instrumental
LOC	locative
MV	middle voice
OPT	optative
P	person marker
PL	plural
PLUR	pluractional
PRF	perfect
PRON	pronoun
PROX	proximal
REF	referential
REP	reported
SEL	selective
SG	singular
SOURCE	source
STAT	stative
TAM	tense/aspect/mood
TR	transitive
V	vowel/verb
VENT	ventive

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CHAPTER 4

Mouths, tongues, and ears

Source concepts for 'language' across Africa

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This paper investigates words for 'language' and their possible source concepts in 130 African languages. Radden (2001) noted that words for 'language' almost always draw on more basic meanings and proposed a metonymic chain from (i) speech organs to (ii) speaking as activity to (iii) speech as "object" to (iv) language. Our sample provides additional evidence for these semantic pathways, showing that 'tongue' and 'mouth' are important source concepts for 'language' across Africa, as well as concepts relating to speech. After summarizing the survey results, we consider the novel extension 'ear' to 'language' in Datooga. While frequently attested metonymic processes point to widespread conceptualizations of language as embodied, we nonetheless find cultural variation in which aspects of speech behavior provide conceptual material for words for 'language'.

Keywords: language, metonymy, semantic typology

1. Introduction

The concept 'language' is central to our work as linguists. For many, 'language' is also a troublesome concept: we recognize that notions of distinctive languages, of bounded linguistic systems, are ideologically as well as analytically motivated (Irvine & Gal, 2000; Lüpke & Storch, 2013). While linguists have been thinking carefully about how to categorize and abstract from linguistic behavior – by focusing on repertoires, registers, and codes, and experimenting with terms like translanguaging and heteroglossia (e.g., Wei, 2018), in everyday communication people continue to operate with concepts of 'language' that revolve around the idea of a distinctive system or medium of communication. Where do these everyday concepts come from? In this paper, we address this question from the perspective of lexical semantics, comparing words for 'language' across Africa and

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considering the conceptual sources for this abstract concept. As we will see, we find a great deal of polysemy in this semantic domain.

The paper focuses on nominal forms that denote an abstract system of communication. In many cases, these words for 'language' can be modified with labels referring to communities defined along ethnic or geographic lines, e.g., *language* in *the English language* or *íittá* in *íittá Dàtóoga* 'the Datooga language'. Of course, the existence and utility of the concept 'language' emerges from a specific set of socio-historical conditions, often related to territorial expansion, conflict, and colonialism, in the process of which people come to distinguish ways of speaking. Racist and other prejudiced ideologies of language also play a role in deciding which varieties get labeled as 'languages' at all (as opposed to 'dialects'). Goddard (2011) links the concept of distinctive languages with political processes of standardization in Europe and notes that many languages do not have an equivalent lexicalized meaning.[1] We consulted several dictionaries of African languages that had no entry for 'language' and we acknowledge the historically contingent nature of this concept.[2] Much work is still to be done to better understand cultural notions of language in Africa and the extent to which the term 'language', as used by academics, is even appropriate (Makoni & Mashiri, 2007). Nonetheless, contact between groups of people speaking different linguistic varieties as well as an appreciation of diverse ways of speaking is the norm in Africa, and was so long before the colonial period. Consequently, we expected that a comparative study of words for 'language' would prove fruitful and indeed we were able to collect over 150 lexical items from different languages that contained 'language' as part of their dictionary definition.

Despite linguists' preoccupation with language, very little cross-linguistic research has explored the lexicalization of the concept 'language', with the important exception of Radden (2001), whose work we discuss in detail below. Goddard (2011) offers an in-depth analysis of the meaning of 'language' in English, with some reference to other languages. Another small-scale cross-linguistic study is Newman and Schuh (2016), which examines differences in the formation of language names in Hausa compared with other Chadic languages. They show that while Chadic languages typically extend the word 'mouth' to mean 'language', Hausa uses the word 'tongue' and has also innovated a derivational suffix that

1. Partly on this basis, 'language' is not a semantic prime in the Natural Semantic Metalanguage, though the speech act 'say' is, as well as the concept 'words' (Goddard & Wierzbicka, 2014).

2. For example, the trilingual Soninké (Mande; Mali)-English-French dictionary has no entry for 'language', while the entry for *langue* gives the Soninké form *neene*, which has several meanings, including the organ 'tongue', but not 'language'. Online dictionary available at https://www.asawan.org/fr/lexique_soninkC3A9, accessed 23 November 2020.

combines with geographic or ethnic labels to denote the language of the respective group. (Variation in source concepts for 'language' within language families is briefly addressed in Section 4, where we consider divergent patterns of polysemy in the Nilotic family.) Though people's words for 'language' have not been much studied in linguistics, various researchers have investigated linguistic expressions relating to speech and to manners of speaking, which, like words for 'language', frequently involve metonymic use of body part terms such as 'tongue', 'mouth', or 'throat'. Sweetser (1992) briefly considers references to the physical articulators in English metaphors like "the words stuck in my throat" (1992, p.712) as well as discussing the importance of the conduit metaphor (i.e., passing objects back and forth) in how we talk about communication. Goosens (2009) identifies various semantic source domains for metaphorical language about linguistic interaction in English, including body parts, sounds, and violent actions. Metonymic use of the body part terms 'mouth', 'lips', 'tongue' and 'teeth' has been shown to be significant in talking about verbal behaviour in Chinese (Jing-Schmidt, 2008) as well as Bulgarian (Bagasheva, 2017). While the idiomatic expressions speakers of different languages use to talk about communicative styles are highly relevant for studying cultural conceptualizations of language, here we restrict our focus solely to lexical items meaning 'language' and their conceptual sources, as previously investigated by Radden (2001).

Based on the observation that few languages have a basic word for 'language', Radden (2001) investigates the source domains for this concept across a small, random sample of the world's languages. His goal is to find "cross-linguistic evidence for a folk model of language" (2001, p.57). He considers both synchronic and diachronic semantic relations and identifies three main source domains for 'language': (i) articulation and speech organs (e.g., 'mouth', 'tongue'); (ii) linguistic action (e.g., 'speech', 'talk'); and (iii) basic linguistic units (e.g., 'word'). These domains can all be linked to abstract notions of 'language' via metonymic processes. Radden proposes a metonymic chain from concrete speech organs to an abstract concept of 'language' via the act of speaking and the 'results' of speech, and he relates these language-specific metonymies to more general ones, as presented in Table 4.1.

This paper contributes more empirical data to testing Radden's suggestion that "[p]ossibly the ways we speak about language are very similar cross-linguistically" (2001, p.57). Because we are reliant on dictionaries, we focus on synchronic patterns of polysemy in words for 'language', rather than diachronic semantic developments. As discussed in Section 3, we find substantial additional evidence for the metonymies presented in Table 4.1, but we also identify a range of other semantic relations. One unique metonymy found in the Nilotic language Datooga is EAR FOR LANGUAGE, which we analyze in some detail in Section 4.

Table 4.1 Metonymic chain from 'speech organ' to 'language', adapted from Radden (2001)

speech organ	>	speaking	>	speech	>	language
specific metonymies		SPEECH ORGAN FOR SPEAKING		SPEAKING FOR SPEECH		SPEECH FOR LANGUAGE
general metonymies		INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION		ACTION FOR RESULT		SPECIFIC FOR GENERIC

While this metonymy can be loosely accommodated into Radden's model, his claim that the articulatory organs are basic to all human concepts of 'language' must be modified to include organs of speech perception as well as production. Similarly, 'speaking' is not the only linguistic activity that provides conceptual material for 'language': 'hearing' can play a role here too.

As with Radden's paper, the motivation behind the present survey of words for 'language' is in part to explore what these lexical items can tell us about how different societies conceptualize language. The starting point of Radden's metonymic chain in Table 4.1 reflects the major significance of physiology and the human body in 'folk' understandings of language. That everyday notions of language so frequently find their conceptual source in body parts like 'mouth' and 'tongue' aligns in interesting ways with more scholarly conceptual frameworks that view language as an embodied phenomenon (e.g., Streeck et al., 2011). Another relevant dimension of many linguistic concepts of language is its communicative functions. We documented numerous lexical items that refer both to 'language' in general and to specific types of communication achieved through language, e.g., 'news', 'discussion', 'issue', 'question' and 'quarrel'. The many different polysemous meanings of words for 'language' are discussed further in Section 3. Though we highlight certain conceptual patterns across languages, we acknowledge that our dictionary-based methods allow for only a superficial examination of concepts of 'language'. Dictionaries offer a limited source of knowledge about the meanings of words, and this is especially true of the small-scale dictionaries that exist for most African languages, where in some cases Eurocentric biases have likely also crept in. The dictionaries we consulted all rely on a major European language of translation, which may of course interfere with how word meanings are represented. While our cross-linguistic investigation makes coarse-grained comparison possible, it would be usefully supplemented with more in-depth studies of language about language.[3]

3. As an interesting case in point, Irvine and Gunner (2018) use lexical evidence to argue that Zulu language ideologies are deeply rooted in bodily practice. In one part of their analysis, they

The chapter is organized as follows: in Section 2 we explain how we collected and coded our data and describe the contents of the database; in Section 3 we analyze the cross-linguistic data; in Section 4 we consider the unique polysemy 'ear; language' in Datooga in more detail; and in Section 5 we summarize our findings.

2. Data collection and coding strategies

To collect data for our cross-linguistic comparison of words for 'language', we consulted a wide range of online and printed dictionaries. We occasionally consulted language experts, but the majority of data comes from published sources. Our sample was one of convenience: we used online dictionaries published in the open-access journal *Dictionaria*, online vocabularies in the World Loanword Database, established online dictionaries (such as the online Chichewa dictionary),[4] as well as printed dictionaries and grammars with vocabularies available in the library of the Institut für Afrikanistik at the University of Cologne. We restricted our sample to works published after 1950 and largely also to bidirectional dictionaries, where the language of translation was English, German, or French. However, we did consult monodirectional dictionaries when there was another dictionary available in the opposite direction. Our sample includes one language (Karimojong) for which we only had access to a monodirectional dictionary because we were able to quickly establish at least one polysemous meaning of the forms given for 'language' (by looking up body part terms).

In total we collected 174 lexical items glossed as 'language' from 130 languages spoken on the African continent (including several islands). This sample represents around 5.5% of languages currently spoken in Africa (using Glottolog's estimate of 2,348 African languages; Hammarström et al., 2020). Since our data collection was guided entirely by the materials available to us, the sample is neither genetically nor geographically balanced. Using the top-level classification for each language as provided in Glottolog, our sample includes 50 Atlantic-Congo languages (38%), 40 Afro-Asiatic languages (31%), 8 Nilotic languages (6%), 8 Central Sudanic languages (6%), 7 Mande languages (5%), 4 Khoe-Kwadi languages (3%), and 13 others (including one creole). See our online Appendix (Mitchell and Zimmermann 2021) for a complete list of languages and data

discuss how metalinguistic descriptions of different varieties of Zulu make reference to certain tongue positions. Not only does the tongue (*u(lu)limi*) provide the conceptual source for the general word for 'language', but descriptions of configurations of the tongue help to distinguish varieties of Zulu.

4. https://translate.chichewadictionary.org, accessed 18 January 2021.

sources (link provided at end of paper). In terms of geographical distribution, using a rough classification of eastern, western, central, southern, and northern Africa, our sample looks as follows: 40% of the languages are spoken in East Africa; 33% in West Africa; 16% in southern Africa; 9% in Central Africa; and 2% in northern Africa. The assumed genetic and areal biases in our opportunistic sample mean we cannot make any robust claims about words for 'language' across Africa. Nonetheless, we are able to point to interesting variation in possible source concepts for 'language', including within language families.

When consulting bidirectional dictionaries, we looked up the word *language* (or equivalent) and made a note of all the forms given in the entry. (If there was no entry for 'language', we omitted this language from the database.) We then looked up each form in the opposite direction and made a note of all listed translations. One of our criteria for the inclusion of a given form in our database was that it was listed in the entry for 'language' and that 'language' was given as a meaning in its own entry. The purpose of this criterion was to ensure that 'language' was a stable and salient lexicalized meaning of a particular form and we discarded several lexical items on this basis.[5] For each word for 'language' there were two possible scenarios: either the form was translated only as 'language' or it was presented as polysemous with one or more additional meanings. Our first broad coding category for each lexical item was therefore simply 'monosemous' or 'polysemous'.

For forms coded as 'monosemous', we made a note of any available information pertaining to etymology or morphologically related words. Such information was sometimes provided directly in the entry; in other cases, adjacent entries were clearly morphologically and semantically related. We also noted potential borrowings from other languages based on our existing knowledge or judgement, e.g., Swahili *lugha* and Tarifiyt Berber *lluɣa* are Arabic borrowings. The etymological sources of apparently monosemous words for 'language' are highly relevant to an investigation of how words for 'language' develop, and Radden (2001) considered both polysemy and etymology in his study. However, lacking the necessary linguistic expertise for the vast majority of languages in the sample, our investigation of etymological relations was opportunistic and non-exhaustive. We comment on some diachronic sources for words for 'language' in Section 3, but the majority of the paper focuses on synchronic patterns of polysemy.

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5. For example, in Alio und Jungraithmayr's (1989) dictionary of Bidiya (Chadic; Chad), we find the form *gàràw* under 'langue', but in the other direction, *gàràw* is translated only as 'parole'. We therefore excluded this particular lexical item. We made occasional exceptions to this 'two-way' criterion when additional evidence pointed to the robustness of the definition 'language'; e.g., we found the form *okwu* listed under 'language', but not vice versa, in Echeruo's (1998) Igbo dictionary, but the inclusion of the phrase *okwu bekee* 'English language' strongly suggests that *okwu* does have the meaning we are interested in.

For forms coded as 'polysemous', we generally did not look for morphologically related words, even though a lexical item can obviously be synchronically polysemous and historically derived from semantically related forms. For example, the Datooga word for 'language' is *íitta*, which we coded as polysemous, with the additional meanings 'ear' and 'news'. This form may also be historically related to the verb *ii* 'hear', but we did not typically comment on such relationships in our database. Again, this choice was partly based on insufficient linguistic knowledge of most of the languages in our database, but it also helped to constrain the scope of our study. Limiting ourselves to recording polysemous meanings was not always entirely straightforward either, however, on account of uncertainties about the translations provided for lexical items. One frequent problem we encountered was distinguishing the polysemous meanings of *tongue* in English and especially *langue* in French. Entries often distinguished between meanings with notes like 'body part' or '*organe*' (for French) but sometimes we had to do additional research to be sure whether a form really meant 'system of communication' as well as 'tongue (body part)'. We omitted forms from our database for which the nature of the polysemy was ambiguous. In a few cases, we also encountered heterosemy (same word form, different word class). All but one such cases also had additional meanings associated with the nominal form (i.e., were also polysemous), but we made a note of heterosemy as well.

Once we had collected over a hundred words for 'language' in different languages, we made a list of all the additional meanings that we had recorded. Based on our initial impression of the general frequency of each meaning, as well as the semantic domains discussed in Radden (2001), we came up with the semantic categories and subcategories given in Table 4.2 (and discussed further in Section 3). We then coded each lexical item in the database according to these categories. Depending on the number of senses given in the dictionary entry, lexical items could be grouped under multiple categories. The highest number of meaning categories associated with a single form was five. Both authors went through all the data and agreed on the coding.

In a few cases, the other meanings given for a lexical item glossed as 'language' were not obviously polysemous with 'language'. For example, in Rongier's (1995) Ewe dictionary, the noun *gbè* has the following senses (translated from French): (i) day, date; (ii) voice, sound, noise; (iii) language; (iv) time. We coded the form *gbè* as polysemous (and categorized it under BODY PART: VOICE as well as OTHER for 'sound') because we perceive a semantic relation between senses (ii) and (iii), but the relation between senses (i), (iii), and (iv) is much less apparent, at least to non-Ewe speakers. In another Gbe language in our sample, Fon, there are two separate entries for *gbè*, one glossed as 'language' and the other as 'day', suggesting that these forms might be homophonous rather than polysemous in Ewe as well.

Table 4.2 Categories for coding polysemy in words for 'language'

Broad semantic category	Subcategories
A. Body part	1. Tongue
	2. Mouth
	3. Throat
	4. Voice
	5. Ear
	6. Lip
B. Linguistic unit	1. Word
	2. Sentence
C. Linguistic action (e.g., 'speech')	
D. Genre of communication (e.g., 'news', 'matter', 'information')	
E. Ethnic group	
F. Other	

We decided not to include 'day' as a polysemous meaning, though this may turn out to be incorrect. Such uncertainties were rare, however.

Once we had collected and coded data from as many dictionaries as we could conveniently consult, we were able to explore cross-linguistic patterns in words for 'language'.

3. Cross-linguistic findings

As noted above, each word for 'language' in our database was initially classified as either monosemous or polysemous. This section deals briefly with possible sources of those lexical items coded as monosemous and then considers cross-linguistic patterns of polysemy. We first discuss the broad semantic categories we used to classify polysemous meanings and then consider their relative frequency, drawing comparisons with Radden's (2001) study. We also comment on the geographical distribution of some common patterns of polysemy, though our convenience sample is not adequate for making genetic or areal claims. Another limitation of our methods, and thus our results, is our dependence on dictionaries as a source of information about word meanings.

46 (26%) of the words we collected for 'language' had no other senses listed in their dictionary entry and were coded as monosemous.[6] We identified 11 of the monosemous forms as borrowings, with either Arabic or Amharic as the donor language. Another 14 forms were identified (to varying degrees of certainty) as derived from or otherwise morphologically related to another lexical item, in almost all cases a verb meaning 'speak' or 'say' or a body part metonymically related to speaking. As explained above, we did not include these semantic relations in our main analysis, but these examples provide additional support for the claim that words for 'language' commonly develop from concepts of speaking as an activity and from body parts associated with speaking. A small number of monosemous words in our database appear to be formed by means of compounding. All but one of these forms come from Mande languages and combine a noun meaning 'kind, sort; race, nation; descendent' with a noun meaning 'word; matter; problem', e.g., *buiyã* 'language' in Boo (Mande; Benin, Nigeria) from *bui* 'kind, sort, species, race, nation, descendant' and *yã́* 'word, matter, affair, account, problem, case, verdict' (Jones, 2010). Another binominal compound in our database comes from Degema (Benue-Congo; Nigeria): *enu-ẹkeny* 'language', from *enu* 'mouth, burrow, opening' and *ẹkeny* 'town, village, city, community' (Kari, 2008).[7] In both cases, one part of the compound denotes a concept that we commonly encounter with polysemous words for 'language' as well – 'word' and 'mouth', respectively – where this concept is combined with a noun denoting geographic or ethnic origin. Finally, 14 of the monosemous forms in our database have no accompanying notes as to their possible source. It is conceivable that some of these lexical items therefore constitute basic words for 'language', though such words are predicted to occur rarely (Radden, 2001, p. 55). It seems more likely that experts in the respective languages would be able to identify lexical relationships that are inaccessible to us based on dictionaries alone.

Turning to the 128 polysemous words for 'language' in the database, we first discuss the semantic categories we used for coding the data and then consider the frequency of these different categories. Radden (2001, p. 55) identifies the following broad semantic domains which encompass many polysemous meanings of words for 'language': "(i) articulation and speech organs, (ii) linguistic action, and (iii) basic linguistic units". With respect to (i), our 'speech organ' (or 'body part') categories (see Table 4.2) are based simply on what appeared in the data,

6. One word for 'language' in Wolof had additional senses but these were for a heterosemous verb form.

7. One further language, Tera (Chadic; Nigeria), has a very similar 'mouth' + 'town' compound form, *me ghai*, but in addition to 'language' this form is listed with the meanings 'tradition', 'custom', 'ethnic group' and was categorized as polysemous.

regardless of frequency. The meanings associated with these categories are fairly self-explanatory since they refer to concrete, relatively discrete parts of the body, though the semantic extension of 'throat' is not always easy to delineate – we included the single occurrence of French *cou* 'neck' in this category.[8] 'Voice' is of course not a physical body part, but we follow Radden (2001, p. 57) in treating it as a speech organ. Radden (2001, p. 63) identified the following speech organs as "metonymic vehicle[s] for 'speaking', 'speech' and 'language'": 'voice', where 'voice' is metonymically related to 'throat'; 'tongue'; 'mouth'; and 'lips'. We found all of these polysemous meanings in our data, plus 'ear', a novel body part not mentioned by Radden. The metonymy of 'ear' for 'language' is discussed in detail in Section 4. The absence noted in Radden (2001, p. 74) of the metonymy TEETH FOR LANGUAGE was confirmed in our study.

Radden's semantic domain 'linguistic action' was strongly apparent in our data, too. In this category we include meanings such as 'speech', 'talk', 'talking', and 'telling'. With respect to 'basic linguistic units', we found 'word' and 'sentence' as polysemous meanings of words for 'language'. Two semantic domains not mentioned by Radden that occurred in our sample are 'genre of communication' and 'ethnic group'. The latter category includes meanings translated as 'tribe' and '*groupe ethnique*'. For instance, Ihanzu (Bantu; Tanzania) has a word *ntambu*, reported to mean both 'language' and 'ethnic group' (Andrew Harvey, p.c.). This polysemy hints at possible ideological links between language and identity, though any conceptual analysis of the few words in this category would require much more detailed information about their meaning and use. 'Genre of communication' is our most nebulous category, intended to account for the many examples where a word for 'language' also refers to a metapragmatic category or type of linguistic communication, such as 'news', 'matter', 'affair', 'issue', 'discourse', 'problem'. Although Radden does not discuss such meanings, 'genre of communication' can be accounted for in his scheme (see Table 4.1) by means of the metonymy ACTION FOR RESULT, whereby a word for 'speaking' comes to be used for metapragmatic "objects" or genres of speech. In some cases, these metapragmatic genres may then extend beyond the verbally articulated to give rise to more general meanings such as 'issue' and 'problem'. Finally, our 'other' category includes a wide range of word meanings that were not easily subsumed under one of the other categories. We take a closer look at the contents of this category at the end of this section.

Table 4.3 presents the overall frequency of each of the polysemous meaning categories that we established in Table 4.2. As already mentioned, a given lexical item could appear in multiple semantic categories depending on its range of poly-

8. The definition for the same form also included *gorge* 'throat'.

semous meanings. For example, in the Geez language of Ethiopia, the form *nagar* is translated as 'language', 'speech, talk' (LINGUISTIC ACTION), 'word' (LINGUISTIC UNIT), and 'subject, matter, discourse' (GENRE OF COMMUNICATION) and was included in each of these four categories. On the basis of our coding scheme, the 128 polysemous words were sorted into categories 236 times in total. The percentages given in Table 4.3 give us an impression of the relative frequency of each polysemy, based on all the different meanings associated with the 128 polysemous words for 'language'. The largest number of meanings additional to 'language', just under a quarter, were assigned to our 'other' category, discussed below. Almost a third of meanings fall under one of the 'body part' subcategories, with 'mouth' being the most frequent source concept for 'language' in our sample. This finding contrasts to some extent with Radden (2001, p. 80), who found the metonymy MOUTH FOR LANGUAGE to occur only "occasionally". In order of frequency, we then find 'tongue', 'voice', 'lip', 'throat' and 'ear' as polysemous meanings of words for 'language'. The rarity of 'lip' in our data aligns with Radden's observations. The next most frequent broad semantic domain associated with words for 'language' is LINGUISTIC ACTION ('SPEECH'). Radden (2001) identified several world languages where the word 'word' also means 'language'; this polysemy was observed in over a tenth of our lexical items. In contrast, 'sentence' occurred only in a single language as an additional meaning of 'language' (in the Bantu language Talinga-Bwisi). Finally, our own categories of 'genre of communication' and 'ethnic group' were relatively infrequent as well.

Where in Africa do we find these different polysemous relations? We cannot make any robust generalizations about areal semantic patterns on the basis of our convenience sample, but we can at least give some impression of the geographical distribution of source concepts for 'language' in the data we collected. Map 4.1 consists of four panels, each of which shows the approximate geographical location of language communities for which a word for 'language' also means (a) 'mouth', (b) 'tongue', and (c) 'speech', while (d) maps languages in which a word for 'language' is monosemous.[9] Note that a language that appears on one of these maps may have multiple words for 'language', and the words themselves

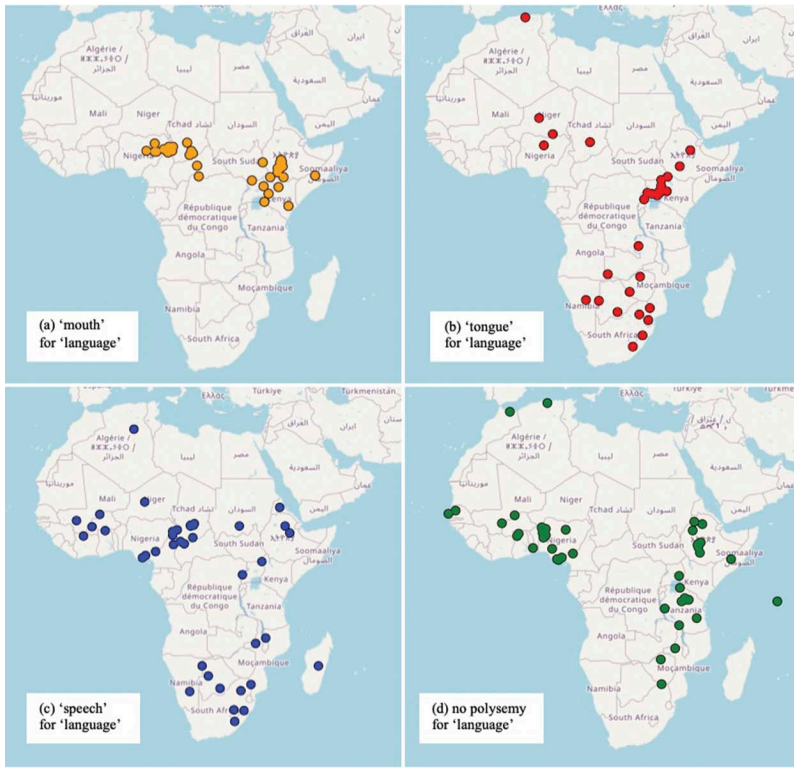
9. The maps were created in R (R Core Team, 2020) using the package lingtypology (Moroz 2017), which connects R with the Glottolog database (Hammarström et al., 2020). In order to use this package to create the maps, we had to choose language names as given in Glottolog, even if they differed from the names used in the dictionaries that were consulted for our database. In addition, we had to use the level of genetic classification for which geographical coordinates are available in Glottolog. As a result, it was not always possible to choose the specific language variety named in a given dictionary, because we had to use the next highest classification. The geographical coordinates themselves should of course be understood as approximate: many of the languages in our sample are spoken by communities across multiple regions.

Table 4.3 Polysemous meanings of words for 'language' organized by frequency

Semantic category	Number of words for 'language' glossed with this meaning	%
Other	56	23.7%
Linguistic action	40	17.0%
Body part: mouth	34	14.4%
Body part: tongue	30	12.7%
Linguistic unit: word	29	12.3%
Genre of communication	23	9.7%
Body part: voice	11	4.6%
Ethnic group	6	2.5%
Body part: lip	3	1.3%
Body part: throat	2	0.9%
Body part: ear	1	0.4%
Linguistic unit: sentence	1	0.4%
Total	**236**	

could have multiple polysemous meanings, which means that a language could appear on multiple maps. The most striking feature of Map 4.1 is that languages with the polysemy 'mouth; language' are clustered in eastern and west-central Africa, with no cases appearing outside of these regions, at least in our sample. This polysemy, represented by 34 lexical items in our database, is found in many different language families (Nilotic, Afro-Asiatic, Ta-Ne-Omotic, Atlantic-Congo, and Central Sudanic) and has conceivably been transmitted horizontally in some cases. In contrast, the other two most common patterns of polysemy are distributed fairly widely across the continent. Languages in our sample with a monosemous word for 'language' are also widely dispersed across Africa. (Recall that this classification does not necessarily mean that the word 'language' is basic in these languages – see discussion of borrowings and compounds above.)

Lastly, we come to the contents of our OTHER category. This category accounted for almost a quarter of the polysemous meanings of words for 'language', but the majority of these senses extend from a more basic meaning of a given lexical item, rather than relating directly to 'language'. For instance, senses categorized under OTHER like 'blade', 'flame', and 'tip', or 'opening', 'entrance', and 'doorway', are obviously extensions from 'tongue' and 'mouth', respectively, and thus relate to 'language' only indirectly. Similarly, we noted the polysemous senses 'noise' and 'sound' in several cases, but these meanings most likely extend from the more basic (and always co-occurring) meaning 'voice'. Another sense occa-



Map 4.1 Distribution of languages with (a) the polysemy 'mouth' for 'language', (b) 'tongue' for 'language', (c) 'speech' for 'language', and (d) no polysemy for 'language'

sionally polysemous with 'language' is 'custom' or 'tradition'. The assumed semantic trajectory here is that a word denoting metapragmatic objects of speech, such as 'matter' or 'issue', develops a more generic meaning relating to (i) manner of speech, hence 'language', and (ii) manner of behavior more generally, which leads to 'custom'. Extensions from speech-related meanings like 'matter' or 'topic' to more general, nonverbal senses probably also account for meanings in our database like 'situation', 'problem', and 'difficulty', where the latter two meanings have also taken on an evaluative quality (in both cases negative). An intriguing example of a polysemous meaning that denotes a positive quality or behavioral characteristic comes from Zulu, in which the form *u(lu)limi* is reported to mean 'tongue; language; kindness of nature, sociability' (Doke et al., 1990). We would need much greater familiarity with Zulu to attempt to interpret the semantic relationship between the last two meanings, but this polysemy raises interesting questions about Zulu philosophies of language.

4. 'Language' in Datooga

Of all the languages in our sample, the Nilotic language Datooga is the only one to exhibit the polysemy 'language' and 'ear'. This section explores this polysemy further with data collected by the first author from the Gisamjanga and Barabaiga dialects of Datooga, as spoken in communities living in Manyara Region, Tanzania. Our analysis is based only on linguistic data that was collected with other projects in mind; metalinguistic discussions with speakers would contribute considerably to the interpretations presented here. In addition to 'ear' and 'language', the word *íitta* can also mean 'news, information'. Examples (1)–(3), taken from recordings of spontaneous conversation in Datooga-speaking households, exemplify the various meanings. Example (1) illustrates the use of *íittá* to refer to the body part 'ear'. This utterance comes from a conversation about a deaf woman and the extent of her linguistic knowledge. The speaker makes the point that the woman's disability is purely anatomical rather than cognitive – her ear is 'blocked up':[10]

(1) *mêaqús gídêabà géedùkt íittá síida*
m-êa-qús gídêabà g-ée-dùg-d-á íid-dá síi-da
NEG-IMPS-be.only CONJ AFF-IMPS-block-CF-IS ear-SG.POSS person-SG
'Isn't it just that the person's ear is blocked up?'

In Example (2), a child asks a metalinguistic question about how to translate a Swahili expression into his native language, using the conventional possessive phrase *íittá Dàtóogá* to refer to the Datooga language:

(2) *àbà íittá Dàtóogá náahá*
àbà íid-dá Dàtóogá náa=há
PREP ear-SG.POSS Datooga what=DSC
'What is it [the number 2,000] in the Datooga language?'

The form *íittá* is used to refer to other languages, too, e.g., *íittá nàyéegíida* 'Iraqw language'.

10. We use the concrete, basic meaning of *íitta*, namely 'ear', as the morphological gloss for this lexical item to make the polysemy clear, though the extent to which speakers understand these different meanings as related is not known. Abbreviations used in the morphological glosses are those defined in the Leipzig Glossing Rules, with the following additions: AFF = 'affirmative'; CF = 'centrifugal'; CONJ = 'conjunction'; DSC = 'discourse marker'; IMPS = 'impersonal'; IS = 'inflectional suffix'; PREP = 'preposition'. We use a slightly adapted version of the orthography developed by the Datooga Bible Translation Project.

Finally, (3) demonstrates the 'news, information' sense of *íittá*. Here, a woman asks her adult son whether he has heard the news from home (the announcement of a *wérwérga* celebration for a young child):

(3) *nínyás íittá qêeda?*
n-í-nyás-í íid-dá qée-da
PRF-2SG-get-IS ear-SG.POSS house-SG
'Have you heard the news from home?'

All three meanings are relatively well attested in the available corpus data. The plural form, *íidìga*, is associated with the same polysemous meanings, i.e., 'ears', 'languages', and 'news, information'.

Additional evidence for a conceptual association between 'ear' and 'language' comes from the Datooga avoidance vocabulary. Other studies have drawn on respect registers to explore semantic relations, e.g., Dixon (1971) or Evans and Wilkins (2000) on the semantic extensions of perception verbs in Australian languages.[11] In the Datooga in-law name avoidance register (see Mitchell (2015) for details), we generally find a one-to-one mapping between ordinary words and their avoidance counterparts, though in the case of polysemous words, we sometimes observe a one-to-many relationship. For instance, the everyday noun *húlánda* can mean (i) 'men's house', (ii) 'clan meeting', or (iii) 'youth meeting'. Meaning (ii) likely developed from (i) through a process of metonymy, since clan meetings may take place in the physical space of the men's house. In the avoidance register, each of these three senses is expressed differently. This one-to-many lexical relationship possibly reflects that the meanings are not perceived as closely related to one another by speakers. In other cases, patterns of polysemy are carried over into the avoidance register. With respect to *íitta*, the avoidance counterpart shares the polysemous structure of the everyday form: the word *mínìsta* (a deadjectival noun from *mínis* 'deaf') replaces *íitta* and can mean 'ear', 'language' or 'news'.[12] For example, *íittá Nàyéegìida* 'Iraqw language' is rendered as *mínìstá Gíttínóodìga* in the avoidance register. Thus the conceptual link between auditory

11. Australian respect registers (or 'in-law languages') often exhibit one-to-many lexical relationships with the everyday vocabulary, i.e., a single lexical item in the respect register corresponds to multiple lexical items in the everyday register (Dixon, 1971). In their exploration of the extension of verbs of hearing to verbs of knowing, Evans and Wilkins (2000) found that the ordinary Kuwinjku/Mayali language has distinct forms for 'hear' and 'know', but that the respect register in this language conflates the meanings 'listen, hear' and 'understand, know' into a single form, providing another kind of evidence for this conceptual link across Australia.

12. Several alternative avoidance forms for 'ear' have also been documented, including *míníschêanda* (from the same root *mínís* 'deaf') and *dáwshìitta* (possibly related to *dàwìishádèeda* 'molar; lower jaw').

perception and language is revealed in the avoidance register as well as the everyday language.

Another kind of evidence for the link between auditory perception and language can be observed in the expression 'to hear a language', meaning 'to know a language', as illustrated in (4):

(4) *màyíinyí íittá Dàtóogá?*
m-à-íiny-i íid-dá Dàtóo-gá
NEG-3-hear-IS ear-SG Datooga-PL
'Doesn't s/he speak Datooga?'

In contrast with our English translation, the Datooga expression prioritizes hearing over speaking in conceptualizing linguistic ability.[13]

To reiterate, use of the source concept 'ear' for 'language' is not mentioned in Radden (2001) and is not attested for any other language in our sample. This novel semantic pattern can nonetheless be largely accounted for in terms of the metonymic processes already known to give rise to abstract concepts of 'language'. Instead of a metonymic pathway leading from speech articulators such as 'mouth' or 'tongue' to the act of speaking, here the metonymy begins with an organ of auditory perception. Accordingly, the next conceptual link in the metonymic chain is not speaking, but hearing, though the metonymy INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION captures both kinds of extension. The act of 'hearing' is not a lexicalized meaning of *íitta* – this is an example of an "intermediate stage" that gets skipped in the metonymic chain (Radden 2001, p. 59) – but the function of the ear clearly plays an important role in the conceptual extension of *íitta*.[14] (Semantic extension of the body part *íitta* to the activity or function associated with it is found in certain expressions, such as the verbal phrase *leaysiin íitta* 'listen', literally 'drink [something] into the ear'.) The metonymy ACTION FOR RESULT discussed by Radden (2001) takes us from the concept of 'hearing' to the more abstract idea of what is heard, which then may be conceptualized more specifically as 'news' or 'information'.[15] That is, the 'result' of auditory perception via the ear is a recognizable genre or type of communication. More abstractly still, the results or 'objects' of auditory perception can also be conceptualized in terms of the manner or system of communication being employed. This semantic exten-

13. An anonymous reviewer suggests this is common across Africa. A cross-linguistic project on expressions relating to language competence would be an interesting project in itself.

14. The historical direction of a metonymy 'EAR for HEARING' is in fact uncertain in Datooga, since the verb 'hear' in Datooga is *ii(ny)*, from which the noun *íitta* possibly derives.

15. The English language lacks a nominalization of the verb *hear* equivalent to *speak* → *speech*, hence we use the slightly awkward 'what is heard'.

sion of 'ear' relates not to *what* is communicated and heard (as in 'news, information') but rather *how*, i.e., in what medium (as in 'language'). This interpretation of the relationship between the three senses of *íitta* is non-linear, with both 'news' and 'language' extending independently from 'ear' via the intermediate metonymy HEARING FOR WHAT IS HEARD. An alternative proposal is that the 'language' sense developed out of the 'type/object of communication' (i.e., 'news') sense. Aligning with Radden's model, we could treat 'what is heard' as conceptually parallel to 'speech' and explain the extension to 'language' in the same way, invoking the SPECIFIC FOR GENERIC metonymy (i.e., 'what is heard' "is a specific instantiation of language in general" (Radden, 2001, p. 58).[16] Though this account of the link between 'what is heard' and 'language' no doubt oversimplifies the historical conceptual trajectory, it allows us to accommodate the unusual Datooga pattern within a slightly modified version of Radden's existing cross-cultural schema, as indicated in Table 4.4:

Table 4.4 Modified version of Table 4.1 that accommodates 'ear for language' metonymy

speech organ	>	speaking /hearing	>	what is spoken/heard	>	language
specific metonymy		SPEECH ORGAN FOR SPEAKING / HEARING		SPEAKING / HEARING FOR WHAT IS SPOKEN / HEARD		WHAT IS SPOKEN / HEARD FOR LANGUAGE
general metonymy		INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION		ACTION FOR RESULT		SPECIFIC FOR GENERIC

The EAR FOR LANGUAGE metonymy evidenced in Datooga appears to be an innovation not shared by other Nilotic languages. We have eight Nilotic languages in our sample, with 2–3 languages represented from each subfamily (using Glottolog labels). Table 4.5 presents the lexical items we collected for these languages and their associated meanings (see online Appendix for references).

Based on this small amount of data, we observe that the speech organs 'mouth' and 'tongue' appear to be the main sources for the concept 'language' in Nilotic. Interestingly, the Eastern Nilotic languages Turkana and Karamojong have two words for 'language', with both of these body parts as source concepts. In the Southern Nilotic family, to which Datooga belongs, we find both 'mouth' and 'tongue' extended to mean 'language', though this pattern does not obtain

16. Alternatively, the link from 'what is heard' to 'language' could potentially be explained in terms of the general metonymy OBJECT FOR MATERIAL CONSTITUTING THE OBJECT (Radden & Kövecses, 1999, p. 32), if 'language' were construed as a kind of material or substance.

Table 4.5 Words for 'language' in Nilotic languages

Language	Subfamily	Word for 'language'	Meanings
Luo	Western Nilotic	*dhó*	'mouth; language'
Anuak	Western Nilotic	*dhɔ́k*	'mouth; language'
Turkana	Eastern Nilotic	*akituk*	'mouth; language'
		angajep	'tongue; language'
Teso	Eastern Nilotic	*aŋajep*	'tongue; language'
Karamojong	Eastern Nilotic	*aŋajep*	'tongue; language'
		akituk	'mouth; language'
Nandi	Southern Nilotic	*kutit*	'mouth; language'
Markweeta	Southern Nilotic	*ngelep*	'tongue; language'
Barabayiiga-Gisamjanga	Southern Nilotic	*íitta*	'ear; language'

for Datooga (Barabyiiga-Gisamjanga). In Datooga, *qúuta* 'mouth' (cognate with Nandi *kutit*) carries various polysemous meanings, including 'opening', 'beside', 'top', as well as 'voice', but does not conventionally extend to mean 'language'. Conversely, in the Nandi dictionary, *itit* 'ear' is listed with this single concrete meaning. However, the entry does include the expression 'to hear by ear', where 'ear' contributes the meaning 'for oneself', suggesting a possible extension from the literal body part to the more abstract idea of evidential source. Still, this in no way resembles the polysemous meanings of Datooga *íittá*. While the morpheme *i:t 'ear' has been reconstructed for Proto-Southern Nilotic (Rottland, 1982), its semantic trajectory appears to have taken a rather different course in Datooga. We have reconstructed this trajectory in Table 4.4, though why 'hearing' played a more significant role than 'speaking' for Datooga in the development of their word for 'language' remains an outstanding question. Based on the lexical data alone, we might conjecture that Datooga speakers have historically placed greater value on listening than speaking in their understandings of communication. Such speculation could be probed in future through detailed ethnographic work and metalinguistic discussion with Datooga people.

5. Conclusion

We collected words for 'language' and their additional senses in 130 African languages with the goal of identifying patterns in the source concepts for this abstract notion. Around three quarters of the words we collected were polyse-

mous. As Radden (2001) also demonstrated, the meaning 'language' typically extends from more basic semantic concepts. In our data, source domains for 'language' included body parts involved in language production and comprehension, linguistic activities ('speaking', 'talking'), and genres or "content" of communication ('news', 'discourse'). Other patterns of polysemy, where the directionality was less clear, included lexical items that mean both 'language' and 'ethnic group' as well as 'language' and 'word'. The body parts that we identified as providing source concepts for 'language' were consistent with Radden's (2001) findings, with the exception of EAR FOR LANGUAGE, a metonymy found so far only in Datooga (Nilotic; Tanzania). In addition, while Radden highlighted 'tongue' as an especially salient speech articulator and source concept for 'language', we found 'mouth' to be slightly more frequent than 'tongue' as a polysemous meaning of 'language' in African languages. However, as shown in Map 4.1, MOUTH FOR LANGUAGE is geographically more restricted than TONGUE FOR LANGUAGE.

Our exploration of polysemy in words for 'language' was motivated by an interest in how African communities have conceptualized linguistic phenomena. Lexical patterns as gleaned from dictionaries can only tell us so much, of course, and in-depth, ethnographic studies of language ideologies and the "natures of language" (Hauck & Heurich, 2018) are indispensable here. Nonetheless, an assumption at the heart of much research in anthropological linguistics is that word meanings emerge out of habitual, culturally embedded interactions and countless situated acts of interpretation, such that a metonymic pattern like MOUTH FOR LANGUAGE points to certain histories of thinking. One basic observation we can make from our data is that objectified notions of 'language', as reflected in the existence of nouns with this meaning, are widespread and presumably serve useful functions in everyday social life (as well as in scholarly discourse). Yet we also observe that these everyday concepts are typically rooted in ideas about action and process in the material world. Returning to Radden's (2001) folk model of language, his preliminary suggestion that these folk models ultimately develop from concepts relating to speech articulation turns out not to hold, at least not universally. However, if we conceive of speech and speech organs more broadly to include the articulators as well as receptors, we can preserve the claim that people's words for language have a strong basis in physical, embodied aspects of communication. The ways humans think about language and linguistic behavior, as revealed through their words for 'language', support a theory of meaning as "grounded in our sensorimotor experience" (Johnson & Lakoff, 2002, p. 245). Nonetheless, within the bounds of these shared processes of meaning-making, we do observe some degree of cultural specificity in the aspects of linguistic experience drawn on to make abstract reference to 'language', whereby mouths, tongues, and ears are all possible source concepts.

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CHAPTER 5

Notes on glottonyms and ethnonyms in Ethiopian languages

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This paper gives a grammatical and sociolinguistic account of glottonyms and ethnonyms in Ethiopian languages. As a metonymic relationship, glottonyms are derived from ethnonyms by attaching the roots of the vocal organs: 'mouth', 'tongue' and 'tooth'. The mouth-based glottonyms are widespread in Cushitic, Omotic and Semitic languages. Nilo-Saharan languages have mouth- and tongue-based glottonyms. Few suppletive forms of glottonyms and ethnonyms were recorded. The use of multiple names for the same language and ethnic group is frequent. The disparity between endonyms and exonyms has long been a source of confusion. In particular, the use of derogatory names has created discontent among ethnolinguistic groups. To alleviate the problems emanating from this polyonymous situation, a uniform use of endonyms as standard names is proposed in this study.

Keywords: Ethiopian languages, glottonyms, ethnonyms, metonymy, polyonymy, standardization

1. Introduction

The metonymic relationship between the vocal organs and the notion of "language" is illustrated in a number of verses in the holy books of the Bible and Qur'an. One verse in the Bible says, 'Very well then, with foreign lips and strange tongues God will speak to this people' (Isaiah 28:11). The Amharic translation of this verse says *bäbaʾəd af bäləyyum ləssan läzih həzb yənnaggärall* 'He will speak to this people in a foreign mouth and special tongue.' In Acts 2:4, the Apostles "were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance". In the Holy Qur'an, 'tongue' appears for 'language', as in "And indeed, we have eased the Qur'an in your tongue that they might be reminded" (14:4).

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In many languages of the world, the words for the notion of "language" are believed to have been derived from more basic senses which include the conspicuous vocal organs (see Mitchell and Zimmermann, this volume for a cross-linguistic study of this phenomenon).[1] This metonymic phenomenon is witnessed in Ethiopian languages in which we find the articulators 'mouth', 'tongue' and 'tooth' as the basis for the notion of language. The Amharic dictionary defines *kʾʷankʾʷa* 'language' as "mouth, tongue, tongue's fruit, hearable from speech organs" (Desta, 1962, p. 9). The Afaan Oromo word *kʾonkʾʷo*, which originally means 'throat', extends its meaning to mean 'language' (Abinet, 2007).[2] The Ge'ez word for language is *ləssan*, which refers to 'tongue' and 'language'. In the Amharic-Amharic dictionary (2000), *af* is translated as 'mouth' and 'language' in the context of, for instance, *Kasa yäfärändʒ af yənnaggärall* (lit. 'Kasa speaks a foreign mouth') to mean 'Kasa speaks a foreign language' and *əssu bəzu af yawkʾall* (lit. 'he knows many mouths') to mean 'he knows many languages.'

In addition to basic words for 'language', we also find 'mouth'-based metonyms deriving glottonyms in Ethiopian languages. There are also languages with the 'tongue'- and 'tooth'-based glottonyms. Glottonyms are also derived from ethnonyms by adding glottonym markers (i.e., prefixes or suffixes). There are few instances of suppletive forms where glottonyms and ethnonyms exhibit different forms. This paper describes the folk model of language (to use Radden's (2001) term) in Ethiopian languages. It explores the formal and semantic interrelationships between glottonyms and ethnonyms. It also identifies the types of language names and the positive and negative values attached to them. The qualitative data for this paper were drawn from secondary sources (most of them grammatical descriptions), supplemented by data from my own fieldnotes.

1. Not all languages of the world have a word exclusively denoting 'language'. Rather, the use of 'speech organs' as metonyms for 'language' is widespread cross-linguistically and can be taken as a shared human characteristic (Radden, 2001).

2. The metonymic relationship between 'throat' and 'language' is well-motivated, as the former is one of the places where sounds are produced as in Konni, a Gur language spoken in Ghana, in which the same word denotes 'voice' and 'throat' (Radden, 2001)

2. Glottonym markers

2.1 Vf(f)(V)(C) 'mouth'

As mentioned in section (1), 'mouth' is found to be the most widespread vocal organ used as the basis for the notion of "language" in Ethiopian languages. The mouth-for-language metonymic relation in most of these glottonyms is expressed by the form *af* or *afoo* or *afaan*, which means 'mouth' and can be represented as Vf(f)(V)(C). It may appear preceding an ethnonym, as in *ʔaf* Dáásanac 'mouth/language of Dáásanac' (Sasse, 1976), or following it, as in Sidaam-u *afoo* 'mouth/language of Sidaama' (Anbessa, 2000).

The glottonym marker Vf(f)(V)(C) 'mouth' is recorded in Cushitic, Omotic and Semitic (Afroasiatic), as well as in Nilo-Saharan languages. As shown in Example (1), the glottonyms of Ethio-Semitic languages have an N + N genitive structure in which the first constituent with a genitive marker *yä-* is the ethnonym and the second constituent is the word *af* 'mouth' expressing the meaning 'mouth/language of X'.

(1)

Glottonym	**Ethnonym**	
yä-silt'e af	Silt'e	(Hanna, 2011)
GEN-Silt'e mouth		
yä-kistane af	Kistane	(Bedilu, 2010)
GEN-Kistane mouth		
yä-zay af	Zay	(Meyer, 2005)
GEN-Zay mouth		

In the glottonym *Argobba af*, with a zero genitive marker, the direct meaning is 'Argobba mouth/language'. The Silt'e also call their language *ʔslaam af* 'Islam mouth/language' (Gutt, 1983). Apparently, this glottonym expresses their religious identity and strong attachment to Islam.

In the following Cushitic and Omotic languages, glottonyms are indicated by the same N+N structure combining the ethnonym and the glottonym marker Vf(f)(V)(C). Whereas the first four examples show genitive constructions without a morphologically realized genitive marker, the last two appear with genitive markers that have gone through vowel modifications.

(2)

Glottonym	**Ethnonym**	
ʕafar af	ʕafar	(Bliese, 1976)
ʕafar mouth		
Hamar affo	Hamer	(Hanna, 2011)
Hamer mouth		

Kara appo	Kara/Karo	(Alemgena, 2018)
Kara-mouth		
Dim-af[3]	Dime	(Mulugeta, 2008)
Dime-mouth		
Sidaam-u afoo	Sidaama	(Anbessa, 2000)
Sidaama-of mouth		
K'abeen-i /afoo	K'abeena	(Crass, 2005)
K'abeena-of mouth		

Concerning Hamer, Lydall (1976, p.393) writes that, "The language is variably referred to as */hamʌr ʌpɔ/*, */bʌnʌ ʌpɔ/* or */bʌʃʌdʌ ʌpɔ/* depending on the place of origin of the speakers. *ʌpɔ* means 'mouth' and 'language.". The Hamer and Sidaama languages are also recorded as *Hámar-aapó* [*ámar-aaɸó*] 'mouth/language of Hamer' and Sidaam-u *k'aale* 'word of Sidaama', respectively. In a similar pattern, the Aari people speak *Aar-af* or *Aari-af* 'mouth/language of Aari' (Gebre, 2010) and the K'abeena people also call themselves Womba and their language *wombi ʔafoo* or *wombi sanat* 'mouth/language of Womba' (Crass, 2005). The Gede'o language is designated in two ways: *Gɛde-inke afə/o* 'our Gede'o mouth/language' as a possessive construction (Bender, 1976) or *Gede'o-ffa*, where the derivational morpheme appears as a glottonym marker (Hanna, 2011). The Bach'a people speak a variety of *Dim-af* but label it *Bach'-af* 'mouth/language of Bach'a' (Hanna, 2011).[4] The Afar people call the language spoken by the Irob *Irob af* 'mouth/language of Irob', while the language of the Hado is *ħada-af ~ ħadi-af* 'mouth of Hado' (Esayas, 2015).

2.2 (C)Vf(f)V(V)(C) 'mouth'

Parallel to the above glottonym marker that appears following ethnonyms, the glottonym marker derived from (C)Vf(f)V(V)(C) 'mouth' appears preceding them. This glottonym marker was recorded as an independent word only in Cushitic languages. In (3), we have the N+N structure where the first constituent is the glottonym marker and the second constituent is the ethnonym, which together express the meaning 'mouth/language of X' without an overt genitive marker.

3. In this paper, glottonym markers are treated as bound forms when modification takes place on the basic forms, as in *Dim-af* 'mouth/language of Dime' and *Bach'-af* 'mouth/language of Bach'a'.

4. Aklilu (2019) writes that the Bach'a people speak a dialect related to Chara.

(3)

Glottonym	**Ethnonym**	
afaan Oromo	Oromo	(Dabala, 2011)
mouth Oromo		
ʔafaa χonsóʔ	Xons-itta	(Ongaye, 2004)
mouth Konso		
ʔaf Dáásanac	Dáásanac	(Sasse, 1976)
mouth Dáásanac		
af Kusamiya	Kusamiya	(Wondwosen, 2006)
mouth Kusamiya		
af Somali	Somali	(Saeed, 1987)
mouth Somali		

Afaan Oromo is also known by the alternative name *Orom-iffaa*. The suffix *-iffaa*, though not productive in the language, means 'in the manner of' or 'like' (Dabala, 2011). However, the majority of native speakers prefer *Afaan Oromo* to *Orom-iffaa*. The Kwama call their language *Afaan Mao* 'mouth of Mao', presumably influenced by the Oromo (Bender, 1976). Bender (1976) also mentions the same glottonym, namely Afaan Mao, for the language of the Anfillo ethnic group, who have abandoned their language and shifted to Afaan Oromo (Amanuel, 2012).

2.3 Glottonym markers other than Vf(f)(V)(C) and (C)Vf(f)V(V)(C)

As mentioned in the preceding sections, the most frequently occurring glottonym markers are Vf(f)(V)(C) and (C)Vf(f)V(V)(C), which are derived from 'mouth'. In the following Cushitic languages, the glottonym markers are all derived from native words for 'mouth' and appear preceding the ethnonym.

(4)

Glottonym	**Ethnonym**	
bago ts'amakkilo	Ts'amay	(Savà, 2005)
mouth Ts'amay		
hi ´ii ta Bayso	Bayso	(Lemi, 2018)
mouth Bayso		
òhó erbore	Erbore/Arbore/Irbore	(Bender, 1976)
mouth Erbore		
poko Kawwate	Gawwada	(Tosco, 2006; Zelalem, 2013)
mouth Kawwate		
poko Allete	Gawwada	(Zelalem, 2013)
mouth Alette		

As shown in (5), some Omotic languages also derive glottonyms by combining the word for 'mouth' with the ethnonym.

(5)

Glottonym	**Ethnonym**	
maalló múcci	Maale (pl. Maalló)	(Amha, 2001)
Maalló mouth		
Seez-waani	Seezo Mao	(Girma, 2015)
Seezo-mouth		
Hòòzi-wándí	Hozo Mao	(Getachew, 2015)
Hozo-mouth		

As shown in (6), the glottonym marker *-no(o)n*(V)(V), which refers to 'mouth/language', was recorded in the following West Omotic languages.

(6)

Glottonym	**Ethnonym**	
Bench-non	Bench	(Tizazu, 2010)
Bench-mouth		
Kaffi-noonoo	Kaffa	(Tilahun, 2009)
Kefficho-mouth		
ʃeki-noonoo	Shekkacho/Shekki	(Tolemariam, 2009)
Shekkacho-mouth		

Bench-non 'Bench mouth/language' is also known as *Bench gah* 'Bench speech'.[5] The speech-for-language metonymy is also attested in its varieties, namely, *She-non* 'mouth/language of She' and *Mer-non* 'mouth/language of Mer', which can also be called *She gah* 'She speech' and *Mer gah* 'Mer speech' (Tizazu, 2010). The glottonym marker *-nog* in *dizi-nog* 'mouth/language of Dizi' seems to have a similar meaning ('mouth/language') to that of *-no(o)n*(V)(V). Although the name Baskeet can refer both to the language and ethnic group, the language is also known as *Baskeet noona* 'mouth/language of Bask(e)et' (Treis, 2014).

The mouth-language pairing occurs in Nilo-Saharan languages by introducing glottonym markers derived from 'mouth', as shown in (7).

(7)

Glottonym	**Ethnonym**	
ʧawi kaw	Chabu	(Kibebe-Tsehay, 2015)
Chabu area mouth		
Dhá àŋwáa	Àŋwáa	(Reh, 1996)
mouth Àŋwáa		
Thok nuäärä	Nuer	(John Kong, p.c.)
mouth Nuer		

5. The use of expressions denoting linguistic actions such as 'speak/speech' is one of the ways of deriving a word for the notion of 'language' (Radden, 2001).

ndù bərθù	Berta	(Bender, 1976)
mouth Berta		

According to Bender (1976), the Berta people also call their language *ndù θayù* 'mouth/language of home'. The Nyangatom (also Donyiro/Dongoro) call themselves *ɲãŋatɔ:m* or *dɔŋɔro* and their language *aku-tuk ãŋiɲãŋatɔ:m* 'mouth/language of Nyangatom' or *aku-tuk ãŋidɔŋɔro* 'mouth/language of Dongoro' (Bender, 1976; Dimmendaal, 2007). C.A. Ahland (2012) states that whereas the Gumuz of the Sese dialect area call their language *sə-Gumuz* 'Gumuz language', the other Gumuz call it *sa-ɓaga* 'mouth of a person'. Aklilu (2019) writes that the Metekel Gumuz call their language *nəgiʃa baga* 'mouth/speech of people'. The Komo ethnic group call their language *t'a Komo* 'mouth/language of Komo' (Bender, 1976). Similarly, the Opuuo call themselves *Opuuo* and their language *Táá Pòò* 'mouth/language of Opuuo' (Mellese, 2014). The Shabo call themselves Chabu or Tsabu, their resident forest Chawi and their language *ʧ'awi kaw* (lit. 'the mouth/language of Chawi') after their habitat (Kibebe-Tsehay 2015). Interestingly, the Me'en call their language *tʊk-te/mɛʔɛnɛn* 'mouth/language of people' and the Nuer call theirs *ɟog nááð* 'mouth/language of humans' (Bender, 1976). These are ethnocentric expressions which reflect that the two ethnic communities refer to themselves broadly as 'people' or 'humans'.

Although the use of the word *kʾʷankʾʷa* 'language' as in *yä-Oromo kʾʷankʾʷa* 'language of Oromo' and *yä-Afar kʾʷankʾʷa* 'language of Afar' and the use of the glottonym marker suffix *-əɲɲa* (*-ina* in Gurage and *-(ə)ɲɲa* in Amharic and Tigrinya) as in *orom-əɲɲa* 'Afaan Oromo' and *Afar-əɲɲa* 'Ɂafar af' are used almost exclusively in modern Amharic, elderly speakers of Amharic still use *af* for 'language', as in *yä-Oromo af* 'mouth/language of Oromo' and *yä-Afar af* 'mouth/language of Afar'. They also use metonymic (metaphorical) expressions like *əssu bəzu af yənnaggärall* (lit. 'he speaks many mouths'), to mean 'he speaks many languages', *Kasa afun yəzo mätʾtʾa* (lit. 'Kasa brought with him his mouth') to mean 'Kasa brought with him his interpreter' and *əssu yäɲɲan af ayawkʾəmm* (lit. 'he does not know our mouth') to mean 'he does not speak our language' (Endalew & Zerihun, p.c.). The mouth-language metonymy is recorded in modern Amharic too, as in *afä fättotʧ* (lit. 'mouth untiers') to mean 'mother tongue speakers', *ənnässu afatʧäwən fättu* (lit. 'they untied their mouth') to mean 'they started speaking', *afu amällätʾäw* (lit. 'his mouth slipped') to allude to 'a slip of the tongue' and *afhən zəga!* 'close your (2MS) mouth!' to mean 'don't talk anymore!'

The terms and expressions used in the metalinguistic discourse also confirm the strong conceptual relationship between 'mouth' and 'language'. In Sidaama, the root word *af* 'mouth/language' appears in *afuu bude* lit. 'language system (grammar)', *afii fark'o* lit. 'language part (dialect)', *afuu ʤirte* 'language adminis-

tration (grammar)', *afuu tiint'allo sayinse* lit. 'language study science (linguistics)' (Sileshi & Yohannes, 1995). In Afaan Oromo, the root word *af(aan)* 'mouth/language' appears in expressions like *afaaneffachuu* 'word articulation/pronunciation', *afaaneffannooo* 'sound articulation/pronunciation', *afaanfala* 'oral language/dialect', *afaanyuu* 'theory' and *aflamee* 'bilingual' (Hinsene, 2012).[6]

2.4 Tongue-based glottonyms

As mentioned in Section 1, the 'tongue-for-language' metonymy is noticeable in the Bible and Qur'an. Given the superior role of the 'tongue' in the articulation of speech sounds, its metonymic relationship with the notion of "language" and widespread occurrence across languages might not be surprising (see also Radden, 2001). In Ethiopian languages, the tongue-based glottonyms are less frequent than the mouth-based glottonyms but relatively more frequent than the tooth-based glottonyms. In the glottonyms of the following two Nilo-Saharan languages, we find that an N+N structure, in which the glottonym markers are derived from the words for 'tongue', appears preceding or following the ethnonyms and expresses the meaning 'tongue/language of X' with no genitive marker.

(8)

Glottonym	**Ethnonym**	
tʷa gwama [7]	Gwama	(Zelealem, 2005)
tongue Gwama		
Kunama ŋaelʔa	Kunama	(Nikodimos, 1987)
Kunama tongue		

The Kunama also call their language *Kunama Auʔra* 'Kunama speech' (Nikodimos, 1987). The Ge'ez language is also known as *ləssanä Ge'ez* 'tongue/language of Ge'ez'. The expressions such as *ləssanä nəgus* 'tongue/language of king', *ləssanä wahəd* 'one tongue/language (monolingual)' and *sənä ləssan* 'study of tongue/language' that are used in contemporary Amharic are all derived from Ge'ez. [8]

As the tongue is the most conspicuous vocal organ, it is metaphorically associated with the manner of speaking, as in the following examples from Amharic:

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6. My colleagues Dr. Girma and Dr. Feda suggested *looga* for 'dialect' and *yaadiddama* for 'theory'.

7. Whether or not *tʷa* could mean 'mouth' as in the closely related languages *t'a Komo* 'mouth/language of Komo' and *táá Pòò* 'mouth/language of Opuuo' needs further investigation.

8. Ge'ez is a classical Ethiopian language.

(9) *Kasa məlas-am n-äw*
Kasa tongue-VOC be-3MS
Lit. 'Kasa is long-tongued.'

(10) *säwəyyä-w məlas-u a-yətʃtʃal-əmm*
man-DEF tongue-POSS:3MS NEG:3MS-tolerate-NEG
Lit. 'The tongue of the man is unbearable.'

(11) *əssu t'əru məlas all-äw*
he good tongue has-3MS
'He has a good tongue.'

The first sentence means that 'Kasa talks too much' and the second sentence that the 'the man is an incomparable talker'. The last sentence idiomatically expresses that 'he is an eloquent speaker with the capacity to convince others.'

Newman and Schuh (2016) identify that Hausa (Chadic, Afroasiatic) uses the tongue-language metonymy as a glottonym. They also found that other Chadic languages use the 'mouth-language' pairing. The 'mouth-language' and 'tongue-language' metonymic relations exhibited in Afroasiatic and Nilo-Saharan are different from, for instance, glottonyms in Niger-Congo languages such as Ki-Swahilli, Isi-Xhosa, Chi-Chewa, Se-Tswana, etc., where they are part of the noun class system.

2.5 VVsʔè and gV- 'tooth'

The teeth are important articulators, especially in the production of dental and inter-dental sounds. However, their role is not as indispensable as, for instance, 'mouth' and 'tongue'. Hence, the 'tooth-for-language' is rarer than the 'mouth-for-language' and 'tongue-for-language' metonymic relationship in Ethiopian languages.[9] The Bambasi-Diddesa Mao (Northern Mao) and Harari are the only languages whose autoglottonyms exhibit a genitive structure where the word for 'tooth' appears following the ethnonym ('tooth/language of X'), as in (9).

(12)

Glottonym	**Ethnonym**	
màw-és aasʔè	Mao (*Màw-és wole*)	(Ahland, 2012)
Mao-man tooth	Mao (Mao-people)	
gē-sinān	*gē-usuʔ*	(Beniam, 2013)
Harari/place tooth	Harari/place person	

The Diddessa Mao also call their language *maaʔes poonsä* 'mouth/language of Mao man' (Girma, 2007). It is perhaps only the Diddessa Mao people who use both

9. Radden (2001) also reports that the "tooth-for-language" metonymy is the rarest cross-linguistically.

the 'tooth-based' and the 'mouth-based' glottonyms. M.B. Ahland (2012) writes that the Northern Mao speakers call their language /*màw-és ↓aːtsʾ-tòs-è*/ LH↓MLL (Mao-people tooth/language-talk-TV) 'tooth/language of the Mao people' or sometimes /*màw-és ↓aːtsʾ-è*/ LH↓ML Mao-people tooth/language-TV 'tooth/language of the Mao people', in which *↓aːtsʾ-tòs-è* and *↓aːtsʾ-è* refer to 'tooth/language/talk'. The Bambashi Mao call their language *Mao kɔːle* 'Mao talk' (Bender, 1976).

The *gē-* prefix appears as a suffix in the toponym *Harar-gē* 'place of the Harari people'. Hence, in the ethnonym *gē-usuʔ*, the glottonym *gē-sinān* and the toponym *Harar-gē, gē-/-gē* expresses the ethnic, linguistic and geographical identities of the Harari people respectively (see also Beniam, 2013).[10] In the closely related languages Silt'e and Wolane, it appears as a suffix representing the same concept of 'place': Silt'e-gē 'Silte place' and Wolan-gē 'Wonane place' (Meyer, 2006).

2.6 -(V)*ɲɲa*, -*ŋa*, -*s(s)a*, -*tstso* and -*te*

These glottonym markers are all part of the derivational morphology in the respective languages. The suffix -(V)*ɲɲa* is widely used in Ethio-Semitic languages. In Amharic, for instance, all glottonyms have this suffix, e.g., *Hadiyy-əɲɲa* 'Hadiyyissa/Hadiyya', *Bench-əɲɲa* 'Benchnon/Bench', *Gede'o-ɲɲa* 'Gede'o afo/Gede'o' and *Nuer-əɲɲa* 'Thok Nuäärä/Nuer' (see also the national population and housing censuses that exclusively use the -(ə)*ɲɲa* suffix in the list of languages). The -(V)*ɲɲa* suffix is added to nouns to derive adjectives, as in *mälk-äɲɲa* 'good looking', *gubbo-ɲɲa* 'bribe seeker', *hakʾ-äɲɲa* 'truth seeker', and so on.

In Agaw languages, the suffix -*ŋ*V(y) is attached as a glottonym marker following ethnonyms, as shown in (10):[11]

(13)	**Glottonym**	**Ethnonym**	
	aw-ŋi	Awiya/Awawa	(Hetzron, 1969)
	Awi-GM[12]		
	Kemant-ney	Kemant	(Zelealem, 2004)
	Kemant-GM		
	Xamtʾa-ŋa	Xamir/Ximra	(Appleyard, 1987)
	Xamir-GM		

10. The suffix *-ge* appears in the name of a group of languages called Gura-ge. In Amharic, locations such as *ras-ge* /head-place/, which means 'top/up', *gər-ge* /foot-place/ 'bottom/down', and place names such as *gommän-ge* /cabbage-place/ 'cabbage place', *kʾəddəs-ge* /holy-place/ 'holy place' and *əslam-ge* /Islam-place/ 'Islam place' are used.

11. The glottonym suffix -ŋV(y)i is not recorded in other instances in the language.

12. GM = glottonym marker

The most frequently used glottonym marker among the Highland East Cushitic languages is *-issa*, as illustrated below:

(14)

Glottonym	**Ethnonym**	
Haddiy-issa	Haddiya	(Taddese, 2015)
Hadiyya-GM		
Kambaat-issa	Kambaata	(Treis, 2008)
Kambaata- GM		
Alaab-issa	Alaaba	(Schneider-Blum, 2007)
alaaba-GM		
Maʃol-issa	Mashole	(Wondwosen, 2006)
Mashole-GM		

Taddese (2015) writes that the Hadiyya people also call their language *hadiyyi̱ suume* 'mouth of Hadiyya' or *hadiyyi̱ sagara* 'voice of Hadiyya'. They say *ni̱ suumi̱ hadiyyisa* 'Our mouth/language is Hadiyyisa'.[13]

The following two Omotic languages have *-sa*/*-ts̲a* as a glottonym marker. In the ethnonym Yen-gar, the suffix *-gar* supposedly refers to 'man/person'.

(15)

Glottonym	**Ethnonym**	
Yem-sa	Yem/Yen-gar	(Zaugg-Correti, 2013)
Yem-GM		
Oydi-tsa	Oyda	(Wossen, 2020)
Oyda-GM		

The other widely used glottonym in both Cushitic and Omotic languages is the suffix -t(t)V(t)(V), as shown in (16):

(16)

Glottonym	**Ethnonym**	
Koree-te	Koore	(Beniam, 2007)
Kore-GM		
Mosi-ttata	Mosiye	(Wondwosen, 2015)
Mosiye-GM		
Diray-tat	Derashe	(Wondwosen, 2006)
Derashe-GM		
Wolaitto-ta	Wolaitta	(Aklilu, 2007)
Wolaitta-GM		

13. Since 'voice' is a precondition for the production of speech sounds and ultimately for speaking, the conceptual relationship between 'voice' and 'language' is apparent (Radden, 2001).

The language of the Mosiye is also called *Mosi-ttacha* (Wondwosen, 2015). Aklilu (2007, p. 13) writes that "Wolayta and *wolaittáttuwa* are common names for the language. It can also be referred to as *woláítta-dóónaa* 'mouth of Wolayta' or *woláítta-k'áálaa* 'word of Wolayta."

Other Omotic languages, such as Gamo and Dawro, have self-names with the suffixes *-tstso* and *-tsuwa*, respectively.

(17)

Glottonym	**Ethnonym**	
Gamo-tstso	Gamo	(Wondimu, 2010)
Gamo-GM		
Dawuroo-tsuwa	Dawuroo/Dawro	(Hanna, 2011)
Dawro-GM		

The Dawro people also refer to their language as *Dawro K'ala* 'Dawro word'.

2.7 Suppletive forms of glottonyms

Suppletive glottonyms are glottonyms that do not correspond in form and meaning to their respective ethnonyms. Such suppletive relationships between glottonyms and ethnonyms are generally rare. The glottonym *daʃa-te* versus the ethnonym Burji and the glottonym Ongota versus the ethnonym Bira(y)le are in suppletive relationships (see also Bender, 1976; Savà and Tosco, 2000). Dimmendaal (2020, p. 630) notes that "The speech community using Baale as a first language forms an ethnic unit known as Suri (or Surma) with the neighboring Tirma and Chai who speak a Southeastern Surmic language." This is a suppletive relationship between the name of the language and the name of the ethnic group. This phenomenon also shows that speakers of different languages can claim to be of the same ethnic origin. The Nuer sometimes call their language Naadh. The Dobaase and Gawaada have recently chosen to be one and share the same ethnonym, Alle, and their language is called *Dobas-ittata*. The glottonym is derived from the name Dobaase but is a suppletive form for the new ethnonym Alle. As shown in Example (4), the Gawwada also call their language *Poko Alle-te* 'mouth/language of the Alle' or *Poko Kawwa-te* 'mouth/language of Kawwate', another instance of a suppletive relationship between glottonyms and ethnonyms. Fekede (2012) writes that the Murle ethnic group speaks a language called *Aloŋanch* (meaning unknown). Esayas (2015) states that the Irob people call their language *Saaho*, another instance of a suppletive glottonym different from the name of the ethnolinguistic group. Non-Irob Saaho people call their language *Saahot luqha* or *Saahot waani*, meaning 'speech/language of the Saaho' (Esayas, 2015).

2.8 Remarks on glottonyms

It is worth noting that the use of *k'al/k'ale/k'ar*, which refers to 'word', also refers to 'language' and hence a metonym 'word for language' also occurs in Ethiopian languages. It appears in language names such as *Dawro k'ala* 'word/language of Dawro', *Kullo k'ale* 'word/language of Kullo', *Sidaam-u k'aale* 'word/language of Sidaama' and *woláítta-k'áálaa* 'word/language of Wolayta'. Fekede (2018) recorded *k'ar* 'word' in a similar context in Gurage languages, as in *Gumer k'ar* 'Gumer word/language', *Izha k'ar* 'Izha word/language' and *soddo k'ar* 'Soddo word/language'. In these languages, the idiomatic expression *k'ar awt'a* means 'produce word/language!' which also means 'speak out your testimony!' The same correlation between 'word' and 'language' is found in Amharic, as in *k'alun sät'ť'ä* (lit. 'he gave his word') which actually means 'he appeared before court or police and gave his testimony', and in *k'alun bälla* (lit. 'he ate his word'), which actually means 'he did not keep his promise.'[14]

It is also worth mentioning that, although the use of the suffix -(V)*ɲŋa* as a glottonym suffix is very common in all Ethiopian languages (see the national censuses), native speakers adhere to their own autoglottonyms and auto-ethnonyms. They are also committed to referring to other languages in the way they refer to their own language. Hence, the Afar say *Amara af* 'mouth/language of Amhara', *Oromo af* 'mouth/language of Oromo' and *Tigre af* 'mouth/language of Tigre'; the Sezo say *Amar-waani* 'mouth/language of Amhara', *Orom-waani* 'mouth/language of Oromo' and *Tigre-waani* 'mouth/language of Tigre'; and the Sidaama say *Amar afoo* 'mouth/language of Amhara', *Orom afoo* 'mouth/language of Oromo' and *Tigre afoo* 'mouth/language of Tigre'. Afaan Oromo speakers call Amharic *Afaan Amaaraa* 'mouth/language of Amhara', Gamo *Afaan Gamo* 'mouth/language of Gamo' and Anywa *Afaan Anywa* 'mouth/language of Anywa'. The Gumuz give names of other languages with the prefix *sá/sə́-* as in [*sə́-ʔágáwá*] ~ [*sá-ágáwá*] 'Agau language', while theirs is *sə-Gumuz* 'Gumuz language' (C.A. Ahland, 2012). The Northern Mao, who call their language màw-és ↓a:ts'-tòs-è 'tooth/language of the Mao people', call the languages of Hozo and Sezo (also Seze) *bègí màw-es a:ts'è* 'the languages of Mao of Bègí' following the same pattern. Note that they add the place name Bègí to distinguish them from the other Mao (M.B. Ahland, 2012).

It is also important to note that the native names of languages and ethnic groups are susceptible to mispronunciation in speech and misrepresentation in writing by non-native speakers. Being influenced by the phonological pattern of their own languages, speakers of other languages modify the pronunciation of

14. Although Radden (2001) has reported that the "word for language" reference is rare, it is relatively frequent in Ethiopian languages.

glottonyms and ethnonyms to ease pronunciation and spelling. Hence, regardless of tonal confusions, Awŋi is simplified as Awngi, Xamt'aŋa as Xamt'anga, *ʔafaa ʔa χonsóʔ* as afaa Xonso or afa Konso, *ʕafar* as Afar, *Benç* as Bench, *Bençnon* as Benchnon, *ɲaŋatom* as Nyangatom, and so on. In Omotic languages such as *aɸan Aari* 'Aari mouth/language' and *hámar-aaɸó* 'Hamer mouth/language', the bilabial fricative /ɸ/ is pronounced as /f/ and hence the *Aari aɸan* and the *Hamer aaɸó* are pronounced as *afan* and *aafo* by non-native speakers. The Nuer glottonym *ɟog nάάð* is pronounced as Tog Naz by non-natives whose first languages lack inter-dental sounds. The ethnic group Ts'amay and the language Ts'amakko are spelt as S'amai, Tsamay, Tsemay, Ts'amay, Tsemai, Tsamako and Tsamakko without any standardized form (Savà, 2005). The ten differently spelt names relating to Wolaitta in the Ethnologue (Grimes 1988) and other research papers remain a source of ambivalence that needs to be standardized.

3. Ethnonyms

3.1 Relationship between glottonyms and ethnonyms

In the preceding sections, we have seen that, with the exception of suppletive forms, language names are derived from ethnic names by attaching glottonym markers. That glottonyms are derived from ethnonyms proves their strong formal and conceptual relationships. This phenomenon also proves that language is very close to the human sense of identity. Even in the presence of distinct glottonyms and ethnonyms, it has become customary to use the same name for a language and an ethnic group. Anbessa (2000) writes that, irrespective of the endoglottonym *Sidaam-u afoo* 'mouth/language of Sidaama', the Sidaama people refer to their language and ethnic group by the same name and say *Ninke Sidaama-ho*; *K'al-i-nke Sidaama-ho* 'We are Sidaama; our language is Sidaama.' Angesom (2012) mentions that the term Kunama refers both to the people and the language. Although Anfillo natives prefer to use Anfillo for both the language and the ethnic group, the non-Anfillo use the name Mao for the ethnic group and Afaan Mao 'mouth/language of Anfillo' for their language (Amanuel, 2012). Sellassie (2015) reports that the name Gofa can be used as a glottonym or ethnonym. Although *Gede'o-ffa* is the preferred autoglottonym, Mattewos (2010) writes that the glottonym Gede'o can serve as a glottonym and ethnonym. In addition to the autoglottonyms *aku-tuk ãŋiŋãŋatɔ:m* 'mouth/language of Nyangatom' or *aku-tuk ãŋidɔŋɔro* 'mouth/language of Dongoro', the name Nyangatom can be used both for the language and the ethnic group (Hanna, 2011). Although the use of the term Oyda for both the language and ethnic group is acceptable, the autoglottonym

is *Oyd-issa* (Wossen, 2020). Though *Bench-non* and *Dawro-tso* are the autoglottonyms for the two languages, the use of Bench and Dawro is possible for both the languages and ethnic groups. Calling languages and ethnic groups by the same name is hence a commonplace in Afar, Anywa, Argobba, Burji, Hamer, Harari, Kistane, Konso, Me'en, Oromo, Oyda, Sidaama, Wolaitta, etc. It is understandable that researchers and other outsiders tend to use the same name for a language and ethnic group in order to remember, write and pronounce glottonyms and ethnonyms easily. For reasons of clarity, however, the words 'language' and 'ethnic group' can appear as modifiers, like "Afar language" versus "Afar ethnic group", "Gumuz language" versus "Gumuz ethnic group" and "Hamer language" and "Hamer ethnic group". Native names, on the other hand, are mostly used by natives themselves in intra-communication and in serious reports that require names to be pronounced or written as they are in the native languages.

3.2 Etymology of glottonyms and ethnonyms

Whereas glottonyms are derived from ethnonyms, the origins of ethnonyms are by and large narrated through folk etymologies. Some ethnolinguistic groups associate their origins with a certain incident that happened in their history. For instance, the Argobba believe that their name was derived from two events: *arab gäbba* 'Arab entered' and *harr gäbba* 'Silk entered' (Getahun, 2009).[15] There are different etymological explanations for the Kunama. Thompson (1983) suggests that the ethnonym Kunama is derived from *Ke-naama* or *Kwe-naama* which means 'men I call them, those whom I call people'. According to Nikodmos (1987), the name Kunama is a combination of the verb root *ku-* 'deviating' and the suffixes *-na* '1SG' and *-ama* 'clause marker', which all together give the meaning 'when I deviated'. The Kunama also believe that their name was derived from the name of their ancient queen, known as Kuname (Nikodmos (1987)). The Wolane believe that their ethnonym shares the same form as the toponym Wolane, derived from the expression *wäy läne* (lit. 'sorrow for me!') (Meyer, 2006). The glottonym and ethnonym Dawro means 'impregnable', 'powerful' and 'heroic' people (Data, 1997). The ethnonym Anywa (self-name *aøwa*) is derived from the verb *øwak* 'to share', which reflects their tradition of sharing food and other belongings with others (Bender, 1976).

Ethnonyms are often associated with the most prominent person among the group's ancestors. Sellassie (2015) mentions that the name Gofa was derived from one of their kings, called Kawo Gooba, which means 'the brave king'. Girma (2007) writes that the present-day Diddessa Mao migrated from Bambasi under

15. This might be associated with the introduction of silk to the Argobba area by the Arabs.

the leadership of Abba Shora, as a result of which they refer to themselves *maaʔoo abbaa šoraa* 'Abba Shora's Mao'. According to Abbink (1992), the Me'en identify themselves based on their place of origin and ancestral relations, saying *eda ga zuk-te-gunabok* 'We are Gunabok people', in which Gunabok is a name of a place, and *eda ga zuk-te-kabura* 'We are Kabura's people', in which Kabura is the name of their forefather. The Shinasha believe that their name was inherited from the Amharic expression *shi-na-shi* 'thousand and thousand', which was used for the first time when the Amhara saw them crossing their territory in big numbers to settle in their present location. Although Shinasha is the widely-known name without any derogatory connotation, natives prefer Boro (derived from the name of one of their ancestral fathers) for the people and Borna for their language (Bikila, 2018).

Empirical evidence shows that a group's self-chosen autonym often refers to 'person', 'people' or 'human' (Proschan, 1997). The ethnonym Awiiya or Awawa is derived from the root word *awi*, which means 'man/person' (Hetzron, 1969). The Baale (also known as Kachipo or Zilmamu (Dimmendaal, 2020)) call themselves *maʃi*, which also means 'person' (Bender, 1976). As mentioned in Section 2.3, the Berta, Gumuz, Me'en and Nuer ethnolinguistic groups use the word for 'person', 'people' or 'human' in their glottonyms.

Glottonyms and ethnonyms are also connected in form and meaning with toponyms. The name Ganjule (also Ganjawle), used as glottonym and ethnonym, is the name of an island (Siebert, 1994). In the same way, the glottonyms and ethnonyms Gatsʻame (also Get'eme/Kachama) and Geddicho (also Giddicho/Harro/Harruro) are taken from the names of the islands Gats'ame and Geddicho in Lake Abbaya, respectively (Siebert, 1994). Though Haruro and Geddicho were used as alternative names for the Haro, the latter is the name of an island inhabited by the Haro (Omotic) and Bayso (Cushitic) speakers (Hirut, 2004). Hirut also mentions the three villages on Geddicho Island, Shigma, Bayso and Haro, from which the glottonyms and ethnonyms Bayso and Haro are derived. Lemi (2018) states that Alkali and Geddicho are alternative names for the Bayso ethnolinguistic group. Treis (2014) writes that Baskeet can refer to the language, the ethnic group and the place they inhabit. She also mentions the name Basketo as a special sub-district inhabited by the Baskeet people. The Koore, who speak a language called *Koree-te*, call the place where they live *Koorr-uso*, the *-uso* suffix probably meaning 'place/land' (Beniam, 2007). The present-day Dawro were known as Kullo after the name of a place called Kuilii (Hirut, 2007). According to Tsehay (2011), Dangabo is a name given by the Oromo to the Shinasha after a place name called Dangab. The two dialects of Bora or Shinasha are known as *worwi bora* or *tari bora* 'lowland Bora' and *gayi bora* 'highland Bora' (Tsehay, 2011), based on geographical location. Similarly, speakers of *Aw-ŋi* and *Kumpal-ŋi* are iden-

tified as *däg-isi Agaw* 'highland Agaw' and *kol-isi Agaw* 'lowland Agaw', respectively (Zelealem, 2020). The Kara call their neighbors Hamar-Banna and Bashada 'mountain people' based on the geographical location they occupy (Girke, 2011). The name Mosiye (also Bussa) is believed to have been derived from the Gidole name *mosiy* 'country' (Bender, 1976). The Zay believe that they inherited their name from Lake Zway. Dabala and Girma (2005) claim that the term Anfillo came from the name of the place where the Anfillo people currently live. Amanuel (2012), on the other hand, claims that it is a term that originated from the word Afallo, a traditional cleansing ritual to get rid of bad weather and epidemics.

Ethnolinguistic groups may identify themselves based on their subsistence. The name Arbore/Erbore/Irbore (also known as Ulde) is derived from *ar* 'bull' and *bore* 'land' which together means 'the land of bulls', depicting their pastoral life. According to Sagawa (2010), the Dasaanach call themselves *gaal aaniet* 'people of livestock'. Although not reflected in their names, the Mursi and Bodi identify themselves as 'cattle people' and look down on the Kwegu who are hunter-gatherers (Dimmendaal, 1989). Ethnolinguistic groups may identify one another as friends and foes depending on their relationship. Whereas the Dasaanach classify the Kara and Arbore as *gaal kinnyo* 'our people' due to their friendly relations with them, they consider the Turkana, Nyangatom, Hamer and Gabra, with whom they have hostile relationships, as *kiz* 'enemies' (Sagawa, 2010).

3.3 Mononymous and polyonymous names

Proschan (1997) points out the problem underlying the proliferation of names in multilingual countries where a single language and ethnic group is simultaneously known by its autonyms as well as by various exonyms. The same language or ethnic group is represented by multiple names due to the fact that missionaries, researchers, census takers and other ethnolinguistic groups bestow names while disregarding autonyms. The use of multiple names (polyonymous names) for mutually intelligible languages, as in the Ometo clusters, is one of the perplexing linguistic issues in Ethiopia. Another similar issue could be the use of a single name (mononymous name) such as Gurage for mutually unintelligible languages (Aklilu, 2019). It has often been mentioned that the name Mao is one of the most confusing terms in Ethiopia. It refers not only to genetically related languages and their speakers, but also to unrelated languages that belong to Afroasiatic and Nilo-Saharan phyla (Girma & Endashaw, 2020). Grotanelli (1940) used the term Mao for the first time and divided the group into eight compound names, namely Bambeshi Mao, Didessa Mao, Ganza Mao, Gebsi Mao, Hozo Mao, Madegi Mao, Northern Mao and Sezo Mao on the basis of their geographical locations in the present-day Mao-Komo district. M. B. Ahland (2012) states that the name Mao has

continued to be a source of confusion, referring to a variety of different groups and languages in the literature. The true Mao language and ethnic group is hence still unknown.

In the Ethnologue publications, most Ethiopian languages are represented with more than five names, including Amharic. Grimes (1988), for instance, lists 22 different names (some of them different spellings) for a single language called Dhasaanac (as it is referred to by Tosco, 2001). The small language and language community Zay is identified by multiple names and varying spellings: Zayiŋŋa, Lak'i and Lak'iŋŋa (Gardner & Siebert, 1994); Zway, Laqi and Laqiŋŋa (Leslau, 1999); and Zway and Laaqi (Meyer, 2005). C.A. Ahland (2012) states that the Gumuz language and people have been designated by a variety of given and self-names: Mendeya, Debatsa, Debuga, Dehenda, Gunza (Dakunza, Dukunz), Domola, Funj (Funyi), Disoha, Jamara, Sese, Sai, Bega, Gumuz, etc., many of which are clan names in both Ethiopia and Sudan. The small ethnolinguistic group called Opuuo is known by different names including Shita, Ansita, Ciita, Cita, Kina, Kwina, Langa, Opo, Opo-Shita, Opuo and Shiita (Mellese, 2014).

The problems distinguishing between dialects and languages could be one reason for the multiplicity of glottonyms and ethnonyms. In other words, languages can bear multiple names based on their dialects, as in Chari-Tirmaga-Mursi, Tishena-Bodi-Meén, Koegu-Yidinit-Muguji, Kunama-Baada and Baaza-Diila (Dimmendaal, 1998; Bender, 1976, 2000). According to Dimmendaal (1998); Greenberg's (1966) Suri (also known as Surma and Didinga-Murle) is found to be an ethnonym covering three languages: Baale, Tirmaga and Chai. Dimmendaal (1998) added that although Tirmaga and Chai are in a dialect continuum with Mursi, ethnically, speakers of the latter consider themselves a distinct group. Azeb (2007) writes that except some lexical and morphological differences, Zargulla and Zayse are varieties of the same language. They are however taken as the names of two different languages. Siebert (1994) remarks that "Gats'ame and Harro are the same" but use different glottonyms and ethnonyms. Ganjule, Gatsame (Kachama) and Haro are mutually intelligible varieties that can be considered as dialects of Haro (Hirut, 2004). K'abeena is considered as a dialect of Kambaata (Hudson, 1976), as a close relative of Alaba (Crass, 2005) and as an independent language with a glottonym called Womba (Leslau, 1952). Crass also mentions that Alaba, K'abeena and T'imbaaro are members of the Kambaata group or descendants of Kambaata that have diverged through time. Wondimu (2010) writes that Gamo has about 42 dialects in which each dialect bears its own name: Ganta, Garbansa, Mele, etc. from Southern Gamo and Dach'e, K'uch'a, Ocholo, etc. from Northern Gamo. In Triulzi et al. (1976), there are five alternative names for Berta: Gamili, Gebato, Undu, Mayu and Fadashi. Jeblawi is another imposed name which the Berta people do not like.

According to Gebre (2010), the Aari came into contact with the Amharic-speaking people, who came from central and northern parts of Ethiopia, in the late nineteenth century. They call all non-Aari ethnic groups who can speak Amharic (Amhara, Gurage, Oromo, Tigraway, etc.) Gama and their language *Gam-af* or *Gama-af*, irrespective of their ethnic and linguistic differences. The Hamer call the Erbore Marle and their language *Marle ap^{h}o* 'mouth of Marle/Erbore' (Bender, 1976). The Bodi are called Tumr by the Mursi and Sägur by the Dime, though the meaning of these terms is not known (Hanna, 2011). The Koore people, who speak Koreete (also Koyra), are known as Koyra by the Amhara, Baaditu by the Oromo, Baadi by the Burji, Gobbit by the Zagise, Afa Hoyra by the Konso and Hoyrisate by the Derashe (Samuel, 2013).

The Gawwada language (also known as Gawwata, Gauwwada, Kawwada) is known by researchers as Dullay (Amborn, Minker, & Sasse, 1980), Werizoid (Bender, 1976; Black, 1976) and Qawko (Hayward, 1978). Hayward (1978) and Hirut (2007) also mentioned the confusion between Gobeze and *dopace, dirayta/diraasha* and Gidole, Musiya and Bussa; and Geddicho, Haro and Haruro. The *-(o)id* suffix, common in Niger Congo, as in Akoko-id, Ijo-id, Taroko-id, Yurubo-id, Banto-id, etc. (Williamson & Blench, 2000), was introduced to the Ethiopian languages in the 1970s by Bender and Fleming, as in Oromo-id, Konso-id, Sidaamo-id, Aro-id, Somalo-id and Werizo-id, which refer to Oromo, Konso, Sidaama, Aari, Somali and Worize and their respective varieties and closely related languages (Black, 1976; Tsuge, 2003).[16]

Some ethnolinguistic groups, although they have different names, claim to have a shared identity. Very recently, the Gawwada and Dobasse claimed to be one ethnolinguistic group with the name Alle, their language being Dobasittata. Azeb (2014, p. 91) writes that, "Although known by the name Zargulla in various scientific publications and in official documents including the national censuses prior to 2007, the speakers identify themselves as Gamo and they refer to their language as Gamo-ʦo." The author adds that except for the fact that the Zargulla claim to be Gamo ethnically, their languages belong to different branches of the Ometo cluster with no mutual intelligibility. Freeman (2006) reports that, although communities such as Balta, Sorba and Zargulla speak a language different from Gamo, and follow a cultural tradition significantly different from northern Gamo, they refer to themselves and their language as Gamo. According to Wondimu (2010), Mele and Shara are spoken by Gamo sub-communities

16. Theil (2012) uses the terms Dizoid and Aroid in his recent attempt at reclassifying Omotic. Otherwise, the grouping of languages with the -(o)id suffix is no longer widely used in the most recent classifications. The terms Werize and Gobeze were coined by Bender (1971), but at present no ethnolinguistic group identifies itself with these names.

and are mutually intelligible with other varieties such as Zayse (native name *Zayse-te*), Zargulla, Ganta, Garbansa and Balta. On the other hand, the Ethiopian Languages Research Center (2005) reports that Gamo is mutually intelligible with Gofa, Wolaitta and Dorze. They are however designated by independent glottonyms and ethnonyms and consider themselves independent from each other.

Some scholars have reflected on the socio-political problems associated with the proliferation of glottonyms and ethnonyms. As pointed out by Hudson (2012), as a result of the dialect/language confusion and the creation of new linguistic and ethnic identities, there exists a discrepancy between different national censuses in the number and nomenclature of languages and ethnic groups. Aklilu (2019) writes that the aspirations of activists and politicians for more land, increased funding and above all to get representation in the Regional and Federal parliamentarian seats, even those groups who speak the same language pretend to be speakers of different languages. The ethnic federalism that the country has introduced since 1991 has led to the flaring up of ethnocentric feelings, which can give rise to ethnic tensions and impede the efforts of nation building (Abbink, 2011). The multiplicity of names of languages and ethnic groups is challenging for inventories of languages and dialects and has also a serious impact in research and policy activities.

3.4 Self-names vs. imposed names

Self-names or endonyms are bestowed by natives themselves while imposed names, or exonyms, are names given by outsiders. The latter includes names that are offensive to ethnolinguistic groups, who prefer to be called by their own names. Kembo-Sure and Webb (2000) state that misnomers of languages and ethnic groups are huge challenges to national integration and cohesion in multilingual Africa. According to Bender (2000), offensive names such as 'stranger', 'non-believer' and 'slave' are the commonly used derogatory names. In other instances, people can be discriminated against based on their handicraft works. The Guchchi, Manno and K'ejo are among the six clans of the Shekkacho ethnolinguistic group. Though they speak the same language, Shakkinoono, they are considered as new-comers, as slaves and as "bad people", whose occupations are tanning and pottery (Tolemariam, 2009). Wossen (2020) mentions the three social hierarchies of Oyda: Malli, Tsoma and Manna. Malli is the ruling family, which includes the Oydina and Debina clans. The Oydina are considered superior. The Tsoma are known to be the commoners, consisting of a cluster of clans and forming the bulk of the population. The Manna are the marginalized artisan groups consisting mainly of the Otto Manna (potters) and Kotse Manna (black-

smiths). The Zay are called *laaqi* which means 'paddler/stirrer' by the surrounding Oromo, derived from their use of canoes (Meyer, 2005).

Dimmendaal (1989) writes that the hunter-gatherer Kwegu (Surmic, Nilo-Saharan) perceive themselves as "river people", in contradistinction to the neighboring pastoral Mursi and Bodi, who think of themselves as "cattle people" and look down on the Kwegu for their way of life and eating habits. Turton and Bender write the following observation concerning inter-ethnic perceptions between the Bodi and Mursi and the Kwegu:

> The Mursi claim that the Kwegu language is particularly difficult to learn, a fact which is presumably related to the socially inferior position to which the Kwegu are allotted by both their Mursi and Bodi neighbors, who do not allow them to keep cattle, and who believe indeed that close contact between a Kwegu and cattle is extremely harmful to the latter. (Turton & Bender, 1976, p. 535)

The Kwegu speak the language of the Bodi and Mursi, but not vice versa. The hunter-gatherer Kwegu are considered inferior by the agro-pastoral Me'en, too, who name them Yidinit. The Kefa (also Gonga) people divide themselves into *oge ashi yaroo* 'clan of great people', *dea ashi yaroo* 'clan of good people', *sharare ashi yaroo* 'ordinary people' and *gonde ashi yaroo* 'craft workers' (Lange, 1982). The Manja (also Manjo) and Chara, who are considered by the Kaficho to be unclean, mainly for their eating habits, speak Kefinoonoo, but the Kaficho do not speak Manja or Chara. The Manja are outcast by the Shekkacho too, for eating colobus monkey, porcupine and dead animals and worms (Tolemariam, 2009). According to Meyer (2005), in former times, the Zay were known as 'worm eaters' for their habit of eating fish. The Woyt'o people around Lake Tana, who were known as hippo eaters, gradually abandoned their cultural and linguistic identities and became Amhara and Amharic speakers (Zelealem, 2004).

Ethnic groups describe one another based on their way of life and history of slavery and migration. The Me'en call the Dizi, Bench, Na'o (Nayi) and Chara *su* or *gimbirit* because they are considered immigrant groups to the area (Abbink, 1992). The Majangir are known by derogatory names such as Masango, Tama and Ujang, all associated with slavery (Getachew, 2014). Regarding their language, Joswig (2019) lists ten glottonyms: the self-name Ato Majangeronk 'mouth of Majang people', Ajo, Mageno, Majangir, Majanjiro, Mezhenger, Masongo, Mesengo, Ojang, and Tama, all without derogatory connotation. The Dasaanach are known as Geleb in Ethiopia and Merile and Shangilla in Kenya (Tosco, 2001). Whereas the term Shankalla (also Shanqilla, Shank'illa) is used for the 'dark black-skinned' people in Ethiopia (Pankhurst, 1977), Hamej, which means 'ignorant serf', is used by Arabic speakers on the Sudanese border (Cerulli, 1956). The Kumpal were known as *kunfäl*, which in Amharic refers to an 'unattractive face'

(Cowley, 1971). The same people are called *bikalka* 'hybrid' by the Awi because of their complexion, which brings together the Awi and Gumuz physical features (Zelealem, 2020). The derogatory term Baria is given to Kunama due to their black skin color and the history of slave raids in the area (Nikodimos, 1987). Irrespective of linguistic or cultural differences, the dark-skinned Gumuz call anybody outside of their ethnic group *käyy* 'red', referring to skin colors not as dark as theirs.

The alternative ethnonyms of Shinasha include Sinichoo, Dangabo, Boro and Gonga. The Shinasha, however, do not particularly like the name Sinichoo, which means 'hot pepper', given to them by the Oromo for their strong resistance to the Oromo expansion into their area in the sixteenth century (Bikila, 2018). According to Girke (2011), the small ethnolinguistic group Kara (also Karo), whose number is about 1500, divide themselves into 'true' or 'dominant' Kara, who retain the name Kara, and lower-ranked Kara who are identified as Bogudo, Gomba and Moguji. Both the high-ranked and low-ranked Karas speak the same language. The Kwegu are known as Nydi by the Mursi, Muguji by the Kara and the Hamar, and Yidinit by the Me'en. It is likely that all these names are pejorative as far as the attitudes of the neighboring ethnolinguistic groups to the Kwegu are concerned. The imposed name Janjaro for the Yem is an abusive name. Kullo and Konta are used as alternative names for Dawro by most researchers. Nevertheless, the name Kullo as ethnonym and Kullo k'ale 'Kullo word/language' as glottonym are not preferred by the Dawro (Bender, 1976; Data, 1997). The Gwama are called Nokanoka by the Koma and Amam by the Berta. They are also called Afaan Mao, Gogwama, Goma, Koma of Asosa, North Koma, T'wa Kwama, and Takwama (Grimes, 1988). From these names, they accept Afaan Mao, the name given by the neighboring Oromo (Bender, 1975). The Nyangatom are also called by the derogatory name Bume.[17] For Kaficho and Shekkacho, Mocha is considered an alternative name. However, it is perceived as a derogatory name by both the Kaficho and Shekkacho ethnolinguistic groups (Haasnoot, 2010). Moges (2007, p. 255) states that "The Majangir use different names to refer to their various neighbors: Daniir for the Omotic Shekko, Galeer for the Semitic Amhara, Beriyen for the Nilotic Anywa, Jijen for the Omotic Bench, Churiyen for the Surmic Me'en, Donjiyen for the Omotic Kafinoonoo, and Damanir for the Surmic Baale."[18] Getachew (2014) has mentioned *ɓerjeer* given to the Anywa, *meerjeer* to the Bench, and *doɲʤeer* to the Kaffa by the Majangir. They also refer to the Shekka as Sekaseer, Dizi as

17. The Nyangatom are nicknamed 'yellow guns' by Tornay (1981) without any further explanation.

18. Meanings were not given by the author.

Masiyeer, Muwer as Narakɔ, and Chabu as Mekɛyeer (Sabuye) and Maɲʤeer (Manʤa), a clan considered 'untouchable' by the Kafficho and Shekkacho.

That ethnolinguistic groups are keen on autoglottonyms and autoethnonyms but show strong resistance to exoglottonyms and exoethnonyms is very true. The 1999 failed attempt to impose a hybrid name on the Wolaitta, Gamo, Gofa and Dawro ethnolinguistic groups as WOGAGODA and to harmonize the languages to produce teaching materials, which ended up with the loss of lives and a large amount of money, is a good example. Abbink (2009, p. 606) wrote the following remark concerning this tragedy:

> WOGAGODA was the name of a composite Omotic language in which the federal government wanted to conduct local administration and the education system, in order to save costs and "unite" four groups: the Wolaitta, Gamo, Gofa and Dawro, all speaking closely related languages. But the groups resisted; notably the dominant Wolaitta, who feared being overruled by others and rejected cultural-linguistic "colonization". Protests erupted in November 1999 in which c.12 people were killed and millions worth of school books and property were destroyed.

The strong resistance against imposed names with pejorative connotations started after the downfall of the imperial regime in 1974 and still continues today. As a result, a number of glottonyms and ethnonyms with pejorative connotations were officially changed to self-names. The widely-known name Shabo for a dying Nilo-Saharan language and its speakers has changed into Chabu or Mikeyir (also Mikair, Mekeyir or Mekeyer) because the people were not happy with the name Shabo (Kibebe-Tsehay, 2015). It has been on the news that representatives of the Berta ethnolinguistic group have recently decided their language and ethnic group should be called Benishangul. According to Triulzi (1975, p. 57), the name Benishangul is derived from two words Belā and Shangul which means 'the rock of Shangul' after "the sacred oblong-shaped rock (*shangul*) which was brought there by its first Bertha settler." The change of toponyms such as Nazret to Adama, Debrezeyit to Bishoftu, Asebe Teferi to Ch'iro and Zəway to Batu are lexical replacements. The changes of Alemaya to Harumaya, Awasa to Hawasa and Alaaba to Halaaba represent sound replacements. The Zay complain that the names of the islands they inhabit have been changed from the Ge'ez-based names to Afaan Oromo-based names and hence Debre Chon (Debre Tsion) became Tullu Guddo, Aysut (Abraham) became Ts'edecha and Famat (Gete-Semane) became Funduro (Meyer, 2005). According to Allen (1983), ethnic slurs (also called ethnophaulism) are reported to be the most dangerous discourse, with a devastating effect in igniting ethnic conflicts. It has always been people's concern that the use of abusive language, intentionally or unintentionally, can easily spark public unrest.

4. Concluding remarks

The gist of this paper is about language and ethnic nomenclature and the relationship between them. Ethiopian Afroasiatic languages (Cushitic, Omotic and Semitic) are similar to Chadic languages in the use of mouth-language and tooth-language metonyms in glottonyms. In addition to the mouth-language metonymy, a number of Nilo-Saharan languages, and Harari and Ge'ez from Ethio-Semitic, use the root words for 'tongue' in their glottonyms. The tooth-based glottonym is recorded in only a few Omotic languages. The use of vocal organs as glottonym markers is presumably one of the features that make Afro-Asiatic and Nilo-Saharan languages similar.

The study reveals the strong attachment of speakers to their respective languages. The sharing of the same basic form between glottonyms and ethnonyms is the primary evidence for the strong attachment. The high esteem and positive attitudes of natives in relation to self-names and the low esteem and negative attitude they give to externally imposed names is additional evidence. The structure and meaning of glottonyms reveal that, whereas the concept of "language" seems to be a recent introduction and hence lacking lexical representations, the terms for 'voice' or 'word' or 'speech' or 'talk' and above all the vocal organs 'mouth', 'tooth' and 'tongue' are archaic, more prominent and widespread forms in many languages. Natives also express the 'home' and 'village' domain in their glottonyms. Some ethnolinguistic groups consider their languages as the voices of all other people and even all human beings. In their glottonyms, they strongly connect themselves to their regional affiliations, such as the Amhara to the Amhara Region, the Oromo to the Oromia Region, the Tigraway to the Tigray Region, etc.[19] The folk etymology of ethnonyms also reveals that some ethnolinguistic groups inherited their names from their ancestral leaders or from a certain remarkable incident or from toponyms. Pastoralist ethnolinguistic groups are proud of their subsistence practices and hence call themselves and their land after their cattle. There are rare instances where a certain ethnolinguistic group refers to neighboring groups as 'our people' or 'our enemies'.

The multiplicity of names of ethnic groups and their languages has created a lot of confusion for natives, census takers, responsible researchers and policy

19. The ethnic and linguistic foundation of the Ethiopian Federation is particularly apparent in six of the eleven federal states: Afar regional state (ethnonym Afar and glottonym Afar Af), Amhara regional state (ethnonym Amhara and glottonym Amarəɲɲa), Oromia regional state (ethnonym Oromo and glottonym Afaan Oromo), Sidaama regional state (ethnonym Sidaama and glottonym Sidaam-u Afoo), Somali regional state (ethnonym Somali and glottonym Af Somali) and Tigray regional state (ethnonym Tigraway and glottonym Tigr-əɲɲa).

makers. It remains a challenge when producing inventories of languages and dialects. There are several cases whereby speakers of related dialects assume different glottonyms and ethnonyms. Missionaries, researchers and neighboring ethnolinguistic groups are responsible for the proliferation of names and for all the confusion created. Ethnologue, with its wide circulation all over the world, should update its lists of languages by excluding derogatory names.[20] Individuals and institutions should avoid using such names in their publications. In Ethiopia, misnomers have always been causes of resentment and ethnic tensions that can pass from generation to generation. No ethnic group, big or small, is blameless in the use of pejorative names. As pointed out in Hudson (2012), the persistent challenges concerning disparities between names of languages and their dialects, and between endonyms and exonyms, and names often thought derogatory, remains a problem in Ethiopia. Hence, it is high time for the exclusive use of self-names as standard names and for the fostering of mutual respect among ethnolinguistic groups.

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20. "We include these names as a means of helping users find languages they may have only heard of or seen referred to by such names. By so doing, *Ethnologue* in no way implies any endorsement of the pejorative names." Ethnologue Website

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PART 2

Personhood, sociality, and naming

CHAPTER 6

Conceptions of the make-up of a human person in Ewe

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Humans everywhere construct ethnopsychological models of a person which involves a physical body and non-physical aspects. There is variation in how the non-physical parts of a person are construed. Invariably, it is assumed that this other part is "invisible inside" (Goddard, 2018, p. 168; Levisen, 2017; Peeters, 2019a). The question of what the components of a human person in African culture(s) are has been discussed, and debated in the literature (see e.g., Cotzee & Roux, 2004). In this paper, I examine the conceptual model of a person in Ewe communities of practice in West Africa through the prism of language and the meanings of the terms for the ethnopsychological constructs of a person.

Keywords: personhood universals and relativities, Ewe ideologies of personhood, contact effects in conceptualization, diversity of conceptual schemas, cultural semantics

> The proper anthropological understanding of 'persons' – human beings considered as "psycho-socio-biological individuals" (Spiro 1993: 117) – is today the site of intense debate. Universalists (…) argue that people in every society must understand personhood in essentially the same way. Relativists, suggests Spiro, miss evidence for cross-cultural regularities by essentializing local ethnopsychological stereotypes, failing to explore variation and change. Relativists (…) argue that universalists neglect the complexity of local context and provide no place for the dialogic relationship between individual and culture.
>
> (Hill & MacLaury, 1995, p. 227)

1. Introduction

Like several themes in worldview (see, e.g., Kearney, 1984; Brown, 1990), the universality and culture specificity of the notion of 'person', as the quote above sums up, are contested. Across lingua-cultures the human person is conceptualized as having components. In most cultures a person is construed as having physical

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and non-physical parts. The physical part is the body which is visible. The non-physical parts are thought of as "inside" the body (e.g., Goddard, 2018, p. 168) and invisible (e.g., Wierzbicka, 1989, 1992, 2016; Levisen, 2017; see also Peeters, 2019a, 2019b). There is variation as to whether the non-physical parts are all conceptualized as being inside the body. I will argue below that while the Ewe also distinguish between physical and non-physical parts of a person, several of the non-physical parts are not viewed as being inside the body (see also Hill, 2019, on the Longgu conceptualization of the human person from "inside-out").

From an anthropological linguistic perspective, the cross-cultural study of the conceptions of a person or personhood has two dimensions. First is the question of what is the status of a person in the network of relations in the community. This question is very much intertwined with the relationship of the 'self' with 'others'. Foley (1997, p. 261) draws attention to the intricacies involved and points to the role of linguistic practices in uncovering responses to the question:

> ... the repertoire of linguistic practices in a culture, embodied in the habitus of that culture's members, are both indicative and constitutive of its conception or local ideology of personhood – what is a person and what are the types of persons there can be?

A second dimension is the understanding of the make-up of a person in a culture. These questions have been debated over the centuries across various disciplines such as philosophy, anthropology, psychology and theology, and less so in linguistics (see Section 2) and also with respect to African cultures. Both questions are complicated by historical change and also by the extent to which they are entangled in beliefs about metaphysical, spiritual, supernatural or divine entities. One danger in this respect is the temptation to subsume one non-dominant worldview or ontological system under another.

With these issues in mind, the goal of the present chapter is to explore the conceptualization of personhood by Ewe speakers of Ghana, drawing out their ideology from the repertoire of linguistic and cultural practices. I will point out variations related to beliefs about what makes a person, and propose representations for the content of the relevant linguistic terms, using Minimal English (based on the Natural Semantic Metalanguage NSM) to make insiders' knowledge accessible both to the insiders and outsiders of the culture (e.g., Goddard & Wierzbicka, 2018; Goddard (ed.) 2021). I will argue that the Ewe construe a person as being made up of a body and other invisible beings, which manifest themselves in certain contexts and can therefore be seen at times. Also, with one or two exceptions, these invisible beings are viewed as being external to rather than inside the body. In unravelling the Ewe ideologies of a person, one has to be cognizant of the historical evolution of the ideas in religion and also in terms of cul-

tural contact. Discussing the concept of person among the Ga, neighbors of the Ewe in south eastern Ghana, Engmann (1992, p. 153) notes two constraints: first that "the influence of Christianity in the area has been deep and widespread", and second that there is individual variation in the understandings of the components of a person. An added constraining factor that emerges is the traces of contact among the cultures of the Lower Volta Basin, which is evident in the names for certain components of a person. As we shall see below, and as Debrunner (1959, p. 15) noted, "[I]t is remarkable that the Twis, Gas, and even the Ewes use the same word *kra, kla, klama*", which Dzobo (1992a, pp. 130–131) suggests is "[t]he creative principle in man" and implies that it is a shared conceptual feature across West Africa, with different lingua-cultures having different names for it: "The following are some of the names: *sé* or *kra* (Ewe), *okra* (Akan), *kla* (Ga), *ori* (Yoruba), *chi* (Igbo), *dya* (Mende) and *we* (Kasem)" (Dzobo, 1992a, pp. 130–131). Thus we are dealing with both borrowing of matter and with pattern replication (Matras, 2019).

In the next section, I review some of the literature on studies of personhood in African cultures from the perspectives of philosophy, anthropology and theology or religion. I then discuss the cultural semantics approach to the analysis of ethnopsychological personhood constructs as carried out by NSM researchers (see e.g., Peeters, 2019b). Section 3 discusses the Ewe conceptualization of personhood. The exploration is based on ideas and data gathered from linguistic expressions and their interpretations in everyday use, proverbs and sayings, as well as in indigenous religion and cultural practices. Data and evidence are also drawn from creation myths, personal names as a reflection of values and beliefs, and symbols as external representations of thought patterns. I also draw on information from consultations with various speakers of Ewe, as well as my own "insider" knowledge of Ewe practices.

2. Setting the scene

2.1 Some anthropological views on personhood in Africa

In his review of a classical collection of ethnographic studies on the notion of a human person in Africa, presented at a conference organized at the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* (CNRS) in Paris in 1971, published in 1973,[1]

1. As Beattie notes in his review, it is not clear who the editor of the volume is. The colloquium was organized by G. Dieterlen and the introduction, which is more of an editorial introduction,

Beattie (1980) notes that the terms "self", "person" and "individual" tend to be used interchangeably, "[b]ut they do have slightly different connotations" (p. 313). He observes that "self" and "person" overlap and are different from "individual". "'Individual' is an indivisible entity, a private 'I', discrete, bounded and complete in itself" (p. 314). "Self" is an awareness from within of who am I while "person" "has a more self-conscious constructed quality, we are persons for others and without their regard we can hardly conceive ourselves. This view is (...) taken from without. And the question is 'what, in a given culture, are thought to be the essential components of a human person?'" (p. 314). This last point is the research question that contributors to the volume – anthropologists and philosophers – have grappled with. They were in part inspired by the questions of Marcel Mauss, and many related their studies to him and also to the etymology of the term "person" from the Latin *persona* 'mask' (see some of the studies in Carrithers et al. (1985) for further discussion of the ideas and views of Marcel Mauss).

Beattie's succinct characterizations of "self" and "person" resonate with the anthropological linguistic dimensions of personhood mentioned in Section 1. As we shall see below, persons in Ewe are persons for others where the others are not just other human persons but also other beings that are around them. The idea that personhood has a constructed quality also links with ethnopsychological and cultural semantics studies of the concept in given cultures (see Section 2.3). Beattie identified four themes related to the notion of a human person in the volume:

> The first is the marked stress on *context* in defining oneself (...) Second is the emphasis on the *composite* nature of the person (...) seen as comprising sometimes a number of separable parts. Thirdly, and connectedly, there is the notion of the self as *open*, a kind of arena, rather than something closed and private. And finally there is the idea of *degree*. (p. 314, italics in original)

In elaborating on these themes in his review, Beattie raised many questions which are instructive for the study of the conceptualization of personhood in Africa and beyond. I therefore draw attention to some pertinent ones. With respect to the components of the person, for instance, Beattie observes that the separable parts are expected to co-exist in harmony, but what kind of harmony? He adds that "[s]ometimes the accounts of the components of the 'person' look more like inventories than analyses" (p. 318). Some questions that might enrich the analysis include: how are the various components related? Do they form a kind of hierarchy? "Are they all thought to be present simultaneously (and more or less) permanently?" (p. 318). Another question Beattie asked relates to "the difficulty

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is provided by M. Carty. In some bibliographic entries either of these people may be presented as the editor. I follow those who cite the volume as edited by Dieterlen.

of defining limits to the person or self; of determining what, in a given culture, is regarded as being inside it, and what is outside it" (p. 316). (Lienhardt (1985) presents some views on the self in some African groups.) I believe that an interpretive anthropological linguistic approach that peels away language and linguistic practices to uncover cultural understandings and knowledge (Foley, 1997, p. 3) can contribute to addressing some of these questions which Beattie acknowledges need to be asked, although Beattie was not sure whether they are answerable. I attempt to address some of these questions for the Ewe language and culture in this chapter.

2.2 Debates from African philosophy on personhood

The question of what the components of a human person in African culture(s) are has been discussed extensively by philosophers. The discussions have been dominated, however, by some agendas which in the end have not illuminated the question. One such problem with the discussion is the framing of the question in terms of a monolithic "African" culture. Thus Dzobo (1992a, p. 123) presents the question as the search for the image of humans in "African indigenous culture". A more challenging aspect of the discussions by philosophers, as Fayemi (2009, p. 166) puts it, is that "the discourse on the nature of human personality in African thought" has adopted "the comparative methodological approach (…) vis-a-vis the Western philosophical perspectives". This introduces a paradox: African modes of thinking are discussed with respect to how they fare against Western and, I might add, sometimes Middle Eastern views on personhood. Thus Dzobo (1992a, p. 123) claims that the question of "'What is the nature of man?' strictly speaking is a metaphysical question (…) As a *metaphysical question* it asks for what constitutes the elements of a man's being." (emphasis added FKA). One may well ask "Whose metaphysics?" There are different viewpoints on the elements of metaphysical thinking. Cultures also differ with respect to the importance they attribute to the different elements. As Teffo and Roux (1990) indicate, elements of metaphysical thinking deemed important in African cultures are derided in other worldviews.

Another aspect of this comparison, especially with Western philosophical ideas, is that native philosophers of the same community have different interpretations and correspondences to the Western concepts. Thus the Akan native philosophers Kwasi Wiredu and Kwame Gyekye disagree about the conceptual analysis of the components of a person in Akan thought, Gyekye (1995, p. 85) reports that "*ɔkra* can be considered as the equivalent of the concept of the soul in other metaphysical systems. Hence, it is correct to translate *ɔkra* into English as soul". Gyekye (1995, p. 86) opposes his view to that of Wiredu noting that Wiredu thinks that

this translation of *ɔkra* as 'soul' is "quite definitely wrong" (1983, p. 119). "He [i.e., Wiredu FKA] for his part would translate the *ɔkra* as 'that whose presence in the body means life and whose absence means death'" (Gyekye, 1995, p. 86).

The two Akan philosophers also have different views about the content of *ɔkra*. For Wiredu

> "[t]he *ɔkra* is postulated in Akan thought to account for the fact of life and destiny but not of thought. The soul, on the other hand, seems in much Western philosophy to be intended to account not just for life but also for thought. Indeed in Cartesian philosophy, the sole purpose of introducing the soul is to account for the phenomenon of thinking." (Wiredu, 1983, p. 127)

Gyekye (1995, p. 87) counteracts this argument by saying that "Any living human being must have consciousness. This being the case, consciousness, which is equivalent to the soul or mind in Descartes, can be a translation of *ɔkra*". Gyekye thus thinks that thought is associated with *ɔkra*. This makes it difficult to get a view of the conception of *ɔkra* and more generally of the components of a person in Akan thought. Implicit in the discussion is the assumption that the Western philosophical ideas of "soul", "consciousness", "mind", etc. are universal concepts. An anthropological linguistic and cultural semantics approach would challenge such a universalist approach and draw out the culture specificity and the diversity of conceptualization of the components of a person.

Similar to the challenges posed by the discourse of comparing the African conceptual schemes to the models in Western philosophy is the influence of their contact with Judeo-Christian traditions, other world religions and colonialism. There is an attempt to link and give Christian and other interpretations to the African conceptions in a way that forces foreign views onto existing concepts. As Dzobo (1992a, pp. 131–132) put it, commenting on the view of one of the components of a person in African understandings:

> The most devastating effect of Western colonization and missionary proselytization on Africa is the removal of a genuine capacity for free action from Africans who have been made into objects of history instead of being its subjects. To a considerable extent Africans (…) have adopted the passive role of acquiescence before alleged immutable cosmic laws imposed on them by foreign religion and education.

There is however a growing interest in seeking to understand African conceptions of the make-up of a person and their relationship to Western conceptions and to exploit these in psychiatry and psychology, showing how these conceptualizations influence people's everyday behavior and well-being. Anthropological linguistic

studies of the meanings of the way peoples and cultures view the person and what constitutes it would contribute immensely to this endeavor.

2.3 The cultural semantics of the components of a person

Linguists have generally not paid much attention to the metaphysical components of a person. The closest we get is in discussions of possession and body-part syntax, where representations of persons such as shadow and footprints are considered as parts of a person/body because their grammatical behavior is consistent with that of other physical body parts (see e.g., Nichols 1998, and the studies in Chappell & McGregor, 1996). Very very few linguistic studies examine this topic. For instance, Aikhenvald (2015) explores the grammar, meaning and cultural importance of tripartite aspects of person in the Papuan language Manambu – body, mind, and spirit. Pawlak (2014) explores the ideas about "self" reflected in Hausa expressions based on states of the body and body parts (cf. Dimmendaal 2002). Meanwhile, Evans and Wilkins (2001) lament the limited cross-linguistic exploration of the meaning of words for person and its neglect as a topic in comparative lexicology. On the basis of data from Australian languages, Evans and Wilkins show the wealth of knowledge that can be gleaned for diachronic semantic change and synchronic polysemy from person words (see also Wilkins 1996).

One outstanding exception to this neglect by linguists and semanticists is the researchers working in the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) framework, spearheaded by Anna Wierzbicka and Cliff Goddard (see the studies in Peeters, 2019b; Goddard, 2018; Wierzbicka, 2016; Levisen, 2017). Wierzbicka (1989, 1992) introduced a linguistic and semantic dimension to the study of personhood concepts by drawing attention to a difference between the Russian concept of *dusa* 'soul' and the Anglo concepts of "soul" and "mind". Chapter 2 of her 1992 book, for instance, is devoted to a comparison of the concepts of "fate" and "destiny" across major European languages: Russian, Polish, German, Italian, French and English.

What this research has shown is the sheer diversity in the conceptualization and meaning of what are called ethnopsychological personhood constructs, represented by words "for parts of a person, not the physical body" (Goddard, 2018, p. 168). As Peeters (2019a, p. 5) explains, there are different types of ethnopsychological words, e.g., words for feelings, and hence the importance of distinguishing these by adding the term personhood. A significant contribution of this research strand is to challenge the Anglocentric bias in the studies of these constructs by the reification of Anglo terms such as "mind" and "soul" (see e.g., Wierzbicka, 2014, 2016; Levisen, 2017, 2019; and Goddard, 2018). But see also Morphy and Morphy (2020) who argue for a "mind-(soul)" socio-cultural meta-category to

which culture specific terms such as the equivalents of "mind" in Yolngu, a Pama-Nyungan Australian language, and other languages can be related.

An important outcome of the research within this domain is the discovery of the internal semantic structure of ethnopsychological personhood words. This has led to the postulation of semantic templates for representing the structured idea associated with such concepts and intersubjectively shared by language users. There are two proposals on offer. The first is a tripartite structure proposed by Levisen (2017, p.126), the three parts being labeled "general conceptual status", "characteristics" and "dynamics". As Peeters (2019a, p.17) explains: "The first block answers the question 'what it is'; the second answers 'what it is like'; and the third answers 'what can happen because of this something'". A second template is proposed by Wierzbicka (2016) with a four part structure which overlaps with that of Levisen. The headings are phrased in NSM:

Someone's X (e.g soul)

WHAT IT IS

HOW THIS SOMEONE CAN THINK ABOUT THIS SOMETHING

WHAT THIS PART OF SOMEONE IS LIKE

WHAT PEOPLE CAN KNOW ABOUT THIS PART OF SOMEONE

The advantage of using such a template together with a defining metalanguage that is constituted by terms that are expressible across languages is that the representations can be compared and the differences and similarities across cultures can be drawn out. In the analysis presented in this chapter, most of the concepts are paraphrased and structured in two blocks of components: WHAT IT IS/WHAT IT IS LIKE AND HOW PEOPLE THINK ABOUT THIS THING/WHAT PEOPLE CAN KNOW ABOUT THIS PART OF SOMEONE. Moreover, in making explicit the cultural knowledge embodied in the terms pertaining to personhood in Ewe, I use Minimal English (ME) (Goddard & Wierzbicka, 2018) as the defining vocabulary with the associated combinatorial patterns of the terms. Minimal English (ME) is a highly reduced form of English with elements that are cross-translatable to other languages. The terms used in the explications in this paper can all be transferred into "Minimal Ewe". The ME metalanguage for the descriptions comprises three layers: first is a set of 65 indefinable semantic primes such as I, YOU, BODY, THIS, WANT, KNOW, THINK, SEE, HEAR, TOUCH, PLACE, SOMEONE, SOMETHING, BIG, SMALL and BECAUSE. The second layer consists of putative universal molecules, terms which can be defined and are translatable across cultures, such as FATHER, MOTHER, CHILDREN, BE BORN, SKY, SUN, HANDS, MOUTH, DAY, CREATURE, GROUND and SLEEP. The third layer is made up of non-universal yet useful words which can be translated into most languages, such as SKIN, LEGS, GROW, EGG, HOUSE VILLAGE,

TREE and GOD. Using such a metalanguage in lexical analysis is a sine qua non for avoiding pitfalls in definitions, such as circularity and explicating simple terms in complex forms. At the same time it minimizes the cultural bias inherent in the metalanguage. Above all, the definitions can be more easily tested with language users.

In the rest of this chapter, I describe the semantics of the components of a person in Ewe, a Kwa language of West Africa. I draw on some ethnographic texts and the accounts of personhood by ethnographers and anthropologists such as Surgy (1973); Nukunya (1973) and Spieth (2011 [1906]). I adduce linguistic evidence from everyday uses of the terms and their uses in some of the oral genres such as songs, names and proverbs, as reflections of beliefs and values about the components of a person. These views are also related to the indigenous religious practices, creation myths and symbols.

In the next section, cultural beliefs about where people come from and how they come into the world are discussed. The names for places and for the principal actors are explicated. This provides pointers for the components of a person which are outlined in Section 3.2. The semantics of the words for ethnopsychological components are analyzed in Section 3.3. Section 4 concludes the chapter.

3. Ewe views on the make-up of a person

As noted earlier, views about the components of and the nature of person have been influenced not only by the introduction of Christian and other religious ideas, but also by interactions with other peoples in the socio-cultural geographic area. This has given rise to some striking similarities between aspects of the concepts of personhood of the Ewe and those of the neighboring peoples, the Ga, the Dangme and the Akan. The challenge is how to account for these similarities: are there underlying shared conceptual schemas inherited, as these lingua-cultures are all Kwa languages albeit belonging to different subgroups? Or are they due to historical contact, especially given the widespread influence of Akan politically and culturally in the region? Moreover, in the case of Ewe itself, while there is some uniformity in the understanding of personhood, the linguistic expressions show some variation mainly on dialect grounds. These are indicated where relevant.

3.1 Background: How persons come into the world

The excerpt in (1), from a descriptive account of various customs and beliefs of the Ewe written in Ewe by Motte (1964, pp. 86–87), provides an account of how the Ewe think about how people come into the world. It explains that there is a place different from the physical world where people are created before being sent into

the world. Before they come into the world people take an oath outlining their life course.[2]

(1) a. *du si me ame-gbe-tɔ́-wó tsó háfí vá*
town REL containing.region person-life-owner-PL come.from before come
xéxé sia me lá ŋkɔ́=é nyé Bo-fé aló Bo.me
world PROX containing.region TP name=AFOC COP farm-place DISJ farm
aló Dzɔ-fé
DISJ origin-place
'The town where people come from before coming into this world is called Bofe or Bome or Dzɔfé'

b. *Wó dadá Bome-nɔ lá mé-dzi-a vi o ké boŋ*
3PL mother Bome-mother DEF NEG-bear-HAB child NEG but rather
ɖe-wò me-a vidzĩ-wó kplé anyí
PFOC-3SG mould-HAB baby-PL COM clay
'Their mother, Bomenɔ, does not bring forth children, rather she makes them from clay'

c. *Bomenɔ me-a srɔ̃ ɖeká ná ame si-wó kátã́ wò-me-n-a*
B. mould-HAB spouse one DAT person REL-PL all 3SG-mould-HAB
dzɔ-gbe-me-tsú-i…
happen-day-containing.region-husband-DIM
dzɔ-gbe-me-si
happen-day-containing.region-wife
'Bomenɔ makes a spouse for each person she creates: [The man is called] birthday husband (…) [the woman] birthday wife.'

d. *né Bomenɔ dó mɔ́ ɖeví aɖé lá, ékemá wó-fɔ́-á*
COND B. put way child INDEF TP then 3PL.IMPERS-raise-HAB
é-fé fú le xéxé sia me
3SG-POSS pregnancy LOC world PROX containing.region
'When Bomenɔ dispatches a child, then it is conceived in this world.'

e. *é-le ná ame-a bé wò-a-ká atám*
3SG.IMPERS-be.at:PRES DAT person-DEF COMP 3SG-SBJV-say oath
á-ɖe a.dzɔ.gbe háfí á-dze mɔ́
SBJV-take.out vow before POT-contact road
'[When Bomenɔ dispatches someone to this world], the person has to swear an oath and make a promise before they set off.'

2. All translations and interlinear glosses of excerpts from Ewe texts are mine unless otherwise stated.

The entity before whom the person takes the oath is called *Gbetsi* ('destiny', lit. 'the message told'). The implications for Ewe concepts of destiny and of the types of destiny or fate are discussed in Section 3.3.

As indicated in (1a), the world is called *xéxé*. In some dialects it is *xíxé*. In fact these word forms also mean 'outdoors' as opposed to 'indoors'. In Ewe cosmology, different worlds are distinguished depending on the kinds of entities that inhabit that place. The world where human beings live is called *kodzogbe*.[3] Westermann (1973 [1928]) characterizes it as "this world, the world of living man [=person FKA]". A piece of evidence that this world is construed as a world of the living is that "the people of this world" (Westermann, 1973 [1928]) or *les vivants* (Rongier, 2015) can be designated by the expression in (2):

(2) *kodzogbe=a=wó*
world=DEF=PL
'the ones living in this world'

In a preface to a novel, the author expresses the hope that the reader will draw some lessons from the inspiring story to guide them in this world (*kodzogbe*):

(3) *… a-nyé mɔ-zɔ-tí ná wò le kodzogbe sia*
POT-COP way-move-stick DAT 2SG LOC world PROX
'(this story) would be a walking stick (guide) to you in this world'
(Akafia, 1993 [1970], p. i)

When life comes to an end, i.e., when people die, their stay in *kodzogbe* comes to an end and they go to another world which is the world of the dead (see Ameka 2008 on the verb 'die'). It is believed that that place is like an abyss and it is described in terms of this property as *avlime* 'containing region of a pit'. The underworld of the dead, which is also like an abyss, is called *tsiẽ́* or *tsiẽ́fé* 'the place of the dead'. We get a good glimpse of the understandings of the differences between *kodzogbe* and *tsiẽ́fé* from one of the characters in Klu Akotey's novel *Ku ḍi fo na wo* ['Death satisfied them'] when he is trying to comfort and advise a prince who has just lost his betrothed spouse whom he loved very much. The prince is distraught and wants to follow his love to the land of the dead. The prince's friend Amenuve tells him that lovers do not follow one another to the underworld. He further advises that:

3. The complex structure of the word *kodzogbe* suggests it is composed of a number of forms. The etymology however is not clear. It could be made up of *ko* 'poverty, barrenness' and *dzogbe* (lit. 'fire area'), which is used to designate a large expanse of savannah grassland area. This is plausible as it suggests that the physical world is vast and one can see things from afar, the way one can in a savannah grassland area which is impoverished in terms of forests and trees.

(4) *Kúe nye agbe kple xexeamenuwo kata fe nuwuwu*
kú=é nyé agbe kplé xéxé=á.me-nú=wó kátã fé nu.wú.wú
death=AFOC COP life COM world=DEF.IN-thing=PL all POSS end
'Death is the end of life and all the worldly things.'

He spells out the distinctions between this world and the land of the dead, warning his friend not to dare think that the underworld is the same as the world of the living. He notes that the world of the dead is a place of darkness; one cannot see things nor can one hear things. It is a place where there is no life, and above all it is a place of no return. The many people who have gone there have not come back. At least, they have not come back to *kodzogbe* as persons. As we shall see later, some of them may manifest themselves in the physical world in other forms.

(5) *Dzi megable wo nabu be afima le abe kodzogbe ene o*
dzi mé-ga-ble wò na-bu bé afí-má le abé
heart NEG-REP-lie 2SG 2SG:SUBJV-think COMP place-DIST be.at.PRES SEMBL
kodzogbe ené o
living.world SEMBL NEG
'Do not be deceived to think that that place (the underworld) is like the world of the living, i.e., the living world'

(6) a. *Kuwo de la viviti mee wonye*
kú=wó de lá vivití me=é wò-nyé
dead=PL homeland TP darkness containing.region=AFOC 3SG-COP
'The land of the dead, a dark place it is'

b. *ŋku mekpɔa nu si le eme o*
ŋkú mé-kpɔ́-á nú si le è-me o
eye NEG-see-HAB thing REL be.at:PRES 3SG-containing.region NEG
lit: 'eye does not see what is in it, i.e., one cannot see what is in it'

c. *to hã mesea nu le eme o*
tó hã mé-se-a nú le é-me o
ear also NEG-hear-HAB thing LOC 3SG-containing.region NEG
lit. 'ear too does not hear anything in it; i.e., one cannot hear anything there either'

d. *agbe mele afima o*
agbe mé-le afí-má o
life NEG-be.at:PRES place-DIST NEG
'There is no life there.'

e. *ame gbógbó si=wó yi lá dome-tɔ́ áɖé.ké mé-trɔ́ gbɔ*
person plenty REL=PL go TP amidst-owner INDEF.NEG NEG-turn return
kpɔ́ o
PFV NEG
'No one among the several people who went (there) have ever come back.'
(Akotey, 2014 [1988], pp. 116–117)

Based on these considerations, I propose the following explications to account for the conceptual content of *kodzogbe* and *tsiéfé*. The affixoids *-gbe* 'area' and *-fé* 'place' provide clues to the kind of ontological entities they are, places of one kind.

[A] *kodzogbe*

WHAT IT IS/WHAY IT IS LIKE
a place of one kind
people live in this place
people can see things in this place
people can hear things that happen in this place
people can do things in this place

WHAT PEOPLE CAN THINK ABOUT THIS PLACE
this place is very big
When someone is born, they live in this place
Other creatures live in this place
People can do many things in this place
When someone dies, they move from this place to another place

[B] *tsiéfé*

WHAT IT IS/WHAT IT IS LIKE
a place of one kind
when people die they move to this place
people cannot see things happening inside this place
people cannot hear things happening inside this place

WHAT PEOPLE CAN THINK ABOUT THIS PLACE
There is no sun in this place
People do not live there
When one dies, one moves to this place
People become something of another kind in this place
These beings are in this place

The two worlds we have examined so far contrast, in particular, in terms of the entities that inhabit them: the living and the dead. There is another world, as indi-

cated in the excerpt in (1a), which has three synonymous names *Bo-fé* or *Bo.me* or *Dzɔ-fé*. This place is compared to a settlement, a town. This implies that there are entities that populate the place. Westermann (1973 [1928]) and also Rongier (2015) characterize *bo*, the base of the first two terms, as "a place where dead people are, land of the dead". It is not clear if this world, which is more the world where people are created, is, as Westermann and Rongier suggest, the same as the land of the dead, *tsiéfé*, that we have seen. Nevertheless, *bo* also has a reading of 'allotment' and it could be interpreted as the world allotted to the entities that create or accompany persons into *kodzogbe*. When *bo* is compounded with the postposition *fo* 'flat surface' to form *bofo*, i.e., flat surface of an allotment, it means 'farm' in some of the dialects. Similarly, when *bo* is compounded with the postposition *me* 'containing region of', it is interpreted as 'on the allotment/on the farm'. This suggests that *Bome* as the name of the underworld is thought of as an enclosed region where some entities dwell. *Bofé*, on the other hand, is made up of *bo* and the locative affixoid *-fé* 'place' which we saw in *tsiéfé* 'the underworld of the dead'. This suggests that this world is a place of *bo*, an allotment.

The third name, *Dzɔ-fé*, is literally a derived locative nominal from the verb *dzɔ* 'to be born, to come into existence, to happen, to originate' and the locative affixoid *-fé* 'place'. This name reflects the belief that it is the place where people originate. In fact, *Dzɔ-fé* is also called *Ame-dzɔ-fé* 'person-originate-place', which is also used as a personal name.

It is believed that there is a mother who is the creator of all humans, who is in *Bome* and who sends people into the physical world. When people are created (moulded) in *Bome*, they are then conceived and born in the physical world. As we shall see later, and as indicated in (1e), before people come into *kodzogbe* they make a vow (*adzɔgbe*), taking an oath which spells out their life course (*gbetsi* 'fate, destiny'). Some phraseological evidence suggests that when people come into this world and do not do things as expected of a normal person, then they are said to have remained in *Bome* (see 7a). Similarly, when they lose consciousness for a moment or faint while in *kodzogbe*, they are said to have gone to *(a)bo*, another world (see 7b). Thus this is a place to which one could return temporally, unlike when one goes to *tsiéfé* 'the land of the dead', from which one does not return to *kodzogbe* in the same form.

(7) a. *é-tsí* *bome*
3SG-remain Bome
lit. 'S/he has stayed behind in Bome', i.e., 'S/he does not behave like other people in this world, foolish, stupid'

b. *é-yi abo*
3SG-go Bome
lit. 'S/he has gone to Bome'; i.e., 'S/he is lost in thought, gone temporarily to the other world'

An agentive nominalized expression of the verb phrase in (7a) is *bome-tsí-lá* [farm/underworld-remain-NZER], used to characterize 'a stupid, foolish, rustic person'. The implication of such an expression is that a stupid or foolish person is doing things as if they have not gotten human life yet but are still in the underworld and yet to be seen off to *kodzogbe*.

With these considerations in mind, I propose the following explications for the concepts associated with an underworld where people are believed to have originated before coming into the physical world.

[C] *(Ame)-Dzɔ-fé*
WHAT IT IS /WHAT IT IS LIKE
A place of one kind
It is not like this place where you and I live
There are some beings, not like people, in this place

WHAT PEOPLE CAN THINK ABOUT THIS PLACE
It is the place all people come from
Before people are born in this world, someone makes them in this place

[D] *Bome/ /Bofé*
WHAT IT IS /WHAT IT IS LIKE
A place of one kind
It is not like this place where you and I live
There are some beings, not like people, in this place

WHAT PEOPLE CAN THINK ABOUT THIS PLACE
It is a big place
It is the place all people come from
Before people are born in this world, someone makes them in this place
Before people move into this world, they say some important words in this place
When people move into this world, they move with someone
If the person will be a man, he can say of this someone:
This is my birthday wife
If the person will be a woman, she can say of this someone:
This is my birthday husband
This someone is like a god

One cannot see this someone
One cannot touch this someone
One can think about this someone like this:
This someone will do things with me in this world

Some personal names point to the salience of *Bome* and refer to it as a place where people are made. There are names like *Bomenya* 'word/matter pertaining to *Bome*', making reference to affairs of *Bome*, and *Émefé* (lit. 'its moulding place, i.e., place where moulded'), echoing the fact that people are made in this place by being moulded. It is worth noting that albinos, who are a people of a special kind, are not viewed as having been moulded by *Bomenɔ*. Rather, they are believed to have fallen from the hands of a sky god (*So*). They are called *gé-so-sí* 'drop-God-hand'.

In a sense, even though *Bomenɔ* literally means 'mother of Bome', she is not like other mothers as she does not give birth to children. She is more like a potter who moulds children. It appears she has the title of 'mother of Bome' because she is the overseer of Bome. This is reminiscent of how a *nyɔnu-fia* 'woman-chief' is addressed as *Mía nɔ* 'our mother'. The belief is that when *Bomenɔ* molds someone and the person is ready to come into *kodzogbe* 'physical world', then they will be conceived in this world. It is believed that *Bomenɔ* also provided the person with a spouse, who is like a spiritual guardian who accompanies this person to be born and hence is called a birthday spouse. Westermann suggests that this spouse is like a god for the person. Some of these things that people think about *Bome* are reflected in explication [D] and also in explication [E] for *Bomenɔ* below.

[E] *Bomenɔ*

WHAT IT IS/WHAT IT IS LIKE

Someone
This someone is in a place not like this place where you and I live
This someone is like a mother, not like mothers in this place where you and I live

WHAT PEOPLE THINK ABOUT THIS SOMEONE/BEING

People can think of this someone like a mother, not like other mothers
Before people are born in this world, they are not in the body of this someone
Before people are born in this world, this someone (mother) makes them
If this someone does not make them in her place,
they cannot become part of /be inside the body of their mother in this world
When this mother makes a man, she makes another person to move with him
This man can say of this other person: this is my birthday wife
When this mother makes a woman, she makes another person to move with her

This woman can say of this other person: this is my birthday husband

Many of the things that happen in *Bome* provide some of the invisible components of a person as they come into *kodzogbe*. As we shall see in Table 6.1, these include (*Dzɔgb)sé* 'birthday law', *Dzɔgbemesi* 'birthday wife' and *Dzɔgbemetsúí* 'birthday husband'. In the next section, we turn to the outlines of what makes up a person in Ewe.

3.2 The structural components of a person

Table 6.1 Ewe model of a person

VISIBLE BODY and its parts	ESSENCE	INVISIBLE aspects
	ame 'person'	
ame-tí person-tree	(Identificational) *É-nyé ame* 3SG-COP person 'S/he is a person'	*ŋú-nú* outer.surface-thing 'Entities around/ associated with a person'
ŋútí / ŋúí 'skin, body; external covering of the body'	Social-moral standing *É-wɔ ame* s/he do person 'S/he is a person'	*luvɔ* 'soul' *vɔvɔli* 'shadow' *gbɔgbɔ* 'breath, spirit' *aɖufié* 'ghost'*
Ŋútí-.lã Skin-flesh 'body' [can rot; decay; disintegrate]	*Ame le é-me* person be.at:PRES 3SG-IN 'S/he has personality'	*(Dzɔgbe)sé* lit. 'birthday law', i.e., divinely given principle of life, destiny *aklama/kla/kra* 'creative life force' *Dzɔgbemesi* 'birthday wife' *Dzɔgbemetsúí* 'birthday husband'
lã-me 'flesh-containingregion' states and conditions; parts; feelings in the body		*Gbetsi* lit. 'foretold message', 'destiny, fate'

* In Ewe, an *aɖufié* 'ghost' is a being that is a manifestation of a dead person who can do things to people in the physical world, e.g., strike them down because of something bad that they have done. This being is different from *gbɔgbɔ* 'breath, spirit' of a dead person, who can appear to or enter people and possess them.

Table 6.1 presents a tripartite structure of the Ewe model of a person. It suggests that there is an ontological essence which is a person. This person has socio-cultural and moral aspects. In the second column, three critical ways of talking about and presenting the essence of the person are outlined. The individual can be identified as a person using an identificational construction involving the copula *nyé*. The individual can also be talked about as manifesting properties of an ideal person. In this case the property is predicated using the verb *wɔ/wa* 'do, make'. An inference associated with this construction is that the person has developed well and has matured into a human person. This reflects a dynamic process. The third construction, a locative predication involving the locative verb and a postpositional phrase complement headed by *me* 'containing.region.of', indicates that the individual contains the essence of a person.

The first column in Table 6.1 provides terms for the visible parts of a person. The body of a person is conceptualized as a steady upright figure and designated with the compound *ame-tí* 'person-tree'. The imagery is transparent. Interestingly, the neighboring Ga also use a similar image and Engmann's (1992, p.156) comment with respect to the Ga is instructive: "the body is conceived as tree-like in shape and the word *gbɔmɔ-tso* [person-tree FKA] may carry associations of power, dignity, even sacrosanctity". There is a similar imagery of the human body in Akan as well, namely *o-nipa-dua* 'Pfx-person-tree'. This seems to be a shared conceptual pattern in the languages of the Volta Basin. In Ewe, *ame-tí* evokes completeness or wholeness of body. The *-tí* 'tree, stick, wood, woody plant' seems to be involved in the construction of the word for 'skin' too. In some varieties of Ewe, such as Anlo, the word for 'skin' is *ŋútí* and in some others the initial consonant of the second root is elided, yielding *ŋúí*. The skin word is compounded with the word for flesh to designate the flesh that is attached to the skin. The word *ŋútí-lã* stands for the body that disintegrates when one dies and is buried. In this context it has the reading of 'body'. When the flesh word is compounded with the postposition *me*, yielding *lã-me*, lit. flesh-containing.region.of, it designates '(inside) the body'. This is the part that experiences different sensations and feelings and various states of being of a person (see the expressions in (8) for conventional ways of talking about bodily conditions involving *lãme* 'body').

(8) a. *é-fé lãme gblɛ́ nyitsɔ*
3SG-POSS body spoil two.or.more.days.from.today
lit. 'his body was spoilt the other day', i.e., 'He was sick a couple of days ago.'

b. *ɖeví=á fé lãme dze dzo*
child=DEF POSS body be.contacted fire
lit. 'the child's body has come in contact with fire', i.e., 'The child has a temperature.'

c. *é-kpɔ́ lãme*
3SG-see body
lit. 's/he has seen body', i.e., 'S/he has a body; has put on weight.'

Geurts (2003) has provided ethnographic and other arguments to show that Ewe bodily ways of knowing and sensing involve paying attention to what one (proprioceptively) feels inside the body. The Ewe name for this category of feelings, which does not discriminate between what in the Western scientific tradition are distinguished as emotions, sensations and dispositions, is *se-se-le-lã.me* [RED-feel-LOC-body.inside] 'feelings inside the body' (see also Ameka, 2002). It can be concluded that in Ewe understandings, a person physically consists of *ametí* 'body', which has an outer covering *ŋú(t)í* 'skin', which is given substance by the 'flesh' *lãme*, yielding *ŋútí-lã* 'body'. These are more or less visible, even *lãme* 'flesh', as in Example (8c), where one can see that someone has *lãme*, i.e., put on weight.

The third column gives the invisible elements of an Ewe person. These are the more ethnopsychological constructs. In fact there is an Ewe indigenous term for the non-physical, immaterial parts of a person, namely *ŋú-nú* [outer.surface-thing] 'beings around you'. Some support for this category comes from conventional linguistic expressions used to acknowledge that something good has happened to a person, e.g., if they have a baby. The source of the good thing is attributed to these entities around a person (see Ameka, 1987):

(9) *ŋú-wò nú-wó wa dɔ́* (Inland Ewe)
around-2SG thing-PL do work
lit: 'beings around have worked; thanks to beings around you', i.e., 'Congratulations!'

This indicates that 'beings around you' are the entities responsible for the things that happen to people in *kodzogbe*. One can say that there are three clusters of these entities: (i) what one might call the creative life forces of a person – *luvɔ* 'soul', *vɔvɔli* 'shadow', *gbɔgbɔ* 'breath, spirit', *aɖufié* 'ghost'; (ii) entities related to the plan of things that will happen to a person in life – *gbetsi* 'message foretold before coming into the world', *(dzɔgbe)se /aklama / kla / kra* 'divinely predicted destiny'; and (iii) relational entities *Dzɔgbemesi* 'birthday wife', *Dzɔgbemetsúí* 'birthday husband', *tɔgbewó* [grandfathers] 'ancestors'.

The structural components of an Ewe person outlined so far, supported by the linguistic labels for them and the linguistic expressions supporting the properties attributed to a person, suggest an Ewe view of a person consisting of a 'self' which has a moral standing, as well as a person who is a socio-centric being embedded in a network of relations not only between themselves but also with other entities and forces which introduce risks and opportunities for the self's behavior (Comarof and Comarof 2001). As Riesman put it, reflecting on African con-

ceptions of a person: "The common African understanding of the person, which perceives the self as connected to forces and entities outside it, carries considerable risks and dangers of its own" (Riesman, 1986, p. 77). This relatedness of persons to forces is also emphasized by Adams and Dzokoto (2003). They assume that the relations are embedded in an ordered universe with various hierarchical relations between persons and forces. As they put it: "These forces and entities are not limited to other people, but include spiritual powers, place, and an experience of built-in order. People and events are not connected at random, but exist in relation to an ordered universe in which hierarchy, place, and destiny are inherent features" (Adams & Dzokoto, 2003, p. 350). In the next section we investigate the nature of the web of connections an Ewe person is entangled in and the cultural conceptualization and cultural semantics of the salient components of a person, especially those belonging to the category *ŋúnú*.

3.3 Ewe ethnopsychological personhood constructs

Spieth (2011 [1906], p. 649) reports his consultants in Akɔviefé in Asogli area in Ewedome 'Inland Ewe' as stating that "[W]e Ewe people call *aklama*, (…), *dzɔgbe, dzɔgbemesi, dzɔgbemetsui, ŋunu* meaning, 'the one that is with the human being', the human guardian god". This suggests a divine aspect as well as the fact that each person has these elements to guide and guard them. Similarly, the Anlo belief, according to Nukunya (1973, p. 119) is that "a number of psychic elements come together to form one complex entity, the entire animating principle in a person." Some of these psychic elements are viewed as 'soul'-like entities (see Section 3.3.1) while others are thought of as 'fate'- or 'destiny'-like entities (see Section 3.3.2).

3.3.1 *"Soul"-like components*

Among the *ŋúnúwó* 'beings around persons', "[T]he soul, *luvɔ*, is the one that lives with the human being"(Spieth, 2011 [1906], p. 649). It is significant that the folk idea expressed here does not locate *luvɔ* 'soul' inside the body as it is conceptualized in some linguacultures (e.g., European understandings of the soul; see e.g., Peeters, 2019a). Spieth goes on to report that other elements of the beings around persons, such as *aklama*, are translatable as 'soul': "One also calls the soul (…) *aklama*." This is a very striking observation, as today people would not think of *aklama* or *dzɔgbesé* as 'soul'. But recall the controversies and debates between Akan native philosophers on what is 'soul' in Akan. It has to be acknowledged that the ethnographic work of Spieth was undertaken in the context of missionary evangelization and the views of the consultants could have been influenced. Moreover, the dangers of translation are very evident in this domain. In fact a similar association of more elements to 'soul' is also noted in the Anlo belief sys-

tem. Nukunya (1973, p. 119), in discussing the Anlo belief about the three principal components of the complex entity of person, provides equivalents for two of them pertaining to 'soul'. He notes that the three components are: (a) *luvɔ* 'death soul', which is linked to ancestors and which contains, in Anlo understandings, a 'father soul', a 'mother soul' and a reincarnated 'ancestral soul'. *luvɔ* is thought of as being in the spirit world; (b) *gbɔgbɔ* 'life soul' or 'breath, spirit, flatulation', which is supposed to come from *Mawu* 'Supreme God' and is thought to be immortal, as it is part of the divine; and (c) *vɔvɔli* 'shadow', which disintegrates. A few pages later, Nukunya curiously notes that *luvɔ* 'death soul', which is supposed to relate to personality, is also known as *vɔvɔli*. He suggests that this is the aspect of a person in which it can be recognized and it is this aspect that can sometimes be seen and sometimes leaves the body in dreams (Nukunya, 1973, pp. 125–126). It should be noted that the Anlo belief system seems to acknowledge two aspects of some entity/ies glossed as 'soul' – a life aspect and a death aspect, with implications for manifestation. The other feature to note is that these various entities are transformed or take on different existential forms when a person dies. We shall see below that a similar view is present in the Asogli conceptualizations of "soul"-like entities.

What is Luvɔ?

With the advent of Christianity, *luvɔ* is taken as the equivalent of 'soul' and contrasts with *ŋútílã* 'body'. Motte (1964) reflects such a view when he talks about the relationship of life and death to persons, as in the excerpt in (10). He notes that a person never dies, or rather, we should say, aspects of a person never perish. One such aspect is *luvɔ*, but the body *ŋútílã* disintegrates. He uses the image of termites working on the body.

(10) a. *ame-gbe-tɔ́ nyé nú ma-kú-ma-kú*
person-life-owner COP thing PRIV-die-PRV-die
'A person (human being) never dies.' (i.e., is an undying thing)

b. *ŋútí-lã nyé baba tɔ ké luvɔ mé-kú-ná o*
skin-flesh COP termite POSS.PRO but soul NEG-die-HAB NEG
'The flesh (body) is for the termite, but the soul does not die.'
(Motte, 1964, p. 86, glosses and translations mine)

Similar views were recorded by Spieth (2011[1906], p. 650) in Akɔviefé, near Ho in Inland Ewe, as in (11).

(11) *Luvɔ nyé nú si mé-vɔ-na gbeɖégbeɖé o*
soul COP thing REL NEG-finish-HAB never.never NEG
'The soul is something that never perishes.'
(Spieth 2011 [1906], p. 650, glosses and translations mine)

This is consistent with the Ho model of *luvɔ* as well. For them too, "A human being has two souls, of which one is termed *luvɔ agbetɔ*, 'soul of life' and the other *luvɔ kútɔ*, 'soul of death'" (Spieth, 2011 [1906], p. 585). We can thus say that there are two aspects of *luvɔ*: one which is a life-giving force and the other which dies and which transforms into another type of being. It is thought that both aspects of the soul can be seen in the shadow of a person. The shadow of a person is called *luvɔ* in some dialects and *livɔ* in others. The shadow of a person can be seen reflected on the surface of water or outside when the sun is up. There is another word for shadow, used in Anlo, for example, which as we have seen is *vɔvɔli*. This word means shade, for example of a tree, in some other dialects. Thus in Ewe thought, *luvɔ* manifests itself sometimes and can be seen at times.

While *luvɔ* is with a person in this world (*kodzogbe*), it is believed that it sometimes moves away from the person to other worlds, the invisible world. It is believed that "[D]uring sleep, the soul leaves the body and strolls about" (Spieth, 2011 [1906], p. 586). It is also believed that "[D]uring a dream, the soul goes away from the body to a dream land, *drɔ̃efé*, where one looks at something at one moment and believes he has got it, but it cannot be held firmly" (Spieth, 2011 [1906], p. 586). It is a widespread belief among African cultures that a psychic component of a person leaves the person at night during dreams. Furthermore, at death the two aspects of *luvɔ* manifest themselves in different ways: "The soul of death accompanies a person to the grave and then goes to the realm of the dead. The soul of life leaves the human body directly after death. It goes round sighing and looks for a lodging but does not find any. It is the *aɖufié* or *ŋɔli* [i.e., 'ghost' FKA]" (Spieth, 2011 [1906], p. 585). Thus, the death aspect leaves and joins the land of the dead while the life force transforms into something else. Nukunya (1973, pp. 121–122) argues that "by far the most important supernatural forces among the Anlo are the ancestral spirits *tɔgbeŋɔliwó* [i.e grandfather/ancestor-ghost-PL]", the beings that hover around the living.

For the Ewe, *luvɔ* or its manifestation can sometimes be seen or heard. There are linguistic and cultural practices that support such a view. When someone dies various rituals are performed to communicate with their *luvɔ*, for instance, to find out about the cause of their death. This activity is described as *yɔ́ luvɔ* or *aɖufié* or *ŋɔli* 'to call the spirit'. The Anlo talk of *yɔfofo* (lit. 'beating the grave'), which has the same purpose of communicating with the dead person. It is believed that after a person's death the life soul manifests itself as *aɖufié* or *ŋɔli* 'ghost' in *kodzogbe* 'the visible physical world'. It is believed that ancestors are around and watch over the living so people should observe certain practices in order not to encounter them and to show respect to them. Some of the things one should not do include sitting on the steps of a house at night, sweeping rooms at night and calling out names of other people out loud at night. When these taboos are violated the

ancestral spirits can do bad things to people, the living. When someone has a negative encounter with a *ŋɔli*, certain rituals can be performed to restore good relations between the person and the *ŋɔli*.

Another piece of evidence that points to the manifestation of *luvɔ* as a person's shadow comes from an expression used to talk about a person accompanying someone else somewhere, which involves the metonymic use of the word for the person; the accompanying person is said to be covering or filling the *luvɔ* of the person, i.e., the person is providing shade for the accompanied (see 12). In this context, the dialect synonym *livɔ* is used interchangeably with *luvɔ*.

(12) *xé luvɔ / livɔ me ná ame*
cover soul/shadow containing.region.of DAT person
'accompany someone somewhere'

With these considerations in mind, I propose explication [F] to account for Ewe *luvɔ*:

[F] a person's *luvɔ*
WHAT IT IS/WHAT IT IS LIKE
Something
This thing lives with this person
This thing is like a part of this person
This thing is not a part of this person's body

WHAT PEOPLE CAN THINK ABOUT THIS THING
When people think of a person they cannot not think of this thing
People can think that there are two kinds of this thing
One kind lives with a person in *kodzogbe*
Another kind lives with other beings like it in another place when a person dies
When someone dies, this thing dies at the same time
At this time, this thing becomes a thing of another kind
Often, people think about this thing like this
One cannot touch it
When someone is in a place where there is light
One can see something of this kind in their image

After someone dies,
one can sometimes see a thing of this kind
one can hear things from this thing
one can feel this thing of one kind is in the same place

What is gbɔgbɔ?

We have already seen that Nukunya (1973, p. 119) glosses *gbɔgbɔ* as 'life soul', 'breath, spirit, flatulation'. This shows that *gbɔgbɔ* is a general word for bodily effluvia as well. It is a nominalized form, by reduplication, of the verb *gbɔ* 'to breathe, blow (air)'. As a nominal, it stands for the thing because of which people can live. It is said to be something that one gets from *Máwú* 'the Supreme God'. Other gods can manifest themselves and come upon people in the form of spirits. Thus there are different kinds of *gbɔgbɔwó* 'spirits'. With the advent of Christianity, the different divine spirits were placed on a value scale, where the spirit associated with the Christian God is characterized as 'holy', *gbɔgbɔ kɔkɔe* 'holy spirit',[4] and all other spirits are classified as evil, *gbɔgbɔ-vɔ̃* 'bad/evil spirit, demon' (see Meyer, 1999 on the process of missionary translation of the concept of the devil into Ewe).

gbɔgbɔ 'breath' as something inside a person is that which shows that a person is alive. It manifests itself in the breath that comes out of people, which one can sense, and in the sound that is made when people are breathing. Thus it can sometimes be experienced either auditorily or visually. Other supernatural beings, including gods, also have *gbɔgbɔ* and they can be the representation of the beings when they do things to and with people in *kodzogbe*. There are thus different kinds of *gbɔgbɔ*.

With these considerations in mind, I propose the following explication [G] for *gbɔgbɔ*.

[G] a person's *gbɔgbɔ*
  WHAT IT IS /WHAT IT IS LIKE
  Something inside this person
  This thing is part of this person
  This thing is not part of this person's body
  Because of this thing inside a person, this person can live
  Sometimes people can know something about this thing inside this person
    Because they can hear something from inside this person
    Because they can see something move out from inside this person
    Because they can feel something when they touch some parts of this person's body

4. *kɔkɔe* is an adjectival formed from the verb *kɔ* 'clean, clear' by reduplication and affixation of a diminutive suffix *-í*.

WHAT PEOPLE CAN KNOW ABOUT THIS THING
People can know that it is like this:
when someone is born, this thing is inside this person
people think: this thing is inside this person, because someone above people did something
when someone dies, this thing moves from this person
It becomes a thing of another kind (e.g., *ŋɔli*)
people can know some things about this thing of a kind.

Support for the idea that the *gbɔgbɔ* leaves the person when they die and is transformed comes from the way people talk about the dying process. For instance, in the novel *Death satisfied them* (Klotey, 1990), cited earlier, after the betrothed lover succumbed to death in a forest on the outskirts of the village, the prince could not bear to enter the village alone to see the crowd that had gathered to welcome him and his betrothed Tugbewofia and their entourage. The novelist describes how the prince's life came to an end as follows (13):

(13) a. *é-yɔ́ Tugbewófia ŋkɔ́ zi etɔ̃*
3SG-call NAME name times three
'He called the name of Tugbewofia three times'
b. *éye wò-biá tsó é-fé sé sí*
CONJ 3SG-ask ABL 3SG-POSS guardian.god HAND
'and he asked of his guardian god'
c. *bé wò-a-xɔ ye-fé gbɔgbɔ le ye sí*
COMP 3SG-SUBJV-get LOG-POSS breath LOC LOG hand
'to take his spirit/breath from him'
d. *bé ye-a-dzudzɔ nú.xa.xa*
COMP LOG-SUBJV-stop worrying
'so that he will stop worrying.' (Akotey 2014 [1988], p. 117)

The excerpt in (13) illustrates various features of the components of a person and the beliefs about them. First of all, from a linguistic point of view, these elements participate in "alienable" grammar with respect to possession, just like other physical body parts. In lines (13b) and (13c) *sé* 'guardian god' and *gbɔgbɔ* 'breath, spirit' are linked to their possessor by the connective *fé* 'POSS'. By contrast the culturally significant inalienable term *ŋkɔ́* 'name' is merely juxtaposed to the possessor in (13a); see Ameka (1996, 2012) on the grammar of body parts in Ewe. In addition, the excerpt provides clues to the belief that when someone dies their breath or spirit leaves the body and goes to another place, as argued above. Moreover, as we shall see in the next section, the excerpt makes reference to *sé* 'guardian god' as the one who receives the spirit that leaves the body at the time of death. It also

alludes to the belief that it is *sé* 'guardian god' who watches over and determines, as it were, things that happen to people in this world. This is the being that is asked to intervene and take the breath away. The story goes on to say that it did happen and the prince died thereafter in the forest on the outskirts of the town.

3.3.2 *"Destiny"-like components*

In Ewe thought one can argue that there are two ethno-categories of aspects of a person related to concepts typically rendered in English as 'destiny', 'fate', 'lot', 'fortune', and 'luck'. These terms have "positive", i.e., "good", and "negative", i.e., "bad" valence (see Wierzbicka, 1992, Chapter 2). These Ewe categories relate to how people think about things that happen in the physical world *kodzogbe* to people. These things that happen can be according to what the person pledged in *Bome* before they were born, or they can be controlled by the guardian god. The former is labeled *gbetsi* and the latter goes by the terms used for the guardian god and spirits: *(dzɔgbe)sé* or *aklama* and its relatives *kla* or *kra*. There is a debate in the (African) philosophical tradition as to whether destiny, fate, etc. is divinely bestowed or is something that an individual can shape (see Teffo & Roux, 1990, and also Gyekye, 1995 for his take on the Akan schema). The two Ewe ethnocategories speak to this debate.

What is Gbetsi?

As explained in Section 3.1, based on Motte's account of how the Ewe think about how people come into this world, when *Bomenɔ* moulds a person, before she dispatches them to be conceived in the physical world, the person has to take a vow before an entity or being called *Gbetsi*. This is what is stated in sentence (1e) above, repeated here as (14):

(14) .... *é-le* *ná* *ame-a* *bé* *wò-a-ká* *atám*
3SG.IMPERS-be.at:PRES DAT person-DEF COMP 3SG-SBJV-say oath
á-ɖe *a.dzɔ.gbe* *háfí* *á-dze* *mɔ́*
SBJV-take.out vow before POT-contact road
'[When *Bomenɔ* dispatches someone to this world], the person has to swear an oath and make a promise before they set off.'

It appears that the metonymic relationship between the vow made under oath and the entity before whom the pledge is made gives rise to the polysemy of the term *gbetsi*. From now on the term is used in the sense of the content of the vow taken before one is dispatched into the physical world. The term *gbetsi* is a nominalization through the permutation of a verb and its nominal complement *tsi* 'tell' and *gbe* 'message, related to the voice – language polysemic unit'. Thus, *gbetsi* means 'a message that is told, i.e., foretold'.

From an Ewe viewpoint, as *gbetsi* is a pledge that a person makes before coming into the physical world, then it is the case that in Ewe the person chooses their destiny or aspects of it. That is, one chooses what one will be in life in broad outlines, and the lucky and unlucky things that will happen. This can be altered in certain circumstances through ritual practices. Thus, when a child is born and from behaviors such as falling sick often, and crying a lot (at night), it is assumed that there is an infraction of the *gbetsi*, i.e., the oath that was taken before their birth. Also, when people's behavior deviates from the norm, such as thinking incoherently, they are said to be troubled by *gbetsi*. In fact, in some of these contexts where people misbehave, they can be queried using an expression like the one in (15):

(15) *gbetsi=é le* *núfo* *dó-ó* *ná* *wò=a*
=AFOC be.at:PRES trouble cause-PROG DAT 2SG=QP
'Is it your *gbetsi* that is troubling you?'

Westermann (1973 [1928]) provides instructive paraphrases for this concept. He characterizes *gbetsi* as "the promise to return within a fixed time given by a person who is going to leave the underworld (…)". By this he is suggesting that part of the content of *gbetsi* is about how long one is going to be in *kodzogbe* before returning to *tsíẽfé* 'the land of the dead'. Westermann gives a second sense as "an evil spirit, fate". I think the evil spirit reading suggested by Westermann is more a connotation derived from how people's negative behavior is considered to be attributable to an infraction of the *gbetsi*. The "fate" interpretation is from the content of the oath or promise made which, as noted above, is a roadmap for one's life including its duration in the physical world, *kodzogbe*. Another source of the negative connotation can be discerned from some words derived from *gbetsi*. Thus, Westermann glosses *gbetsi-ví* [*gbetsi*-child.of] as 'a bad mischievous person'. Also, traditionally, some people wore a kind of amulet as protection "against molestations of the *gbetsi*". It is "a string worn across both shoulders" and is called a *gbetsi-ka* [gbetsi-rope/string]. In his English-Ewe dictionary Westermann even translates 'demon' as *gbetsi vɔ̃* and suggests that it is synonymous with *gbɔgbɔ vɔ̃* 'evil spirit' (see above on *gbɔgbɔ* and the value scale). [5]

From these pieces of evidence, we can say that *gbetsi* is something associated with people. It is a message or a promise that a person makes about the course of their life in the physical world. In terms of the debates about who chooses or predetermines what happens to people in this life, *gbetsi* is determined by the indi-

5. I think the use of "evil" to characterize *gbetsi* when it is the source of bad things that happen to people is too strong and has to be understood in the context of colonization and missionization, where things and behaviors that do not conform to the norm are said to be the work of the devil (see Meyer, 1999).

vidual. It can be changed, and it can be the source of tribulations in people's lives. I propose the paraphrase in [H] to account for its conceptual content.

[H] *gbetsi*

WHAT IT IS/WHAT IT IS LIKE
Someone's words
A person says these words to someone else (*Gbetsi*) in *Bome*
After this, this person comes to be inside someone in *Kodzogbe*
People think a person says something like this:
When I am born in *Kodzogbe*,
I will do many things
I know this: many things will happen to me
These things can be good things
These things can be bad things
I want to live in *Kodzogbe* for a time
If I do not do these things, if these things do not happen
I say I want you to know this: you can do anything you want to me because of it
People in *Kodzogbe* cannot know these words
People of one kind can come to know it if they want

The last two components indicate that people do not ordinarily know the content of the vow that a person takes. People do not think the persons themselves know what they asked for before coming into the world. However, people with special powers, such as so-called sorcerers, medicine men and women, priests and priestesses of various gods can inquire from *Bome* what the plan of a person's *gbetsi* is. Thus, they can come to know.

What is Sé?

While *gbetsi* is the "destiny" chosen by the individual, the divinely bestowed or influenced path to be followed in *kodzogbe* has various dimensions. First there is ***sé*** 'guardian god' who accompanies one from the day one is born. In fact, the belief is that *Bomenɔ* dispatches the moulded person into the physical world accompanied by *sé*. Thus from the day of 'creation' of this person this guardian god is co-present with them. For this reason, it is also referred to as *dzɔgbesé* 'day of origin god; birthday god'. The word **sé** in Ewe is polysemous. It also has a sense of 'law, rule, regulation'. The semantic invariant that links the two senses is the control and direction of the way of doing things. A person's *sé* is the being that guards and directs what happens to a person in *kodzogbe*. These things that happen may be inevitable life events and, unlike *gbetsi*, the things bestowed on a person by *sé* do not seem to be reversible or changeable, at least, not by people (of any kind). This

leads to a certain fatalistic and pessimistic orientation where things that happen to people in life are said to be due to what and how *sé* wants it. The words of a popular song point to this, as they indicate that people think that one just has to accept whatever *sé* wants them to be in life. It is as if to say one must be resigned to one's fate.

(16) *álé si sé-nye wɔ-m nenémá=é má-nɔ*
thus REL god-1SG make-1SG so=AFOC 1SG:SBJV-be.at:NPRES
srɔ̃-nyúí-ma-kpɔ́-ɖē.ē vi-ma-dzi-ma-dzi.i
spouse-good-PRIV-see-take.PRED child.of-PRIV-bear-PRIV-bear.PRED
dzi.dzɔ-ma-kpɔ́-ma-kpɔ́.ɔ́ nú-ka-ŋútí màá-nɔ
happiness-PRIV-see-PRIV-see.PRED thing-CQ-because 1SG:IRR-be.at:NPRES
dzi tsí-ḿ áléá ɖewòhī nenémá=é sé-nye ɖó=m ɖá
heart stay-PROG thus perhaps so+AFOC guardian.god set=1SG in.the.distance
'The way my guardian god made me that is how I will be: without a good spouse; childlessness; unhappiness. Why should I be worrying? Maybe that is how my (*sé*) god planned it to be.'

The conditions of life or human existence mentioned in the song all relate to the lack of attributes that are culturally valued: getting married to a good spouse, having children and being happy. Yet the composer suggests that even though one lacks these cherished things one should not worry as that is the way one's *sé* has made them. Thus, people believe that whatever happens to them – good things and bad things – is from their *sé* or more generally from the beings around them. Thus, when good things happen that one does not expect and one does not actively do anything to bring about, it is said that one's guardian gods have been gracious to one and have descended upon one. In other words, things that have happened could be said to have happened because of the providence of one's guardian god. For instance, if couples have fertility challenges and almost lose hope of having children, and finally they have a child, they could exclaim *sé ɖi nám* [god descend for me] 'guardian god has been gracious to me'. They could also give this name to the child. Several *sé*-based names (see Table 6.2) acknowledge things believed to be done by *sé* and also indicate the presence of *sé* with people. A synonym of *sé* is *Máwú* 'Supreme God', which buttresses the divine nature of *sé*. Some *sé* names have *Máwú* synonymous counterparts. Moreover, the *sé* or *Máwú* part of the name can be pronominalized as shown in Table 6.2. There are hypocoristic counterparts of these names as well.

The *sé* and *Máwú* names in Table 6.2 are formed from clauses. Some of these are predications which reflect general beliefs about these entities. Some of the names show that people believe they exist, e.g., *Séli* [*sé*-be.at:PRES:3SG] '*Sé* exists'. Other names reflect their attributes, e.g., *Sényó* [*sé*-become.good] '*Sé* is good' or

Sétri [*sé*-become strong] '*Sé* is strong'. Several names take a first person perspective as a beneficiary of certain acts of these entities. This is reflected in the syntax of the names, where the first person pronoun functions as direct object in some cases, as in *Séɖem* [*sé*-save-1SG] '*Sé* has saved me', and in other cases as a dative prepositional object, as in *Séwɔenám* [*sé*-do-3SG-DAT-1SG] '*Sé* has done it for me'.

Table 6.2 Some personal names based on *Sé* and *Máwú*

***Sé* names**	***Máwú* variants**	**Pronominalized**	**Hypocoristic forms**
*Séɖinám** '*Sé* has descended on/been gracious to me'		*Éɖinám* 'He has descended on/been gracious to me'	*Séɖi*
Séɖem 'Sé has saved me'		*Éɖem* 'He has saved me.'	*Séɖ*
Sésíme 'In the hands of *Sé*'	*Máwúsíme* 'In God's hands'	*Ésíme* 'In His hands'	*Sési*
Sénanú '*Sé* gave a gift'		*Éná* 'He has given'	*Séná*
Sénáme '*Sé* gives to people'	*Máwúéná* 'God (no one else) gives to people'		
Sénámí '*Sé* gave us'			*Séná*
		Énám 'He gave me'	
Sényó '*Sé* is good'	*Máwúnyó* 'God is good'		*Ényó* 'He is good'
Séli '*Sé* exists'	*Máwúli* 'God exists'	*Éli* 'He exists'	
		Ényónám 'He is good to me'	*Ényó* 'He is good'
Séfákɔ́(nám) '*Sé* has comforted (me)'			*Séfá*
Séwɔenám '*Sé* has done it for me'		*Éwɔenám* 'He has done it for me'	*Éwɔe* 'He has done it'
Séyrám '*Sé* has blessed me'		*Éyrám* 'He has blessed me'	*Éyrá* 'He has blessed'
Sélɔ̃m 'Sé loves me'		*Élɔ̃m* 'He loves me'	
Sélíkem '*Sé* has firmly established my roots'		*Élíkem* 'He has firmly established my roots'	
Sétri '*Sé* is strong'			

* There is a *Máwú* variant expression which as far as I know is not commonly used as a name, compared to the frequent use of the *Sé*-based counterpart, namely *Máwú ɖi ná=m* [God descend DAT=1SG] lit. 'God has descended on me'. This is a common utterance used to explain things that happen to people.

These names point to beliefs about *sé* and to the role of the divine in things that happen to people on earth. *Sé*, then, is a being, someone of one kind, but not

a person. We see in the *sé* names a divinity who does things, as well as being given some attributes such as being good, strong and being a comforter. The *Máwú* names express more the properties of the divine than the actions. We also saw in Example (13) how Prince Seyram called on his *sé* to receive his spirit at the time of his death. Thus, *sé* is the receiver of one's spirit.

It appears that one can have good feelings towards one's *sé* when good things happen to one, as the names testify. When bad things are happening to people, however, they can have bad feelings towards their *sé* and curse the guardian god, questioning why the god brought them into this world. This is reflected in the words of a character in the novel *Death satisfied them*. Tugbewofia, who is Prince Seyram's lover, recounts all the tribulations she has gone through in life, including losing her parents; at a certain point in time she says she is fed up with life, and calls her dead parents to come and take her away. She indicates in the sentence in (17) that she cursed her *sé* for letting her be born into this world.

(17) *me-dó ɖiŋú ná nyĕ sé bé wò-ná bé me-vá dzɔ ɖé*
1SG-say curse DAT 1SG:POSS god QT 3SG-give COMP 1SG-VENT happen ALL
xéxéáme
world
'I cursed my *sé*, guardian god, that he allowed me to be born in this world.'
(Akotey, 2014 [1988], p. 55)

Sé is thus the being that accompanies people in *kodzogbe* and regulates the good and bad things that happen to people. People accept things that happen to them as happening because their *sé* allowed it. This suggests a certain inevitability of things that happen to people in *kodzogbe*. With these considerations in mind, I propose the explication in [I] for *sé*:

[I] someone's *sé*

WHAT IT IS/WHAT IT IS LIKE
Someone of one kind, (a being) not like people
This being is with this person all the time
This being is like a part of this person
It is not part of this person's body
When one thinks of this person one cannot not think of this being

WHAT PEOPLE KNOW/THINK ABOUT THIS SOMEONE
This person can think of this someone (being) like this
Many things can happen to me in *kodzogbe*
When good things happen to me, it is because this being wants them to happen

When bad things happen to me it is because this being wants them to happen
I cannot say to this being: I do not want this thing to happen
WHAT THIS PERSON KNOWS ABOUT THIS SOMEONE
This person can say something like this:
I know things are like this for me because this being wants them to happen
I know nothing can happen to me if this being does not want it

What is aklama?

As pointed out before, *aklama* and its related synonyms *kra* and *kla* in Ewe are related to and have been probably adapted from Akan *ɔkra* (see the controversy between Gyekey, 1995 and Wiredu, 1986 mentioned above), and Ga and Dangme *kla* (see Engmann, 1992; Kudadjie, 1992). With reference to the Dangme, Kudadjie (1992, p. 212) notes that the *kla* "as a person's real self or double (…)is the carrier of a person's *sēsēē* (literally message, errand, parting word or farewell address). *Sēsēē* embodies the kind of person one will be on earth and the major events of his life." The observant reader will notice a similarity between Dangme *sēsēē* 'message…' and Ewe *gbetsi*. Given that this message is an outline of how one wants one's life to be in *kodzogbe*, the idea that it is *kla* or *aklama* that is the one that carries the message explains some of the features of *kla* or *aklama*. I will focus on Ewe *aklama*.

First, *aklama* is "[T]he creative principle" in people (Dzobo, 1992a, p. 130). It is thus an aspect of a person. When good things happen that correspond to what one has foretold, then it is said that it is *aklama*, just like *sé*, that has been gracious or favorable to one. A prototypical use of *aklama* is when someone seems to have been spared some bad thing that could have happened to them, e.g., having escaped a fatal accident, being removed from harm's way, etc. Native speakers tend to gloss this word in English with 'fortune' and related forms such as 'fortunate'. One context of use in the novel *Death satisfied them* that illustrates the gracious nature of *aklama* is when Afiwa, the arranged fiancée of Prince Seyram, confesses that she had served poisoned food to Tugbewofia, who was receiving more attention from Seyram, but *aklama* was gracious to Tugbewofia and she did not eat the food. *Aklama*, as it were, stopped Tugbewofia from coming in contact with the poisoned food:

(18) *me-dé aḍi nú me nê kpɔ́ … gaké aklama ḍi*
1SG-put poison thing containing.region DAT:3SG PFV but AKLAMA descend
nê wò-gbé é-ḍu-ḍu
DAT:3SG 3SG-refuse 3SG-RED-eat
'I once put poison in food for her … but she was lucky (*aklama* was gracious to her) that she refused to eat it.' (Akotey, 2014 [1988], p. 55)

Aklama has an element of chance and unexpectedness in it. Basically, people do not know what to expect as they do not know what is in their *gbetsi* which is carried by *aklama*. When such unexpected things happen and one escapes from bad things happening to one, it is said that the situation was averted due to *aklama*. In the example in (19), also from the same novel, Seyram, the prince, was running away from bush fires and he crossed the path of a hunter who mistook him for game. The hunter fired a gun at him and as the novelist narrates it, luckily missed the target. In this example we have a denominal adverbial formed from *aklama* through a regular process of affixing a 'manner, like this' formative to it.

(19) *… éya.ta é-da tú=i gaké aklama.tɔe lá é-da=e fú*
3SG.because 3SG-throw gun=3SG but fortunately TP 3SG-throw=3SG hit
'… therefore he shot him, but luckily, he hit something else'
(Akotey, 2014 [1988], p. 75)

When one is fortunate to have opportunities that work in one's favor one is said to possess *aklama*. In the same story, Afiwa was looking for ways and means of eliminating Tugbewofia, but the latter was always in the company of Prince Seyram, so it was difficult for Afiwa to have access. At one time there was a funeral in a different village where Seyram had to go, and Afiwa thus considered herself as someone who has *aklama* and who might be able to carry out her plans. The author put these words into Afiwa's mouth:

(20) *me-bu ɖokui-nye aklama-tɔ́ gã áɖé …*
1SG-think self-1SG fortune-owner big INDEF
'I considered myself a very fortunate/lucky one [when I heard Seyram would go and leave Tugbewofia behind]. (Akotey, 2014 [1988], p. 55)

Similarly, when Seyram and his companion were chained up in prison and were going to be killed the next day, they saw that the guards had left their sharp cutlass behind, and the author describes this as something that became their *aklama* or luck. They were able to use the cutlass to cut through the rope that was used to tie them and flee from the place before daybreak, the day on which they would have been killed.

(21) *ɖekákpui=a=wó fé yi … zu aklama ná wó*
young.man=DEF=PL POSS cutlass become fortune DAT 3PL
'The cutlass of the young men became their luck/fortune.'
(Akotey, 2014 [1988], p. 87)

The positive orientation or connotation of *aklama* is also evident when it is used in opposition to *dzɔgbevɔ̃e* '[birthday bad] luck'. Thus, in the same story, Seyram and his companion were captured again and imprisoned, waiting to be killed. All

was set for the execution to take place the next day. On that day the wife of one of the executioners died, and the author characterizes the situation in terms of "one man's meat is another man's poison", i.e., one person's misfortune is another person's fortune, as in (22).

(22) *Ame áɖé fé dzɔgbevɔ̃e zu ame áɖé fé aklama*
person INDEF POSS misfortune become person INDEF POSS fortune
'Someone's misfortune has become another person's fortune.'
(Akotey, 2014 [1988], p. 94)

Someone who has luck or fortune is also talked about as being co-located with *aklama*, as in the excerpt in (23) from the preface of Yao Hlomatsi's novel *Agbe nyé núsi newɔe* ['Life is what you make it'], where he advises his readers to hold on to knowledge should they be lucky enough to come across it.

(23) *né aklama le ŋú=wò bé wǒ así su núnyá fé*
COND fortune be.at:PRES side=2SG COMP 2SG:POSS hand reach knowledge POSS
ákpá áɖé dzí lá …
side INDEF upper.surface TP
'If you are fortunate that you come in contact with a part of some knowledge …' (Hlomatsi 1997 p. v)

From the uses of *aklama* discussed, it emerges that it is a being that is co-present with people in *kodzogbe*. It is thought of as the force that is at work in the good things that happen to people and as being in opposition to bad fortune. With these considerations in mind, I propose the explication in [J] for *aklama*.

[J] (someone's) *aklama*

WHAT IT IS/WHAT IT IS LIKE

Someone of one kind, (a being) not like people
This being is like a part of this person
It is not part of this person's body
People cannot see this being
People cannot touch this being
This being is with this person all the time (in *kodzogbe*)

WHAT PEOPLE KNOW/THINK ABOUT THIS SOMEONE

This person can think of this someone (being) like this
I know many things can happen to me in *kodzogbe*

I think like this:
When good things happen to me, it is because this being wants them to happen

> When this being is with me, only good things can happen to me as this being wants
> I cannot say about the good things that happen: I do not want this thing to happen,
> I want something else to happen.

As the discussion shows, *aklama* and *sé* are related and they are both also related to *dzɔgbe* 'day of origin, birth'. *Sé* is associated with the divinely preordained course of life, which involves the many things, good and bad, that happen to people in *kodzogbe* that one is created with on one's day of origin, *dzɔgbe*. Because of this, *sé* is also referred to as *dzɔgbesé*. The day of origin of a person is very significant socio-culturally. To start with, each day is associated with some force and it is thought that the day on which one is born can be a directive force in the things that happen to people.[6] When good things happen to people it is said that the person has a good day of origin, *dzɔgbe-nyúí* 'good fortune, luck'. On the other hand, when bad things happen to people, it is said that the person has a bad day of origin, *dzɔgbe-vɔ́é* 'misfortune'. As noted earlier, this term is an opposite of *aklama*. Both *dzɔgbe-nyúí* 'good fortune' and *dzɔgbe-vɔ́é* 'misfortune' feed into a manner adverbialization process to form words translatable as 'fortunately' and 'unfortunately', respectively: *dzɔgbe-nyúí-tɔe* and *dzɔgbe-vɔ́é-tɔe*.

To round off the discussion of "destiny"-like ethnopsychological person constructs in Ewe, I want to return to the debate I mentioned earlier about whether there can be double "destiny", as I have argued for Ewe: one which is determined by the individual and the other which is divinely ordained. The Akan native philosophers and anthropologists have differing views on this with respect to their culture. Gyekye (1995, p. 112) asserts that "[d]ouble destiny is a conceptual blunder. The concept of destiny makes sense only when it is held to be wholly self-determined or wholly divinely imposed, but not both." One of Gyekye's criticisms is based on the logical problems that such a view implies. He wonders how an individual can determine one part of destiny and the divine the other part. For some proponents of the double destiny scenario, the view is based on a prima facie linguistic piece of evidence. There are two words in Akan for 'destiny': *nkrabea* 'message the individual gives to God', comparable to *gbetsi* in Ewe and *sēsēē* in Dangme, and *hyebea* 'message given by God' (see Sarpong, 1975).

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6. In Akan thought, each day of the seven-day week is associated with a god. The days are named according to these gods. Each day also has personal names associated with the names of the days. Each person is endowed with these names. For example, a male born on Friday is *Kofí* while a female born on Saturday is *Ama*. This Akan trait has spread to other groups in the Lower Volta Basin convergence area, including the Ewe. Such weekday names are called *dzɔgbeŋkɔ́* 'birthday name' in Ewe (see Egblewogbe, 1987).

Gyekye finds these unconvincing and cites proverbs and a myth as indicating that there is only a divinely imposed destiny. Although he acknowledges that there are other proverbs and potentially other myths which also indicate that destiny can be determined by an individual, he dismisses this evidence.

The most important reason for Gyekye to critique the double destiny concept is that with respect to Akan, the *okra* 'soul', which is supposed to be the bearer of *nkrabea* 'destiny', has no knowledge of things in the physical world, so how could it choose the things that will happen in the world? In my view, Gyekye is too much influenced by Western philosophical ideas and has ignored the internal evidence from the Akan lingua-culture. As should be evident from the discussion of the Ewe terms, the "not knowing what will happen in the world" is part of the conceptualization. Moreover, there is some knowledge that many things can happen to people in the physical world, be they good or bad. That is the extent to which something is known about things that will happen in the world. And it appears that there is not much more known content than that. Note, for Ewe, that the *gbetsi* which is the course of life that the individual pledges can be altered, especially if there are signs that there is a mismatch between the things desired and the things happening to the person in *kodzogbe*.

I hope I have argued for Ewe that *gbetsi* can be seen as the "destiny" determined by the individual, which can be altered even if people do not know the content. Some people of one kind can get information about the content. The divinely bestowed "destiny" can be thought of as *sé*, which no one has control over and which no one knows about. It is unpredictable what it is and this might generate a sense of resignation or acceptance of things that happen to people that are attributable to *sé*. This divinely determined life course is linked to *dzɔgbe* 'birthday fortune', which can bring about good things or bad things; it is also linked to the co-present *aklama*, the force that directs good things to happen to a person.

4. Concluding remarks

In the foregoing I have argued that a person in Ewe is construed as having both biological and physical aspects, the body and its parts. A person also has a social or moral dimension and a set of elements which are like parts of a person but which are mostly spiritual, divine, creative forces that direct a person's life and/or are co-present with them in the physical world. I have also drawn attention to three linguistically constructed dimensions of body parts and I have provided the cultural context for understanding personhood in Ewe. I have also attempted to make explicit the conceptual content of the elements constituting the make-up of a person by proposing explications couched in Minimal English as the meta-

language. The use of such a method allows us to move away from couching Ewe indigenous person constructs in terms of translation equivalents in English, for example. It has also allowed us to claim that from an Ewe lingua-cultural point of view, the question of whether "destiny" can be both divinely and individually determined in a specific universe of thought has to be answered in the affirmative. This exploration has been an attempt to provide an Ewe insider perspective on the components of a person. It has therefore not examined one of the reified Anglo culture-specific elements of personhood, namely, mind. It is not immediately clear that such an element is thought of as a constituent part of a person in the Ewe conceptual schema. This is an issue for future research, but see a recent discussion of the mind concept and "theory of mind" in the neighboring Akan group by Dzokoto (2020).

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Abbreviations

ABL	ablative
ALL	allative
COM	comitative
COMP	complementizer
COND	conditional
CONJ	conjunction
COP	copula
DAT	dative
DEF	definiteness marker
DISJ	disjunctive marker
DIST	distal demonstrative
AFOC	argument focus marker
HAB	habitual
IMPERS	impersonal
INDEF	indefinite
INT	intensifier
LOC	locative
LOG	logophoric pronoun
NEG	negative
NZER	nominalizer
PFOC	predicate focus marker
Pfx	nominalprefix
PL	plural marker
POSS	possessive
POT	potential
PRED	predicative marker
PRES	present
PRIV	privative
PROG	progressive
PROX	proximal demonstrative
QT	quotative marker
QP	question particle

RED	reduplicative	TP	topic marker
REL	relative clause introducer	1	first person
SG	singular	2	second person
SUBJV	subjunctive	3	third person

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CHAPTER 7

Utu as epistemology and conviviality in Kiswahili culture

Anthropological linguistic perspectives on living together

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Anthropological linguistics is essentially concerned with language in/as cultural practices as they emerge and change through humans living in communities. Yet the aspect of living together itself has rarely been explicitly addressed from anthropological linguistic perspectives. In our contribution, we aim to explore the concept of *utu* ('humanity') in Kiswahili by looking at linguistic practices in different domains. To show that *utu* can be regarded as an epistemology and a way of knowing and mastering living together as humans, we will look at language in *unyago* (coming-of-age rituals), proverbs and sayings but also at grammatical features of Kiswahili. This chapter thus investigates concepts of humanity at the intersection of language and culture.

Keywords: humanity, proverbs, cultural knowledge, morality, ritual, conceptualization, reciprocal

Sifa ya mtu ni utu
mtu si kitu
mtu ni watu[1]

1. Kiswahili saying: 'the praise of human is humanity, a human being is not a thing, a human being is human beings'.

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1. Introduction

The question of what it means to be human is a classic one in philosophy and philosophical anthropology; from a Kiswahili perspective,[2] the notion of humanity is deeply interlocked with community as well as ideals of 'goodness': "In Kiswahili, the conception of humanity is semantically linked to morality, which is an exclusively human quality, in distinction from all other creatures" (Kresse, 2007, p. 139). As part of the shared cultural knowledge of the Waswahili, the concept of *utu* and its underlying meanings are expressed in numerous linguistic forms, such as proverbs, sayings and other cultural-linguistic practices like *unyago* (coming-of-age rituals). This contribution seeks to look at *utu* from an anthropological linguistic perspective by exploring linguistic means of expressing, negotiating and transmitting (knowledge of) *utu*.[3] It is interesting that such a basic and important concept as that of humanity (and humanness) itself has not attracted much attention in anthropological linguistics yet (see however contributions on the linguistics of personhood, such as Ameka, this volume). This is especially striking since many societies exhibit quite large repertoires of cultural linguistic expressions that address the concept of humanity and negotiate and educate members of the society about what it means to be human. The concept of *utu*, as known among the Waswahili, embodies a philosophical account of humanity and morality that is at the core of cultural knowledge, and there is a rich body of oral and written linguistic manifestations and elaborations of the inscribed meanings and conceptualizations of *utu*.

In this chapter, we seek to analyze different linguistic practices that express or relate to *utu* as part of the cultural knowledge and philosophical account of what it means to be human among the Waswahili. Since the Kiswahili perspective, as pointed out above, links humanity to morality, and, in particular, to goodness in connection to living together, we extend the philosophical considerations (as discussed, for instance, by Kresse, 2007) to look at how *utu* relates to the concepts of epistemology and conviviality.

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2. To offer this perspective we have decided to employ the Kiswahili expressions with their respective noun classes also when it comes to the word 'Swahili' itself: The prefix *ki-* (class 7) is employed for marking languages, but also to derive adverbs and to express diminutive (including various semantic extensions building on diminutive semantics). The prefix *wa-* (class 2, plural of class 1) is employed to denote human beings (and animals). Therefore, in this paper, *Kiswahili* refers to the language (including the cultural knowledge and values it encodes) while *Waswahili* refers to 'the Swahili people'.

3. We will discuss the meaning of the linguistic term *utu* in more detail in Section 4.

Given the fact that *utu* evokes a large body of cultural knowledge relating to humanity and good ways of living together, the notion of epistemology helps us to understand practices of *utu* not only as moral guidelines for society, but also as a way of knowing what it means to be human and as a way of understanding humanity in general. Epistemology, usually understood as the "theory of knowledge", is concerned with questions of how we know what we know (knowledge production), with truth, validation and evidence, and in the greater sense with human experience in the world (see Audi, 2011). Looking at *utu* through the lens of epistemology will also contribute to a process of validating Kiswahili and African knowledge production in philosophical and anthropological dimensions.

Conviviality, a term that has become quite popular across the social sciences lately, originally referred to moral components of living together and goes back to descriptions of life in medieval Spain (Hemer et al., 2020, p. 2). Lately, it has been used as an analytical frame for looking at ways in which people live together in challenging social or cultural environments, for example those that are characterized by social, ethnic or religious tensions (see Gilroy, 2004), and to explore "under what conditions (…) people constructively create modes of togetherness" (Nowicka & Vertovec, 2014, p. 2). We understand conviviality as "the interactive core of relations both among humans and among human beings and non-human beings, including animals, spirits, and artefacts" (Nobre & Costa, 2019, p. 11) and shed new light on this concept from a Kiswahili perspective which seeks to understand living together through linguistic practices and examples that reflect *utu*.

In this contribution, we will employ the notions of epistemology and conviviality to discuss cultural-linguistic manifestations of *utu* in Kiswahili culture. In fact, we want to argue that these two notions have been part of Kiswahili perspectives on *utu* in an implicit manner: while they may not have been employed as (Western) academic labels in the writings and discussions of Waswahili concerning *utu*, humanity and related concepts, the humanistic philosophical views on how *utu* manifests as shared knowledge within and across society is evident. In her account of humanity and personhood in the philosophy of *utu*, Alena Rettová (2020) surveys various genres and episodes of Kiswahili writing and discusses the humanistic nature of Kiswahili philosophy by drawing on the concept of *utu*. Since *utu* and the views connected to it produce a large body of shared knowledge that is at the core of Waswahili societies, regarded as moral and normative understandings of life, we want to extend Rettová's account by highlighting the epistemological nature of *utu*.

In other words, Rettová recalls African philosophers who state the humanistic nature of African philosophy, and discusses how

> [t]he individual is tied to the social fabric and defined through community. (…) Humans can only become fully human in and through community. It is through this dependence of humanity on community that 'being human' acquires social and moral dimensions.[4] (Rettová, 2020, p. 32)

Rettová goes on to illustrate how *utu*, as not only a theory of humanity, but also of knowing humanity and developing nuances of understanding humanity, is depicted in various writings and discussions in connection to religion, *ujamaa* (socialism) and existential literature, as well as novels. The vast and diverse literary and oral contexts in which people are concerned with *utu* reflect how *utu* is at the core of knowledge production with respect to humanity and community. Therefore, we could assume that *utu* also offers a humanistic epistemology that places practices of knowing and showing humanity at the center.

In this chapter, we consider several linguistic dimensions of the negotiation and reproduction of *utu* as epistemology. The next section deals with proverbs and sayings, a domain in which *utu* features prominently. This domain is particularly elucidative with regard to how the knowledge of *utu* is taught and spread across society and how linguistic means of evoking *utu* can also be employed as means of reprimanding and correcting people's behavior. Section 3 will look at another domain of teaching knowledge and handing down cultural practices that define humanity among the Waswahili by discussing *unyago*, a coming-of-age rite that prepares adolescents for good ways of living together as adults, especially with regard to domestic and relationship aspects. Section 4 will discuss more inherent linguistic means of expressing *utu* by looking at grammatical and linguistic means such as reciprocity and politeness. While the proverbs and sayings in Section 2 are widespread and have commonly been investigated in literary and linguistic accounts of Kiswahili culture, Section 4 is more explorative and makes a preliminary attempt at discovering implicit notions of *utu* in the very way people speak.

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4. It is interesting as well as important to point out the connection to the South African *ubuntu* philosophy, as highlighted by Rettová. This larger Bantu perspective illustrates that there is a much greater body of anthropological linguistic and literary practices concerned with humanity and philosophy. Rettová (2020, p. 32) cites Desmond Tutu on *ubuntu*: "We believe that a person is a person through other persons, that my humanity is caught up, bound up, inextricably, with yours."

2. Proverbs and sayings

As Kresse (2007, p.139) argues, proverbs and sayings "express and mark a social fund of worldly knowledge, widely accepted insights into the nature of being human. Their use, by members of the community, characterizes a common ground of reference. Sayings reinforce common understanding, and act as guidelines for and reminders of proper social behavior."[5] In that regard, proverbs usually draw on common and shared everyday experiences and use figurative ways of meaning making (Hrisztova-Gotthardt & Varga, 2014, p.1). Using proverbs may enable speakers to convey a meaning in a polite or figurative way (especially when communicating a delicate or taboo topic), to spice up a conversation or make an illustrative point, to transmit social and moral values, to educate and also to convey cultural values. Moreover, proverbs provide insights into people's worldviews and the ways in which people reflect on society (see Dabbagh, 2016). This worldview and societal moral stance is also deeply inscribed in the proverb(s) presented in the epigraph:

(1) *sifa ya m-tu ni u-tu*
9.praise 9.CONN 1-human COP 11-human
'The praise [essence] of a human being is humanity'

(2) *m-tu si ki-tu*
1-human NEG.COP 7-thing
'A human being is not a thing'

(3) *m-tu ni wa-tu*
1-human COP 2-human
'A human being is human beings'

This string of related proverbs explicitly refers to the communal aspect of humanity in Kiswahili culture: it is *utu* that makes humans human; it is also what differentiates humans from things and it is only through other human beings that humans are human. Kresse (2007, p.139) states that morality and goodness are culturally inherent connotations of *utu*[6] and discusses how these proverbs express the socially significant conceptions of humanity in terms of normative behavior. It is the sphere of humanity and the sphere of shared cultural knowledge within

5. While authors often do differentiate between proverbs and sayings, usually in terms of their (fixed) linguistic form, this section will look at several expressions that fall into these categories more broadly and focus on linguistic and sociocultural aspects of the utterances and their communicative contexts, rather than trying to distinguish sharply between proverbs and sayings, which are English categories that may not match the Kiswahili concept anyway.

6. This is also true of the English 'humanity' to some extent.

society that gave rise to these proverbial expressions and also makes them stand for the same shared conceptions.

Another significant characteristic of proverbs is their linguistic form, which often marks them as ritualized expressions. Proverbs may be figurative, poetic or involve specific rhetorical devices. Typical forms of proverbs are comparisons, interrogatives, imperatives and declaratives. Among the commonly used stylistic, rhetorical and linguistic devices found in proverbs are alliteration, parallelism, ellipsis, assonance, rhyme, hyperbole, allegory/parable, paradox, metaphor and personification. Usually, the full (and situative) processes of meaning creation in proverbs only unfold in their specific contexts and nuances of meaning can vary depending on the relevant communicative situation, as we shall see below. The proverbs in (1)–(3) exhibit a specific linguistic form, and through their parallel syntactic character and recurrent referents and analogies, the general conception of *utu* is emphasized. Parallelism as a rhetorical and stylistic device often implies comparison or analogy, as in (1)–(3) where human beings are compared to qualities, entities or beings. The special linguistic form of proverbs also makes them not only easy to remember and learn as a form of ritualized communication but also serves as a marked way of expressing cultural epistemology.

Norrick (2014, p.14) defines proverbs as "recurrent, pithy, often formulaic and/or figurative, fairly stable and generally recognizable units used to form a complete utterance, make a complete conversational contribution and/or to perform a speech act in a speech event". In this regard, it is interesting to note the wide range of conversational functions a proverb can serve, which is connected to its multilayered and highly contextual meaning. Looking at proverbs in their various contexts of usage, it can be observed that the meaning of the proverb also differs according to the relationship between the direct or literal meaning of the proverb and the metaphorical meaning created through its contextual use in a particular communicative situation (cf. Möhlig, 1994, who illustrates this for another East African Bantu language, Kerewe). This latter aspect is of particular significance when we turn our attention to Kiswahili proverbs as they unfold their situational meanings and educative purposes with regard to linking a particular communicative context and an evaluation of people and their behavior to socio-philosophical and cultural notions of *utu*.

It is precisely in those cultural contexts that the notion of conviviality is invoked and expressed by the people involved in the communicative situation. For instance, if a proverb is used to reprimand someone's behavior, a metaphor can be used to guide someone to live and behave in line with *utu*, the good way of living together. One example is the proverb in (4):

(4) *vi-faru wa-wili wa-ki-pig-an-a nyasi hu-um-i-a*
8-rhino 2-two 3PL-COND-beat-RECP-FV 9.grass HAB-hurt-APPL-FV
'When two rhinos fight, it's the grass that gets hurt'

There are many different contexts in which this proverb can be applied, for example as a political commentary on the behavior of leading politicians or to parents who quarrel in front of their children. Animal imagery, a common practice in figurative speech, metaphor and proverbs (see Mangena & Ndlovu, 2016), is used here to construct the literal meaning of the proverb. On the metaphorical level, the meaning is constructed by mapping the literal meaning onto the evaluated or communicated situation. In this regard, this proverb usually provides advice or criticism by evaluating a perceived behavior as harmful and hence not in line with the moral aspects connected to *utu*. This proverb can also be connected to social power relations, since the rhinos in this proverb often stand for the powerful protagonists in a given situation while the grass represents the affected and often less powerful stakeholders. Social relations are a very important part of the philosophy of *utu*, which will become clear in Section 4 on *unyago* below, where relationships are at the center of cultural practices exemplifying *utu*.

Moreover, we can state that the very use of proverbs in particular situations can be regarded as an act of *utu*, based on the intention of providing advice and guidelines on living more in line with the shared cultural conceptualizations of conviviality, including moral stances and humanity. This communicative act is provided in a respectful and socially accepted manner, namely through the proverbial use of figurative speech, which is in many communicative contexts the more appropriate form of expressing social commentary such as disapproval, reprimands or critiques of behavior. The use of proverbs is often regarded as a more appropriate form of voicing such comments, as compared to direct criticism. In that regard, it is a practice that reflects *utu*, as it expresses comments and critique in a human rather than harmful manner.

Another important point in this regard is the concept of voicing, which turns proverbs into powerful social tools: since proverbs are part of the shared cultural knowledge within society, the participants of a particular communicative situation usually know the proverb already and the speaker is not regarded as the author. In several African cultures, including Kiswahili culture, proverbs ideologically belong to the ancestors, whose voices are invoked when somebody "quotes" a proverb (see Irvine, 1996 on proverbs in Wolof). In Kiswahili, this can be linguistically marked by introducing a proverb with the words *wahenga walisema:…* ('the ancestors said:…'). Such a framing of the proverbial utterance underlines its cultural depth, including its epistemological roots and trajectories and its implications for conviviality, as the voices of the ancestors are of high value and signif-

icance in Kiswahili culture and represent knowledge and advice for harmonious living together.

While our discussion so far reflects the situational and contextual significance of the meaning-making process of proverbs, another important and related aspect has been highlighted by authors such as Dabbagh (2016). This pertains to the importance of a cultural linguistic approach to the study of proverbs, which highlights the cognitive processes underlying cultural conceptualizations. Dabbagh suggests using a cognitive and cultural linguistic approach to studying proverbs. Building on the works of Palmer (1996) and Sharifian (e.g., 2011), he shows how focusing on the cognitive processes underlying meaning making in proverbs sheds light on the socio-cultural aspects of these language practices. To take this one step further, we would like to connect this cognitive linguistic perspective on linguistic manifestations of cultural knowledge to the notions of epistemology and conviviality in order to discuss *utu*. Cognitive processes in this regard refer to the processes that our mind undertakes to make sense of our daily (cultural and social) experiences and also the ways in which we then share them within our (linguistic) communities (Kövecses, 2006). In other words, the linguistic encoding of meaning reflects our conceptual (cognitive) system, which is in turn shaped by our experiences. Once particular experiences and their cognitive processes are shared by members of a cultural group, conceptualizations can become systematic and shared knowledge (see Sharifian, 2011). Shared cultural conceptualizations then often result in linguistic manifestations such as metaphor, which is a cognitive process where one concept stands for another, such as the animal metaphors used in the proverb in Example (4). Here, the rhinos represent human beings and their behavior stands for human behavior. Culturally, certain animals are metaphorically linked to certain types of behavior or character. Since this kind of animal imagery is part of the underlying shared knowledge of the cultural group, the proverb can be decoded and taken as advice or reprimand by the addressee of the proverb in a given communicative situation.

There are more Kiswahili proverbs that draw on animal imagery while addressing issues connected to *utu* and conviviality:

(5) *kuku mw-enye wa-toto ha-leng-w-i ji-we*
1.chicken 1-POSS 2-child 3SG.NEG-aim.at-PASS-NEG 5-stone
'A stone is not thrown at a hen with chicks'

(6) *Chui na-ye a-na m-kwe-we*
1.leopard with-3SG 3SG-have 1-mother/father.in.law-POSS
'Even a leopard has a mother/father-in-law'

The proverb in (5) has a metaphorical meaning that also depends on the context in which it is used. It basically gives the advice not to hurt or destroy the offspring, or something that gives profit in the future. The *kuku* 'hen' here stands for a profitable investment but also symbolizes the role of the mother. Its relationship to *utu* is also in the fact that mother hen, and mothers in general, are protective of their children but also need to be protected by society. The proverb thus speaks to social roles inscribed in *utu* expressing ideologies of conviviality among the Waswahili. Proverb (6) also embodies *utu* and social roles: even a cruel animal (or person in a metaphorical sense) has a father- or mother-in-law. While *chui* 'leopard' stands for a predator, an animal that hunts and kills others and is cruel to them, this can, like in the other proverbs, metaphorically refer to a person who treats others badly. To say that even such a person has family ties and someone close to him/her reflects the social bond of *utu* that brings people together within society. And interestingly, the social family bondage used in this proverb does not draw on blood relations but in-laws. Thus, a bond that is created and produces a kinship relation is emphasized here, which relates to the expectations connected to social roles culturally inscribed in the concept of *utu*. Conviviality, in this regard, means that even bad or harmful persons are part of society and are included in the social relations and networks which characterize the ways in which humans live together.

Additional examples of linguistic manifestations of cultural conceptualizations are illustrated by Dimmendaal (2015) who focuses on African contexts in his investigations at the intersection of language, culture and cognition. He makes a strong case for the impact of culture-specific influences in conceptualizations, semantic structures and language. With regard to the Kiswahili examples introduced above, we can regard these metaphors in proverbs as a reflection of aspects of *utu*: concrete culturally connoted imagery (for example family relations) is used to address issues of conviviality and give instructions for living together in harmonious and morally accepted ways. This shows that cultural conceptualizations and their cognitive processes shape socio-cultural knowledge and are therefore also at the root of epistemology, as they constitute a concrete cognitive and linguistic strategy of creating meaning, and thus knowledge.

From an epistemological point of view, it is important to note that linguistic form and semantic packaging seem to play a major role with regard to the production, negotiation and transmission of cultural knowledge. The question of what it means to be human, which in Kiswahili culture is closely tied to the notion of conviviality and community, needs to be addressed with specific language such as proverbs, sayings, poems, songs, symbols, etc. Cultural conceptualizations of *utu* are at the core of Kiswahili culture and manifest themselves in metaphorical and semantically complex ways, as this look at proverbs has illustrated.

These kinds of linguistic manifestations of cultural knowledge production can be found in many different domains. Proverbs are often obviously figurative and contain metaphorical meanings that, in the case of the Kiswahili proverbs featured in this paper, pertain to *utu* and aspects of humanity, morality and living together as humans. Another major domain in which we find such linguistic and cultural manifestations of *utu* is in the domain of educative ritual practices such as *unyago*, discussed in Section 3.

3. Unyago

This section navigates our understanding of the concept of conviviality as it is practiced in *jamii ya waswahili* ('Waswahili community'), informed by *utu* through the lens of *unyago* (the coming-of-age ritual for young women being initiated into womanhood). Before looking at how *utu* is depicted through *unyago*, we first have to understand what exactly *unyago* means. It is the coming-of-age ritual and a long-standing form of education during which young women are intensively taught about morality, sexuality, reproduction and their social responsibilities in society. Although this ritual has gone through many phases and taken different forms due to colonialism and religious "civilization", certain values, as well as the general intentions guiding *unyago*, have remained unchanged (Fair, 1996; Larsen, 2008; Strobel, 1979; Thompson, 2011). The ritual is organized by parents and instructors, the latter being called *nyakanga/manyakanga, kungwi/makungwi* and *somo/masomo* (SG/PL respectively). Their responsibility is to teach, instruct and prepare the young women to become responsible members of society as adults, mothers and wives.

Unyago rituals have two stages, starting with puberty and ending with marriage initiations. The first stage of *unyago* ritual and instruction occurs when a girl begins to menstruate, at which point the girl's *kungwi* (initiation instructor) takes her to the *kungwi*'s home where the girl is kept in seclusion and taught about what physical changes are taking place in her body and how to care for her personal hygiene during menstruation (Fair, 1996). The *kungwi* typically has a number of girls to instruct at the same time and when several girls in one neighborhood receive puberty initiation instruction, *makungwi* and the parents cooperate to prepare the coming out ceremony after the initiation. The whole process of organizing the ritual and the ceremony relies on and simultaneously fosters interdependence amongst the people in the society. The second stage of *unyago* is the marriage ritual, during which young women are initiated into being responsible partners, parents and adults. At this stage, young women are taught about various matters such as femininity, male and female physiology, the physical aspects

of sexuality, physical relations between men and women, how to achieve sexual satisfaction for themselves and their partners, fertility enhancement and prevention, pregnancy, birth, child care, how to live a peaceful life with new members of the family such as the husband, in-laws, neighbors and friends, and how to show respect to people of different ages. At each stage *unyago* requires a specific venue and only the initiated women are allowed to take part. Since everything concerning *unyago* is considered a secret, it is a taboo to talk about *unyago* teachings to uninitiated girls and men.

Unyago provides a lens on various dimensions of *utu*[7] as it involves a series of performances such as singing, drumming and dancing as well as a variety of instructions and lectures. Drawing on Kai Kresse's understanding of *utu* as a central moral concept which includes good moral behavior in true friendship, the marital relationship, intergenerational relationships, and social relationships in general (Kresse 2007), one dimension of *utu* is that it is human-centered and fundamentally dwells in moral human interactions, as we have already established in the introduction and seen in Section 2 above for the case of proverbs and metaphors. The moral values that a person has in relation to others are considered to be the aspects that make a human being a human. In Tanzania, even political ideologies such as *ujamaa* (socialism) may embrace such aspects of the concept of *utu* as forgiveness, reconciliation and willingness to share (Chachage & Annar, 2010). For the case of *unyago*, *utu* is prevalent in the teaching of moral values, as the following examples illustrate. But, more importantly here, the ways in which the knowledge of *utu* is taught during *unyago* shed light on the meaning and understanding of conviviality among the Waswahili. The examples below are drawn from interviews conducted in 2019 and 2020 and also from Agnes Brühwiler's personal experience during her own *unyago* in 2010, including various activities performed during *unyago*.

To start with, *utu* is depicted in *unyago* through the relationship between the instructors and the learners. The relationship between the *makungwi, somo* and *nyakanga* (instructors) may or may not be based on family or blood relationships with the *wari* (learners). Due to taboos, parents are not allowed to talk to their daughters about issues concerning body changes and sexuality. Therefore, other family members, as well as non-kin members of the community, take on the responsibility as *makungwi, nyakanga* or *somo*. As one of the instructors interviewed (Bi. Fatma Seif) said

7. This concerns *utu* itself as well as the transmission of *utu* as a philosophy.

> Mtoto halelewi na mtu mmoja, mtoto ni wa wote na ndio maana akifikia umri wake maalum tunampeleka kwa somo yake (…) japo kuwa mimi mwenyewe ni kungwi, ninampeleka binti yangu kwa somo yake na huo ndio utamaduni wetu (…) kutunza ule utu na kujaliana.
> ('A child can't be raised by one person, someone's child is a child of all and this is why when a child reaches a particular age, we take her to her instructor (…) though I am an instructor myself, I take my daughter to her instructor and that is our custom (…) to keep that humanity and care for one another').

This shows the interdependence amongst the members of the society – explicitly *including* non-kin members – and how parents and other members of the society rely on one another to raise children and adolescents into responsible adult members of the society.[8] Although the instructors cooperate with the learners' parents to organize the ritual, it is the instructors who assume the social responsibility of teaching and initiating the young women into womanhood. The taboo forbidding parents to talk to their daughters about sexuality on the one hand limits the parents' range of communicating with their children but, on the other hand, normalizes other members' sense of responsibility for taking care of and teaching children and adolescents, who are not their own children. Songs and sayings express this general sense of taking care of other people's children as well. Bi. Fatma used the saying *mtoto wa mwenzio ni wako* ('someone's child is also yours') and there is an *unyago* song in which the soloist starts with *ukiona mtoto wa mwenzio malaya, mlevi, shoga…* ('when you see your fellow's child, who is a prostitute, alcoholic, gay…') and the audience receives with *na wako vilevile, na wako vilevile* ('then it is yours as well, yours as well'). Here *utu* is practiced in a way that puts the emphasis on valuing others as we value ourselves and our own family. These linguistic expressions used in *unyago* practices also reflect the inclusiveness of Waswahili society, another aspect of *utu*.

When communicating their messages, the instructors (*makungwi*) mainly perform the ritual orally, although drawings and other symbolic tools can assist them in conveying knowledge. The use of songs and sayings always requires duality, i.e., the soloist and audience, who take turns singing or completing parts of the lyrics, words and chants. It is common for a *kungwi* to begin with a phrase like *shughuli ni?…* and everybody else receives it by replying *watu*, then the *kungwi* again sings *Na watu ni?… – sisi. Shughuli ni watu, na watu ni sisi* translates as 'a celebration needs people, and the people are we'. All these chants, poems and

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8. Interestingly, reciprocity is an important concept, as well as a grammatical device to express the mutual social care that is inherent in *utu* (see the discussion of reciprocity in Section 4). Note that in the excerpt of Bi. Fatma Seif's interview, she uses the expression *kujaliana*, containing the reciprocal suffix *-an-* which will be discussed in more detail in Section 4.

songs are not sung and performed by just a single person but rather, the instructor and the learners call on each other to complete the meanings of the chants, poems and songs. The way these songs are performed manifests the interdependence of all the attendees and it reflects the famous saying *mtu ni watu* ('a human being is human beings' – see above). The back-and-forth makes the performance whole, and it may involve the use of drums, ululations, claps and chants. Likewise, the songs, drums, clapping and chants performed are used as codes for entrance and identity-markers for eligible members who are allowed to take part, because uninitiated people are not allowed to participate in *unyago* if they are not *mwari/wari* (learners).

The teaching during *unyago* is shared among the instructors (*makungwi*) and their assistants. They split up the themes of instruction amongst themselves during *unyago* teachings based on the understanding that knowledge is not held by an individual person but needs to be shared among several people. As Bi. Fatma Seif stated, *hakuna kati yetu anayejua kila kitu, ni muhimu wakati wa kumfunda mwari asikie kutoka kwa watu tofauti tofauti* ('there is no one amongst us who knows everything, it is important for a learner to hear from different instructors during instructing'). Referring to the *unyago* which co-author Brühwiler herself experienced, *makungwi* took turns to instruct the *wari* on different themes. Sayings like *mtu haishi kama kisiwa* ('a person cannot live like an island') emphasized the importance of coexisting and how to manage living with people around you who may have different characters and upbringings. This notion of living-with-other-people is also emphasized in the area of cooking for the family and sharing with neighbors. Bi. Nuru Sijali said *unapopika hakikisha unapika chakula cha kutosha sababu mgeni wa ghafla anaweza ingia nyumbani mwako saa yoyote na ni aibu na itakuwa ni uchoyo kama chakula hamna* ('when cooking make sure you cook enough food because a guest may enter into your home any time and it is a shame and it will be considered stingy of you if there is no food'). Bi. Nuru stated that preserving grains for seeds and food security, as well as sharing food with the needy, especially in times of bad harvest, is important because it may happen that a husband is not able to provide food, but the woman can help out by using what she has put in the store, thus taking on the responsibility of taking care of others: *Kutunza nafaka kwa ajili ya mbegu, kulima bustani za mboga na kuweka akiba ni muhimu hasa pale ambapo hali inakuwa ngumu kwa jirani, ndugu au mume anapohitaji msaada unaweza kusaidia* ('storing grain for seeds, growing vegetables, and saving money is very important especially when the situation gets bad for the neighbors, relatives or a husband, when they are in need you are able to help them').

As mentioned above, the dimension of *utu* as moral responsibility to others is one of the big themes of *unyago* that *makungwi* teach during the ritual. *Makungwi*

emphasize the respectful use of language and gestures and they show the learners how to co-exist with others in the society peacefully. *Wari* (learners) are advised to maintain good relationships not only with their future husbands but also with the in-laws, neighbors and other people surrounding them. Bi. Fatma Seif used a symbolic technique to elaborate this as she placed a cooking pot on a traditional hearth kitchen, i.e., a typical three stones and firewood kitchen (*jiko la mafiga matatu na sufuria)*, saying:

> unayaona haya mafiga matatu? Sufuria haiwezi kukaa kama figa moja likikosekana na mafiga yote ni muhimu ili mtu aweze kupika (…) basi ni hivyo figa moja ni alama ya mume, la pili familia yake na la tatu ni jamaa na marafiki (…) jaribu kuwa chombo cha amani uepuke kuwa chombo cha mafarakano kati yao
> ('do you see this three stones kitchen? A cooking pot cannot stay in balance if one stone is missing, all of the stones are important for one to be able to cook (…) so one stone represents the husband, the second stone represents his family and the third one is other relatives and friends (…) try to be an instrument of peace and not of disputes among them').

This figurative and metaphorical way of instructing enables the *wari* (learners) to remember the teachings easily, because the tools which she uses every day are used as symbols. It is noteworthy that the third stone explicitly represents members of the society who are outside of the husband's inner family circle. So even in her role as a married woman, an adult woman is advised to form social bonds with members of the broader society.

On the issue of how to use polite language and to show respect to others, poems and songs are performed to emphasize this theme explicitly. A piece of poetry in a song from Sheikh Bakar reads:

> *nyama zetu za ulimi ambazo tukipeana,*
> *mengineyo sisemi mengi tukifanyiana*
> ('the meat of the tongue which we give each other
> other things I cannot say, many more things we do to each other')

Kupeana nyama ya ulimi literally means 'to give one another the meat of the tongue', which is an expression commonly used by *makungwi* to describe how to maintain good relationships among partners. The symbolic meaning of *nyama za ulimi* is the good words and compliments which the partners are supposed to use to one another. A Kiswahili proverb *maneno mazuri humtoa nyoka pangoni* ('good words make a snake come out of its cave') refers to the power of using respectful words. Here again, the moral dimension of *utu* is very explicit, as the *makungwi* use songs, proverbs and symbolic tales to advise the *wari* how to show

respect for elders, how to live peacefully with in-laws, and how to co-exist peacefully with other members of their society.

As a final example of how *unyango* can serve as a lens to understand *utu*, let us turn to the activity of *singo*, which is a noun deriving from the verb *kusinga* ('to massage/scrub'). *Singo* specifically concerns brides-to-be, so it is taught and performed in *unyago* for *wari* who are about to get married. The *makungwi* prepare the *singo*, which is a magically scented mix of different flowers and plants such as *maua ya asumini* ('fresh jasmine') and *kilua* ('ylang ylang') flowers and rose petals combined with *karafuu* ('cloves') and *liwa* ('sandalwood'). Before applying it to the skin, a little *mrashi* ('rosewater') is added and then the mix is applied to the bride-to-be a few days before she gets married. The *mwari* undergoes a daily *singo* ('scrub') to symbolically wash away the odor of puberty and to welcome the fragrance of adulthood. At the same time, the scrub exfoliates her skin, leaving her fragrant and glowing, with skin as soft as silk. Here the young women are taught the power of scent in healing, how to remove bad odors, to relax and also to seduce with the help of scent, which enhances their femininity. The young women learn how to prepare such scents by using extracts of plants, flowers and animal products for different occasions and how to apply them to others and to their partners. Scent is another crucial aspect of this activity, and it has been for a long time, as the poem *utenzi wa mwanakupona* (1810) shows. The poem has been popular in *unyago* teachings for many centuries and it stresses scents and their uses for femininity, healing and attracting:

> *Na kidani na kifungo*
> *Sitoe katika shingo*
> ***Muili siwate mwengo***
> *Kwa marashi na dalia*
> ('And necklace and pendant
> Remove not on your neck
> **Leave your body with no odor**
> Smear perfume and fragrance powder')

As with other teachings during *unyago*, the knowledge of *singo* is conveyed by engaging *makungwi* and *wari* in interactive activities. Here, the knowledge is not only shared verbally but through a common act of physical performance. *Singo* cannot be performed by the *wari* alone, but the *wari* need others to apply the scrub to their bodies and to massage them.

When *unyago* teachings come to an end, those who have been initiated (*wari*) continue to stay in contact with their *makungwi* and also their peers, thus creating close relationships amongst each other as well as a social network, which empowers and strengthens these women throughout their lives in per-

sonal, economic and political situations. The newly initiated women may take part in other *kungwi* rituals to refresh their knowledge, to assist the *kungwi* and to become *makungwi* themselves. The fact that the relationship between *kungwi* and *masomo* continues after the *unyago* session shows that it is not only the understandings and meanings of *utu*, which were being taught during *unyago*, that remain relevant for Waswahili women after their initiation rituals. More importantly, the way in which *utu* is taught during *unyago* – namely in interactive ways in which shared knowledge forms the basis of social bonds – informs how Waswahili practice conviviality in their everyday lives. These practices of conviviality become relevant again when a woman needs help during and after giving birth, when taking care of her baby, facing challenges in her marriage and interacting with her in-laws. Hence, the teachings, mutual bonds and practices of *unyago* accompany the women throughout their life and provide shared cultural knowledge and strategies that reflect important aspects of humanity and conviviality in Kiswahili culture.

4. The linguistics of expressing *utu*

This section will take a closer look at other linguistic means of expressing or relating to *utu*, including a discussion of whether a cultural concept such as *utu* can also be reflected in grammatical resources. As an abstract concept, *utu* is often inherently understood by the Waswahili to be part of linguistic expressions and semantic conceptualizations that are related to shared cultural knowledge, good behavior and morality.

The term *utu* itself, usually translated into English as 'humanity', reflects strong cultural conceptualizations that result in specific connotations. Therefore, Kresse highlights that:

> it cannot be assumed that the English word 'humanity' is an adequate translation or the complete equivalent. (…) The term in question needs to be situated in the social and cultural context of everyday life, in the context where it plays an important role. As usual with abstract terms, there is no single empirical correlate.
>
> (Kresse, 2007, p. 141)

As we have seen in the previous sections, underlying cultural conceptualizations make up the culture-specific aspects that make linguistic expressions such as abstract terms, proverbs, metaphors and others difficult to translate. In order to arrive at a more nuanced picture of *utu* in linguistic expressions, it helps to take a closer look at the semantic and grammatical means involved. Starting with the word *utu* itself, Kresse writes:

> Linguistically, *utu* is constructed out of the semantic stem *tu*, denoting a 'being of some kind', and the prefix of the noun class for abstract entities, *u-*. Consequently, one would expect the meaning to be 'being', (...) parallel to the words *ki-tu* (pl. *vitu*, meaning 'thing, the ki/vi class denoting especially body parts and things) and *m-tu* (pl. *watu*, 'human being', in the *m/wa* class that is shared, notably, with animals). This is not so, however, and I cannot recall any usage of *utu* in this abstract form of 'being'. Probably, this would be considered as an empty and meaningless term for everyday use. (Kresse, 2007, p. 142)

Beyond the term itself, the previous sections have illustrated that cultural conceptualizations relating to *utu* involve different semantic fields and metapragmatic domains, which can be observed in proverbs and *unyago* practices, among others. This section seeks to take a closer look at semantics and linguistic packaging itself, to explore whether *utu* is also inscribed in the grammatical and semantic structure of Kiswahili. One domain that is of particular interest in this respect is reciprocity, which will be the focus of this section. There is very little work on this linguistic-cultural-philosophical intersection concerning reciprocity. Therefore, this section constitutes a first account of how these perspectives can be brought together. The discussion is preliminary and will require further investigation in the future to make more substantial claims.

In Kiswahili, as in Bantu languages in general, reciprocity is expressed through verbal morphology, namely through the suffix *-an-*,[9] as Examples (7) and (8) illustrate. (The latter is taken from Sheikh Bakar's poem quoted in the previous section on *unyago*.)

(7) *Aisha na Yusuf wa-na-pend-an-a*
Aisha and Yusuf 3PL-PRES-love-RECP-FV
'Aisha and Yusuf love each other'

(8) *nyama zetu za u-limi amba-zo*
10.meat 10.POSS.3SG 10.CONN 11-tongue which-10
tu-ki-p-e-an-a
1PL-COND-give-APPL-RECP-FV
'Our meat of the tongue which we (may) give each other'

Dom et al. (2016) present quite a holistic approach that puts the reciprocal marker *-an-* into the category of the middle voice, a linguistic category that subsumes semantically and syntactically closely related functions. These functions may include

9. This suffix (as well as other derivational suffixes in Bantu languages) is sometimes also represented as *-an* (instead of *-an-*) in the literature. We chose the representation *-an-*, as it reflects the position of *-an-* and the fact that is has to be followed by at least the final vowel (indicative marker) if not other morphology.

> the reflexive, the passive, the anticausative, the antipassive, and the reciprocal (which can be considered as the functional core of this category) as well as, very often, a few other related functions, such as autobenefactive or impersonal.
>
> (Dom et al., 2016, p. 130)

As the quote and the further discussion by Dom et al. (2016) illustrates, the category of middle voice is rather messy and fuzzy. Bantu languages, which possess a large set of verbal morphology, exhibit various grammatical resources in this area. Derivational suffixes, also referred to as verbal extensions, are particularly prominent in Bantu languages, but verbal affixes may also encode co-references to core arguments, TAM and negation, and information structure (ibid., p. 131).

When dealing with the derivational suffix *-an-*, the authors refer to it as an associative suffix and state that this polysemantic morpheme expresses a number of grammatical functions and includes several lexical classes. However, they identify sociativity and reciprocity as the semantic core of this affix (ibid., pp. 137–138). While reciprocals have often been discussed with regard to processes of language change, such as language contact, grammaticalization or linguistic innovation (see for instance the discussion in Bostoen & Nzang-Bie, 2010), the observations made with regard to the semantic scope and metapragmatic use of reciprocals in Bantu languages are relevant and interesting when associated with linguistic means of expressing *utu*. How can we associate argument structure and semantic roles with conceptualizations of humanity and living together?

Haspelmath (2007) presents a rather holistic discussion of the notion of the reciprocal and suggests the term *mutual* for the semantic dimension of grammatical or lexical reciprocal constructions, "[s]ince all reciprocals express a situation with a mutual relation" (Haspelmath, 2007, p. 1). This is a very basic, yet crucial, observation when attempting to correlate grammatical means with philosophical notions of humanity. Mutuality, in an implicit manner, requires some sort of exchange, contact, shared action or relation, linguistically often expressed, in the case of reciprocals, through the plurality of the subject NP or a morphological marking that changes the argument structure of the verb, among other (e.g., lexical) linguistic means (see Khumalo, 2014; Dom et al., 2016; and for a more general overview and typology, Nedjalkov, 2007). Semantically, a common notion in this regard is the "plurality of relations" (Dom et al., 2016, p. 138).

In a different yet somewhat relatable context, Nick Faraclas (2003, 2005) discusses the "plurality of relations" in Melanesian cultures. The author investigates various grammatical means that express relatedness and shows how this reflects how wealth in Melanesian cultures is accumulated and expressed through the number and nature of human relationships. He writes that Tok Pisin and its so-called substrate languages seem to attach a lot of cultural value to the degree of

relatedness (grammatically involving phenomena such as "proximity", possession, benefactivity, inclusivity, immediacy and inalienability, among others). He states that the relatedness between the referents of the nominals in a linguistic construction or sentence often reflects the importance of cultivating exchange relationships in the social and political economies of Melanesian cultures throughout time and space. This extensive observation leads him to argue that wealth, in Melanesian cultures, is not measured by the number of pigs a person possesses but rather by the number and quality of human relationships that a person has established and cultivated. This is culturally inscribed in the grammar of Tok Pisin and related languages in the Melanesian contact scenario through the grammatical means described. Linguistically and socially, relatedness manifests in "benefactive" acts for others which establish relationships that constitute an inclusive, monofocal community of individuals who are inalienably and intrinsically linked (Faraclas, 2005; see also Faraclas, 2003). In other words, the cultural salience of (a plurality of) social relations is reflected in the various salient grammatical means of expressing these relations.

How does this relate to *utu* and the grammatical expression of reciprocals in Kiswahili? Let's recall that Dom et al. (2016) identified sociativity and reciprocity as core meanings for the middle voice, a category that prominently features the reciprocal marker *-an-*. If we read sociativity and reciprocity as social practices, they could be considered part of the core values of *utu* and its implications for conviviality. The frequent use of the reciprocal marker *-an-*, in everyday speech as well as in various forms of verbal art such as poetry or proverbs (it also features in the proverb outlined above in Example (4) and in several sayings and interview excerpts outlined in Section 3 on *unyago*), bears witness to the centrality of mutuality, sociativity and reciprocity in Kiswahili linguistic expressions which are also at the core of the cultural conceptualization of humanity and living together. Linguistically, this becomes evident in the frequent use of the reciprocal marker, especially with verbs that semantically express social relations, as Examples (9)–(12), taken from songs, novel and poems, illustrate:

(9) *tu-ki-gus-an-a* *gus-an-a*
3PL-COND-touch-RECP-FV touch-RECP-FV
'When we touch each other' [10]

10. This example is taken from the lyrics of Zuchu and Diamond Platnumz' song *Cheche* (2020), available on YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vyUslddxOpI (accessed January 2022)

(10) (…) *a-ka-pita* *moja kwa moja hadi kwa mw-uza-ji*
3SG-NARRATIVE.PAST-pass.by one LOC one until LOC 1-sell-NOM.AG
mmoja amba-ye ***wa-na-faham-i-an-a*** *kwa siku ny-ingi* (…)
1-one REL-1 3PL-PRES-understand-IV-RECP-FV LOC 10.day 10-many
'(…) he went straight to one vendor, whom he had known for many days (…)'
(literally: 'they know each other') (Mohamed 1972, p. 41, our emphasis)

(11) *Baadaye* ***tu-li-zoe-an-a*** *zaidi*
later 3PL-PAST-get.used-RECP-FV more
'Later we got used to each other more' (Kezilahabi, 1981, p. 12, our emphasis)

(12) *Hamu ya wa-zazi w-enu, wa-na-vyo-tak-a moyo-ni*
9.desire 9.CONN 2-parent 2-2PL.POSS 3PL-PRES-REL-want-FV heart-LOC
M-ka-e nyumba-ni mw-enu, kwa salama na amani
2PL-live-SUBJ home-LOC 18-2PL.POSS LOC 9.peace and 9.faith
I-si-we m-tindo w-enu, ***ku-fukuz-an-a*** *nyumba-ni*
9-NEG-be 3-fashion 3-2PL.POSS INF-chase.away-RECP-FV 9.home-LOC
Hongera
9.congratulations
'Your parents' desire, what they want in their heart,
May you live in your home, in peace and faith,
May it not be your fashion, to chase each other from home,
Congratulations.' (Haji Gora Haji, 1994, p. 17, our emphasis)

Example (9) shows a short extract from the chorus of Zuchu and Diamond Platnumz' song *Cheche*, a Bongo Flava song with a Rumba influenced dance beat and lyrics about intimate dancing. Highlighting the passion between two people on the dancefloor, the mutuality and reciprocity of the actions described in the lyrics is inherent. The verb *gusa* 'touch' is reduplicated with the reciprocal extension in the chorus which gives further emphasis to the semantics of this verb. Example (10) is taken from the well-known novel *Kiu* by Mohamed S. Mohamed, and describes a situation in which Idi, one of the main protagonists of the novel, chooses to buy from a vendor he has known for a while. Here, the verb *fahamu* 'know, understand' is used with the reciprocal marker to express that Idi and the market vendor have known each other *kwa siku nyingi* 'for many days'. While it would have been possible to simply state that Idi knew the vendor, the use of the reciprocal form highlights the mutual aspect of knowing each other in this context.

Example (11), a short excerpt from Euphrase Kezilahabi's novel *Dunia Uwanja wa Fujo*, shows the reciprocal with the verb *zoea* 'get used to, get accustomed to', describing a situation in which two people mutually get to know each other better. Finally, Example (12) shows one stanza of Haji Gora Haji's poem

Hongera, a poem which congratulates but also gives advice to a newly wed couple. Here, the verb *fukuza* 'chase away, banish, expel' is extended with the reciprocal suffix in a wish formulated by the poet in a negative construction. All the verbs used in Examples (9)–(12) have in common that they describe actions which can be mutual. While it is of course a logical observation that the reciprocal marker is used with verbs which are semantically open to reciprocity/mutuality, the idea is that the frequent and salient morphological marking of reciprocity reflects how much reciprocity is embedded in the grammar of Kiswahili. The very fact of marking reciprocity morphologically directly on the verb (rather than having periphrastic constructions and other means of expressing reciprocity) and the frequency with which this is employed can be regarded as grammatical-cultural inscriptions of conviviality: mutuality (between humans or between humans and other animate beings) expressed in verbal semantics always relates to social aspects of interaction and hence to living together in a social world.

The strong rootedness of mutuality in the grammar is also evident in the fact that certain verbs are very commonly used in their extended reciprocal form (such as *salimiana* 'greet each other', derived from *salimia* 'greet', and *agana* 'bid farewell to one another', derived from *aga* 'bid farewell'). Sometimes, the derived form can even be regarded as lexicalized (e.g., the verb *kutana* 'meet (one another), converge' is derived from *kuta* 'come upon, meet, find'; *gombana* 'quarrel, squabble' is derived from *gomba* 'argue, quarrel (with)').

It would be interesting to discuss further in future studies the extent to which reciprocity can be regarded as part of *utu* in specific texts and language practices. Can *utu* be expressed through the use of a reciprocal form, for instance in contexts where the underived form could also be used (such as Example (10) above)? Here we have an example of a marked choice of reciprocity which could be regarded as a cultural motivation to highlight the mutuality of the social relation that is expressed (for instance in Example (10)). With regard to Example (12) we could argue that the entire poem is a manifestation of *utu*, as the verses provide social and cultural guidelines for marriages and the harmonious living together of two people. The excerpt in Example (12), including the use of the reciprocal form, is embedded in these cultural practices.

However, as Ameka and Amha (2022) state, such suggested instances of cultural meaning in grammatical forms are not easy to prove. The authors discuss such phenomena in relation to a more general concept which is central to anthropological linguistics, namely ethnosyntax. Nick Enfield begins the introductory chapter of his edited volume on ethnosyntax with the following words:

> Grammar is thick with cultural meaning. Encoded in the semantics of grammar we find cultural values and ideas, we find clues about the social structures which

> speakers maintain, we find evidence, both historically relevant and otherwise, of the social organization of speech communities. (Enfield, 2002, p. 3)

As Ameka and Amha (2022) discuss, based on Wierzbicka (1988), on the one hand, it is quite obvious that languages, even in their grammatical structure, embody a certain culturally determined world view; on the other hand, this embodiment is not easy to analyze by looking at specific morphemes or syntactic constructions. Therefore, more studies will be needed to draw a more holistic picture of grammatical manifestations of *utu*.

5. Conclusion

This chapter has provided a rather broad anthropological linguistic perspective on humanity, cultural knowledge, epistemology and conviviality by exploring different aspects of *utu*. The Waswahili have an elaborated conceptualization and knowledge system of what it means to be human and how to live together in morally accepted ways. This cultural knowledge, centering on the concept of *utu*, can be observed through many different linguistic and social manifestations. We have looked at different yet interconnected domains. Proverbs and metaphorical speech were shown to illustrate linguistic strategies of communicating, expressing and negotiating human behavior and advice for harmonic cohabitation. Section 3 on *unyago* focused on cultural and social practices that exemplify how *utu* is inherently part of education and ritual. Metaphoric speech and proverbs, in addition to song, poetry and other forms of performed language feature prominently in *unyago* practices and are an important part of creating, manifesting and disseminating knowledge across society. Last but not least, this chapter has turned to more technical linguistic domains, in particular semantics and grammar. While the term *utu* itself is charged with complex and multilayered semantics which unfold in contextualized and artful linguistic practices (including poetry, songs and other writings, as analyzed by Rettová, 2020), the final part of the chapter offered a preliminary discussion of whether grammatical features such as the marking of reciprocity can be regarded as manifestations of *utu* as well. While a correlation between grammar, cognition and culture has been explored for other African language contexts (see Dimmendaal, 2015), further studies on the pragmatics of the reciprocal marker *-an-* could shed more light on the intersection of grammatical devices, semantics and cultural conceptualizations.

Abbreviations

APPL	applicative
COND	conditional
CONN	connective
COP	copula
FV	final vowel
HAB	habitual
IV	inserted vowel
INF	infinitive
LOC	locative
NEG	negative
NOM.AG	nomen agentis
PASS	passive
PAST	past
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRES	present
RECP	reciprocal
REL	relative
SG	singular
SUBJ	subjunctive

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Interviews

Interviews with Bi. Fatma Seif held in Fuoni Zanzibar in August 2019 and August 2020. Interview with Bi. Nuru Sijali held in Buza area of Dar es Salaam in August 2019. Both interviewees gave me (Agnes Brühwiler) permission to use their real names for my work.

CHAPTER 8

"They look hostile from afar"

Language ideologies and representations of "Northernness" in Uganda

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This contribution analyzes "small stories" with a focus on language ideologies to shed light on underlying beliefs about how "Northernness" is constructed and negotiated as a persistently significant identity category in contemporary Ugandan discourses. While the ideologies revolving around Northernness mainly reflect colonially established attributions, the article introduces colorism as a further ideological base, alongside purported ethnic and linguistic criteria fostering the marginalization of "Northerners" or those perceived as such. Individuals either strategically employ these ideologies or find them ascribed to them, often resulting from negotiations of Otherness and Sameness from multiple and situated social positions. Furthermore, the paper presents a case in point to show how a focus on language ideologies can link small-scale utterances or narrations with socio-political and historical contexts on a larger scale. Finally, it also reflects on the role linguists' ideologies have played and continue to play in the production of knowledge in (post)colonial African contexts.

Keywords: colorism, identity construction, language ideologies, Otherness, Uganda

1. Introduction: The colonial contribution to the construction of ethnolinguistic identities

> The settler can endeavor to calculate how many (…) natives there are, classify them by ethnic group. In desperation to endow the colonized with an essence and enshrine them in a fossil, the colonizer can confine them in a name. The colonized will later appropriate it for themselves, use it, and thereby become its co-users. They will have appropriated it with all the strength at their command – and will also have appropriated all its deadly effects. (Mbembe, 2001, p. 186)

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Throughout its history, ethnic classifications and ways of belonging have played a major and mostly divisive role in Ugandan politics. Given that contemporary Ugandans naturally identify themselves as "Acholi" or "Lugbara" and that linguists and missionaries have unsuspectingly published dictionaries and grammars about their languages,[1] a look back in history reveals that not too long ago these categories were anything but self-evident. Rather, these labels have often been introduced as ascriptions by (colonial) outsiders, frequently based on linguistic criteria (with regards to Acholi see Atkinson, 1994; Amone & Muura, 2014; for Lugbara see Crazzolara, 1960, p. v; Leopold, 2005, pp. 133–134) that helped these external forces organize and structure the northern parts of Uganda, a linguistically and culturally highly diverse "frontier" region (Kopytoff, 1987). Storch (2014, p. 269) analyzes such labels with regard to Lwoo-speaking groups, among them the speakers of the Western Nilotic language Acholi, which "have been constructed (…) as groups that have an ethnic identity and share a particular language, not only through local discourse, but also, and more dominantly so, through the contributions of European or Western scholars and missionaries. (…) These concepts of ethnicity are closely linked to ideologies of linguistic purism (…)." Similar observations can be made with regards to Central Sudanic Lugbara, a language (*Lugbara-ti*) and ethnic identity also characterized by strong internal cultural and linguistic diversity, whose speakers are mainly based in Congo, in South Sudan and in the West Nile region of Northwestern Uganda. Leopold (2005, p. 133) aptly summarizes that "'the Lugbara' did not exist, either as a social or conceptual unit, prior to the invention of that name and 'tribal' concept in the contact period."

While the introduction of these ethnolinguistic labels was a first step towards homogenization, British colonial policies laid the foundation for another major division of the area that is today known as Uganda. They separated people of today's Northern, Northwestern and Northeastern Uganda (encompassing speakers of very diverse languages such as Western Nilotic Acholi and Central Sudanic Lugbara, among many others) from those speaking Bantu languages in the other regions, i.e., Western and Central Uganda, into two opposed, supposedly monolithic blocks. However, this division went far beyond linguistic criteria and "was based on presumed natural qualities of the people of Northern Uganda and those of the south. The people of the north were regarded to be strong, muscular and hard working while the southern peoples were perceived as weak, lazy but intellectually superior" (Amone, 2014, p. 143), thus leading to homogenizing constructions of "Northerners" as "violent" or "martial" peoples. While the different

1. For information on Acholi, see Crazzolara (1938); Kitching (1907) and Malandra (1952); for Lugbarati see Crazzolara (1960).

political organizations of the centralized Bantu kingdoms and the societies of the north are historically attested (Amone & Muura, 2014, p. 248), these arbitrary ascriptions of character attributes and behavioral traits can only be termed "racist hogwash" (Mamdani, 1983, p. 10). However, their consequences until today are enormous due to the fact that they contributed to the country's economic[2] and thus cultural and mental divide, which was very much in compliance with the British divide-and-rule colonial policy. As a consequence, the political geography of Uganda after it officially gained independence in 1962 was and still is massively shaped by this cleavage (Nyombi & Kaddu, 2015) and it can even be argued that "'ethnic identity' itself has become reified as a modern phenomenon" (Reid, 2017, p. 300). In this way, "Northernness" has become a very ideologically laden, socially and discursively constructed concept; to reflect that, I write it with capital letter throughout this article.

Accumulating these colonial repercussions, the ethnicized group identities continuously shape individual interactions and the ways contemporary Ugandans speak and think about themselves and Others. Thus, ethnicity and ethnic identities are very potent categories of practice in Ugandan everyday discourses. It is very common for non-Bantu Ugandans or those perceived as such to be labeled as "Northerners". Some of them also adopt and own this classification agentively as part of their identity. This can, for instance, end up in self-ironically mocking and thus decolonizing Northernness, as shown in Nassenstein (2021), or in self-asserting a Northern identity in resistance to Bantu-speaking groups from Central Uganda, as Rüsch and Nassenstein (2016) outline with respect to the linguistic practices of Acholi-based youth speakers.

Based on ethnographic data from two fieldwork trips to Uganda in March and September 2019, as well as on semi-structured interviews with and narratives of several young[3] Ugandans,[4] conducted partly via digital ethnography as a conse-

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2. The northern regions were economically marginalized in terms of public and private investments and served as a "labor zone", while the southern and western part of the protectorate were governed as a "production zone" where the workers from the north, mostly unskilled, were needed (Amone & Muura, 2014, p. 249). Leopold (2005, pp. 65–67) describes a similar situation for the people from West Nile, with the slight distinction that West Nilers found themselves even more marginalized among the already marginalized Northerners.

3. "Young" in this context means below the age of 30, which is not necessarily considered young in a country where more than half of the population is younger than 15, according to 'The State of Uganda Population Report 2019.' (http://npcsec.go.ug/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/2019-SUPRE.pdf, 28-Jan-2021).

4. At this point, I would like to express my gratitude to all my interlocutors who enabled me to gain insights into the topic of this article. Without their help, this article would not have been possible. In particular, I want to thank Dilish Auma and Fiona Adriko for their warm-hearted

quence of travel restrictions during the Covid-19 pandemic, this paper seeks to shed light on further facets of Northernness and how individuals negotiate some of its inherent implications in social interaction. In order to accomplish this, I use a focus on language ideologies, concisely defined by Kroskrity (2010, p. 192) as "beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language structure and use, which often index the political economic interests of individual speakers, ethnic and other interest groups, and nation states."

Given the pervasiveness of language ideologies in human everyday interactions, in the empirically-oriented core of this paper I analyze underlying ideologies of Northernness in selected "small stories" (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008; Storch, 2017) – here either in the form of narrations of singular events, as seemingly passing remarks or meta-commentaries of my interlocutors, or in the digital format of Tweets – that reveal a lot about processes of "linguistic differentiation" (Irvine & Gal, 2000) and the "metapragmatic awareness" (Silverstein, 1981) of speakers. I show how the (post)colonial history of Uganda persistently informs contemporary inner-Ugandan discourses on identity through the constructions of Otherness and Sameness that are inherent in conceptualizations of Northernness.

Bamberg and Georgakoupolou (2008) outline the importance of small stories as particularly fruitful for close scrutiny in research because they capture "the smallness of talk, where fleeting moments of narrative orientation to the world can be easily missed out" (p. 381). The analysis of language ideologies, I argue, provides exactly the analytical tool that links small-scale narratives with sociopolitical and historical contexts on a larger scale. In this regard, ideologies are to be understood "as part of people's creative interpretations of their situation and part of their consequent social action" so that these are active processes of "*ideologizing* and *ideological work*: the active making of social life" (Gal & Irvine, 2019, p. 14, emphasis in original). Therefore, a focus on language ideologies in small stories foregrounds "emic" (Pike, 1967) perspectives and epistemologies that inform the meaning-making of Ugandans. Finally, it also invites linguists to reflect on their own ideologies and potential risks of essentializing and homogenizing languages and people when conducting research.

and generous support in answering all my questions and for pointing me and my research in the right direction. I am also grateful to Wilfried Oslender for polishing my English and to Deborah Wockelmann for her comments on a draft version of this paper. Prof. Dr. Gerrit J. Dimmendaal deserves special mention for constantly mentoring and supporting me in the early stages of my academic career and for being the "most warm-hearted boss" I could have asked for as a student assistant. I also thank the two anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper. All shortcomings and errors that remain in this text are my sole responsibility.

2. Language ideologies: A historical sketch of a transdisciplinary field

> There is no way in which we can avoid ideology, because there is no way in which we can talk without carrying along things that we take for granted.
>
> (Jef Verschueren)[5]

This statement about the omnipresence of language ideologies, put almost nonchalantly by its author, the linguist Jef Verschueren, widely represents common knowledge in the discipline of linguistics nowadays. However, the notion of "ideology" as a crucial tool of linguistic analysis has been established as recently as in the last two decades of the last century after fierce contestation. Most notably, scholars from the fields of sociolinguistics, semiotics, pragmatics, (critical) discourse analysis and linguistic anthropology, inspired by new insights from social theories, contributed to the genesis and consolidation of the concept in its present existence.

2.1 From colonial linguistics to the notion of language ideologies

When the discipline of African linguistics, called *Afrikanistik* in Germany, emerged, its agenda was deeply ingrained in the colonial project and complicit in the production of racist knowledge (with regard to the colonial history of *Afrikanistik*, see Pugach, 2012). The works of descriptive linguists, missionaries and later comparative philologists produced simplifying and essentializing classifications and territorializations of the languages and peoples studied, based on a nationalist ideological premise of "homogeneism", i.e., an "ideal model of society [that] is monolingual, monoethnic, monoreligious, monoideological" (Blommaert & Verschueren, 1998, pp. 194–195). Peppered with racist theories – the most influential of which was the eventually discarded "Hamitic hypothesis/myth"[6] – this led to hierarchizations of ethnic groups and their languages and offered a "scientific" justification for the alleged "civilizing mission" of colonialism (Errington, 2001). Viewed in this light, the languages and people under investigation were portrayed as deficient Others compared to a Eurocentric Self and, by

5. This was extracted from a video clip of a talk given by Prof. Verschueren at IIT Gandhinagar. The quotation can be found under the following link at 20'35": https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y8c7EZPlSWI (28-Jan-2021).

6. Ironically, with regard to the regional focus of this article, it was precisely in the territory of present-day Uganda that an observation made by H. M. Stanley inspired the emergence of the Hamitic hypothesis, as described in the insightful historical overview by Robinson (2016). In African linguistics, it was especially the influential classification of languages by Greenberg (1966[1963]) that overthrew the racist claims of this model.

being denied "coevalness" (Fabian, 1983), they purportedly represented a primordial state of humanity.

Franz Boas, the founding father of American anthropology, abandoned this racist idea of hierarchized cultures and saw language as a key to culture and vice versa. He regarded the latter as a mental, cognitive concept influencing language structure, i.e., grammar and lexis, and dubbed further anthropological or social factors as "misleading and disturbing" (Boas, 1911, p. 71), thus disregarding them as "secondary explanations" in the study of language.

While structural linguists like Bloomfield or Saussure continued to pay little attention to these factors, the idea of cultural relativism introduced by Boas was kept up and refined by his students and later generations of linguists, most prominently in the person of Whorf. Drawing on the latter's work, linguists increasingly shifted their focus to speech events in their sociocultural contexts, leading, for example, to Dell Hymes' influential "ethnography of SPEAKING" (Hymes, 1962; later "ethnography of communication" in Hymes, 1964) and to the emergence of disciplines like sociolinguistics, anthropological linguistics and linguistic anthropology.

In addition to this, new developments in social theory, especially the structuration theory of Anthony Giddens (1984), emphasized the dualism and mutually constitutive effects of structure and agency in social action. In this context, the notion of reflexivity, enabling agents to consciously influence and change their position within the given social structure, is important. These insights were transferred to the motivations of speakers for their linguistic choices by Michael Silverstein, who subsequently became the pioneer of research on language ideologies and proved the importance of what Boas had previously devalued as "secondary explanations". Silverstein (1979, p. 193) defines what he calls "ideologies about language, or linguistic ideologies" as "any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use." In the tradition of Peircean semiotics, he viewed linguistic expressions as indexical signs that point to contextual conditions in which these are used so that the index and what is referred to are linked and juxtaposed in contiguity. These processes of linguistic representation are called "indexicality" by Silverstein (1976), and they allow for an analysis of speakers' "metapragmatic awareness" (Silverstein, 1981). In this way, linguistic forms entail social meaning and reveal a lot about speakers' motivations for their linguistic choices and about their inherent metalinguistic and metapragmatic knowledge.

At this point, a crucial distinction needs to be made between language attitudes and language ideologies. While language attitudes describe speakers' individual evaluations of languages or linguistic codes as a socio-psychological phenomenon (e. g., in terms of prestige), language ideologies qualitatively take

into account the intersubjectively constructed social and cultural beliefs that inform these evaluations within the socio-political ecology under analysis. Nevertheless, it is important to note that ideologies are contestable because they are

> views of the world that are *partial* [italics in original], in both senses of that word. They are partial in that they are incomplete, because someone else, viewing the world from a different standpoint, would see a different picture; and they are partial in that they are interested – in the political and legal sense of an interested party, someone who has a stake in a situation and how it turns out.
>
> (Gal & Irvine, 2019, p. 12)

This partiality of language ideologies encompasses what Kroskrity (2016, p. 98) describes as the main pillars of this analytical focus, namely "*positionality, multiplicity and awareness*" (italics in original). To illustrate these, we can imagine a female Acholi child and a proposed ideological association of "fierceness". Depending on the person's position, whether she speaks as an Acholi, as a woman or as a child, she may want to take different stances towards "fierceness". Due to a plurality of conceivable meaningful social divisions, the ideologies at her disposal are as multiple as there are options to express potential group memberships. In the example above, I have listed just three of these. Consequently, speakers can always refer to a plethora of coexisting ideologies of which they are aware, yet usually to varying degrees. A person may actively or subconsciously draw on these ideologies or challenge them, with the latter requiring a high degree of consciousness and reflexivity of ideologies as meta-phenomena of language.

2.2 Identity and linguistic differentiation

In the last decades, a lot of research on language ideologies has been conducted. To mention just a few, the volumes by Wodak (1989); Schieffelin, Woolard and Kroskrity (1998); Blommaert (1999) and Kroskrity (2000) give an overview of the numerous foci of language ideological research. Verschueren (2012) is another helpful source providing guidelines for empirical research on ideologies in language use.

Owing to the limited scope of this paper, I focus on some contributions that prove helpful to the analysis of my empirical data, which will revolve around questions of linguistic and ethnic identity. These go along with productions of Sameness and Otherness, either by actors themselves or ascribed to them by Others. Bucholtz and Hall (2004, pp. 383–384) call these processes "adequation", which means that "potentially salient differences are set aside in favor of perceived or asserted similarities", and "distinction, (…) the mechanism whereby salient difference is produced." Both processes are subject to the local and situational iden-

tity work of agentive individuals, who negotiate their identities within the given social structures. The resulting relationships come into being, are maintained or are changed through semiotic processes. Irvine and Gal (2000) developed a useful framework to delineate the central aspects of these processes, terming them "rhematization", "axis of differentiation", "fractal recursivity", and "erasure" in their slight modification in Gal and Irvine (2019).

To illustrate how these semiotic processes work, we can imagine the present author giving a lecture at a German university, using German forms like *wat* or *dat*, regional variants of Standard German *was* and *das*. In a German academic context, this is a deviation from an expected norm of using Standard German; a closeness to Standard German would thus serve as an *axis of differentiation*. The use of these forms might index to a German audience that the speaker is of Western German descent, where these forms are very common in various varieties. If the indexical sign in this sense comes to represent something like descent along the *axis of differentiation*, it is *rhematized* (or *iconized* in the use of Irvine and Gal, 2000). However, in the view of the audience, this deviation might also be taken to depict a qualitative contrast due to common ideologies that consider these forms as provincial, parochial or uneducated, especially as their prevalence is often connected with the *Ruhrgebiet*, a region in Germany known for its mining tradition and often associated with a working-class image. In this sense, we can observe *fractal recursivity*. This means that the opposition of one level, in this case the linguistic deviation from the expected Standard German, is projected onto another level, here leading to negative evaluations of the speaker's educational background or marking him as rural or parochial due to underlying common ideological knowledge. If this is the case, an *erasure* of other parts of the speaker's biography that do not fit in this ideological scheme takes place in order to reduce complexity and render him more homogeneous, thus facilitating differentiation.

From this example, it becomes clear that these semiotic processes are interrelated and naturally accompany each other. They are part of identity work and have the potential to create Otherness or Sameness at the same time, on the part of the sender as well as on the part of the receiver, depending on the language ideologies in place.

3. Selected aspects of Northernness among contemporary Ugandans

After a sketch of historical and conceptual developments with regard to both the emergence of the idea of Northern Uganda and the field of language ideologies, this section will focus on selected empirical data, aiming to analyze underlying ideologies in contemporary Ugandan discourses of Northernness.[7]

3.1 *"Abidongo iti we"* – Northernness appropriated as powerful resource

The first vignette was recounted to me by Auma, a writer and law student in her early 20s, based in Gulu, the economic center of the Acholi sub-region (also known as Acholiland) that has recently attained city status. The event narrated took place in Uganda's capital Kampala, located in Central Uganda, where the majority of the population are speakers of Bantu languages, mainly Luganda. We discussed external and self-perceptions of Acholi people and Auma quickly made it clear to me that the colonial attributions revolving around Northernness mentioned in the introduction are imposed on the Acholi by contemporary Ugandans, sometimes in slightly modified manifestations. The features that Auma regarded as typical of Acholi overlapped with those that other people had also told me and they are also in accordance with ascriptions made to Northerners more broadly. As socio-cultural characteristics, she listed specific food and a kind of social structure that made Acholi distinct from other groups, i.e., mainly in opposition to Bantu groups from Central and Western Uganda. As visual characteristics, she mentioned dark skin color, tall stature and a purported physical strength, which is why – according to her – Acholi people are seen as good fighters and are also feared by fellow Ugandans. In accordance with findings by Nassenstein (2020) and Nassenstein (2021), Auma also mentioned certain features of an English accent that serve as emblematic representations of a Northern identity, which also applies to the use of Acholi in general. However, she did not show any inclination to reject these ascriptions, but rather subscribed to them and proudly appropriated them as an (at times powerful) part of her identity. Then she illustrated these assertions with the following anecdote:

> I had taken a boda [motorcycle taxi; JK] from the bus park, Namayiba, to Makerere University, and we had agreed that I will pay him 2000 [Ugandan Shillings; JK]. So, when we reached, he had used the long route, so he wanted me to pay him 3000. (…). So, after discussing and talking, I just told him, I wasn't going to pay him 3000, but 2000 as earlier agreed. So, he wanted to start being arrogant and maybe call his other friends, you know, like to get his 1000. I had the money, but I just didn't want him to bully me 'cause he used the long route which was his choice also. So, I had to bring the Acholi in me (laughing), and I just told him:

7. While I have selected the following data because I believe – based also on further experiences in Ugandan contexts – that they reveal something about commonly held ideologies, this selection is nevertheless inevitably based on my own ideological work and my discursive positionality. Ultimately, the data under analysis are nothing more than singulative, temporary and spatially situated representations of otherwise complex social realities. Future research by myself and others is needed to further validate or revise my first tentative conclusions.

> "*Abidongo iti we*!" [rising voice; JK], which means 'I'm going to slap you'. So, when he heard me speaking Acholi, he just took off. He didn't even look back.
> (Interview with Dilish 12-Dec-2020)

Auma added that she was absolutely sure that the boda driver did not understand Acholi so it can be assumed that he was not able to understand the propositional content of her statement in Acholi. But even if he had understood it and taken its perlocutionary force as a threat, it remains unfathomable as to why an adult man would flee so suddenly from this situation, considering that he was faced with a short, young woman like Auma. For Auma, though, the situation was self-explanatory, as we can infer from the last statement in her account. In her view, it is all about her use of Acholi in this encounter and the ideologies connected to it. As she is assuming that both speakers are aware of them, she can make meaning out of this encounter. "They are sorry about the LRA [i.e., the atrocities committed during the war between the Lord's Resistance Army and the government forces that took place especially in the Acholi region, from 1987 to 2006; JK]. They feel we still fight like that, we can still kill", as Auma explained further.

For her it was clear that the boda driver had become intimidated as soon as her emblematic use of Acholi identified her as a Northerner. The linguistic difference thus recursively constructs difference on a purported character level, thereby erasing Auma's other characteristics, like her shortness, in this context. In effect, she seems to perform her Northernness as her probably most powerful resource in this situation, to assert her claims towards the boda driver more forcefully. Her awareness of this is underlined by her metapragmatic comment – "So I had to bring the Acholi in me (…)" – on her use of Acholi. Although we do not know about the perspective of the boda driver, we can at least assert that for her, the underlying ideologies revolving around her Northern identity totally suffice to make social meaning of the event described.

To summarize, this whole vignette serves as an example of how an Acholi speaker situationally and strategically exploits the essentialisms and stereotypes that are ideologically associated with a Northern identity. Given the fact that many Acholi themselves suffered tremendously from the LRA's attacks, it is interesting to see how Auma embodies the Other's Other situationally in a way that serves her purpose in a specific communicative act. But, as shall be seen in Subsection 3.2, in other contexts or in the views of other individuals, being essentialized as a Northerner can also cast a shadow on people and be evaluated very negatively.

3.2 "The dark *Muchope* from the north" – Northernness as discrimination

Another person I interviewed about Northernness was Munduru, a law student based in Kampala who identifies herself as ethnic Lugbara. She also expressed her awareness of the stereotypes surrounding Northernness mentioned above, and lamented that Northernness is portrayed by fellow people in Kampala, especially by Baganda, in a superficial and inadequate way. She summarized: "When they [i.e., Baganda; JK] see me as Northerner, they think that all Northerners are Acholi or alike." At this point, it is questionable whether she as a Lugbara even considers herself as Northerner at all. However, for Munduru things became even worse when she was labeled *Mu-chope* (pl. *Ba-chope*), a term that she perceived as a derogatory and insulting designation directly connected with her ascribed Northernness.

Jackie, identifying herself as a Muganda, outlined to me her definition of the term: "*Muchope* are those Northerners. (…) Most Ugandans don't differentiate between the Langi, the Acholis, the Jopadholas, the Lugbara and everything. So they use that word *Muchope* to mean Northerner. (…) In fact, me I've always grown up think that Muchope is a tribe."[8] What becomes clear is that the use of *Muchope* lumps together a considerable number of diverse identities, ideologically constructed as Northern through commonly held ascriptions. In fact, a whole host of political, historical, geographical, cultural and language-typological arguments could be deployed to argue in favor of a clear-cut distinction between, for instance, Lugbara and Acholi identities, and also for further internal diversity within them, but when the umbrella term *Muchope* is used, these differences are completely ignored.

While Jackie's definition above mainly covers the denotation of the term *Muchope*, it explains neither speakers' motivations for using this expression precisely as an index of Northernness, nor on which criteria this classification is based. These questions need to be answered in order to understand the ideologies at work that lead to an erasure of differences between identities as dissimilar as Acholi and Lugbara – both of which are also internally stratified – and that are then boiled down to the common denominator *Muchope*.

To begin with, my interlocutors did not really have explanations as to why exactly the term *Muchope* is used in this context. They agreed that it is a term to label people from northern parts of Uganda that exists alongside others to

8. Among Ugandans, the term "tribe" is most common when people refer to identities constructed on ideas of "ethnic" belonging and thus a category of practice (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000). I am aware that this term has been discarded by anthropologists as a category of analysis due to its racist connotations built upon evolutionist thinking and ideas of exoticism.

describe people originating from other regions of the country.[9] Some interlocutors, like Jackie, mentioned – slightly hesitantly – that this word also denotes the people of a certain "tribe"; in fact, in the northern part of the province of Western Uganda, there is a group called Chope/Chopi (or *Bachope* in Luganda, sg. *Muchope*) who speak Chopi, a Nilotic language closely related to Acholi. But still, none of the people I talked to could explain why the use of this name was now semantically expanded to encompass a category of Northerners in general. Therefore, I can only share some tentative thoughts in the following paragraph.

When people from Central Uganda travel northwards and leave the Central region dominated by the Bantu-speaking Baganda, they usually first pass through Kiryandongo district, described as a multilingual frontier zone (Storch, 2015) mainly inhabited by Chopi speakers. So it might be that for Baganda, the first people they encounter and connect with linguistic Otherness to the north are the Chope; they might thus have adopted their name (in Luganda) for Northerners in general.[10] Interestingly though, as Lüpke and Storch (2013, 328–331) and Storch (2015) observe, the Chopi language exhibits many innovative forms towards dominant Bantu languages of the region and its speakers increasingly stress a group identity in sharp distinction to other Northern groups, in order to distance themselves from the LRA war that wreaked such havoc, especially on their northern Acholi neighbors. Having this in mind, the use of *Muchope* by Luganda speakers to describe any Northerner would counteract these ambitions of the Chopi by drawing a line and demarcating Chopi as part of the "non-Bantu Other". However, these deliberations require further work with local people to be validated.

To dissect language ideologies, it is indispensable to analyze the connotational side of the linguistic signs under study. When I asked my interlocutors which factors they could imagine would lead to someone being labeled as *Muchope*, most of them referred to the same salient criteria. Most prominently, they mentioned a comparatively dark complexion, but also the use of certain English accents (see also Nassenstein, 2020, 2021) or of non-Bantu languages in general. All the aforementioned criteria seem to indexically mark Otherness, so that Northernness here is constructed in binary opposition to an unmarked and hence discursively

9. For example, people from Western Uganda are sometimes referred to as *Mu-sheshe*, *mu-* being the noun class prefix for a person. The second part of the term mockingly refers to a frequent occurrence of palatized postalveolars (with a phonetic similarity to [ʃ], orthographically realized as <sh>) in these languages that serves an emblematic marker of distinctiveness (Nassenstein, 2019).

10. This might be supported by the fact that most Baganda I have talked to admitted that they have never or maybe only once in their lives travelled northwards beyond the Central region.

more powerful "norm" based on the views of Bantu speakers in accordance with the historically constructed North-South division.

When I dug deeper and conducted some search on Twitter for Tweets containing the term *Muchope*, it became clear to me that a central aspect of its meaning revolves around skin complexion and is built upon an underlying ideology of colorism. Colorism can be defined as "the practice of discrimination by which those with lighter skin are treated more favorably than those with darker skin" (Rowe, 2020, p. 11). As Moody (2020) shows, this ideology had its origin in hierarchies established by enslavers in the Americas, where "darker skin represented labor and intellectual degradation; whereas lighter-skinned slaves were believed to be better suited for more intellectual and skilled tasks" (Moody, 2020, p. 19). The hierarchizing and discriminatory logic of colorism in today's world also encroaches upon other (aesthetic) aspects of life, e. g. hair texture, physical image and beauty criteria in general. The conspicuous similarity of most of these classifications to the stereotypical ascriptions made by the British colonialists to undergird the purported North-South division of Uganda is thus most likely not coincidental.

In the following, some "small stories" in the form of Tweets by Ugandans who share their experiences and feelings about being labeled *Muchope* will show the detrimental psychological effects of these colorist ideologies. For example, a user named @ayigehenry recounts: "Because of 'our'/my dark complexion, the neighborhood alone gave me a nightmare. When I joined school, it was the same. The bullies got under my skin, and I fought back hard, I hurt a number of kids (my peers) in the neighborhood as they called 'muchope'.[11] Similar experiences are shared by @IamIramaJ, who also lists some other derogatory terms in use, the most common of these being 'Kony', the name of the infamous leader of the Lord's Resistance Army.[12]

Another user, @fioneezy, comments on a discussion revolving around the beauty of Northern Ugandan women and confirms that it is a colorist ideology, according to which the darker the skin of a person, the less beautiful they are regarded, that discredits the looks of a person labeled *Muchope*.[13]

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11. https://twitter.com/ayigehenry/status/1260240698521026567 (28-Jan-2021).

12. https://twitter.com/IamIramaJ/status/1261620820859850753 (28-Jan-2021). Further research is required here on the meanings and connotations of various of these terms, which may not all be based exclusively on colorist ideologies. As a starting point, the remarks in Reid (2017, p. 209), as well as the following sources, may be of help for future researchers: https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/tea/magazine/one-woman-s-fight-against-skin-colour-stigma--1367686 (28-Jan-2021); https://ekitibwakyabuganda.wordpress.com/2010/04/25/is-calling-someone-omudokolo-or-jaluo-or-anyanyaan-insult/ (28-Jan-2021).

13. https://twitter.com/fioneezy/status/1339807441257705473 (28-Jan-2021).

All these examples bear witness to the deeply ingrained colorist ideologies that Northerners are confronted with and that leave their marks as traumatic childhood experiences, but that may also potentially resurface in any of their human encounters throughout their lives. Ironically, when Ayige's coping mechanism as a child consisted of fighting back, he inadvertently reinforced another prejudice circulating against Northerners, namely their supposed violence and aggressiveness. Other users affected by this kind of discrimination take a more humoristic approach, but most of them still display dissatisfaction and are clearly airing their grievances about the use of these derogatory terms towards them, which often involve personal attacks against their outward appearance.

In summary, this section has stressed that the essentialization of Northernness as marked Otherness can serve to erase the diversity of Northern identities and instead homogenizes people of very heterogenous sociocultural and linguistic backgrounds. When Northerners are labeled as *Bachope*, this term is often based upon an ideology of colorism. Due to this ideology, Northernness is constructed as marginal and inferior and can then be used as a bullying or discriminatory strategy. The individuals labeled as *Bachope* usually feel offended as they are aware of the associated discrimination based on colorism. The concept of *Muchope*[14] is an ideological category indexically linking a visual impression, namely a dark complexion, with the commonly held, normative set of beliefs revolving around Northernness. In this way, it might also be applied to individuals who accidentally fit the visual criteria but do not identify themselves as Northern, as for instance insinuated in the following Tweet by @inteligencia007:

> The problem is we just look at the color of their skin and automatically assume that they are from the North. I am a mubopi[15] and we are naturally dark-skinned. Hopefully you don't accidentally refer to me as a muchope.[16]

14. A similar denomination for Northerners used among Western Ugandans is the term *Bakooko* 'animal people, beasts'. It is equally derogatory and makes reference to physical appearance as well as alluding to the brutality and bestiality associated with the past military rule of Northerners, mostly at the cost of people from Central and Western Uganda. I thank my friend Surumani Manzi for this addition.

15. I was not able to figure out exactly what this identity category refers to, but the dictionary of Ruruuli-Lunyala defines *Mubboopi* as 'male member of one of the clans of the elephant totem' (Namyalo et al., 2021, p. 523). This means that the person self-identifies as a member of a group that speaks a Bantu language.

16. https://twitter.com/inteligencia007/status/1268523125790199815 (28-Jan-2021).

3.3 'Us' and 'them', the eternal persistence of a division?

> They [i.e., the Acholi] look hostile from afar, the way they speak, but they're friendly when you know them. (Interview with Namatovu, 14-Dec-2020)

It is this quotation that in my view fittingly represents the ambivalent state of language ideologies around Northernness among contemporary young Ugandans. It came about as a passing remark by Namatovu, a Muganda based in Kampala, whom I rather fortuitously interviewed when I was actually talking to her Acholi friend Auma, who was spending some days at Namatovu's place while waiting for a job interview. After Auma had given me many insights into her perspective on Northernness as an Acholi, she suggested that I should also talk to her friend to represent the view from the other side of the North-South or non-Bantu vs. Bantu dichotomy that seems to constantly permeate Ugandan discourse.

The statement above reveals what also became clear from all my other conversations with my interlocutors, namely that all actors are aware of this dichotomy and the connotations regarding Northernness. In this example, the binary opposition is clearly indicated by Namatovu's use of the pronoun 'they' to linguistically demarcate an Otherness or an out-group, which also implicitly marks her own position as a member of the in-group. This in-group position seems to be hegemonic and unmarked in discourse and once again Northerners are defined in binary opposition to it along the lines of the North-South division. Thus, the definition of ideologies by Verschueren (2012, p. 10) as "commonsensical" and "often functioning in a normative way" is confirmed in this statement, as in all previous examples in this study. However, the second part of her utterance, beginning with an adversative 'but', reveals that she is also aware on a meta-level that these perceptions are essentializing and not necessarily self-evident. This awareness is further emphasized by the laughter that accompanied her statement.

Verschueren (2012, p. 14) also claims that "[i]deology, because of its normative and common-sense nature, may be highly immune to experience and observation." When we see how widespread the existing beliefs and stereotypes held among my interlocutors are and when we also have a look at the historicity of their origins back in colonial times, it cannot be denied that these observations bolster Verschueren's assertions. And yet, I interpret the second part of Namatovu's statement as an indication of a slow change and a reframing of discourse, something which Verschueren (2012, p. 19) also concedes as a potential outcome given the fluidity of social realities. My research with young interlocutors below the age of thirty showed that although the knowledge of these commonsensical ascriptions exists in this generation, their daily experiences in a globalized and more connected Uganda make them increasingly question these truisms. There is a growing awareness that these divisions and stereotypes potentially cause tensions that

impede the harmonious conviviality of Uganda's citizens. Finnström (2008, p. 194) also observes a similar tendency among Acholi youths, who express their intentions to overcome the rhetoric of ethnic division, but also their frustration that the decolonization of politics and of the accompanying ethnic stereotypes is a difficult endeavor. Almost fifteen years later, but in a similar vein, Munduru told me that "people have moved past tribalism[17] now, they are now together in this." On another occasion, though, the very same person expressed to me her concerns that if Bobi Wine, also known as Robert Kyagulanyi Ssentamu, an ethnic Muganda and the main opposition candidate in Uganda's 2021 presidential elections, had won the elections, this would have caused trouble for Northerners in the long term due to "tribalism". This is a perfect illustration of the multiplicity of existing ideologies, depending on the positions an individual wants to take in a particular context. However, it seems that Bobi Wine's success in mobilizing and politicizing the Ugandan youth beyond ethnic boundaries for the 2021 elections serves as another indicator that there is a tendency towards an ideological change among young Ugandans, who are seeking to overcome "tribalism", which many of them see as a major obstacle to a brighter and more peaceful future in Uganda. Nevertheless, it remains to be seen how far this is a long-lasting ideological change that goes beyond a strategic alliance that only temporarily serves to display young people's dissatisfaction with the incumbent government.

4. Observations and outlook: Northernness, Otherness, Sameness, and some reflections on researchers' ideologies

From the data analyzed in this study, it becomes clear that Northernness continues to gain currency as an identity category in Ugandan everyday encounters. While its underlying ideologies rest on homogenizing and essentializing criteria that display a striking similarity to those already employed by the British colonialists, the Ugandans I talked to developed different strategies of dealing with and evaluating this concept. Northernness, in my data, appears as a situated, strategic and multifaceted identity category that expresses Otherness from a hegemonic

17. "Tribalism", in the way it is used in Ugandan discourse, follows the definition given by Ekeh (1990) as a counterideological concept in use by Africans in postcolonial societies that inverts its former anthropological meaning. Here, "tribalism refers to obnoxious modes of behavior in multi-ethnic circumstances that threaten and endanger normal coexistence among persons from different ethnic groups" (Ekeh, 1990, p. 688). In such a sense, when young Ugandans refer to tribalism, they are expressing a strident criticism of what is seen as a defective state of the current postcolonial society, namely particularism and nepotism based on persisting colonial-anthropological ideologies of "tribe", kinship and territoriality.

Bantu position. Sometimes this is actively employed and turned around by individuals like Auma in Subsection 2.1, or jokingly deconstructed (see Nassenstein, 2021); sometimes it is attributed to people by Others, e.g., by the use of derogatory terms like *Muchope*, as shown in Subsection 2.2. At this point, I identified colorism as an ideological phenomenon that seems to lay the ground for the discrimination and marginalization of Northerners or of those perceived and constructed as such, especially when it comes to subjects revolving around ideals of beauty. Here, visual criteria like skin complexion are read as indexical signs of Northernness. Thus far, colorism has not been explicitly mentioned in the literature about Uganda as a factor alongside the ethnic and linguistic differences that contribute to the maintenance of the deep-rooted dichotomy, divisively demarcating Uganda's North and South. The findings of this paper suggest further investigation of this phenomenon in other disciplines like psychology, sociology or critical race theory.

Meanwhile, younger Ugandans in the interviews I conducted exhibit an increasing awareness of the detrimental effects of what they label "tribalism", i.e., sectarianism and particularism based on ethnic and territorial belonging. Furthermore, their personal experiences in the mobile multilingual and multicultural Ugandan society play a significant part in contesting the stereotypical ascriptions around Northernness. This is also supported by the broad support – especially among young people regardless of ethnic affiliations – for the main opposition candidate Robert Kyagulanyi Ssentamu (Bobi Wine), an ethnic Muganda, during the 2021 presidential elections. On the other hand, the long-running stereotypical ascriptions revolving around Northernness are still deeply ingrained in the minds of all the Ugandans I talked to and ideologies like colorism continue to foster these ascriptions, even on occasions when thinking along ethnic lines is pushed into the background. Thus, while there might be a slight change in discourses on ethnicity ("tribes") among young Ugandans, these identity categories still have a lot of currency due to the ideological connotations that inform them and that can make them useful resources for individuals in social interaction.

Since the empirical data in this study only provide first insights into these topics, further research is invited to take up, elaborate on and scrutinize some of this paper's propositions. For example, more data would be required to analyze whether there is cultural-historical evidence that some people seem to identify more comfortably with a Northern identity than others. My first hypothesis in need of further validation is that the majority of Acholi seem to embrace their Northernness as a marker of distinction due to a history of conflict, war and marginalization, due to which they are used to positioning themselves in binary opposition and resistance to hegemonic Bantu groups like the Baganda. Cultural revitalization movements among the Acholi also point in this direction. On the

other hand, people identifying with other group identities (like, for example, Lugbara) that find themselves even more underrepresented and marginalized in inner Ugandan discourses (Leopold, 2005) might tend to refuse to be lumped together under an umbrella term of Northernness, as such a label reduces their visibility and recognition as groups with distinct geographical, historical, cultural and linguistic backgrounds. In this regard, it would also be interesting to investigate the mutual relationships of various "Northern" identities and how these might be strategically employed to emphasize sameness (e.g., in distinction and resistance to hegemonic Bantu groups) or difference (e.g., in order to highlight uniqueness and internal diversity). Here, theoretical insights and concepts from sociologists with regards to "human differentiation" (e.g., Hirschauer, 2021) will provide a fruitful framework for further analysis of these data from the Ugandan context.

As for social scientists, it is also essential to reflect that writing about *the* Acholi or *the* Lugbara or producing a grammar of their respective languages is also a highly ideological process, often resting on Eurocentric ideologies that equate language, culture and geo-political units.[18] By choosing and formulating research topics and labelling the people or groups under study, researchers also make ideological choices about whether to emphasize homogeneity or heterogeneity. For example, group labels such as Acholi[19] or Lugbara also obfuscate a lot of internal diversity; in the case of Lugbara, no linguistic study on its varieties has even been conducted. Consequently, researchers' choices have an impact on the reality they are supposed to portray, promoting certain ideological and political positions and adversely affecting others. Therefore, it is indispensable to embed research in local socio-political economies, to ask and listen carefully to people about what is meaningful to them and to analyze underlying ideologies of languages or language in use in order to get a more inclusive idea of how and why people speak the way they speak, on what basis they make meaning and produce knowledge. This might also require an abrogation of well-established ideas of "language", including an openness to

18. Brubaker (2002, p.164) labels this "groupism", i.e., "the tendency to take discrete, sharply differentiated, internally homogenous and externally bounded groups as basic constituents of social life, chief protagonists of social conflicts, and fundamental units of social analysis."

19. When I conducted my first field research in the Acholi region in March 2019 as part of my master's thesis, I interviewed a former Deputy Prime Minister of *Ker Kwaro Acholi*, the leading cultural institution of the Acholi. Before I was even able to start asking any of the questions I had prepared, he made a statement that has been reverberating in my mind ever since: "The Acholi community is not as uniform as one may think", he cautioned me, and sketchily outlined to me the complex socio-political organization and internal linguistic diversity of what is often simply portrayed as *the* Acholi people or *the* Acholi language.

> (…) those ways of conceptualizing language that do not presuppose the existence of a mother tongue, a monolingual community, and undisrupted communicative settings, but that help to understand language as diverse, only partly shared repertoire, a practice that not always aims at order or at being understood, but that can also be seen as particularly meaningful where it hides meaning.
>
> (Hollington & Storch, 2016, p. 4)

On that account, small stories and linguistic utterances that were once disregarded and discarded as "secondary explanations" deserve more attention.

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All electronic sources are listed in the respective footnotes.

CHAPTER 9

Kin-relational expressions of the Tima (Nuba Mountains, Sudan)

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Tima, a language of the Nuba Mountains in Sudan, is severely endangered, as can be seen in many disappearing domains of the lexicon. One domain that is still relatively strong pertains to kinship. Continued use of this vocabulary can be linked to the high value still placed on social accountability among relatives. However, other aspects considered to be part of the handed-down social texture seem to be gradually falling into oblivion. This contribution on the lexical expression of kinship in Tima aims to describe the status quo concerning the structure of kinship units, i.e., the clan system, as well as the lexicon of kin relations. With regard to the latter, we also look at kin terms used in referential practices beyond the narrow domain of kin relatedness.

Keywords: kinship, kin terms, social relations, Tima

1. Situating Tima in the study of kinship

As Fox (1989, p. 10) has put it, "kinship is to anthropology as logic is to philosophy (…)", emphasizing the essential role of kinship studies in the establishment of anthropology as a discipline. We start this study on kin-relational expressions of the Tima society with introductory and explanatory notes on kinship as a subject of anthropology and describe those theoretical concepts which are relevant for the description of kinship in Tima. The inception of comparative kinship studies is traditionally associated with Morgan's publication of *Systems of consanguinity and affinity of the human family* (1871). This initial interest was largely in the variation in kinship terminology in different societies, the hypothesis being that kin terms reflect how kinship is organized in the respective societies. One of Morgan's notable contributions (besides laying the ground for comparative studies of kinship) is the division of kin typologies into descriptive (each category of kin has a special term) and classificatory (one term designates several categories).

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Another early pioneering work on kinship is Maine's *Ancient Law* (1861). The author assumes that societies, moving from "simple" to "complex" organization, replace family-dependent duties and rights with relationships based on social contract, where individuals become autonomous actors with individual obligations prescribed by civil law (see Bamford 2019, p. 8). Both Morgan and Maine embedded kinship studies in an evolutionist framework that has been invalidated by many later scholars.[1] Linguistic and social anthropology nowadays seek to understand the existing variation in social organization as reflected in kinship terminology through different adaptational needs of societies in different parts of the world.

Some definitions describe kinship as a network of relationships radiating from an individual and, for the most part, expressed through a biological idiom (e.g., Tonkinson 1991, p. 57). From this, it follows that kinship terms express relative, so-called egocentric categories, each designating a unique relationship between two individuals. Accordingly, kin terms always have a reciprocal counterpart, i.e., a *niece* is only a *niece* in relation to her *aunt* or *uncle*. Tima is one of many societies where this network of relationships is embedded in what is called a sociocentric structure, organized in descent groups (clans and lineages).[2] When descent groups are based on an unbroken chain of genealogical links to a common ancestor, they are called lineages. We speak of clans when such a chain of genealogical links leading to a common ancestor cannot be established, and all the members assume their origin from a common apical ancestor, which may be a mythical or a totemic figure.[3] As a kind of legitimization, clans have mythical stories about their origins, involving emergence from a totemic animal or plant after which the clan is named. Very often, it is this plant or animal that has (or used to have) some cultural and spiritual significance for the clan. Translatable names for Tima clans, for example, mostly refer to animals and some of the myths deal with them, as we will show in Section 3.

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1. With regard to Morgan's contribution to kinship studies, the reader who appreciates a differentiated perspective might be interested in a recent reassessment of the "outstanding" achievement of this scholar proposed by Pfeffer (2019). Putting Morgan's conjectures into the historical context of their emergence, Pfeffer relativizes some of the aspects of this early theory on kinship that have been dubbed as inadequate in the later anthropological literature.

2. The interest in descent groups (lineages and clans) arose with the appearance of the British structural-functionalist school (e.g., Malinowski, Radcliffe Brown, and Evans-Pritchard) that sought to establish a link between kinship systems and the larger context of their functions in the socio-political and economic organization of the societies under investigation (see Dousset, 2013, p. 224).

3. Nadel (1947, p. 11) proposes the following definition of clan: "The clan is an institutionalized group based on unilineal descent, i.e., a group in which membership is hereditary in one line of ancestors – the father's or mother's line."

Specific rules determine membership in descent groups. Descent can be traced patrilineally – through the father – or matrilineally – through the mother. In these two cases, descent is described as unilineal. Tima has a so-called double-descent system where descent is traced through both patriline and matriline.[4] Characteristic of double descent is the complementary nature of the constitutive groups, whereby matriclans and patriclans fulfil differing functions or are operative in quite different contexts, thus guaranteeing their harmonious coexistence (see Stone & King 2019, p. 143). Linked to their double-descent social organization, the Tima follow patrilocal rules of postmarital residence, i.e., after marriage, men stay in or near their household of origin, and their wives join the group (Stone & King 2019, p. 149). Stone and King (2019) note that the types of residence show correlations with the form of descent and that societies organized in double-descent groups tend to have patrilocal rules of residence, which, as just said, also applies to Tima.

As often assumed in the literature, in societies that are organized in descent groups, "the whole fabric of such societies is woven with strands of kinship" (see e.g., Stone & King 2019, p. 8). Barnard (1978) calls such systems of social organization "Universalist", meaning that everybody in the known social universe is seen as a kinsperson. As a rule, this assumption concerns small-scale societies without centralized state-governed institutions of social regulation. In these smaller societies, larger kinship networks are made up of multiple descent groups, constituting the political, economic, and overall social structure. As a result, many twentieth-century anthropologists were interested in descent and kinship because they understood them in terms of "politico-jural relations" (Scheffler 1970, p. 1465) as opposed to egocentric, interpersonal relations belonging to the domestic domain.

Now that we have described the descent grouping as a higher organizational level of the Tima kinship system, it is important to note that for Tima, the fabric of kinship also encompasses the common ancestral land (Meerpohl 2012, p. 126, 200). That is, in Tima, as in many other small-scale societies organized in descent

4. Double descent is considered to be a rare form of mixed descent. One further type of non-unilineal descent is described as cognatic. In this case, genealogical links to a common ancestor can be established through both matriline and patriline. That is, the descent lineage can be of a mixed type including both male and female connecting relatives, whereas in the case of double descent, belonging to one's patriclan, for example, can be established only through male members. Thus, cognatic descent represents a more flexible mode of tracing one's descent that allows an individual to activate membership through different links, i.e., an individual can choose the membership that's most favorable in the circumstances. Generally, what distinguishes cognatic or double-descent groups from bilateral origin tracing (as in modern Western societies) is that the former represent corporate groups that persist over time.

groups, biological relatedness as conceived of in modern Western societies can be extended to include a shared history of origin, as well as other factors, such as, e.g., common land or shared food, criteria for which Pitt-Rivers (1973, p. 92) introduces the notion of "consubstantiality". The idea underlying the concept of consubstantiality also figures in more recent kinship scholarship where the importance of non-biological criteria for the description of kinship in particular societies plays a significant part (e.g., Carsten, 2011; Carsten, 2019).

One of the essential issues in kinship studies pertains to kinship terminology. Across the world, we find a great degree of diversity with regard to terminological mapping onto categories expressed by particular kin-relational expressions. The English term *father*, for example, is mapped onto just one category (male parent). In Tima, in contrast, the term *wáyèn* covers a large number of categories of kin: the biological father (or genitor), father's brothers, and father's male cousins. Yet despite the immense diversity in terminology, kinship systems all over the world seem to follow similar patterns of categorization, and thus can be classified into quite a manageable number of typologies. The cross-cultural resemblance in principles of matching between kin terms and categories designated by them allowed Murdock (1949), for example – elaborating on Morgan's (1871) classification – to postulate six types of systems of cousin terminology widely known and taught in anthropological kinship courses: Eskimo, Hawaiian, Iroquois, Sudanese, Omaha, and Crow (see Murdock 1949, p. 223–224).[5] Later, Murdock (1968) established another classification of kinship terms for siblings. Based on his sample of 800 languages from different parts of the world, Murdock suggested seven types of terminological systems reflecting the (non-)differentiation and interplay of such criteria of age, gender, and relative gender in sibling categorization (Murdock 1968, p. 3–4):

Type A: The Kordofanian or Undifferentiated Sibling Type
Type B: The Yoruba or Relative Age Type
Type C: The Algonkian or Skewed Age Type

5. A recent phylogenetic investigation of possible "unidirectional patterns of evolution in kinship terminology types" in three language families (Passmore & Jordan, 2020, p. 9) has questioned the usefulness of Morgan's typology in terms of its predictive power regarding the co-evolution of social and semantic factors. The authors attribute the inconclusiveness of Murdock's typology to the existence of "hidden" subtypes of kinship terminologies not captured by Murdock's system. According to Passmore and Jordan (2020), a possible solution includes the compilation of more fine-grained terminological data linked to major social patterns in order to "explore the structure of the typological variation, identify subtle but important differences in kinship types across language families or identify paths of evolution that result in convergent terminological types" (Passmore & Jordan, 2020, p. 9).

Type D: The Dravidian or Age-Sex Type
Type E: The European or Brother-Sister Type
Type F: The Melanesian or Relative Sex Type
Type G: The Siouan or Complexly Differentiated Type

The second of four subtypes of Murdock's Type F, i.e., the Melanesian or Relative Sex Type, describes what we find in Tima. There are three terms: 'sibling of the same gender', 'brother' (woman speaking), and 'sister' (man speaking). We will return to the discussion of the sibling terms connected to the contexts of their usage in Section 4.1. Furthermore, Murdock (1968, p. 12) finds correlations between sibling terminology and patterns of descent. For the Relative Sex Type just described, he articulates correspondence with matrilineal and double descent. The data from Tima seem to support this association.

We started this section with an acknowledgment of the role played by Morgan and Maine in the initiation of kinship studies. It is likewise important to mention Rivers (1910) when we speak about the history of anthropological investigation of kinship typologies. He put forward a genealogical method in kinship studies, thus enhancing the claims of anthropology to be a truly objective science. Representing different kinship systems in the form of genealogical trees enables the researcher to reach some degree of comparability of data from different cultures. Of course, genealogical diagrams are abstractions about kinship as understood by the researcher. The diagrams tell us nothing about how the kinship systems schematized actually work in any particular society. Furthermore, the researchers have at their disposal English labels for their analytical categories and concepts, which may lead to significant misrepresentations of a culturally internal view of kin relations. These misrepresentations may span from minor mismatches between the semantic scope of an English word and its native counterpart (e.g., marriage, family, etc.) to a complete failure to transmit the original meaning of the categories under investigation. These and other drawbacks have provoked a lot of critique of the way kinship studies had been conducted. One of the most pronounced critiques came from Schneider (1984), who undermined the approach of applying the ideas of kinship based on the principles and concepts of Western societies (basically understood in terms of biological links reinforced through the legal acknowledgment of kin relationships as defined, e.g., by inheritance laws).

Briefly, the development in kinship studies in the 20th century went from a static description of existing kin terms in different societies, via almost complete abandonment (set off, among other factors, by Schneider's critique), to a reformulation of the kinship system as a dynamic process. The view has come to the fore that kinship must be analyzed as a more interdependent category embedded in broader social and cultural contexts. Kinship, as such, i.e., isolated from

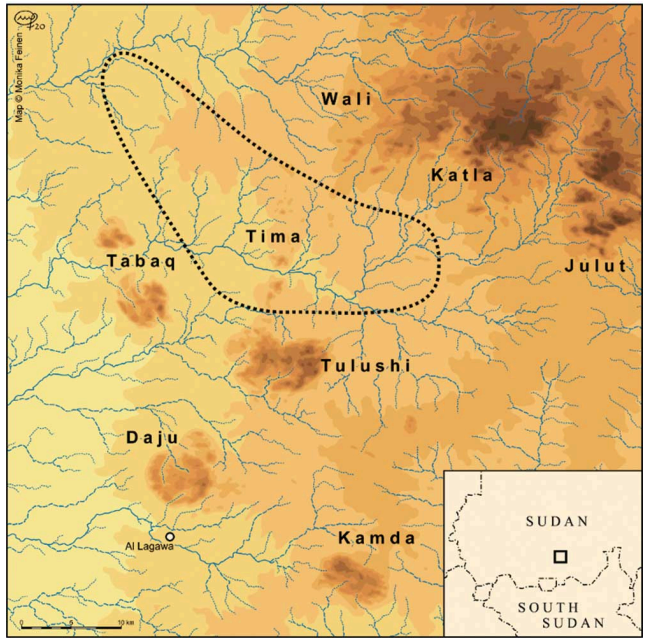
other aspects of social organization, turned out not to be useful as an autonomous analytical entity. A revival of kinship studies at the end of the 20th century was facilitated by placing it in other socio-cultural contexts and linking it to other discourses (e.g., kinship and gender; Yanagisako & Collier, 1987).

While linguistic studies of kinship have lost the limelight in anthropology, we think there is still much to say about kinship language and social organization. The following words from Keesing (1975, p. 14) nicely capture the relevance of kinship studies for our understanding of universal principles of organization of human societies: "[N]etworks that connect individuals as relatives are apparently universally recognized and universally accorded social importance." We aim to describe the Tima kinship system in that sense. The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. Following Section 2, which contains some relevant ethnographic background information on Tima, we describe the clan system of Tima society in Section 3. We then present a detailed account of relational kin terms (Sections 4.1 and 4.2), before we look at the practices of kinship-based person reference in Section 4.3. In the last section, we summarize our findings.

2. Tima ethnographic background

The Tima people (who call themselves *ùmúrìk*)[6] form an ethnic group living in the Nuba Mountains of Sudan (see Map 9.1) in an area about 75 km south-southwest of Dillinj near the border of South Sudan. The estimated number of the population in their home area is roughly 7,000 people. Other members of the society are spread mainly in the larger towns of Sudan, with a bigger community in the suburbs of Khartoum. As the people themselves note with concern, the endangerment of the Tima language is obvious, not only in the diaspora, but also in the Tima area, where Arabic as a lingua franca of the area plays an ever-growing role (for the linguistic contact situation and the sociolinguistic setting see Hashim et al., 2020).

6. Tima has a 12 vowel system, split into two sets: +ATR vowels and –ATR vowels. In the orthography that was developed together with the Tima language committee, IPA symbols are used that come closest to the pronunciation (to avoid using diacritics). Furthermore, Tima has two register tones which can be combined to form rising and falling tones. For more details see Bashir (2010). Tima shows remnants of a former noun class system which still allows the grouping of nouns into different categories depending on the number marking prefix. The most common prefix for a singular noun (incl. proper names) is *k(V)-*, along with *c(V)-*, *t̲(V)-*, *l(V)-*, *b(V)-* and *d(V)-* (as well as zero marking), and *i-/ɪ-/y-* with exceptional *u-* for plural. See Alamin (2012) for a more detailed account of the various nominal groups.



Map 9.1 The Tima and their neighbors (Nuba Mountains, Sudan)

The *ùmúrìk* love their region of origin and, during the long-lasting civil war (1983–2005), most of them refused to leave their homeland so as not to lose the land to intruders, while others were not able to leave to escape hunger or to avoid being harassed because the journey out of the mountains was considered too dangerous at that point.[7] The civil war and the political orientation related to it are responsible not only for bad relations between the Tima and the government-supported Arabic groups (e.g., the Misiriyya), but also between the Tima and neighboring ethnic groups, e.g., the Tabaq, who are not related to the Tima, and also the 'brothers' of the Tima, i.e., the Katla and the Julut, from the same language cluster.[8] The relationship between these three ethnic groups of the Katloid clus-

7. With regard to the situation during the Second Sudanese Civil War and, more generally, for a detailed account of social anthropological aspects of the Tima culture, see Meerpohl (2012).

8. For the language classification, see e.g., Dimmendaal (2018) – following Stevenson (1956–57) and Greenberg (1963) – who places Katla, Julut, and Tima in the same cluster which, in turn, is comparably closely related to the Rashad cluster. However, unlike Stevenson, Dimmendaal (2018, p. 383) argues for a deconstruction of Kordofanian as a genetic subgroup within Niger-Congo: "Although there is clear evidence for a genetic affiliation between Katloid [and Rashad] and the remaining groups traditionally classified as Kordofanian, Heiban and Talodi, actual evidence that they form a genetic subgroup within the larger Niger-Congo phylum is rather poor." Instead, Dimmendaal – as well as Blench (2013) – assumes "that deep historical

ter is the key issue of a myth (280117_10_Hamid_Clandividing), which says that in former times, the Katla, the Julut, and the Tima were brothers, herewith evincing the ancestral relationship between them and also using the idiom of kinship to imagine this relationship. The myth tells us that the three brothers separated after a quarrel, eventually leading to the establishment of different ethnic groups. Due to that quarrel, the language was also said to have been manipulated so that the Tima might not be understood by the other two groups, as another myth tells (Videos 10.2007_Audio/02_AliTia_1).

The Tima ethnic group is a close-knit community. In former times, they lived quite isolated in their ancestral homelands, as did other peoples from the Nuba Mountains. The different mountain ranges, each of them inhabited by a distinct ethnic group, are separated from each other by vast plains where grains are cultivated and livestock grazed (see Figure 9.1 with the view from the Tima area towards Tulushi, a mountain cluster to the south). Since the middle of the last century, the Tima have abandoned their dwellings up in the mountains and moved to the foot of the mountains. That is, they have given up more secure places in favor of having more space and easier access to the fields in the plains and water supplies.



Figure 9.1 View from Tima towards the Tulushi mountain range (2007-09-28)

The Nuba Mountain ethnic groups were (and still are) mainly subsistence farming societies that did not seek close relationships with their neighbors. Nevertheless, loose interethnic contact was always possible. With regard to the Tima, closer contacts were established with the neighboring Katla people (*ìmààdáŋ*), the Julut (*ìdɔ̀ŋá*), the Wali (*yákàmɔ̀ŋ*), the Tulushi (*ìmùɽúk*), and the Tabaq (*ìhíyà*). The Tima claim to share most of their clan names with these neighbors

relations are involved between Katloid-Rashad on the one hand and Talodi-Heiban on the other" (Dimmendaal 2018: 400).

(see Meerpohl 2012, p. 126), which partly goes back to the fact that intermarriage was not uncommon, with the exception of the Tulushi. Nevertheless, contact with the latter is comparably intensive, since the Tulushi area is closest to the Tima area (the distance can be covered in 1.5 hours walking), and the Tulushi hospital attracts quite a number of Tima people. However, with the newly constructed road to the bigger town of Dillinj, which lies to the north of the Tima area, Tulushi will probably lose some of its importance for the Tima people. Within Tima society, each person is affiliated to their paternal clan and their maternal clan. The clan system is the main theme of the next section.

3. Kinship units: The Tima clan system

As introduced briefly in the first section, the Tima conceptualize (kin) relatedness as a multi-layered texture that embraces clan membership (itself associated with particular areas of land) as well as affiliation to individual households. As Nadel (1947, p. 14) formulates:

> It seems significant that none of the Nuba groups has a word for 'tribe', although they all have terms for village, hill community and clan. These three concepts can be defined, concretely, by reference to some other entity – habitation, locality, or descent. 'Tribe' could be defined only tautologically, as a group which is itself.
>
> (Nadel 1947, p. 14)

Correspondingly, the Tima also have no word for the unit which is referred to as an 'ethnic group' (formerly 'tribe') by anthropologists. The Tima people associate a mountain range with each ethnic group and also extend this concept to the homeland of foreigners who may in fact live in a flat country. When asking for the country of origin they literally ask 'from which mountain' someone comes. Thus, Tima people would answer a question about their own origin by saying that they are from *lúmúrìk* 'the Tima area' or *àkwálòŋ íímúrìkí* 'from the mountain of the Tima'. The use of *kwálòŋ* with the meaning of 'country, area', instead of 'mountain', also occurs in a story told by one of the elders in Example (1):

(1) *kwálóŋ=ná=yɛ̀ lààn=í=ná, kòɽòntòwèɽɛ̀k=lí=yɛ̀*
mountain=DEM.PROX=REP POSS2PL=SEL=DEM.PROX grass.sp=FOC.SG=REP
dɔ́-díŋɛ́=yáŋ ná kɔ̀màrɔ́h
FUT-climb=LOC3P with acacia.sp
'[he said to the people] this your mountain (referring to the whole Tima area), grass (Ophiuros papillosus) will grow with the sicklebush (Dichrostachys cinerea)' (310108_34_Adlaan_Kujuur 063)

As mentioned earlier, the Tima community is socially organized in what is called double-descent groups, meaning that each member of the society traces descent through their father and mother. That is, every Tima individual belongs simultaneously to the patriclan of the father and the matriclan of the mother. The transmission of clan affiliation is gender-specific, though: men transfer their membership in their patriclans to their children, and women transmit their matriclan membership (Meerpohl 2012, p.124). That is, a person belongs to the matriclan of their mother and the patriclan of their father.

The Tima people are divided into 11 paternal clans and 15 maternal clans (see Tables 9.1 and 9.2, respectively; wherever the clan name bears a translatable meaning it is added in brackets). For the vast majority of the paternal clan names and also a number of the maternal clan names, the etymology is unknown. The few translatable names refer to animals or, in one case, namely *kə́ˈhə́dú*, to a certain dish. We were told that in former times certain taboos with regard to food went with the clans: the *gwálɛ̀*, for example, were not allowed to eat the meat of a serval. Nowadays, food restrictions follow the rules of Islam.[9]

Most of the clans have subgroups; for instance, if a clan became unmanageably big, they separated. One branch might then be named after an outstanding family member, as we were told. Subgroups may also have come into existence due to separation after people migrated elsewhere, perhaps on account of family problems (e.g., as the myth on clan division '031007_Daldum_ClanDividing' suggests). The maternal subgroups, which are said to be too many to be known by anybody, remain to be further investigated; therefore, only the major clans and a few subclans are listed in Table 9.2. Supposedly, the fact that married women move to the home of their husband's family favored the separation of the maternal clans.

How important clan affiliation is for the Tima and their neighbors can be judged from an incident that happened to our project team on our first journey together to the Tima area early in 2007. On our way through the neighboring Wali

9. The elder Tima vividly remember the cultural-religious practices before the time when the Islamic religion was finally established in Tima society. The main transitional process took place over a period of roughly 50 years between 1950 and 2000, though some of the older practices and beliefs still existed at the time when the research on Tima was done, i.e., between 2007 and 2019. Most Tima regard the discrepancy between pre-Islamic cultural life and that of nowadays as a dichotomy, speaking of "traditions" when referring to the older practices and norms they remember and perhaps still follow, and of "modern life" when considering their way of living these days, having all modernities in mind, cultural as well as technical. This is the sense in which the present authors would like to use the term "tradition", being, however, well aware of the fact that even in the old days, ways of life were never static and that what we now find to be modern might be old practices in the future.

area (see Map 9.1), our car was stopped by police officers. We were asked where we were from and what the destination and the purpose of our visit were. The atmosphere was still tense due to the recently ended civil war, old wounds hadn't healed yet, and strangers raised suspicion. After some questions, it became clear that our main consultant from Khartoum, who was with us, was a Tima by birth. Next, he was asked for his father's clan, and when the questioning officer found out that he and the Tima consultant shared the same clan name, the road ahead was free. The clan affiliation served as a diplomatic passport, so to speak. Generally speaking, the presence of clans with shared names in different ethnic groups is a sign of good relationships between these groups, as is the occurrence of intermarriage.

Table 9.1 Paternal clan names

yɔ́ɔ́ **(paternal families)**	*yɔ́ɔ́ ɨtɛ̀ʔɛ́ŋ* **(paternal subclans; lit.: small paternal families)**		
kàrkàmàn	*kàn̪tɔ̀rì*	*kàmbɨ́làŋ*	*kwàlɔ̀ŋ*
	kántɨ́r kwɔ̀ɔ́	*kàjáŋkàl*	*hàwá*
	kwàyà	*kán̪tàndà*	
gwálɛ̀	*cúlûŋ*	*káwɔ́rɛ̀*	*kàárn̪tíkɔ́là*
	mócɔ̀lɔ̀	*kándàràŋ*	*ìdíí ìyàná*
	n̪àmdàkàà		(cows' legs)
kàlílìŋ ~ kàlîŋ	*cɔ̀nkɔ̀lɔ̀ŋ* *bárìl*	*kàrcímbɔ̀lá*	*kùkúlùk*
kàrɔ́ŋkwà	*kàn̪túkɨ́rámpâŋ* *kámpɔ́rîî*	*máŋkál*	*bàtó*
ká↓káŋ	*kòntùŋù*	*kɔ́rn̪àyɛ́ɛ̀*	*kwáyá*
kákànàŋ	*n̪ákâŋ*	*cìlìyà* *	
cùrkɛ̀ɛ̀	*bɔ̀kììr*	*kwárɨ̀r*	
kɔ́kɔ́nàŋ	*kábɔ̀c*	*bàrɛ̀mbá↓ré*	
kɔ̀kwíŋ	*kámpìŋ* (lion)		
hámbɔ́r			
kámbɔ́l kɛ́↓lɛ́			

* *Cìlìyà* is not only the name of the sub-clan, but also the name of the place from where the *kákànàŋ* spread, a fact mentioned in one of the recordings (14_MusaBukur_2 010).

Thus, clan affiliation is of undeniable importance for inter-ethnic relationships with those neighbors who share the same clan names as the Tima. Independently from the political orientation of the ethnic group as a whole, any member

of the same clan, irrespective of their superordinated ethnicity, is treated as a family member. Clan bonds seem to override ethnic bonds. But even intra-ethnically, knowledge about the clan one is affiliated with seems important: e.g., when seeing a hitherto unknown child for the first time, asking the child's name is inevitably followed by asking the parents' names and, if the parents are not known, about the clans' names, in order to be able to place the child correctly into the context of the whole social structure of the Tima. Consequently, it does not come as a surprise that Tima people, when introducing themselves, usually refer to the clan they belong to, as in Example (2) from Ahmed Kurmaadi:

(2) *(…) wà kwɔ̀ɔ̀ líìn=í kò-kɔ̀lɔ̀ŋ=í ìhwáá*
and family.father POSS1PL.EXCL=SEL SG-big=SEL people
kárkámán=é, ìhwáá kárkámán ḿ-mɨ̀rnɨ̀rn-ɨ̀k=à=t̪áŋ,
Karkaman=FOC.PL people Karkaman P-divide:PLUR-CAUS=SOURCE=LOC3P
kwɔ̀ɔ́=nɔ̀ líìn=í mák kí-tíín=í
family.father=DEM.PROX POSS1PL.EXCL=SEL then SG-other=SEL
kʌ́t̪ʌ̀ndʌ̀=lí
Kathanda=FOC.SG
'[my name is Ahmed Kurmaadi like this is my name] and our big family constitutes (lit.: is) the people of Karkaman, the Karkaman people divided, then our family is the one of Kathanda' (Videos_10.2007_15_AhmedKurmaadi_1-6)

Double-descent societies like the Tima are described by Fox (1989, p. 132) as a transitional form of social organization, moving from matrilineal to patrilineal descent recognition.[10] Due to a lack of information of sufficient historical depth, it cannot be stated with certainty whether the Tima society is subject to such a developmental scenario. Yet there are several indications that matrilineal organization had greater importance in former times, while the current state of affairs reveals a strong leaning towards a patrilineal profile.

First of all, as described by Meerpohl (2012, p. 124), before the social shift due to the introduction of Islam, the avunculate, i.e., a special relationship between the maternal uncle and his sister's children, played a constitutive role in the organization of individual households.[11] In Tima, it was the children of a man's sister who

10. It is important to emphasize that matrilineality is not to be confused with features associated with matriarchy. As Holy (1996, p. 103) notes, men have authority in both patrilineal and matrilineal groups.

11. Earlier, the avunculate was seen as a defining feature of matrilineality. Under this view, the basic unit of kinship is the link between the brother and his sister, since it is the sister whose children form the next generation of group members. The importance of this link is reflected in inheritance rules: from the maternal uncle to his sister's children, thus sustaining the matriline. The evidence from patrilineal societies where the avunculate was likewise considered an

Table 9.2 Maternal clan names

***ìdàà* (maternal families)**	***ìdàà ìtɛ̀ʔɛ́ŋ* (maternal subclans; lit.: small maternal families)**		
kùŋùùɲàŋ	*cá˧˩ wá* *kùmùɾùk*	*ùwàmpáŋ*	*wúúɲáŋ* *(ùwàmpáŋ)*
kɔ̀màɲɔ́k (ant sp.)	*kɔ̀màɲɔ̀k kùtún* (dark ant)	*kɔ̀màɲɔ̀k kɨ̀rdí* (red ant)	
kùwíwíík	*kùmùɾùk*		
kɨ̀ŋàwûŋ (hyena)			
kɔ̀ráá˧˩ rá			
kɛ̀lìntíí˧˩ líŋ (stork)			
kàmbɔ̀là (camel)			
kɨ̀mɨ́nà (snake)			
kwá˧˩ háhíík			
kùdùkùncéé˧˩ líŋ			
kʌ́˧˩ hádú (mixed dish)			
kɔ̀hɔ̀kɛ́k			
kàrɔ̀l kìhíyà			
cîrkîì			
cìyìlík			

inherited his fields, rather than his own children. Likewise, the maternal uncle was responsible for payments when his sister's children got married. Although these rules are not practiced anymore (the father now fulfils all these duties), the kinship vocabulary still bears witness to the relevance of the avunculate, as will be shown in Section 4.1 on kinship terminology.

Further, mythical stories about matrilineal clans figure more prominently in traditional knowledge. In this way, oral traditions help to keep some of the knowledge of the clan system alive. For instance, the myth on clan division tells of the separation of one group, the *ùwàmpáŋ*, from the main group, the *kùŋùùɲàŋ*, after a quarrel among sisters (031007_Daldum_ClanDividing). Another story (Videos

important organizational unit has lessened the validity of the correlation between matrilineality and avunculate. Without going into greater detail on this topic, suffice it to say that any generalizations about systems of social organization based solely on formal commonalities would be mere oversimplifications. Multiple factors always need to be taken into consideration, including the fact that every society is in constant flux, responding to changing ecologies and ideologies.

10.2007_Audio/03_AliTia_2) tells about the emergence of the maternal clan of the snake, i.e., *kɨ̀mɨ́nʌ̀*.

Nowadays, the younger generation can only recall their patrilineal clans' names. Also, as seen from Example (2) above, Ahmed Kurmaadi, when introducing himself, only refers to his paternal clan of origin. The matrilineal clans, by contrast, are known to just a few members of the Tima community (Meerpohl 2012, p. 198).

Clan affiliation, as indicated above, is not only of importance inter-ethnically, but shows its effects intra-ethnically as well. The bond between members of the same clan is tighter than with people from other clans, a point illustrated by the following incident. Once, two Tima consultants from Khartoum and two researchers arrived in *lúmúrìk* 'Tima area' late in the evening, after a sixteen-hour journey, feeling dirty and sweaty. We were nicely welcomed with drinking water, food, and tea. Beds were provided. The following morning, we got tea and all we needed but no water for washing ourselves. When there was still no washing water in the afternoon, one of the researchers asked the Tima fellow travelers whether they could ask somebody for water (lacking a bucket, we couldn't go and fetch some ourselves). The answer, to us, was surprising: "We have no family here." This implied, as was then explained to us, that they can only ask a female from their own paternal or maternal clan to go and fetch water. When people belong to another clan than the women who are present, they are visitors and hence have to wait for what is offered by the hosts.

In former times, certain ritual practices reinforced the importance of the clan system. For example, each sub-clan had their own *kìbèèy kálɨ́h* 'spear bearer'. This man not only did the slaughtering, but also the blessing of children after having slaughtered a chicken. The blessing was performed by sprinkling the blood from the chicken onto the feet of the gathered children, which taught them who their closest kin were. The chicken was then roasted and distributed among the children. An illegitimate child was excluded from this ceremony, being sent away with an excuse ('go and look for the goats', for example).

Having described the Tima clan system in some detail we will now have a look into kin-relational expressions and their designations.

4. Relational kin terms

Conventionally, the description of kinship terminology is divided into two types: terms for consanguineal relations, i.e., relations "by blood", and terms for affinal relations, i.e., relations based on marriage. We begin with the consanguineal subsystem. The second part of this section describes the affinal terms.

4.1 Consanguineal kin terminology

Before discussing relational kin terms that denote individual categories of relatives in the genealogical tradition, it is worth spending some time on other kinship vocabulary, the so-called meta-categories. Based on the clan system, blood relatives are divided into the paternal side and the maternal side (for all kinship terms concerning blood relationships, see Table 9.3).

The base of reference on the paternal side is the father. His part of the family is called *kwɔ̀ɔ́*. The term *kwɔ̀ɔ́* thus refers to the extended family on the father's side, also called *ìhwáá ɔ̀kwɔ̀ɔ́* ('people of father's family'), but it may also refer to the immediate family consisting of the father (*wáyɛ̀n*), as the head, the mother (*wɛ̀ɛ̀n*, pl.: *ìlwáán*), and their children (*íbɑ́*). Generally speaking, the father is the one who makes all the important decisions. If he gets too old and is no longer able to take on these responsibilities, his eldest son usually takes over the role of head of the family. However, it may also be the cleverest son of the family. If there is no man left, a respected woman of the family would take over.

With the meaning of 'ancestor', the association of *wáyɛ̀n* with gender is suspended. The relevant term is *ìlwàyɛ́n* (see Example (3), composed of the associative plural *ɪl-* (itself being composed of the plural marker *ɪ-* and the locative marker *l-*) and *wáyɛ̀n* 'father'. Thus, in this case, *ìlwàyɛ́n* and the English 'forefathers' are suitable translational equivalents: both designate males as well as females, though gender-specific *wáyɛ̀n* 'father' is part of the term.

(3) *cɛ̀è-mɨ́ntʌ̀k=à=t̪áŋ=nìn* *á=y=ìl-wàyɛ̀n*
1PL:IPFV-listen:AP=SOURCE=LOC3P=1PL.EXCL SOURCE=EP=PL:ASS-father
lììn=í *áyínă wɔ̀dɔ̀ŋ=í*
POSS1PL.EXCL=SEL when past=SEL
'we hear about our ancestors in the past' (011007_17_Adlaan 008)

The female side of the family is called *kɔ̀dàà* and covers all blood relatives with regard to the mother (*wɛ́ɛ̀n*). The children (*íbà*) from a partnership are said to be associated with *kɔ̀dàà* as well as *kwɔ̀ɔ́* (which shows in the clan affiliation; see Section 3). However, though the child is associated with both families, in case of a divorce, the child ultimately belongs to the father, i.e., the father is assigned all rights and duties in connection with his children.

Kinship terminology in every society represents a map of culturally significant categories, each labeled by a lexical expression – a kin term. The diversity in terminological systems found in the world is due to the particular socio-cultural and environmental contexts in which these terminologies evolved. As mentioned earlier, the variation in mapping between categories and their labels results from differing operational criteria. In Tima, terminological differentiation with regard

Table 9.3 Kinship terminology (blood relatives)

ṭàmáá dùmùrík **('Tima language'*)**	**Attempts at English translational equivalents****
cíbʌ̀	'child, offspring'
kʊ̀dàà	'mother's side of the family'
kídín ~ cídín	'root, maternal branch of the family'
kínʌ̀	'female's brother'
ìhwáá kùdú	'people on the maternal side of the family'
kùwʌ̀wúŋ	'grandchild'
kwàán	'sibling of the same gender'
kwɔ̀ɔ́	'father's side of the family'
lùwí	'male's sister'
mʌ́múŋ	'mother's brother (maternal uncle)'
ŋʌ́↓lúŋ	'male's sister's (including his female cousin's) child'
ɲʌ́rùlúŋ	'father's sister's child, mother's brother's child (cousin)'
pʌ́wúŋ	'grandfather; grandmother'
wáyɛ̀n	'father'
wɛ́ɛ̀n	'mother'

* The term *ṭàmáá dùmùrík*, or simply *dùmùrík*, designates the language spoken by the *ùmúrìk* 'Tima people'.

** Though the core meaning of the Tima term may be covered by the English gloss, exact translational equivalents are mostly not possible.

to gender and relative gender is made (or not) depending on the generational distance from ego.

As can be deduced from the genealogical tree (see Graph 1 in the Appendix), terminological merging takes place at the +2G level (i.e., two generations above ego), –1G, and –2G (i.e., the two generations below the ego). Thus, for the grandparent's generation, just one term of reference exists for both male and female relatives: *pʌ́wúŋ* 'grandparent'. Yet, when addressing one's grandfather, one would say *àṭ̲á*, while *àwɛ́ɛ̀ŋ* is reserved for the grandmother (or any old woman) (see Table 9.4 for all terms of address as related to terms of reference). One generation below ego, we likewise find just one referential term *cíbʌ̀* 'child'. And lastly, two generations below ego, one lexeme *kùwʌ̀wúŋ* 'grandchild' is again used, comprising both genders. We will return to the contexts of use of these terms in more detail below.

Terminological distinctions obtain at the level +1G, i.e., the parent's generation, as well as the generation of ego. With regard to the former, first, two terms

Table 9.4 Terms of address in relation to terms of reference

Terms of address	Meaning	Terms of reference
pàpáŋ	'father (also other men of father's age)'	*wáyèn*
áyà *	'mother (also other women of mother's age)'	*wèɛ́n*
àṭá	'grandfather'	*pʌ́wúŋ*
àwɛ́ɛ̀ŋ	'grandmother'	
mʌ́múŋ léɛ́ní	'maternal uncle'	*mʌ́múŋ*
ŋʌ́↓ lúŋ léɛ́ní	'sister's child (reciprocal of *mʌmuŋ*)'	*ŋʌ́↓ lúŋ*
(proper name)	'sibling, cousin'	*kwàán, lùwí, kínʌ̀*
(proper name)	'child; son, daughter'	*cíbʌ̀*
(proper name)	'grandchild (male and female)'	*kùwʌ̀wúŋ*

* As one of the anonymous reviewers kindly let us know, the term *áyà* could possibly be related to the western Sudanese Arabic *iya*, which is often used as a term of address, comparable to 'mum'.

are distinguished based exclusively on gender, *wáyèn* (m) and *wèɛ́n* (f). The term *wáyèn* does not only refer to the biological father, but also designates father's brothers and male cousins. Ultimately, all male relatives of *kwɔ̀ɔ́* 'father's side of the family' of the same generation as the biological father can be denoted with this term. Here it is possible to specify the relative age by adding *kɔ́kwɔ́lɔ́ŋ* 'old' or *kɔ́tɛ́ʔɛ́n* 'young' to refer to the older or younger *kwàán* 'brother' (more accurate: 'sibling of the same gender') of the father. When addressing the father, the child would say *pàpáŋ* 'father' rather than *wáyèn*. The usage of *pàpáŋ* can be pragmatically extended so that the same word is used when addressing other men of one's father's age. Similarly, *wèɛ̀n* refers not only to the biological mother, but also to all the sisters and female cousins of the father, as well as to mother's sisters and female cousins, and can be specified again by referring to the relative age (see Example (4), spoken by a male person).

(4) *wèɛ́n léɛ́n=í ˈkɔ́-tɛ́ʔɛ́n=íí=ˈlí úˈkùún,*
mother POSS1SG=SEL SG-small=SEL.LV=FOC.SG 3P:gave.birth
kú=lùwì lɛ̀ɛ̀n=íí=lí=ìŋ
NEG=sister.of.male POSS1SG=SEL.LV=FOC.SG=NEG
'it is my aunt (lit.: a younger sister of the mother) who gave birth, not my sister' (20190120_06) [12]

12. Due to selective marking on *kɔ́tɛ́ʔɛ́n* 'small', it is implied that there is at least one older sister, if not more (for more information on focus and selective marking see Becker and Schneider-Blum 2020).

To address the mother, the child would use *áyà* 'mother', a term also used for the co-wives of the mother or the mother of friends, as well as for any other older woman of one's mother's age. Alternatively, one would say *wɛ́ɛ́n kààkâ* or *wɛ́ɛ́n kòkúŋ*, i.e., 'mother of the firstborn female' or 'mother of the firstborn male' (for the naming practice based on the sequence of birth, see Section 4.3 on kinship-based reference terms), respectively.[13] *À̱t̪á* may be used for the grandfather, while one can address any old man by using *t̪ɛ̀t̪ɛ̀ŋ*. Still today, one is not allowed to address one's parents by their given name. However, siblings, independent of their age with regard to ego, are addressed by their given names or nicknames.[14]

Mother's brother or male cousin is referred to as *mʌ́múŋ*.[15] As mentioned previously, in former times, it used to be this maternal uncle who passed on his land and wealth, mostly in the form of livestock, to his sister's sons,[16] a custom which is not practiced anymore. Even now, though, when the mother of a child dies, the latter is often cared for by one of his mother's brothers (as evidenced by an excerpt from a biographical story of a Tima man; see Example (5) for the relevant part), but ultimately, anybody from either side of the family can take responsibility and raise the motherless child.

(5) *wɛ́ɛ́n lɛ́ɛ́n=í pɨ́nʌ́ … ɔ́wɔ́t-í mɨ́nʌ̀ m̀=bʌ̀yííl, mák*
mother POSS1SG=SEL 3SG 3P:took-TR ERG3SG ERG=SG:providence then
ì-mʌ̀mùŋ lɛ̀ɛ̀n=í ìhìnʌ́ ídí-y-ʌ́ŋ úkùdúú=dʌ̀
PL-mother.brother POSS1SG=SEL 3PL 3P:walked-EP-VENT 3P:took=1SG
'my mother, she … was taken by providence (i.e., she died), then my uncles from her side came and took me' (20200201_02_HKD 006-009)

The reciprocal term for *mʌ́múŋ* 'maternal uncle' is *ŋʌ́↓lúŋ* (pl.: *ìŋʌ́↓lúŋ*) 'male's sister's child'. The sheer existence of the two terms *mʌ́múŋ* and *ŋʌ́↓lúŋ* and the absence of equivalent terms for 'paternal uncle/aunt' or 'female's sister's/brother's

13. Though we would structurally expect a preposition marking direction (incl. possession) preceding *kààkâ* and *kòkúŋ*, it is not found with either modifier.

14. Fleming and Slotta (2018), in their investigation into terms of address, find the cross-cultural predominance of this pattern of address, whereby kin terms are employed for generations above ego (due to the honorific character of these lexical expressions), and proper names for the younger generation ("anti-honorifics").

15. The fact that the root for 'maternal uncle' is shared among different ethnic groups from different language phyla within and outside the Nuba Mountains "points towards contact with languages outside the area", as Dimmendaal (2015, p. 42) hypothesizes, considering data from the Nilo-Saharan languages Teso (Nilotic), Murle (Surmic), and Fur. See also Manfredi (2022) on his observations on cognate terms for 'maternal uncle'.

16. This information was provided by Günter Dabitz (1994) and was confirmed by the *ùmúrìk* elders (see also Meerpohl 2012, p. 124).

child' is already an indication of the special relationship between these two parties, even if this relationship was of greater significance in the past than nowadays. However, the strong and intimate relationship of children to *mʌ́múŋ* 'maternal uncle' and also to *kɔ̀dàà* 'maternal side of the family' still shows up now in the way they are allowed to move freely in the house of *mʌ́múŋ* and generally in the houses of the maternal relatives. As we were told, one may take anything there without even asking, in contrast to what is possible on the father's side of the family.

In the ego generation (G_0; see Graphs 1 and 2 in the appendix), we find a terminological distinction based on the criterion of relative gender (described by Murdock (1968) as "The Melanesian or Relative Sex Type"; see Section 1). Three terms are distinguished at this level. The lexeme *kwàán* refers to a sibling of the same gender and hence designates the brother of a male or the sister of a female. For siblings of the opposite gender, two expressions are used: whereas *lùwí* refers to the sister of a male person (see Example (4), spoken by a male), *kínʌ̀* refers to the brother of a female person (see Example (6)). The differentiation between the three terms *lùwí*, *kínʌ̀*, and *kwàán* seems to be on the decline, with *kwàán* becoming the general term for 'sibling'.

Though the English kinship term 'sibling' is used here as a quasi-translational equivalent for *kwàán*, some further notes are in order to explain its use. The lexeme not only designates the child of one's own biological father and mother, but also any person of the same generation if their parents are related by blood (i.e., ego's paternal and maternal cousins), as well as the children of the father's co-wives. Although a special term for 'father's sister's child/mother's brother's child' could be elicited, i.e., *ɲárùlúŋ*, it is not commonly used anymore. Furthermore, in a looser way, one may refer to anybody as *kwàán* 'sibling', as long as the person belongs to the same clan, even if this person is a member of a different ethnic group, such as the Katla and the Julut; this again indicates the historical relationship between the Tima on the one hand and the other two on the other hand. Finally, *kwàán* 'sibling' is also used to express a close connection to a friend of roughly the same age.

One generation below ego, again, there is no terminological distinction with regard to gender. For both 'son' and 'daughter', the term *cíbʌ̀* is used. Likewise, the lexeme for 'grandchild' *kùwʌ̀wúŋ* (pl.: *ìwʌ̀wúŋ*) is not gender-differentiated.[17] However, if necessary, one may specify the gender by adding *kɔ̀máádɔ̀h* 'male' or *kùwúnèn* 'female' to the term, as demonstrated in (6) (see Figure 9.2 for the stimulus for this sentence).

17. Nor are those lexemes which refer to young children up to seven years old, which are *kárbáánà* 'baby, infant (up to one year)', *kápɔ̀ɔ́k* 'toddler (1–2 years)', and *kɨ̀címbʌ́↓rí* 'child (2–7 years)'.

(6) *c-íbʌ́=ˈnʌ́ kú-wúnén kí-ˈtɛ́ʔɛ́ŋ=ná cèn-cíh-í ìhì;*
SG-child=DEM.PROX SG-female SG-small=DEM.PROX 3IPFV-milk-HT milk
k-ínʌ̀ yàkwèɛ̀-y=íí cí-mîì
SG-brother.of.female hold:TR-EP=APP SG-goat
'the small girl is milking; her brother is holding the goat for her'
(05.03.10_08_21.wav)



Figure 9.2 Stimulus for Example (6) (2007-10-01)

The word *íbʌ̀* 'children' (sg.: *cíbʌ̀*) not only refers to one's own offspring but also to all the children of one's brothers, sisters, and cousins (with the exception of *ŋʌ́ˡ lúŋ* 'male's sister's child'). In fact, *cíbʌ̀* (sg) /*íbʌ̀* (pl) may be used for any children, whether blood-related or not. To explicitly express that one's own children are meant, the possessive pronominal is added, e.g., when asking about the number of children a person has.

(7) *íbʌ̀ yámɛ̀ɛ́ yààŋ=ɛ́?*
children how.many LOC2SG=FOC.PL
'how many children do you have? (2011_06_30_5_08)

A possible answer would be:

(8) *íbʌ̀ ìhwàáy=yɛ̀ɛ́n / íbʌ́ lɛ́ɛ́n=í ìhwàáy*
children three=LOC1SG children POSS1SG=SEL three
'I have three children' / 'my children are three' (07.04.09, 2_08-18/19)

Possessive phrases are also commonly used when a woman expresses the intention to go to her parents' home. In that case, she would say *céndííkɨ́dʌ́ lɔ́ɔ́ ówáyén lɛ́ɛ́ní* 'I'm going to my father's home' or *céndííkɨ́dʌ́ lɔ́ɔ́ ówɛ́ɛ́n lɛ́ɛ́ní / céndííkɨ́dʌ́ lɔ́ɔ́ îìlwààn lɛ̀ɛ̀ní* 'I'm going to my mother's / mothers' home'. When just saying

céndíík̚dʌ́ lɔ́ɔ́ 'I'm going home', it is understood that she would go to the place where she lives, i.e., the house of her immediate family.

Generally, kinship terms are not obligatorily combined with possessive pronominals when referring to a person (which is nevertheless the case in Example (5) above). Thus, terms like *wɛ̀ɛ́n* 'mother' and *kwàán* 'sibling' may occur without expressing the relationship, if the latter is known or understood from the context, as in the two examples from mythical stories, (9) and (10).

(9) *wʌ̀ wɛ́ɛ́n kɨ̀mɨ́nʌ̀=lí*
and mother snake=FOC.SG
'and the mother is a snake' (03_AliTia_2 020)

(10) *ìhìnʌ́ ná kwàán*
3PL with sibling
'he and his brother (lit.: they with the sibling)' (08_Hamad_1 005)

While 'father', 'mother', 'grandfather', and 'grandmother' have address terms different from the reference terms (see Table 9.4), this is not the case for the 'maternal uncle' and the reciprocal 'sister's child'. Thus, when addressing the maternal uncle and – vice versa – for him when addressing his sister's child, the possessive pronoun is invariably used. The child would always say *mʌ́múŋ lɛ́ɛ́↓ní* 'my uncle' when talking to him, and the uncle would say *ŋʌ́↓lúŋ lɛ́ɛ́↓ní* 'my sister's child'.

4.2 Affinal kin terminology

Expressions of affinal kin terms are comparatively less differentiated, and of the few that could be collected, even fewer are still in use (for all kinship terms concerning relationship by marriage, see Table 9.5). Thus, originally, the term which covers all in-laws of previous generations is *ìhʌ́hʌ́↓múŋ* (sg.: *hʌ́hʌ́↓múŋ*; see Example (11)). Those belonging to the same generation and those who are younger are called *yʌ́↓dúŋ* (sg.: *kʌ́↓dúŋ*). However, the latter term is unknown to most Tima, even to some of the elders; instead, *hʌ́hʌ́↓múŋ* may be used when referring to a younger in-law.

(11) *ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́, hʌ́hʌ́múŋ=wɛ́ɛ́ŋ ídìŋɛ̀ ɲɛ́ɛ̀ tɔ̀ʔàŋ*
oh in.law=DEM.REF 3P:climbed:TR PREP high
'oh, that in-law (referring to the mother-in-law) climbed up to the top'
(03_AliTia_2 037/038)

Special terms to refer to one's parents-in-law or children-in-law seem not to exist. It is still common among the *ùmúrìk* not to address one's parents-in-law by their name, but to use the term which the wife or husband uses, i.e., either *áyà* for the

mother-in-law, or *pàpáŋ* for the father-in-law, which are the same names as used for the blood relatives. Other possible address terms for the parents-in-law are *àn̪tá* (which is also used for the grandfather), *àwáyèn* for the 'father-in-law' and *àwɛ́ɛ̀n* for the 'mother in-law'.[18] The affectionate relationship which is hereby displayed goes in the opposite direction, too: the elders address their new family member as *cíbʌ̀*, i.e., 'child'.

Table 9.5 Affinal kin terms

***t̪àmáá dùmùrík* 'Tima language'**	**Attempts at English translational equivalents**
cɛ́ɽɔ́r	'brother-in-law' (man to man relationship; their wives are sisters)
hʌ́hʌ́↓ múŋ	'in-law, previous generation'
kʌ̀↓ dúŋ	'in-law, same generation or next'
màmì	'co-wife, husband's brother's wife'
pálì	'wife'
t̪ɔ̀máádɔ̀h	'husband'

Certain restrictions regulate daily routines in a household. Although husband and wife are generally allowed to eat together, even from one plate, in the presence of visitors, men and women eat separately. A woman cannot eat with the husband's father (her father-in-law) from one plate, but the two of them eating within sight of each other is possible. By comparison, before a groom and his family present a gift to the girl's family, he and his kin are not allowed to eat food which has been prepared by the family of the girl's mother. After the donation, the man is allowed to take food from them and eat within sight of them, but not from the same plate.

Postmarital residence is patrilocal. A married couple move to the man's compound, where they will live in their own house. Traditionally, neighbors and family together build the house for the newly married.[19] According to the old tra-

18. Clearly, the two terms *àwáyèn* and *àwɛ́ɛ̀n* are composed of a morpheme *à* and the lexemes for 'father' and 'mother'. Thus, the other address terms, *áyà* (but note the high tone on *a*), *àn̪tá,* and *àwɛ́ɛ̀ŋ* could possibly also be compounds. However, first of all, it is not clear which of the two otherwise attested meanings of *à* this morpheme represents, that of the source marker or that of 2SG in a verbal context, or whether it has a third unknown reference. Second, while *wáyèn* and *wɛ́ɛ̀n* are independently attested, this is not the case for **yà, *t̪á, and *wɛ́ɛ̀ŋ*. Thus, we decided to leave these address terms unanalyzed.

19. This 'joint work' *kwàrt̪áŋ* is still practiced, not only when it comes to house-building, but also, for instance, when harvesting and threshing (see also Meerpohl 2012, p. 171).

ditions, a newly married woman is confined for a whole month to the house that she and her husband share. She is not allowed to have contact with her husband's family, not even to eat their food. Instead, her own mother would take care of her diet. After that month, she would go back to her mother's house for one week, and is from then on free to eat in her husband's house.

After her death, the married woman will be buried in the graveyard of her husband's clan (even if the couple have divorced).[20] If the husband of a woman dies, the 'widow', *kɔ̀dɔ́mây*, is supposed to stay alone for about two years.[21] After the appropriate period of mourning, she is free to marry again, usually somebody from the deceased husband's family (in this case, a bride-price is unnecessary). In general, if a person dies, the family are not allowed to light a fire for up to five days and are thus prevented from cooking. They are provided with food by other families.

In the old days, the Tima followed exogamous rules of marriage, i.e., one did not marry within one's own clan. People agree that they simply know who is blood-related, since the community is small enough. Nowadays (since the introduction of Islam), men may marry girls from their own family, i.e., they are allowed to marry their parent's sibling's daughter. Nevertheless, some women, at least, still feel uncomfortable about the suggestion of marrying within their own clans, which was prohibited until recently. People are not allowed to marry the offspring of their (biological) father and their mother's co-wife.

Polygamy was part of the tradition of the Tima long before their conversion to Islam. The long-lasting civil war leading to a lack of men even reinforced the acceptance of polygamy in order to "make the ethnic group of Tima survive", as one Tima woman expressed it. A woman refers to her co-wives as *ìmàmì* (sg.: *màmì*), a term which also designates the wives of her husband's brothers. The quality of the relationship between co-wives naturally depends on many circumstances. Usually, if the co-wives are on good terms, their children are close to each other as well. Children know who their biological mother is, since they sleep in their mother's house when small. The mother is also the one who feeds and washes them. It may happen, for whatever reason, that the mother cannot breast-feed her child. In that case, her sister may take over or, in case of need, some other woman who maintains a good relationship with the mother. Children's education, especially as they get older, is the responsibility of all the people in the household and beyond.

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20. In case of her having remarried, she would be buried in the graveyard of her latest husband.

21. People claim that due to polygamy widowers are not found.

The family's livestock belongs to both husband and wife. In case of a divorce, it will be divided: those animals that the woman brought into the marriage belong to the woman, while the husband is the owner of those animals which he acquired himself.

4.3 Kinship-based naming practices

The connection between mothers and daughters is said to be much tighter than between mothers and sons or the father and his children. Nevertheless, children (irrespective of gender) are named with reference to their father's side, i.e., the second name is the biological father's name. One may add as many of the forefathers' names as can be remembered. Usually, people can recite four to five names. In former times, the *dùmùrík* name referring to one's place in the sequence of births was popular (see Table 9.6), but these names have now become old-fashioned and are rarely used, with the exception of the name for the firstborn. Instead, Arabic names have become fashionable. However, in stories about the past, one or another traditional name may still occur. For example, Hamad Thuutu mentions a certain *ṯ̲ùṯ̲ûŋ* 'fourth-born male' (09_Hamad_2 044). Nowadays, some of the young are also addressed by the name of their grandfather, who still carries a traditional name. In this way, some of the old names are still in use, if not necessarily bound to their original meaning.[22]

The first-born boy had an outstanding ritual responsibility. In former times, he received a headband as an outer sign of him being the eldest son, and was thus called *cí˩ bá kòkómbér* 'headband child'. Although the headband is no longer part of the tradition, the first-borns' tasks continue to the present day. Their responsibility is revealed, for example, when some family member dies: they take on the task of covering the dead person with soil. They also have to refrain from eating from the moment they learn about the death of a person until the end of the funeral. Nowadays, both first-born girls and boys perform this task.

The eldest daughter (of which the variations *àká ~ kàkááŋ ~ kààkâ* are attested), having grown up enough to be able to take on some responsibility, helps the mothers in the household, becoming the one who fetches water and cares for

22. For further naming strategies in the African context see Dimmendaal (2022). Thus, circumstances of birth may be reflected in the naming of a child, a strategy we also find in Tima. For instance, one of our main consultants, whose official name was Nasraldeen Abdalla Korsha, was generally referred to as *Àmbɔ́ɔ̀l*, lit.: 'he has been lost', because his mother gave birth to him after a long time of being childless. *Kwárṡn̪táŋ* 'fate' was the name of a child whose mother died in childbirth. *Khàwáájà*, the Sudanese Arabic word for 'white foreigner' (see under *khawaaja* in Tamis and Persson 2011), was chosen for a boy who was born during the stay of some European visitors in the Tima area, thereby showing that the strategy survives the individual names.

Table 9.6 *dúmúrìk*-names with regard to the sequence of birth

English	*t̪àmáá dúmúrìk* 'Tima language'	
	Male	**Female**
'first-born'	*kòkúŋ*	*àká ~ kàkááŋ ~ kààkâ*
'second-born'	*kàpîŋ*	*ìt̪âŋ*
'third-born'	*t̪ìyâŋ*	*cɛ́cɛ̀ŋ*
'fourth-born'	*t̪ùt̪ûŋ*	*cíŋʌ́ʌ̀*
'fifth-born'	*ʌ̀kwʌ́ŋ*	*kwʌ́kwʌ̀ŋ*
'sixth-born'	*kànó*	*ʌcîì ~ ʌ̀kîì*
'seventh-born'	*t̪àhóŋ*	*t̪àhâŋ*
'eighth-born'	*kànôŋ*	*kànô*

younger siblings, two tasks which may even be combined (see Figure 9.3). Boys are meant to help with the livestock. From the age when children become useful helpers in the household or on the farm onwards, the terms for them differ according to gender and are associated with their tasks. Thus, a girl between 7 and 15 years is called *kwàdôl* 'babysitter'. A boy of that age is a *kùmún kòháàl* 'small shepherd' (see Figure 9.4). If not attending school, e.g., during the holidays, the latter spends weeks among herders, in camps which are often far away from home.



Figure 9.3 At the water pump (2010-03-04)

The youngest child (*cíbʌ̀ kùdú*) stays with the parents to care for them when they get old. If the lastborn is a girl, she would not marry, because she would otherwise have to leave her parents' home (see marriage conditions in Section 4.2). Occasionally, it may happen that the parents don't feel well treated by this carer.



Figure 9.4 Shepherd boy (2010-10-14)

In that case, or due to other circumstances, they may decide to go and live with one of the other children.

Also, as is the case with a small girl we first met in the Nuba Mountains, the first granddaughter may be sent to live in her grandparents' house, if the latter and her parents do not live in the same place. Again, this is practiced in order for the grandparents to have help in the household. If possible, the girl's parents and her siblings may follow her to the elderly people's place.

The attitude that a large number of children guarantees a worry-free old age, which was widespread until recently, is slowly on the decline. Many of the younger generation value a good education. Education and family life are not seen as a contradiction in terms, but family life needs to be adjusted to reconcile both.

5. Conclusion

This paper has aimed to summarize our current knowledge on the kinship system in Tima. We have tried to incorporate knowledge of the recent past, i.e., we considered what the older generation remembered from the past and what they perceive as their traditions, but also looked at life with all its changes in the present days. Certainly, there is no clear-cut boundary between the past and the present, but old practices reach into the present, enriched, altered, or replaced by others. Our observations concentrated mainly on the clan system and the use of relational kin terms (Sections 3 and 4). Though we know that certain clan names and terms such as a separate lexeme for 'maternal uncle' are shared by neighboring communities, be they related to the Tima or not, we did not engage with the question of whether some of the practices described for Tima were – and maybe still

are – shared by these communities. Thus, the ways in which genetic and areal features affect cultural practices still remains to be investigated.

The influence of Sudanese Arabic as well as the Islamic religion has also been pointed out several times in our study. Despite this impact, the Tima people continue some of their traditions down to the present day. Feeling obliged, on the one hand, to follow Islamic rules and on the other to preserve their own culture, people try to manage the balancing act between the two. The traditional kinship terminology (in a wider sense, i.e., including the old name-giving) is still partly in use, and many terms are practiced every single day. A combination of Islamic names like Baballah or Fatima with traditional names like *ʈìyâŋ* 'third-born male' or *kààkâ* 'first-born female' shows that the divide can be bridged. Quite a number of the Tima people are highly motivated to preserve traditions while at the same time following the rules of Islam, and they put a lot of effort in convincing others not to give up their mother tongue.[23] Of course, this is no easy endeavor, since Arabic is rapidly spreading as the *lingua franca* in the Nuba Mountains and pragmatic issues may be prioritized over ideological ones.

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23. However, some of the elderly Tima are much more connected to the traditions. For example, Ali Tiya († 2015), who was the last master of ceremonies of the holy place Awang in the center of the Tima area, strongly expressed his desire for the Tima to cling to the old beliefs and not to let customs and language vanish through the Arabic influence. He rejects the attitude of those Tima who prefer to give up on their own traditions even though they will never be able to become like Arabs. He concludes his harangue with the words: *ŋààŋá kúmúrìk; áàcááŋáŋ yáŋ̰tì yàrɜ̀kéyò kɨ̀mámíí lááŋí àkɔ̀lóŋ wʌ̀ kàrɜ̀kéyò kɨ̀mámìì cùkùdùʔìk, dáámé àndíyààk ŋ́kárɜ́kéyòyé* 'you are Tima; if you are among Arabs your nose is big, the Arab nose is thin, how can you become like an Arab?' (Videos 10.2007_Audio/13_AliTia_4 086-088).

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Abbreviations

1, 2, 3	person
~	varies with
AP	antipassive
APP	applicative
ASS	associate
DEM	demonstrative
EP	epenthetic element
ERG	ergative
EXCL	exclusive
FOC	focus marker
FUT	future
IPFV	imperfective
LOC	locative
LV	lengthened vowel
NEG	negation
P	person marker (undifferentiated)
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PREP	preposition
PROX	proximal
REF	referential
REP	reported
SEL	selective
SG	singular
TR	transitive
VENT	ventive

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Appendix

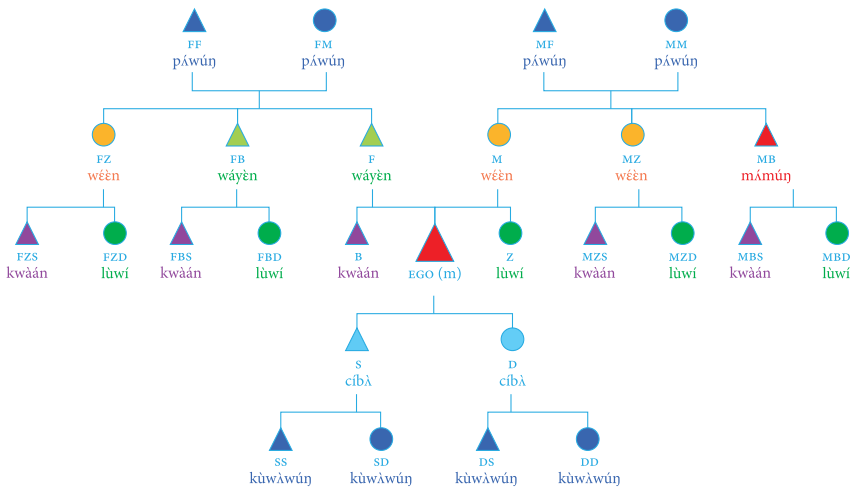


Figure 1. Relational kin terms (generation 0 terms apply to male EGO; see Figure 2 for female EGO))

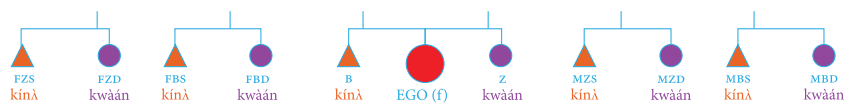


Figure 2. Generation 0 of female EGO
(F – father; M – mother; Z – sister; B – brother; S – son; D – daughter)

CHAPTER 10

Tagoi birth names

A historical change from African to Islamic/Arabic names

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Among many groups of the Nuba Mountains, personal names denote birth order, i.e., whether a child is the first, second, third, etc., among their siblings. Tagoi, a Niger-Congo language spoken in the north-eastern Nuba Mountains, shows such a naming system. Tagoi children receive another name, used in official documents and associated with certain birth practices. Over time, these non-order-based names have been adapted to an Islamic/Arabic naming system based on days of the week. Birth-order names were retained for some time after Islamization and Arabicization, but factors including urbanization and education have led to the gradual loss of both types of names. This paper describes the Tagoi naming system in its sociohistorical context and considers these names from linguistic and anthropological perspectives.

Keywords: naming system, birth name, non-order name, birth-order name, day name, Islamization, Arabization, Arabicization

1. Introduction

The study of birth names or anthroponyms belongs to the field of onomastics, which deals with the study of proper names, including their forms and uses. Names are forms belonging to a universal semantic domain and are generally classified as proper nouns from a linguistic/grammatical point of view. In Africa, names "are contextualized as social action and practices only within the culture in which they are embedded" (Mensah, 2017, cited in Mensah & Rowan, 2019, p. 157). Sociolinguistic and anthropological studies on traditional African birth names assume that they are locally constituted, culturally specific and based on socio-cultural contexts. As Mensah and Rowan (2019, p. 157–158) argue, in the African context "anthroponymic systems provide prominent sites for the interac-

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tion between language, culture and society. Personal names are crucial cultural capital that reveal essential information which transmits relevant ontological and epistemological values." African personal names, thus, reflect enormous social, communicative and historical significance in African cultural and spiritual spaces.

The languages of the world offer an enormous degree of variation in anthroponyms (e.g., surnames, physical qualifiers, clan names) linked to different naming traditions (Agyekum, 2006, p. 207; Quint & Manfredi, 2020, p. 21). In general, anthroponyms not only express the existence of an individual and his or her belonging to various communities/groups (family, clan, religious or ethnic group, linguistic group, etc.), but they also identify the given individual and link him or her to social spaces. For this reason, naming practices always follow rules that are socially transmitted. Tagoi people, for example, are linked via their names to the social value of order, since they are identified according to their birth order in the family. To the Tagoi, whether a child was born first or second or third, etc., is (or was) of high significance. They therefore adopted special names for males and females based on the birth order.

Personal names are of course also subject to change. Name choices are influenced by changes in the socio-cultural settings in which they are adopted. Yoruba personal names, for instance, have been influenced by the impact of Western culture, Christianity, and Islam, since Yoruba people began to adopt Western Christian names or Islamic names (Fakuade, Friday-Otun, & Adeosun, 2019, p. 251). In addition, name change among Yoruba is required as a condition of accepting a new religion, since most African names are "condemned as fetishist … or diabolical" (Mensah & Rowan, 2019, p. 160). The new name, therefore, serves to index a new faith and a "spiritual path that fits the essential self" (Mensah & Rowan, 2019, p. 160). Similar processes take place in other parts of the world: among the Java people of Indonesia, for instance, a huge number of Arabic names have recently replaced Javanese native names. In their naming choices, the Javanese prefer to highlight the religious dimension of their identity as Muslim, rather than the ethnic dimension as Javanese (Aribowo & Herawati 2016).

Yoruba and Javanese personal name changes explicitly show how cultural contact affects naming practices. This phenomenon can also be found among the Tagoi when they converted to Islam and had close contact with Arabic culture. The history of contact between Tagoi and Arabic and Islamic culture dates back to the 15th century, when the Tegali kingdom was founded (see Section 3). The introduction of Islamic preachers, who early on accessed the north-eastern part of the Nuba Mountains and Tegali kingdom, and their establishment of social ties through intermarriage with Tegali people, caused a rapid spread of Islam and the Arabic language and culture among the people of the Kingdom. Socio-cultural factors (i.e., Islam, Arabization, urbanization, education, etc.) were responsible for

the changes in the naming system and practices of Tagoi people at different stages in time. These changes occurred gradually and resulted in a transition from a dual system of non-order official and birth-order names to a single system of Islamic/Arabic names, as will be detailed in the following sections and subsections.

1.1 Birth-order names in cross-linguistic perspective

The practice of determining the names of children by gender and the order in which they come in the family has been widespread among many Nuba groups in the Nuba Mountains region of Sudan and among some ethnic groups in other sub-Saharan African countries. In Kenya, among the people of Mbere (speaking Kīmbeere, a north-eastern Bantu language) and among the Akan-speaking people of Southern Ghana (Bono Twi language), a child's name is constructed to reflect his/her gender and order of birth (Mensah et al., 2019, p. 212). The Ibibio, people who speak a Benue-Congo language of Coastal south-eastern Nigeria (Efik-Ibibio language), have the parallel practice of giving personal names by gender and order of birth (Boluwaduro, 2019). Similarly, among the Mbube, a Benue–Congo-speaking people of south-eastern Nigeria (Mbe language), names contain descriptive information about gender and order of birth (Akung & Abang 2019, p. 296).

In the birth-order system, the number of ranks and the meaning associated with them differ from one culture to another. In Machame Chagga (a Bantu language of Tanzania), for instance, male and female children in a family are bestowed order names ('home name') up to three children. The three names are associated with the father's or mother's ancestors. The first-born female and the first-born male are given names which refer to paternal grandfathers, e.g., *Nkamasawe* 'wife of Masawe' and *Masawe* 'hailstorm' respectively. The second-born child is given a name which refers to mothers' ancestors. *Manka* 'mother of wife' is a second-born daughter and *Ndeanka* 'father of wife' is a second-born son. The third-born daughter is given the name *Kyekeue* 'grandmother's name' which is associated with paternal descent. The third-born (last) son is *Nkuukeyen* 'head of the family' since he inherits both the Chagga home-garden and the father's name (Lusekelo & Muro, 2018, p. 68–69). Among the Efik-Ibibio people, personal names are also given denoting birth order. They similarly have three names for three positions (for male and female) which are known as 'house names' (Ansa & Okon, 2014). The names here, however, carry different cultural meanings, as they indicate people's responsibilities regarding certain cultural expectations, including the relationship of the name-bearers with their other siblings. For example, in Ibibio, first, second and third daughters are distinguished in terms of marriage rituals. Separate marriage rituals are observed for each daughter in the family due

to different sacred kinship bonds. The ritualistic traditional practices for *Ádiághá* 'first daughter' would be different from *Nwà* 'second daughter' (Charles, 1996, cited in Boluwaduro, 2019, p. 237). Birth-order names in some cultures are given to convey socio-cultural values and norms beyond that of just the position and rank in the family.

Among the Nuba of the central region of the Nuba Mountains, birth order names are reported to have male and female variants that indicate the child's rank beyond three positions. MacDiarmid (1927, p. 226) reported six boys' names and six girls' names which are always given to the children at birth. For example, a first-born boy is *Kana* and a first-born girl is *Kwame*.[1] Interestingly, two boys of the same name never call each other by that name, but always refer to each other as *Ita*, which has no other meaning. Similarly, with girls, or with a boy and a girl, having corresponding names requires use of this special form. For example, a boy called *Kwalo* (third-born) and a girl called *Gwuce* (third-born) would always call one another *Ita*. Similar systems of naming people at birth are found in other Nuba Mountain languages (Tima: Schneider-Blum, 2013; Lumun: Smits, 2017; Kwalib: Quint & Manfredi, 2020; Dagig: Vanderelst, 2016; Tagom: Aldawi & Nashid, 2018).

Tagoi, as to be discussed in this paper, shows a similar system of birth-order names in terms of the number of ranks and their meaning. Tagoi people give names to male and female children up to the seventh rank, which is considered the maximum rank among the other neighboring groups, after Tima which ranks up to the eighth child. Quint and Manfredi (2020) assumed the existence of birth-order systems among genetically different groups of languages in the Nuba Mountains to be due to proximity and contact between these groups. In order to test this assumption, they compared the formal structures of birth names in a number of languages that belong to different language families but are geographically close. The languages in the comparison represented different language groups in the Nuba Mountains, including only Tagom from the Rashad group. Tagoi, another Rashad language, presents support for Quint and Manfredi's assumption and shows similar formal structures when compared to the closely related languages of Tagom and Kwalib, which Quint and Manfredi included in their study.

1. Note on the orthography: We transcribe Arabic names as they are usually given in English orthography, but with the addition of the IPA symbols for glottal stop, where relevant. We also mark tones on Tagoi names and data where necessary.

1.2 Day-of-the-week names in cross-linguistic perspective

Across Africa, names are also sometimes given in terms of the day of the week (day name) on which a child is born. A system of this kind is found among the Akan people of Ghana. As Agyekum (2006, p. 214) described, this system consists of seven names (male and female) that correspond to the days of the week. Each of these names are derived from a corresponding day of the week; e.g., *Kwadowo* and *Adowa* are used, respectively, for a male and female child born on Monday. These names have their own appellation associated with the behavior of people born on such days. That is, a Monday-born child is supposed to be peaceful and calm. The rest of the names similarly listed have their appellations (Agyekum 2006, p. 215).

In adopting such a system, the Tagoi used it differently. The names are not derived from the name of the weekday and there is no associated appellation drawn on them like those in Akan. They are purely religious/Islamic names corresponding to names of religious notables (prophets and other religious figures) who were thought to be born on those days. The Tagoi day names in this respect follow a system based on religious ideology. The only appellation that might be connected to these names is that each is associated with the religious people who are believed to be born on that day. That is, a male child born on a Monday is always given one version of the Prophet Mohammad's name (*Muhammed*, *Ahmed*, *Mahmuud*, etc.) because the Prophet Mohammad was born on a Monday according to Islamic beliefs. We discuss this system in more detail in Section 8.

Thus, Islamization and Arabization have strongly influenced the naming of people among the Tagoi. They formerly adopted a dual naming system in terms of which they used to give two names to a child, one official and non-order, and the other a birth-order name. Then, under influence of Islamic and Arabic culture, they modified the official non-order names to Islamic/Arabic day-of-the-week names. The latter have recently undergone another change, due to urbanization and education, according to which religious names are given to children with no consideration to the weekday. That is, religious names are retained in naming people, but the system that used to organize them has disappeared. In addition, other non-religious and modern Arabic names are also used instead.

1.3 Outline of this chapter

The present contribution examines how major changes in all aspects of social life resulting from socio-cultural factors (including Islamization, Arabization, Arabicization, urbanization and education) have effected gradual processes of change in Tagoi personal names and the naming system.

The analysis and claims of the paper are based on primary data gathered as part of two ongoing research projects started in 2011 and 2012 and then carried out separately. Fieldwork for both projects was mostly conducted in Khartoum, to which the largest group of Tagoi have recently migrated due to the security threats in their home area. In addition, however, the second author managed to organize two short field trips to the home area of Tagoi in March 2015 and September 2017. The linguistic data in the present contribution were collected from three adult males[2] in different sessions during the period from 2014 to 2022. The birth names were elicited, transcribed and recorded. The anthropologically oriented research utilized group interviews with men and women of different ages with profound knowledge of the history and culture of their own group. Data were also collected through face-to-face individual interviews. Unscheduled brief conversations with men and women of different ages were conducted during occasions for celebration and mourning in Khartoum and the Tagoi area as well. The historical data are based on the oral history of the Tagoi,[3] which has been checked with some comparative historical data written on the Tegali region and other parts of Sudan.

The paper is organized as follows: The Tagoi language and its area are introduced briefly in Section 2. A brief historical account on the origin of Tagoi, their history of contact with Islam and Arabs and their introduction to Islam and adoption of Arabic are presented in Sections 3, 4 and 5, respectively. Section 6 describes the birth-order names. Sections 7 and 8 account for the non-order official names and the Islamic Arabic day-of-the-week names. Section 9 summarizes and concludes the paper.

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2. Thanks are due to al-Gideel Yaseen Bushara, Abdelgadir Ahmed and Ahmed Bosh, the principal informants of the linguistic data in this paper.

3. The historical accounts in this paper are based on a version of oral history that is common among the Tagoi and is narrated by informants of different ages and from different social strata. No other versions of this history were touched on during the prolonged fieldwork. Hardly any documents were available to cast light on the history of Tagoi. The documents that related these historical accounts were burnt in 1942 in a lightning strike on the home of king Hamdan Jaburi Jeelee (1933–1968), the father of the late king Muhammed Ahmed (1968–2015), the former kings of Tagoi (mentioned by king Muhammed Ahmed Hamdan in a group interview, Khartoum, 24/11/2012).

2. Tagoi language and area

Tagoi, along with Tagom or Tegali, constitute two language clusters of the branch Rashad of the Niger-Congo family (Stevenson, 1956; Schadeberg, 1981).[4] They are spoken in the area west of Jebal Tegali and Jebal Rashad near Rashad town in the north-east of the Nuba Mountains in Sudan. The speakers of Tagoi are estimated at 13,000 people (Simons & Fennig, 2018). Speakers of Tagoi are also found in a number of Sudanese urban centers, including Khartoum.

The area of Tagoi, as Map 10.1 below shows (source: Ali, 2017, p. 90), takes the shape of an irregular rectangle stretching over some 50km² from north to south and angled in a slightly northwesterly direction. It includes seventeen villages distributed from the north to the south starting from Abu Karshoola in the north to Faydh Um Abdalla and Miteymirah in the south.[5]

3. The history of Tagoi origin: An oral tradition perspective

In this and the following sections, we give a brief account on the history of Tagoi and their contact with Islam and Arabic culture. This will help to understand the gradual changes that Tagoi personal names have undergone through time.

Like Tegali, the remote history of Tagoi basically originated from oral traditions narrated by elites and accepted by the ordinary people. Their speculations are based on their contemporary experiences and the memories of a more recent past. Therefore, the intellectual history conveyed by the founding stories must be set in the context of their history from the late eighteenth century through the early twentieth century (Ewald, 1985, p. 267).

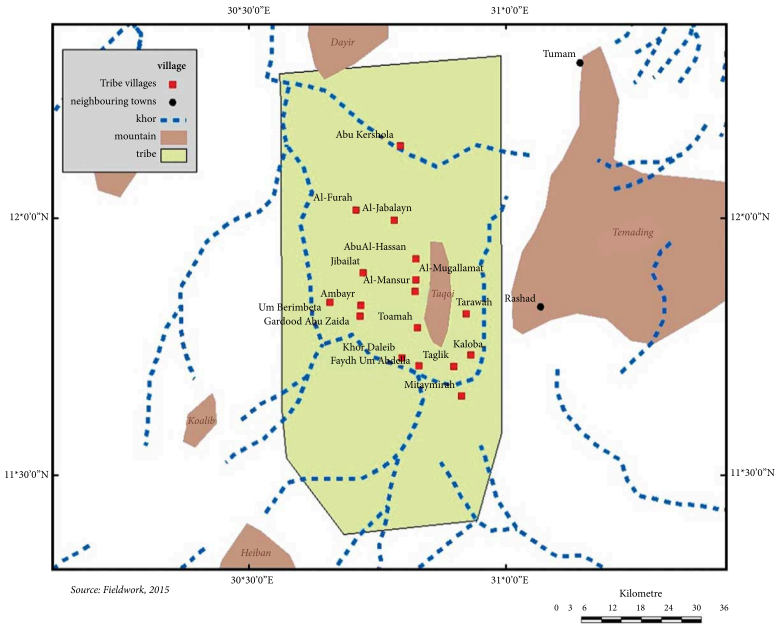
The Tagoi recount a number of stories about their origin.[6] However, the most commonly recounted tale, which portrays the historical events comparatively, places the origin of Tagoi with a small group of Muslim Funj (also recognized as

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4. Tagoi was classified by Greenberg (1966) as a Kordofanian language of the Tegali group. In 1981 this classification was revised by Schadeberg, who renamed the group Rashad, including the languages of Rashad, Tegali, Tumale and Tagoi. Its genetic status as a Kordofanian language has been questioned by Dimmendaal (2009), although this author does accept the affiliation of Tagoi and the cluster it belongs to, Rashad, to the Niger-Congo phylum.

5. According to a recent boundary demarcation imposed by the Sudan Government in South Kordofan State, the Tagoi Area is part of Abu Kershola Locality, and is surrounded by the localities of Al-Rahad, Um Rawabah, Al-Abbasiyya, Rashad, Haiban, Dellami, and Habila. It is also surrounded by a number of tribal groups (collectively named Nubas), such as Daeir, Tegalians, Tiras, Heibans, Otoros, Kortala Nubians and Kwalibs (Ali 2016: 2).

6. See Ali (2017) for more details.



Map 10.1 Tagoi area

Muslim Nubians who were probably speaking Arabic) known as Unsab, themselves descended from a Funj grandmother who married a stranger (Spaulding, 1985). They established a kingdom in Sinnar between 1650 and 1750. The kingdom was known by a name based on the ruling group 'Funj Kingdom'. It extended over lands from Dongola to Ethiopia and from the Red Sea into Kordofan, and exacted tributes from the neighboring southern lands of Kordofan and Fazughli and from the Shilluk (Spaulding, 1985). Later the Funj/Unsab dynasty was overthrown in a coup that took place in about 1718 and was exiled from Sinnar to the north-eastern Nuba Mountains. The exile took shape during the reign of the first Tagoi king "Kundan" (1726–1751). After settlement in the Nuba Montains, the Funj/Unsab intermarried with inhabitants of the north-eastern part of the Mountains. In the new homeland they moulded a distinctive group that shared the culture of the neighboring groups with whom they share similar languages.[7] The Tagoi founded a kingdom and began to have direct contact with the Islamic world, and their lives started to undergo a number of changes during the reign of King Jaburi I (1828–1851) in the form of serious conversions to Islam and the Arabization process.

7. Tagoi have a language with class-prefixes and a concord system and considerable Arabic influences. It is assumed by Stevenson to be acquired from neighboring class-prefix languages (Stevenson, 1962, p. 122–125).

4. History of contact with Islam and Arabs

In order to understand why the naming system of Tagoi altered, and to reveal the factors behind this change, we need to go back and give an account of the history of Tagoi contact with Islam and Arab culture.

The history of Tagoi cannot be split from the history of the Tegali kingdom, which was founded in the 15th century. A story about an Arab immigrant who converted local people to Islam and founded a patrilineal dynasty was one of the most important stories for Tegali people's claims about their origin (Elles, 1935, p. 267). Since that time, Islamic preachers started to visit Tegali hill, which was perhaps the most easily accessible area (Stevenson, 1963, p. 10–11). They settled there and intermarried with the Tegali people and, as a result, the Tegali kingdom expanded and spread Islam, and ruled over the north-eastern part of the Nuba Mountains by the middle of the 17th century (Ali, 2016, p. 4; Elles, 1935, p. 268). The Tegali kingdom established good relationships with the Funj Sultanate to the south-east in Sinnar. Migrants from the Funj Sultanate were thus installed as kings over the hills of Tagoi, Rashad and Gadir. Both Rashad and Tagoi were allowed to become independent kingdoms (Ali, 2016, p. 4). In the 19th century, the Tagoi began to have direct contact with the Islamic world, and there were great changes such as serious conversions to Islam and Arabicization of the names of people and villages (Ali, 2016, p. 5). The Muslim Arabic-speaking pastoral migrants came to the area looking for water and pastures during the 18th and 19th centuries, and they all became subjects to the king of Tegali (Ali, 2016, p. 4). These Muslim Arabic-speaking nomads, *Juhaina* (such as the *Baggara*), and later the *Jaaliyyin* and the *Ghudiyyat*, cultivated the land between the hills and it was a prosperous region. The *Baggara* drove many of the farming inhabitants up in the hills. This situation obtained during the Turco-Egyptian period in the 19th century (Ali, 2016, p. 3). The Tegali Kingdom was devastated during the Mahdiyya in the 19th century. Most of the population was taken into the Nile Valley. At the end of the Mahdiyya, many Tegali people, including Tagoi, returned to their homelands, but many of them had adopted Arabic as their vernacular (Quint & Manfredi, 2020, p. 11).

In the late 19th century and during the Anglo-Egyptian administration the Tegali kingdom (including the Tagoi) remained loyal by force to the new regime. With British support the kingdom of Tegali witnessed great expansion to include more Arab communities in the Nuba Mountains, such as Kwahla, Kenana and Hwazma, in addition to some Nuba groups.

In 1947, the government transformed the Tegali kingdom into a warranted rural district and the kingdom ceased to exist. However, it is not dead, rather "it has undergone a natural transformation in line with modern trends in Sudan"

(Kenrick, 1948, p.144–150). During the 20th century, the Tagoi started the downward migration, from the top of the hills to the plains in the foothills. Down there they have undergone significant socioeconomic and political changes as they extended cultivation, took advantages of facilities like schools, hospitals and markets, and opened up to the neighboring groups and the wider Sudanese society (Ali, 2016, p.6). Recently, there have been mass migrations from Tagoi villages and losses of cultivated land by land-grabbing. They have also suffered severely in the civil war that took place in 2011, and many have migrated as Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) to different areas in Sudan, including Khartoum State.

5. Islamization and Arabization of Tagoi[8]

According to some oral traditions on the history of the introduction of Islam, the Tagoi started in the early 19th century to be in direct contact with the Islamic world and to experience a serious conversion to *Sufi* Islam. The first mosque in their area was constructed during the reign of King Jaburi I (1828–1851) who, along with his father King Jeelee I (1816–1828), were "real Muslims", as many Tagoi informants state.

King Jaburi II (1888–1896) was also an active, ambitious Muslim. He wanted all Tagoi to be well instructed in the Islamic religion and to abandon their local traditional tribal religion.[9] He was willing to change the mind-set of Tagoi. He was different, for he had been a graduate of an *Idrisi khalwa*[10] in Omdurman. His reign saw intensive missionary work for what the informants call "the true Islam". The Imams of the local mosques, who were brought to the area by King Jaburi II himself to teach people the Qur'an and the Islamic religious teachings, were leading the propaganda. Early in his reign, Jaburi II also sent a number of young men to centers of religious education in Sudan at that time. This was in addition to a handful of Muslim religious men who were visiting the Tagoi area from West Africa. The real shift took place when the young men sent to memorize the Qur'an and learn the teachings of Islam returned from outside the Tagoi area. These men

8. The historical processes of Islamization and Arabization had their impacts on all aspects of Tagoi life, including the Tagoi language. A forthcoming study on the integration and adaptation of Arabic loan words in the Tagoi language is being conducted by Abeer Bashir and Fatima H. Idris (Bashir & Idris, in preparation).

9. The practice of the local traditional rituals continued among the Tagoi even after they had become Muslim; they accompanied Islamic beliefs and practices right up to the time of change targeted by King Jaburi II.

10. *Khalwa* means Qur'anic school.

worked with a continued hard effort to change many of the cultural and social traits which were prevalent at that time among the Tagoi. With the effort of these Tagoi males most of these traits disappeared during the reign of King Hamdan Jaburi Jeelee (1933–1968).

With reference to the above account of Tagoi history, it is obvious that there have been direct contacts with Arabic and speakers of Arabic for centuries through the arrival of Arabic-speaking nomads and Islamic preachers from the Funj sultanate, and through the *Mahdiyya*, the Turco-Egyptian, and, later, the British colonial administrations. A language survey was conducted in Sudan in 1976 under the direction of the Institute of African and Asian Studies at the University of Khartoum. According to this survey, which also covered the Nuba Mountains, the Tagoi area was dominated by Arabic. Most of the respondents in the survey spoke at least two languages, Arabic and another local language. Arabic is used in the Nuba Mountains as a lingua franca. In Faydh Um Abdalla, where many Tagoi live, Arabic was often spoken by 96% of the population. In that locality, Arabic was spoken by 72% of the population, while Tagoi language was spoken only by 11% (Bell, 1995). These numbers show that Arabic (and speakers of Arabic) has been integrated into the area.

A more recent sociolinguistic survey conducted by Mugaddam (2006) also revealed a clear shift in Dilling City in the western Nuba Mountains to Arabic and away from the respondents' original languages due to factors of urbanization and education: "The status of Arabic as the sole lingua franca among speakers of a good number of languages, together with its adoption as the single medium of education in Sudan in general and the Nuba Mountains in particular, seems to have played the largest role in the shift that occurred" (Mugaddam, 2006, p. 303).

Since Sudanese independence in 1956, the Tagoi have been more and more integrated into the wider Sudanese society, by means of modern administration, education, employment, markets and media, which in Sudan are dominated entirely by Arabic. The Tagoi have also been forced to migrate to Arabic-speaking urban centers for security reasons or in search of education and employment.

6. Birth-order names

As mentioned above in the introduction, one aspect of the Tagoi naming system involves birth order. In this system, all children are given names denoting the order in which they are born in their nuclear families. The given name tells whether the child is the first, the second, the third, etc., among his/her sisters or brothers, up to the seventh order. In addition, the system is gender-specific. Table (10.1) lists the male and corresponding female names in Tagoi:

Table 10.1 Birth-order names (first series)

Birth Order	Names	
	Male	**Female**
First-born	*cìríyà*	*càmà*
Second-born	*cùtí*	*cènî*
Third-born	*cálɔ̀*	*cúcè*
Fourth-born	*còmé*	*càbáy*
Fifth-born	*cìló*	*cárú*
Sixth-born	*càmâŋ*	*cìtík*
Seventh-born	*cèyʌ́*	*còṭò*

As shown in Table (10.1), the first series of names ends at the seventh-order, i.e., it includes only the first seven children in the family. If an additional child is born then the system repeats a second series in the same order (from the first to the seventh again) to name the eighth-born child and any others until the fourteenth. However, the name of the second series is distinguished from that of the first series by the addition of the phrase *can túntérhìyè* (lit. first repeated) to mean 'of the second series'. This means that a family could have children of both genders with identical names, where the first-born son of the first series, for example, receives the name *cìríyà* and the first-born of the second series (i.e., the eighth-born child) is given the name *cìríyà cán túntérhìyè* ('the first son of the second series', or lit. 'the first repeated son). Examples (1) and (2) provide morphological analysis of expressions for a first-born son and first-born daughter of the second series, respectively.[11]

(1) *cìríyà* *c-án* *t-úntérhìyè*
first-born.son AGR-REL OBJ-PFV.repeat
'The first son of the second series'

(2) *càmà* *c-án* *t-úntérhìyè*
first-born.daughter AGR-REL OBJ-PFV.repeat
'The first daughter of the second series'

Again, the system may repeat a third series after the second series. A child who is born in the third series is distinguished from the others by the phrase *cán cón*

11. Abbreviations used in this example and the following ones: AGR ' agreement', OBJ 'object', PL 'plural', PROG 'progressive' PFV 'perfective', REL 'relativizer'.

òkkóktàn [cán cówòkkóktàn] (lit. 'second repeated') to mean 'of the third series'. This applies, also, to males and females, as shown in (3) and (4) below:

(3) *cìríyà c-án cón òkkók tàn*
first-born.son AGR-REL PROG two PL
'The first son of the third series'

(4) *càmà c-án cón òkkók tàn*
first-born.daughter AGR-REL PROG two PL
'The first daughter of the third series'

Similar to the system described by MacDiarmid (1927, p. 226), two children of the same name in Tagoi never call each other by that name, but always refer to each other as *seni* for males and *seniti* for females.

The names of the children of one of our principal informants, al-Gideel (his full name: Muhammed Yasiin Bushara al-Gideel), represent a practical example to explain the birth-order system used within a Tagoi family. He is now over 70 years old and he is named after his grandfather (King al-Gideel [1897–1910]). His full name contains only Islamic/Arabic names, though he represents the fourth generation in his family. His wife gave birth to eleven children who were given official Islamic/Arabic names in addition to birth-order names in two series, as shown in Table (10.2) and Table (10.3) below.

Table 10.2 al-Gideel's children (first series)

Birth order	Male		Female	
	Birth-order name	Islamic/Arabic name	Birth-order name	Islamic/Arabic name
1	*cìriyá*	*Bushara*		
2	*cùtí*	*Abdelrahman*		
3	*cálɔ̀*	*Ahmed*		
4			*càbáy*	*Nusayba*
5	*cìló*	*Mahmuud*		
6	*càmâŋ*	*Muddaththir*		
7	*cèyʌ́*	*Muzzammil*		

In the first series, as shown in Table (10.2), al-Gideel has three sons followed by a daughter, the fourth child, who is in turn followed by three sons up to the seventh.

The second series starts with the eighth child, which is the first repeated son (of the second series) who died a short time after delivery and was not given an

Table 10.3 al-Gideel's children (second series)

Birth order	Birth-order: Second series	Male	
		Birth-order name	Islamic/Arabic name
8	First repeated	*ciriya can túntérhìyè*	*
9	Second repeated	*cùtí can túntérhìyè*	*Yasiin*
10	Third repeated	*cálɔ̀ can túntérhìyè*	*Yunis*
11	Fourth repeated	*còmé can túntérhìyè*	*Bushara*

official name. Nonetheless his position as the first son of the second series was retained and hence he was given the name *ciriya can túntérhìyè* 'the first son who is repeated for the second time'. He is followed by three sons up to the eleventh rank as shown in Table (10.3) above.

The system of birth-order names is widespread among Niger-Congo languages of the Nuba Mountains, but also attested in some neighboring Nilo-Saharan languages, for example Lagori, an Eastern Sudanic language of the Daju group (Quint & Manfredi, 2020, p. 23). For most languages of the Nuba Mountains, it has been observed that the birth-order names share similar features in terms of their linguistic structure. The structure of Tagoi birth-order names indicates that they belong to the linguistic category of nouns. They all start with an initial consonant *c*. Tagoi is a language with noun class prefixes with seven genders/classes, including the diminutive class c/ɲ which is used to modify some kinship names (Bashir, 2018; Stevenson, 1956). The initial consonant *c* is a noun class prefix for diminutives that is most probably lexicalized in proper nouns and has no meaning other than just a proper noun denoting rank within a family. In addition, the order of names is not ranked on a numeral basis, nor do the names share a resemblance with the numeral system. Similarities of birth-order names among different languages suggest that the naming system based on birth order is a cultural trait induced by contact, having undergone a gradual process of diffusion between neighboring and unrelated languages in the Nuba Mountains (Quint & Manfredi, 2020, p. 18). Testing this assumption, Quint and Manfredi compared the formal characteristics of birth names in five languages, each representing a separate group spoken in the Nuba Mountains. The languages are: Kwalib (Heiban), Dagik (Talodi), Tima (Katla), Tagom (Rashad) and Lagori (Eastern Sudanic).

As has been shown from the description of birth-order names above, Tagoi might provide further evidence for Quint and Manfredi's proposal. First, it proves to have a similar birth-order naming system as the languages in their survey. Sec-

ond, with respect to the formal characteristics presented in Quint and Manfredi's study, Tagoi birth names show considerable differences from Dagik (Talodi), Tima (Katla) and Lagori (Eastern Sudanic), which are located a bit further from Tagoi, but they share similar features with Tagom and Kwalib. This probably is due to contact as a result of proximity. One might check these similarities and differences and compare the Tagoi birth names with Tagom and Kwalib as in Table (10.4) below. Data from Tagom and Kwalib are taken from Quint and Manfredi (2020, p. 22).

Table 10.4 Birth-order names in Tagoi, Tagom and Kwalib

Birth order	Tagoi	Tagom	Kwalib
	MALE NAMES		
First-born	*cìríyà*	*kèryá*	*kwókkò*
Second-born	*cùtí*	*ɲòdì*	*kwɛ́ɛdì*
Third-born	*cálɔ̀*	*saábɔ̀*	*kállò*
Fourth-born	*còmé*	*kɔ̀mɛ̀*	*kwómmè*
Fifth-born	*cìló*	*kámáŋ*	*kwɔ́ccɔ̀*
Sixth-born	*càmâŋ*	*káwà*	*kwónʈà*
Seventh-born	*cèyʌ́*	*kòlò*	
	FEMALE NAMES		
First-born	*càmà*	*ɲámá*	*kákkà ~ ámmà*
Second-born	*cènî*	*ɲánì*	*kwɛ́nnì*
Third-born	*cúcè*	*ɲòjɛ̀*	*kwéccè*
Fourth-born	*càbáy*	*ɲàbáy*	*mpáccà ~ mpâe*
Fifth-born	*cárú*	*kádɛ́~ kádɔ̀n*	*ɛ́ɛpù*
Sixth-born	*cìtík*	*ʧɔ̃dɔ̀*	*kwóʈʈò*
Seventh-born	*còʈò*	*kìdìk*	

In Table (10.5), the names from the second to the fourth child seem to be similar in the three languages. The initial sounds present clear correspondences, i.e., *kw* in Kwalib corresponds to *k* and *ɲ* in Tagom and to *c* in Tagoi. The first-born female child is similar in the three languages. All the names have a disyllabic structure. They show a recurrent tone pattern, which is (HL) in Kwalib and mostly (LH) in Tagoi, though in Tagom the tone is inconsistent. The initial sound *c* in Tagoi and *kw* in Kwalib correspond to a noun class prefix for humans (Bashir,

2018, p.165–166; Quint, 2013, p.119).[12] It is lexicalized in Tagom as no class prefixes are present in the language. A notable difference in Table 10.5 is that Tagoi and Tagom have seven birth-order names, while Kwalib has six. The names from fifth to seventh are not similar in Tagoi and Tagom. For reasons that are unclear, the sixth- and seventh-born female names are switched in the two languages: *cìdík* in Tagoi (the sixth-born) is *kìdìk* (seventh-born) in Tagom, and *tʃʊ̀dɔ* (sixth-born) in Tagom is *coɖo* in Tagoi.

In terms of function, Tagoi birth-order names are not official names and are given only to denote the position of bearers in their nuclear families. They, therefore, carry no meaning except the meaning of order.

7. Non-order official names

According to the speakers of Tagoi, the birth-order name was not the only name given to the child at birth. There was another name bestowed on the child and this name was the one with which the birth practices and rituals were performed. It was non-order and considered to be the official name. Such names may carry different cultural meanings (related to physical characteristics or behavior) but not order meaning. Examples of native non-order names are *kɔfʃɔrɛɲ*, *kɔrmokkɔ*, *ture* (male names) and *ʌruh* (female name). These names can carry semantic meanings, e.g., *kɔrmokkɔ* means 'one who carries heavy things' and *kabartɛllɛ* 'tall and huge'. Most of these names disappeared and only very few, the above examples, are still remembered by only elderly people of Tagoi. These names were formerly abundant but were replaced by Islamic/Arabic names. The non-order names were official names transmitted in official documents like birth certificates.

Further evidence of non-order old native names are the names of the early kings of Tagoi. Table (10.5) shows the names of some kings who ruled in the beginning of the Tagoi Kingdom (1726–1816).

As can be seen in Table (10.5), Tagoi earlier kings (from *Kundan* to *Idos*) were given native non-order names. These names were exclusively used among kings. That is, king names were not given to ordinary people, in the same way that the names of ordinary people are not given to kings. The Tagoi king is believed to be divine and at the apex of the kingdom's structure, the symbol of its unity and continuity, the embodiment of the culture's values, and the guarantor of prosperity. However, he stands outside the domestic legal and moral systems. The laws

12. The class prefixes *k-* and *c-* in Tagoi are used for some humans like *kɛjɛt* 'husband'. The prefix *c-* denotes a diminutive, but is also used as an agreement marker for intimacy since it is used with some kinship terms like 'husband' and 'grandfather' (Bashir, 2018)

Table 10.5 The names of early kings of Tagoi

	King name	Period
1	*Kundan*	1726–1751
2	*Kadɛ Kundan*	1751–1766
3	*Kabertɛllɛ Kadɛ*	1766–1788
4	*Catŋalɔ Kabartɛllɛ Kadɛ*	1788–1798
5	*Lama Catŋalo*	1798–1811
6	*Idos Lama*	1811–1816

and the ethics in the kingdom do not apply to him.[13] The Tagoi kings were, therefore, named after other kings or heroic and politically remarkable figures in the region.[14] Following their divine status, they have never been given birth-order names, like the ordinary people. With the introduction of Islam, however, they started to lose their divine property with regard to naming and simultaneously adopted Islamic/Arabic names that are used also by ordinary people. Table (10.6) shows Tagoi kings with Islamic/Arabic names (from 1726 to 2015).

8. Islamic/Arabic day-of-the-week names

The Islamization of the Tagoi was accompanied by an Arabicization process that extended to include the naming system. This began in the first half of the 19th century during the reign of King Jaburi I (1828–1851) who initiated the introduction of Islam to the Tagoi. The dual naming system of Tagoi was modified accordingly. The modification, at this stage, affected only the official names; that is, the non-order official native names were replaced by Islamic/Arabic names. The birth-order names, however, were retained during the Islamization and Arabicization

13. One of the king's sons, and then the son of this son ideally inherits the political authority. The Tagoi customary law, however, gives priority to the first boy born by one of two women whom the king marries on the day of his coronation. This son will be the rightful holder of power after the death of his father. The appointment of any of the other king's sons is permitted only in the absence of such a son (for more details see Ali (2019)).

14. The names Dukundan and Kabr-Kabr are mentioned in the history of Tegali and Sinnar kingdoms. Jay Spaulding (1985) mentioned the name Dugalo Dukundan who is similar to Taifara, one of the Military officers of Hamaj in Sinnar who came from the Nuba Mountains. Kabr-Kabr is a king of Tegali (Elles, 1935, p.7). Following this we may assume here that the Tagoi kings' names Kabertɛllɛ and Kundan may have been derived from the names of the king of Tegali and the military hero of Hamag respectively.

Table 10.6 The Islamic/Arabic names of kings of Tagoi

	King name	Period
1	*Jeelee I*[15]	1816–1828
2	*Jabouri I*[16]	1828–1851
3	*Karbus*	1851–1871
4	*Ismʕil*	1871–1878
5	*Jeelee II*	1878–1888
6	*Jaburi II*	1888–1896
7	*Idris*	1896–1897
8	*Muhammed al-Gideel*	1897–1910
9	*Adam*	1910–1933
10	*Hamdan*	1933–1968
11	*Muhammed Ahmed*	1968-2015

process. As such, a Tagoi child at birth was given an Islamic Arabic name (official) and a birth-order name. For example, our informant has two names 'al-Gideel' and 'Cùtí', which are the official name and the birth-order name, respectively, since he is the second-born son of the first series of birth in his nuclear family.

The Tagoi adopted new names based on the weekdays. This naming practice is common among West African cultures, as discussed in Section 1.1. As mentioned, unlike for Akan, Tagoi day names are purely religious or Islamic names corresponding to names of religious notables, e.g., prophets and other religious figures who are thought to be born on that day. Each name corresponds to the day on which the religious person is believed to be born. For instance, the name Adam is associated with Friday and the name Muhammed (as already mentioned) is associated with Monday since it is evident in the Quran and the prophetic biography (*As-Seeratn-Nabawiyyah*). Muslims also believe that Adam, the first Prophet sent by God to humanity, was sent on a Friday. The female names also refer to famous Muslim women. For instance, Fatima (the name of the daughter of the Prophet Muhammed) is believed to be born on Monday, or associated with

15. There were two kings named Jeelee in the history of Tagoi: Jeelee Idos (Jeelee I) and Jeelee Jaburi (Jeelee II). Again, Jeelee is also assumed to have come from the Arabic name *jaʔali* after Muhammed el Ja'ali, the Islamic preacher whose son Geili Abu Garida founded the dynasty of Tegali kingdom in 1560 A.D (Elles, 1935, p.7).

16. There were two kings named "Jabouri Jeelyh" in the history of Tagoi: Jabouri Jeelyh Eidos (Jabouri I) and Jabouri Jeelyh Jabouri (Jabouri II).

the day of the Prophet, her father, while Hawwa 'Eve' (the name of the wife of Adam) is believed to be born on Friday. The day-of-the-week names are listed in Table (10.7) below.

Table 10.7 Islamic/Arabic day-order names

Day	Names	
	Male	**Female**
Saturday	*ʕabdalla, ʕabdelraḥman, ʕabdalraḥim*, other names beginning with *"ʕabd", Musa*	*Mariam, Mariyoma, Zeinab*
Sunday	*ʕisa, Ibrahiim, Daʔud*	*Ḫalima, Ḫallom*
Monday	*Aḥmed, Muhammed, Mustafa, Ḥamid, Maḥmoud, Moḥammadein, Ḥamdan, Hamdoon, Ḥammad*	*Faṭna, Faṭiina, Faṭma, Fiṭeen, Fiṭeenat, Faṭṭuma*
Tuesday	*Sabiil, Sileiman, Salman, Salim, IsmaʕiiI, Isḫag, YaʕquuЬ*	*Xadiija, Sabiila*
Wednesday	*ʕali, ʕusman, Yaḫya, Harun, Zakaria*	*ʕaiʃa*
Thursday	*ʔbbakar, ʔbu Bakr, Umar, Idris, Xamis*	*Kaltuma, Kaltum, Umm Kaltum, Um Xamis*
Friday	*ʔadam, Yusif, Yunis, JumʕaЬ*	*Hawwa, Um JumʕaЬ*

Considering similarities and differences between the Tagoi day-of-the-week naming system and some systems in other African and Arabic/Islamic cultures, we noticed that the Tagoi naming system is culturally African in that it is based on the seven days of the week where each day corresponds to certain names. However, after deep integration into Islamic and Arabic culture, the Tagoi further developed their day-name system. Among the Islamic Arabic cultures, a common tradition of naming is to draw on religious names like *Abd Allah* and *Abd-al Rahman* (for males) that hold the meaning 'servant of God', or names of the Prophet such as *Muhammed, Ahmed, Mustafa*, etc. This also applies to Christian Arabs where religious names can be derived from the Bible. For example, *Butros* is the Arabic version of *Peter* (Notzon & Nesom, 2005). Though the Tagoi naming system followed a system applicable across cultures with an Islamic tradition, it also retained the African tradition of choosing names according to the day. In other words, they integrated a religious characteristic to the names that correspond to the weekdays, a characteristic which is not found in other African day-name systems. The Tagoi thus combined the religious Islamic/Arabic tradition with the African day-of-the-week naming system. This system is widespread among other

Sudanese communities, especially those of the Western region of Sudan, e.g., Berti (Holy, 1991) and Midob (Bashir, 2015).[17]

The Tagoi Islamic/Arabic naming system hence constitutes a hybrid version that imposed the Islamic/Arabic culture on an African system. Until recently, these names together with the birth-order names constituted a unique dual system that was capable of accommodating two types of names that are culturally different but fulfilling their functions within the community. All the Tagoi elders currently (at the time of field data collection for this study) carry two different names, an Islamic/Arabic name and a birth-order name.

In name giving, a common practice was performed with respect to the Islamic/Arabic naming system. The father of a newborn child usually consulted a "faki"[18] who had to choose two names from the day names associated with the day of the week on which the child was born. He used to identify each chosen name by one of two rosaries, which were then sent to the child's mother to choose one of them. The name identified by the chosen rosary usually became the name of the child. This chosen name is used later, by the *faki*, in horoscope reading.[19] For the *faki*, the chosen name of a child establishes a child's star or forecasts his or her future. This typically includes a delineation of character and circumstances, based on the relative positions of the stars and planets at the time of that person's birth. When a man wants to marry a certain woman, he needs to go to a *faki* to reveal his horoscope with her through his and her own names, i.e., whether she suits him or not.

With the passage of time, the Tagoi naming system has encountered another change as a result of additional socio-cultural factors that have recently affected

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17. Midob is a Darfur Nubian (Nilo-Saharan) language, which used Islamic/Arabic names due to Islam and Arabicization. Suleiman Daldoom, a Midob principal informant, stated in a personal conversation that they used to give names according to the weekday. Bashir (2015) described the Midob personal names as terms of address. The description determined two types of names: Midob native names and Midobized Islamic/Arabic names.

18. As described by some Tagoi informants, the "faki" is a Muslim religious leader who draws his practices out of the Islamic faith. His practices by and large aim at treating diseases and cases of possession or attack by demons and jinn, protecting crops from birds and locusts, bringing rain, solving a variety of personal problems, protecting some person(s) from being killed, protecting property from theft and infringement, or any of the many other benevolent and malicious purposes. The *faki* in these ritual practices recites from the Qur'an and sometimes uses certain materials on which he writes some texts from the Qur'an besides numbers, letters and symbols that contain the so-called "secrets" (such as an image of the Ring of Solomon).

19. It should be noted that reading the horoscope is a form of divination (*tanjim*) that is practiced exclusively by the "faki" in the different local Tagoi communities. It is based on ascribing different numerical values to letters of the Arabic alphabet and on reading the future from names of persons, days of the week, and other words.

the Tagoi communities. These factors include urbanization and education. The recent renewed armed conflict in South Kordofan has caused the Tagoi to move to other urban communities in Sudan where opportunities for education were also increased.[20] According to this new condition, the Tagoi have started to believe that the dual system of Islamic/Arabic day names and birth-order names are incompatible with the teachings of Islamic religion and have, thus, begun to abandon both, while retaining giving children Islamic/Arabic names that appeal to their parents, i.e., with no regard to the day on which the child is born. They give names which are characterized by their lexical meanings or reference to someone else's name (a prophet, grandfather, grandmother, etc.). Furthermore, with renouncing the system of Arabic names according to day of the week and giving newborn names that appeal to parents, the *faki* can no longer perform horoscopes for people, because the names are no longer linked to the days on which they are born. Consequently, the efforts of the *faki* have stopped completely in this area of activity. This new system thus represents another development in the Tagoi naming system, a version which is more adapted to pan-Arabic culture and no longer carries any African features, i.e., it becomes a fully-fledged Arabic/Islamic naming system.

9. Summary and conclusion

In the past, Tagoi had a dual naming system in which a child was given two different names at the time of birth. One name was a non-order official name for which naming practices were performed. The other was the birth-order name which denoted the position of the child within the family. Several historical and socio-cultural factors contributed to the gradual change in this naming system. One factor is the historical introduction of Islam and the Arabic language. After being Islamized and Arabized, the naming system of Tagoi underwent three stages of gradual change. In an earlier stage, the Tagoi modified their non-order native names to non-order Islamic/Arabic names. Then in a later stage of Islamization and Arabization they adopted and developed a day-name system where a name was given with regard to the day of the week in which the child is born. A major development in this system is that it was based on religious ideology. That is, each day of the week corresponded to names of prophets or religious/Islamic figures

20. For details on the recently renewed armed conflict in South Kordofan, which has been extended by the intervention of Government and opposition groups in a local prolonged conflict between the Tagoi and the Hawazma nomads and their allies over land and political authority see Ali (2016).

who are believed to be born on that day. Recently, and at the final stage of the gradual change (loss), the day names and the birth-order names have been abandoned by the Tagoi. This is due to additional recent factors, including urbanization and education. The recent conflict in the Tagoi area and in South Kordofan has caused many of the Tagoi to leave their villages in the area and move to urban centers, including Khartoum, where good education and employment opportunities are available. This final stage has led to the loss of the African characteristics of the Tagoi naming system and initiated the beginning of a new stage that characterizes a fully Islamic/Arabic naming system.

We observe from this history that Tagoi's socio-cultural life was never static: it was constantly and gradually being reshaped. This applies to the birth names and the personal naming systems as well. There were certain major sources of this change, including the following: Islamization, Arabization, intermarriages, education, urbanization, in- and out-migrations of populations, contact with the Islamic world and other Sudanese communities, and becoming part of a nation state in Sudan. These sources of change led to the gradual change of the naming system from the early history of Tagoi to the recent time. The system was gradually reshaped from a typical African system to a fully-fledged Arabic/Islamic system.

Abbreviations

AGR	agreement	PROG	progressive
OBJ	object	PFV	perfective
PL	plural	REL	relative

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PART 3

Perception and classification

CHAPTER 11

Catching and classifying fish among the Dwang

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The goal of this chapter is to discuss an endangered fishing practice, and the naming and uses of fish among the Dwang of the Bono East Region of Ghana. I discuss a (defunct) communal fish catching process known as *kese* /kə́sə́/, in which the poisonous plant *Adenia cissampeloises*, also called *kese* by the Dwang, was used to kill the fish and harvest them. I then turn to the Dwang names for six freshwater fish, which is a classification of sorts. I explore the semantics of the fish names, especially their classes, such as *ka-* for singular versus *n-* for plural (e.g., *káwá/nkáwá*), on the one hand, and *ɔ-* for singular versus *a-* for plural (e.g., *ɔtʃwɪrɛ/atʃɪrɛ*), among others. I discuss some medicinal and customary uses of the fish which have almost disappeared. The chapter is therefore a discussion of endangered indigenous knowledge of a plant and fish.

Keywords: fish, ethnobiology, ecological knowledge, semantics, cultural meaning

1. Introduction

In the introduction to his paper "Biology in language documentation", Si stresses the importance of documenting the traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) of non-industrialized societies. He writes (Si, 2011, p. 169):

> Speakers of small, endangered languages, especially those situated far from urban centers, routinely engage with their natural environment as they go about the mundane tasks of obtaining food, fuel, water, and building material. The languages of such communities come to encode much encyclopedic knowledge about biological and ecological entities and phenomena. This knowledge is as important as the knowledge of religious practices, local customs, and taboos in allowing a person to be a fully functioning member of a community.

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Si notes that the obvious entry point for TEK is "the naming and folk taxonomy (classification) of living organisms" (Si, 2011, p.169). The aim of this chapter is to describe the Dwang names for six fish and a defunct method of catching them. The fishing practice is called *kese* /kə́sə́/, while the fish are the lungfish (*daɲɛpʊasɪ*), freshwater herring (*katʃapɛ́ɛ*), the bony tongue (*kəkpə́ŋ́kpə́ŋ́*), the frank fish (*ɔtʃwɪrɛ*), the electric catfish (*əmpusu*), and three genera of African tetra, all of which the Dwang people call *nsɪɛ́pʊɪ*. Some of these fishes are given names that derive from their appearance, behavior or an attribute. In addition to shedding some light on the local knowledge and cultural practices of the Dwang people, the discussion also shows the effect of contact on the language. The fish names were elicited using pictures in Dankwa et al. (1999).[1] Speakers are shown the pictures, asked to name the fish and, when they are able, asked to talk about them. For the purposes of this chapter, I focus on discussions between the late Mr Dapaah (Mr. D), my principal fieldwork assistant at the time, and Nana Kwame Tepa (Nana KT), a farmer, fisherman and medicine man, for the information about the fishes. Material about the *kese* fishing practice is from a narration of the practice by Mr. D. and later conversations with him. Narrations about the Sene River were made by Nana Yaw Adjei (NYA), who was Acting Chief of Kwame Danso before the current chief was installed.

The chapter is organized as follows: Section 2 discusses the Dwang people and their language, and the Sene River in which they do a large part of their fishing. Section 3 discusses the defunct *kese* fishing practice, while Section 4 discusses the names for six fishes, and Section 5 concludes the chapter.

2. The Dwang people and their language

Dwang is spoken in the newly created Bono East Region of Ghana. According to the current classification, it belongs to the northern branch of the Central Guang branch of the Kwa family, although Dakubu (1988) reports that this classification is not conclusive. Eberhardt et al. (2019) give three dialects for Dwang, with the following population figures as of 2003: Bekye (1600 speakers), Kenyen (3300 speakers), and Wiase (3300 speakers). Research for this chapter was conducted among the Kenyen /kəɲəŋ/, specifically in Kwame Danso, the capital of the Sene district, Lessi and Akyeremade. Dwang, like the other Guang languages, is said

1. Fieldwork for this study was carried out with a grant from the Endangered Languages Documentation Project for the documentation of fishing practices among the Dwang (SG0193). I am indebted to my Dwang consultants, particularly the late Mr. Dapaah and his children, Stephen and Dorcas, and Nana Kwame Tipa. I am also grateful to two anonymous reviewers for their invaluable suggestions.

to be spoken in a "linguistically heterogeneous and highly multilingual context" (Dakubu, 1988, p. 79). In addition to Dwang itself, the people speak Asante Twi or Bono, varieties of Akan, which is the dominant regional language. In fact, the Dwang currently refer to themselves as *Dwanfoɔ* 'Dwang people', of which the Akan plural suffix for people *-foɔ* is suffixed to *Dwang*. Eberhardt et al. (2019, p. 16) also report that the Dwang understand Krachi "because of contact". Finally, educated people also speak English, the official language of Ghana. The main occupations of the Dwang people are farming and fishing in the Sene River or the Volta Lake, although today most of the people who engage in fishing combine it with some form of farming. Many women also engage in trading.

Dwang is an SVO language with grammatical relations determined for the most part by constituent order. Morphemes are mainly agglutinating, and simple sentences are "coextensive with words" (Kenesei, 2007, p. 2). Dwang has 10 vowels which participate in ATR vowel harmony. This is illustrated by the contrast between the prefixes *ɔ-* and *o-* in the words *ɔkó* 'someone' and *owú* 'sun' respectively, which are determined by the ATR of the initial stem vowel. Initial investigation suggests that Dwang has seven noun classes. The classes are identified with their prefixes, which are *φ-*, *ɔ-/o-*, *kɪ-/ki-*, *ka-/kɐ-*, *ɪ-/i-*, *a-/ɐ-*, and *n-*. The *n-* undergoes homorganic nasal assimilation with a following consonant.[2] Human entities often occur in the *ɔ-/o-* class while their plural occurs in the *a-* class. Similarly, diminutive entities occur in the *ka-* class while their plural occurs in the *n-* class. These are shown below.

(1) a.

The *ɔ-/o-* class		The *a-* class	
ɔɲɛ́nɛ́[3]	'man'	*aɲɛ́nɛ́*	'men'
ɔtʃí	'woman'	*atʃí*	'women'
ɔkó	'someone'	*akó*	'some people'

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2. I am grateful to Drs. Hederick Dankwa and Edward K. Abban of the Water Research Institute (WRI), the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), for giving me permission to use pictures from the book for my paper, and to the Director of WRI, Prof. Mike Yaw Osei-Atweneboana, for promptly reaching out to them to obtain the permission for me when I contacted him.

3. Henceforth, I represent the classes with their -ATR variant, and the nasals will be represented with *n-*. Thus, the classes are *φ-*, *ɔ-*, *kɪ-*, *ka-*, *ɪ-*, *a-*, and *n-*.
The Ghana Institute of Languages, Linguistics and Bible Translation (GILLBT) has recently developed an orthography system that is being used for bible translation and adult literacy. I do not use that orthography in this paper since I learned about it rather late. Instead, I use broad transcriptions for the representations of Dwang words. Dwang is a tone language. Further research is required to determine the number of tonemes that the language possesses. For the purposes of this chapter, I represent phonetic (as opposed to phonemic) high tones alone with the acute accent.

b. The *ka-* class The *n-* class

kafáa	'small tilapia'	*mfáa*	'small tilapias'
kasɪ́pʊɪ	'tetra'	*ŋkasɪpʊɪ*	'tetras'
kabʊ́ɪ	'bird'	*mbʊ́ɪ*	'birds'

Indeed, *gbi* means 'child' or 'seed'. When it forms a compound with words belonging to other classes, and thereby denotes the child or seed of that entity, the class changes to *ka-*. Examples are *kakrámáń gbi* 'tiny dog' (from *ɔkrámán* 'dog') and *kabʊ́rɪ gbi* 'tiny petrocephalus fish' (from *ɔbʊ́rɪ*).

Dwang also possesses multiverb constructions, including serial verb constructions (SVC). SVCs are "a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any sort" (Aikhenvald, 2006, p. 1). Consider the example below:

(2) *ɔ-bʊ́ **ḿ-fʊ́rɛ́** bə-bé lɛ pɛ́ɛ́*
3SG-use CM-salt use-rub inside all
'She spread salt all over the inside'

Bʊ and *bé* are two verbs in a single clause. In sum, Dwang, like all other Guang languages, is a tone language. It has vowel harmony and a noun class system with a paired set of prefixes, the choice of which is based on the tongue root position of the initial root vowel. In the next subsection, I discuss the Sene River.

2.1 The Sene River

The Sene River, which the Dwang people call *Kyeini*, is located 7˚ 30'21''N and 0˚ 56'02''W. It is one of the many tributaries of the Volta River. Sene is so important to the area that the district is named after it, i.e., the Sene District. The Dwang also consider Sene to be a god, with a shrine located at Mankwo (see Map 11.1 below). According to NYA, the first chief priest of the Sene god in Mankwo was called Kwabena Gburi. Since Kwabena Gburi, his descendants have served as priests and officiated in an annual ritual for the river during which animals are slaughtered and food is prepared at the riverside for people to eat. Like all river gods in the area, the Sene god at Mankwo has a few taboos, principal among which are that people dressed in black and women who are menstruating are not allowed to go to the riverside on Saturdays.

NYA narrated a tale that shows a curious influence of Christianity. The River Sene and the River Pra (latitude: 5.0191, longitude: -1.626) were both said to be sons of the River Volta. According to the tale, the River Volta was a blind father who doted on the River Sene, its favorite son, and gave it anything it wanted. One day, Sene went to the River Volta to report that it was not happy that it lacked

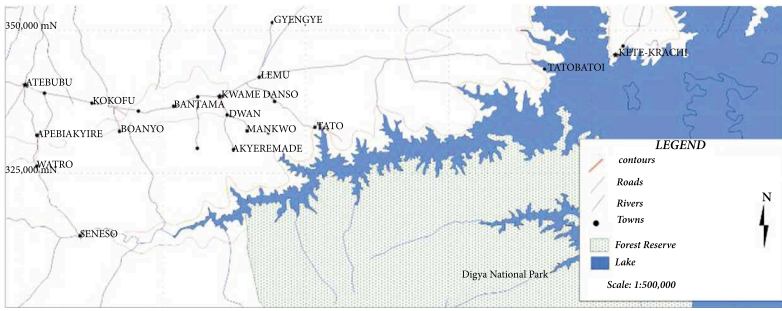
depth. It therefore asked the River Volta for a magic hoe to dig its riverbed so that it would become deep. The River Volta asked Sene to go and come back the following day for the hoe. The River Sene did not know that the River Pra was hiding in the bushes all along and eavesdropping on the conversation. Very early the following day, the River Pra went to the blind father and pretended to be the River Sene. It collected the hoe and went and dug its riverbed so that it became very deep. When the River Sene discovered what had happened, it became very angry and went to fight the River Pra. The River Volta broke up the fight, separated them and declared that the two would never mix. For this reason, any fish from one that is put in the other dies.

The striking similarity between the Dwang tale and the biblical story in which Jacob tricks his blind father Isaac and takes his brother Esau's treasured blessing cannot be a coincidence. It is most likely that the story was created after the Dwang had come into contact with Christian missionaries and learned the biblical version. It should not be surprising that the Dwang people decided to make their river the favorite son, and the foreign river the villain. The River Pra is one of the largest rivers in Ghana. Awotwe et al. (2019) describe it thus: "River Pra and its branches form the biggest river basin among three main basin systems of southwestern part of Ghana." Due to its size and importance, the River Pra has been studied extensively. The Sene River, by contrast, is shallow. It is therefore very susceptible to the rainfall patterns of the area. This is how Awotwi et al. (2019, p. 2) describe the patterns:

> Two seasons occur in the basin; wet season (major and minor rainy season which occur in May–July and September–November respectively) and the dry season (December–April). Spatio-temporally, rainfall distribution decreases toward the northern portion of the study area with a recorded yearly mean rainfall of 1550 mm.

In 1964, a hydroelectric dam was constructed across the Volta River at Akosombo, further south. At the time, the Akosombo dam was the largest man-made lake in the world by surface area. It is currently the third largest artificial lake in the world. According to the elders, before the construction of the dam, the Sene River used to crest during the rainy season and the level of the water went up. They believed that a lot of fish moved from the Volta into the Sene during this period. By contrast, during the dry season, the level of the water went down. Because the Sene was a shallow river, the water dried up completely in some areas, leaving ponds in the relatively deeper areas. They claimed that some ponds were close to each other so that fish like characins (called *lákə*) could jump from one into another. Things changed with the construction of the Akosombo dam. The website https://www.ice.org.uk/what-is-civil-engineering/what-do-civil-engineers-do

/akosombo-dam reports that "The project saw the flooding of part of the Volta River basin and its upstream fields." In the Dwang area, the flooding of the upstream fields meant the lake expanded westward and swallowed up portions of the Sene River. Dwang people still refer to the huge section of the lake from Tatobatoi westward to Akyeremade and beyond (shown in Map 11.1) as the River Sene, although the area is currently occupied by the lake. More importantly, the replacement of a once shallow river with the bigger and deeper Volta Lake has had a more deleterious effect on an important cultural practice of the Dwang. I discuss this in the next section.



Map 1. The Sene River and Akosombo Lake[4]

3. *Kese*

Kese fishing used to be an important cultural practice among the Dwang, as narrated by Mr. D. The process began with the cultivation of *Adenia cissampeloises*, a poisonous plant that the Dwang call *kese* (Neuwinger, 2004).[5] While some people kept the seed that was used for cultivation, others had to purchase it at the time of planting. The text below shows that planting began a month after the beginning of the rainy season:

(3) a. *mɔ́ fí-é-bə-dúú kásá a*
if 2SG-PERF-VEN-plant kese TP
b. *fí-ɛ́-mən-dɛ́ ká-má gbi*
2SG-PERF-NEG-have CM-IND seed

4. I am indebted to Dr. Prince Ofori Amponsah of the Department of Earth Science, University of Ghana, Legon, for drawing this map for me.

5. I am indebted to the anonymous reviewer who suggested this reference and thereby helped me to identify the plant.

c. *fɪ-kɛ́-yɛ ɔ-mɔ́ ɔ-dɛ́ ká-má gbi*
2SG-FUT-go CM1-REL CM1-sell CM-IND seed
d. *ná fí-ɛ-sɔ… sɪká lɛ*
CONJ 2SG-PERF-buy… money inside
e. *fí-ɛ-sɔ trá ɛ ɔ-fɔ́ré ná sə nəḿ lɛ*
2SG-PERF-buy finish TP CM1-month four TOP DEF inside
'When you are about to plant *kese*, if you don't have the seed, you go to the one who has the seed and you buy it (with) money. You finish planting it in the fourth month' (kse: 7–11)

The text suggests that there would have been an economy around the *kese* seed, since it was not everybody who had it at the time of cultivation. The plant took as long as a year to mature. However, it appears that it was not harvested right away. Its main use was in October when the rainy season was over:

(4) a. *á -mə sá ká-mə e-dʒi ká-sú*
CM-IND say CM-IND AM-eat CM-year
b. *má kɪ-é-dɛŋ*
then CM-PERF-mature
c. *á-mə sá ɔ-fɔ́ré kudu nəḿ lɛ*
CM-IND say CM-month ten DEF inside
d. *má ba-á-bʊ kásá bé-e-tʃírá m-kpətra*
then 3PL-PERF-take kese 3PL-PERF-catch CM-fish
'That is when it gets (eats) a year, then it is matured. That is in October, then they use *kese* to catch fish' (kse: 18–21)

On the special *kese* day, people went and harvested the plant, tied it in bunches, and headed for the rocks. The whole community met at the rocks, where they were divided into groups of up to four, each with a leader. They then competitively beat the *kese* into a pulp under the encouragement of the leader. The group that won got the bragging rights for that particular year.

When the *kese* was finely ground, they cut a leaf that they call *ɔtʃɔ*. The leaves were spread out and everybody collected the quantity of *kese* pulp that they needed into them and tied them up. They then headed towards the riverside, singing the following song:

(5) a. *aná yɛ kásá oo aná yɛ kásá*
1PL go kese INT 1PL go kese
b. *nə á-mɔ m-kpətrá oo nə á-mɔ m-kpətrá*
COMP AM-kill CM-fish INT CONJ AM-kill CM-fish
c. *nə á-bʊ a-kɔ́ bʊ-bɛ aná gbi´*
COMP AM-use CM-INDEF use-come 1PL child

d. *nə a-bʊ a-kʊ́ bʊ-bɛ anə́ á-kə́*
COMP AM-use CM-INDEF use-come 1PL CM-wife
e. *nə á-bʊ a-kʊ́ bʊ-bɛ anə́ á-báwʊrɛ*
COMP AM-use CM-INDEF use-come 1PL CM-concubine
'We are going *kese* fishing oo we are going *kese* fishing, that we kill fish oo that we kill fish; that we bring some to our children; that we bring some to our wives; that we bring some to our girlfriends' (kse: 50–54)

When they got to the bank of the river they spread out in a single file. After everybody had found a place, they unwrapped the *ɔtʃɔ* and dissolved the *kese* pulp in the water.

(6) a. *má átʃɪa ɛ-bɔ́ fɪɛ ba-á-fwɛ*
then now 3SG-do like 3PL-PERF-dissolve
b. *kɛ́-mɔ́ b(a)-á-wa n-tʃú nəḿ lɛ*
CM-REL 3PL-PERF-put CM-water DEF inside
c. *á-mə sə́ e-ké-dʒi fɪɛ míniti fɪɛ əduasa a*
CM-IND say 3SG-FUT-eat like minute like thirty TP
d. *má obíárá ɛ-fwɛ mə́ arə tərə*
then everybody AM-dissolve 3SG own finish
e. *á-mə sə́ miniti əduasa kʊ́ráá ɛ-bɛ-bɔ́lɛ́ má ɛ-bɔ́ dɔnhwerew kóle*
CM-IND say minute thirty even 3SG-come-add then 3SG-do hour one
f. *má m-kpətrá má bɛ́-ʃɛ ka-sə́ bə́-wu*
then CM-fish then 3PL-go_in CM-under 3PL-die
g. *m-kpətrá mɔ́ bá-dɪɛ́-ʃɛ ka-sə́ wu páá*
CM-fish REL 3PL-be_able-go_in CM-under die very_much
h. *ámə́ é-dʒí n-kááwá*
3PL AM-be CM-distichodont
i. *n-kááwá ʃɛ ka-sə́ wu*
CM-distichodont go_in CM-under die
'Then it looks like they dissolve it and put it in the water. When it is like 30 minutes – then everybody finishes dissolving theirs – when 30 minutes is added and it is an hour – then the fish begin to die – the fish that begin to die most are distichodonts – distichodonts begin to die' (kse: 61–69)

The time it takes the fish to succumb to the effects of *kese* depends on the size of the fish or, as the Dwang believe, its strength. This is shown by the next lines:

(7) a. *í-tʃwi asɪɛ bə-ń-tʃwí-tʃwə́*
3SG-come_from say 3PL-NEG-RED-be_big
b. *seséi má dɛ má kəsə nəḿ e ka-dɛ́ ámə́ má bə-ə-wu*
now then INT then kese DEF TOP AM-reach 3PL then 3PL-PERF-die

c. *má átʃɪa bə-á-tʃirə amə*
then now 3PL-PERF-catch 3PL
d. *ámə́ bə́-wóé-tú sə́ ánwé dʒi a-fáa*
3PL AM-REP-hit TOP two be CM-small_tilapia
e. *a-fáa mɔ bə-ń-kíɛ-bʊ kwá*
CM-small_tilapia TOP 3PL-NEG-also-be_at strong
f. *kəsə nəḿ ɛ-kɪɛ-ka amə́ kpətí ma bə́-kie-wú*
kese DEF AM-also-touch 3PL little then 3PL-also-die
g. *má bá-tʃirə ám(á)*
then 3PL-PERF-catch 3PL
h. *má átʃɪá mɔ́ é-bálá má m-kpətrá mɔ́ bɪ-é-kɛŋ á pɛɛ*
then now REL 3SG-add then CM-fish REL 3PL-PERF-remain TP all
i. *átʃia má bə-á-wu*
now then 3PL-PERF-die
'That is because they are not big. Within a short time, the *kese* overwhelms them and they die. Then the people catch them. The second one is tilapia. Tilapia are also not strong. When the *kese* touches them a little then they also die – then they catch them – next (in addition to that) all the fish that are left – then they die' (kse: 70–78)

When the fish die, the men who are waiting on the banks move into the water and start harvesting them. There are strict rules about where to harvest, as shown below:

(8) a. *fa-á-yɪrɛ maá fə́ kɪ-sʊba*
2SG-NEG-stand DEM POSS CM-place
b. *maá yɪrɛ mfé*
DEM stand here
c. *maá yɪrɛ mfé maá yɪrɛ mfé nə́ obíárá yɪrɛ ɔ-bʊnká*
DEM stand here DEM stand here CONJ everybody stand CM-bank
d. *ə́-mə sə́ ka-kpətrá é-tí fə kə-sugba fə a-ɲésírɛ*
3SG-IND say CM-fish AM-emerge 2SG CM-neighbor POSS CM-face
e. *fə-á-tʃirə ka-má*
2SG-NEG-catch CM-PRON
f. *fí-e-tʃírə ka-mə*
2SG-PERF-catch CM-IND
g. *fɪ-é-tʊ mmrá*
2SG-PERF-throw laws
h. *amí-ɛ-bʊ́ fə yɛ́ á-dánsə fə́ a-ɲésírɛ*
3PL-PERF-take 2SG go CM-elder POSS CM-face

i. *bɛ-kɛ́-bɔ́ fə kwə́*
3PL-FUT-do 2SG fine
'You don't stand at another person's (lit. this person's) place. This person stands here, this person stands here, this person stands here and everybody stands on the bank. That means when a fish emerges in front of your neighbor, you don't catch it. If you catch it, you've broken a rule. You will be taken to the elders, and they will fine you.' (kse: 83–91)

Mr D went on to explain that the fine was not monetary:

(9) a. *kə-kwə́ mɔ́ bá-bɔ e-dʒí fɪɛ…*
CM-fine REL 3PL-do AM-be like…
b. *nyɛ́ sikə́ nə bá-sɔ fə́ krɛ́*
NEG:be money FOC 3PL-buy 2SG portion
c. *fə́ m-kpətrə́ mɔ́ fɪ́-ɛ́-nyə́ a*
2SG CM-fish REL 2SG-PERF-get TP
d. *bə-kə́-kə́ lɛ asə́*
3PL-FUT-divide inside three
e. *mə́ bɪ-ɛ́-lɛ́ fə krɛ́ kə-kóle*
then 3PL-PERF-remove 2SG portion CM-one
f. *mə́ bɪ-ɛ́-bʊ-yɛ́ kəsə nəḿ fə ɔ-dánsə́*
then 3PL-PERF-use-go kese DEF POSS CM-elder
'The fine that they will impose is not money that they will take from you; the fish that you've got – they will divide it into three – then they remove one portion from you – then they give it to the *kese* leader (*bɪ-ɛ́-bʊ-yɛ́* should have been *bɪ-ɛ́-bʊ-ya* 'they use go give') (kse: 97–101)

The men collect the fish until sunset, when they head home.

While the men collected most of the fish that day, some of the fish survived until the following day when they died and floated on the water. Some women therefore went to the riverside the following day to collect them. This means that while the main *kese* event was the men's affair, the following day's event was for women. Because these fish had been dead for a while before the women collected them, they were processed in a particular manner:

(10) a. *m-kpətra nəḿ anə́ ɛ-tɪɪ ámə́ ɛ-pʊna*
CM-fish DEF 1PL AM-call 3PL CM-rotten_fish
b. *sáá fə ɛpʊna nəḿ mɔ í-tʃwi asɪɛ ámə lɛ́*
that POSS CM-rotten_fish DEF REL 3SG-come_from say 3PL inside
ɛ-ka-súnkun kuŋúsə a
AM-already-rot reason TP
c. *f-a-kɛ́-díɛ́ bə-denə́ … kanáŋ ń-dʒi*
2SG-NEG-be_able use-cook thus NEG-eat

d. *á-mə sə́ má bə-dá bá-bə-bɔ́ mɔmɔné e*
3SG-IND TOP then 3PL-take 3PL-use-do fermented_fish TP
e. *á-mə sə́ a-tʃí nəḿ e-sóré bɛ kə-búráḿ é*
3SG-IND say CM-woman DEF AM-carry come CM-home TP
f. *má obíárá ɛ-pái-paɪ mə áre lɛ*
then everybody AM-RED-split 3PL own inside
g. *má ɔ-bɔ́ ḿ-fórɛ́ bə-bé lɛ pɛ́ɛ́*
then 3SG-take CM-salt use-rub inside all
h. *má bɛ-ɛ́-kpárə́ mfə́ŋ́ mɔ́ kə-kpətá bɔ́ á*
then 3PL-PERF-look_for place REL CM-mat be_at TP
i. *má bɪ-ɛ́-bá-wʊrɛ ɔ́-sʊ sə́*
then 3PL-PERF-use-dry CM-sun top
j. *má ó-wú e-dá m-kpətrá nəḿ sə́ anáá sɛ ɛpʊna nəḿ sə*
then CM-sun AM-hit CM-fish DEF top or say E DEF top
k. *kalé ɛ-ká-bɔ fɪɛ n-ká ńtwí*
thus 3SG-FUT-do like CM-day eight
l. *má bɪ-ɛ́-wʊrɛ*
then 3PL-PERF-dry
'The fish we call them *epuna*, that *epuna*, because the inside is already rotten, you can't cook it like that and eat. Therefore they used it to make fermented fish. Thus, when the women carry it home, and everybody splits theirs, then they rub salt inside it all. Then they look for a place where there is a mat, then they spread them on it. Then the sun shines on the fish for up to about 8 days. Then they become dry.' (Kse: 115–126)

The following text shows that children played an important role in the fish-processing process:

(11) a. *brɛ́ mɔ bə́-dáŋ́ ɔ́-sʊ sə́ mfáŋ a*
time REL 3PL-lie CM-sun top place TP
b. *anáá brɛ́ mɔ́ bə́-dáŋ kə-kpətə́ nəḿ sə́ a*
or time REL 3PL-lie CM-mat DEF top TP
c. *brɛ́ bíáá má fi-é-sə n-kɔdáá ba-á-kee sə́*
time every then 2SG-PERF-let CM-child 3PL-PERF-look top
d. *i-tʃwi asɪɛ anə dɛ m-bɔ́ɪ kó mɔ́ bá-tɪɪ amə́ lákpəwú*
3SG-come_from say 1PL have CM-bird just REL 3PL-call 3PL L
e. *amə́ fra ki-yíé nə bə́-dʒi títiriw m-kpətrá*
3PL as_for CM-flesh FOC 3PL-eat especially CM-fish
f. *á-mə sə ɔ-kɔ́ e-mán-kéé sə nə ɔ-dʒɛ amə́*
3SG-IND say CM-some AM-NEG-look top CONJ 3SG-drive_ away 3PL

g. *fɛ-ké-bɛ ma bɛ-é-tʃʷíé m-kpətrá nəḿ péɛ́ bəné*
2SG-FUT-come then 3PL-PERF-peck_at CM-fish DEF all ??
'While they lie up there, or while they lie on the mat, every time you let chidren go watch over it, because we have some birds that are called *lekpewu*. As for them they like eating flesh, especially fish, so if nobody watches over it and drives them away, by the time by the time you come, they would have eaten all the fish

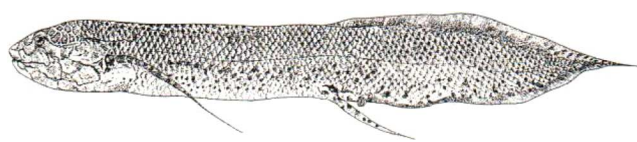
According to Mr D., things changed with the construction of the Akosombo dam. The Dwang people were introduced to a powder which was more effective, in that when they spread it in the water, it killed the fish immediately. He actually called it "poison" (see also page 148 of the FAO document at the following website: https://www.fao.org/3/i1969e/i1969e02.pdf).[6] This may have been introduced to the area by migrant fishermen who moved there following the construction of the Akosombo dam. There were two problems with the powder: it was illegal and, because it killed the fish, the product was not tasty and rotted quickly. The government decided not only to ban the use of the powder, but also of *kese*. This removed the need to cultivate it, and it disappeared.

In sum, *kese* was a cultural activity with structure. There were gendered roles where adults were concerned, and roles for children. There was also language specific to the activity, including the naming of the fish that were caught, and the uses of the fish. I turn to this in the next section.

4. Classification of fish

In this section I discuss six fish names to determine, where possible, the reasons for the naming, and their uses. I use discussions between Mr. D and Nana KT who, in addition to being a farmer and fisherman, is also a medicine man. I provide the pictures from Dankwa et al. (1999) that were used to elicit the description. While most of the fish have common names, a few do not. Only the relevant portions of the exchanges are provided in Dwang.

4.1 *Protopterus annectens* (Owen, 1839) (Dankwa et al., 1999, p. 11, fig. 2)



6. I am indebted to an anonymous reviewer for bringing this document to my attention.

The common name for the *Protopterus annectens* is African lungfish. According to Adeyemi (2010), it is the only species of the primitive Lepidosirenidae family found in West African freshwaters. Dankwa et al. (1999, p. 11) describe the fish as possessesing "strong crushing jaws". They add that its young have "four pairs of external gills", and it is "capable of aestivating in mud for a long period of time". While all this information is captured in the description that Nana KT gives, he shows that the name of the fish in Dwang comes from the perception that the gills are breasts.

Nana KT

(12) a. *ɔ-dɛ́ á-ɲɛ́pʊ nə ba-á-te mə daɲɛpʊasí*
3SG-have CM-breast CONJ 3PL-PERF-call 3SG D
'It has breasts and so it is called daɲəpoasə́.'

Mr. D

(12) b. *a-ɲɛpʊ nəḿ bʊ amánə*
CM-breast DEF be_at how_many
'How many are the breasts?'

Nana KT

(12) c. *bʊ aná*
be_at four
'There are four.'

d. *o-dʒí ka-kpətrá kɔ́ mɔ́ ɔ́-dɪɛ-tʃɪna atɛtʃɛ́ lɛ*
3SG-be CM-fish SPEC REL 3SG-be_able-sit mud inside
'It is a fish that often stays in the mud.'

Mr. D

(12) e. *ɔ́-dɪɛ-tʃɪna mfánə*
3SG-be_able-sit where
'It often stays where?'

Nana KT

(12) f. *atɛtʃɛ́ lɛ*
mud inside
'In the mud.'

Mr. D

(12) g. *mfánə ná fɪɛ ɔ́-tʃɪnə-ŋ́*
where FOC like 3SG-sit-Q
'Where does it stay?'

Nana KT

(12) h. *a-dɔlé lɛ*
CM-mud inside
'In the mud.'

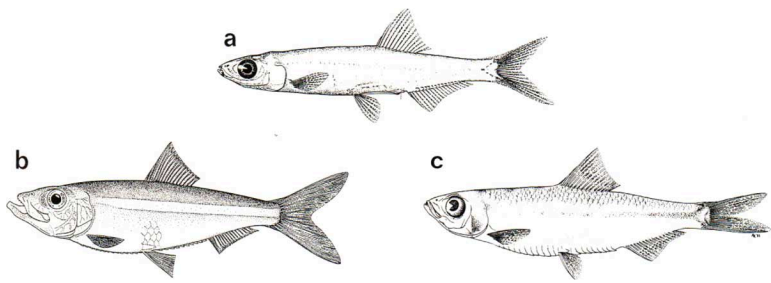
i. *ɔ-dɛ́ á-ɲí*
3SG-has CM-tooth
'It has teeth.'

j. *bɪɛsí mɔ́ fí-ɛ-bɔ mə́ súéré o-ká-díé-dũ fə́*
therefore REL 2SG-PERF-do 3SG joke 3SG-FUT-be_able-bite 2SG
'Therefore if you play with it, it can bite you.'

k. *mə á-ɲí dʒí fɪɛ ə-sə fə́ arɛ pɛ́pɛ́ɛ́pɛ́*
3SG:IND CM-tooth be like CM-person POSS own exactly
'Its teeth are exactly like human's.'

The discussion shows that the name *daɲɛpʊasí* comes from *dɛ́* 'to have' and *aɲɛpʊ* 'breasts'.

4.2 *Sierrathrissa leonensis* (Thys van den Audenaerde, 1969), *Odaxothrisa mento* (Regan, 1917) and *Pellonula leonensis* (Boulenger, 1916) (Dankwa et al., 1999, p. 12, fig. 4)



The *Sierrathrissa leonensis* is popularly known as the West African pigmy herring. Whitehead and Teugels (1985) write that the fish, which was first recorded in Sierra Leone, has sometimes been claimed as nothing more than "the unmetamorphosed larva of species of *Pellonula* (or perhaps *Cynothrissa*)" and that fully mature specimens range from 21–26 mm. In the text below (Nana KTepa1), Nana KT begins with a name *ndupa kɔ́kɔ* 'red tails' that refers to the physical attribute of one of the species of the herring. Mr. D therefore questions him further to determine why:

Mr. D

(13) a. *nə́ mənə́ lɛ́ bɛ nə́ ba-á-tɪɪ ámə́ n-dupa kɔ́kɔ?*
CONJ what inside come CONJ 3PL-PERF-call 3PL CM-tail red
'Why are they called red tails?'

Nana KT

(13) b. *ɔ-kʊ fə arɛ kóé*
CM-some POSS own be_different
'some are different.'

c. *maá fə arə dʒí fɪɛ kɛ-frá bɔbɔ*
DEM POSS own be like CM-leaf fresh
'This one looks green (like fresh leaves).'

d. *fɪɛ ámá á-tʃwá*
like 3PL AM-be_plenty
'They are many (types).'

e. *be-dʒí ənwé nə asá*
3PL-be two CONJ three
'They are two and three.'

f. *ɔ-kʊ fə arə́ dʒí ɪ-kɔ́kɔ*
CM-some POSS own be AM-red
Lit. 'Some are red'

Mr. D

(13) g. *ɔ-kʊ́ fə mənəŋ́ dʒí ɪ-kɔ́kɔ?*
CM-some POSS what be AM-red
'Which part of some are red?' (lit. 'The what of some are red?')

Nana KT

(13) h. *mə o-du dɪá*
3SG CM-tail DEF
'Its tail,'

i. *ɔ-kʊ fə arə dʒí fɪɛ m-fwá*
CM-some POSS own be like CM-fat
'one type is yellow.' (lit. 'like fat')

j. *kə́nə́ŋ́ mɔ́ mə o-du nəḿ dʒí ɪ-kɔ́kɔ á ɔ-kɔ́kɔ á sə́*
thus REL 3SG CM-tail DEF be CM-red TP CM-red TP top
'The way its tail is red,'

k. *nə́ me-é-tee ɔ-kʊ́ asɪɛ n-dupa kɔ́kɔ*
CONJ 1SG-PERF-call CM-some say CM-tail red
'and I call some red tails.'

Mr. D

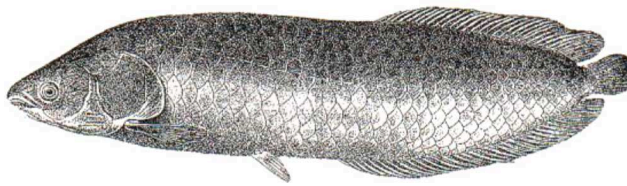
(13) l. *nə́ ka-kpətrá məŋ ba-á-tɪɪ mə katʃapɛ́ɛ?*
CONJ CM-fish which 3PL-PERF-call 3PL K
'Which fish is called katʃapɛ́ɛ?'

Nana KT

(13) m. *katʃapɛ́ɛ nə kə-dupa kɔ́kɔ kə-ɲínə́ kóle*
K CONJ CM-tail red CM-name one
'Katʃapɛ́ɛ and red tail are the same name.' (lit. 'one name').

This discussion shows that Nana KT only remembered the names that have been given to the specific herring types based on the color of their tails. It was only when Mr. D prodded him in (13l) about the genus name *katʃapɛ́ɛ* that he remembered and stated that they are the same.

4.3 *Heterotis niloticus* (Cuvier, 1829) (Dankwa et al., 1999, p. 13, fig. 5)



The common name for the *Heterotis niloticus* is bony tongue. The Dwang people call it *kɪkpáŋ́kpáŋ́*. Unlike the first two, the name does not appear to be due to a property of the fish. However, the fish did play an important role in the culture of the Dwang not long ago. The discussion below (Ktepa2: 12–19 and Ktepa 3: 14–30) shows that that men used the fact that the fish is not tasty (cf. Nwabueze & Nwabueze, 2010) to resolve marital problems:

Nana KT (Ktepa2: 12–19)

(14) a. *abrɛ́ dıá, má saá fə ka-kpətrá maá mɔ́ bá-tɪɪ kə-mə kɪ-kpáŋ́kpáŋ́*
time TOP then that POSS CM-fish DEM REL 3PL-call CM-IND K
a
TP
'Some time ago, that fish that they call kəkpáŋ́kpáŋ́'

b. *má kɛ-ḿ-bɔ́ dɛ*
then CL-NEG-be_at sweet
'it wasn't tasty'

c. *á-mə sə́ brɛ́ nəḿ fra mɔ́, ba-á-dɪɛ-pɔŋ a-tʃí*
3SG-IND top time DEF as_for REL 3PL-PERF-be_able-marry CM-woman
ənwə́ anáá asə́
two or three
'Because at that time, they could marry two or three wives.'

d. *á-mə sə́ mɔ́ fí-ɛ́-yɛ kəsə nəḿ kɔ́ráá mɔ fə́ adwéné mbʊ*
3SG-IND top REL 2SG-PERF-go K DEF even then 2SG mind NEG-be_at
má sə
3SG top
'Then when you are going fishing, you don't even think about her.'

e. *anáá sɛ mə adwene n-kɪɛ-bʊ fə́ sə́*
or say 3SG mind NEG-also-be_at 2SG top
'or she too does not think of you'

f. *fí-ɛ-ɲa ká-mə́ e, mə ná fí-é-bə-sə́ má ɔ́-bʊ-dínə*
2SG-PERF-get CM-IND TP 3SG FOC 2SG-PERF-use-give then 3SG-use-cook
ɛ-pʊ
CM-soup
'When you get it, it's the one you send her to make soup'

g. *má ɔ-wʊ́ɛ́-dɛ́ ke-ɲínə́ ko ba-á-tɪɪ mə sɛ ta mə sə mə*
then 3SG-REP-have CM-name SPEC 3PL-PERF-call 3SG say take 3SG give 1SG
kə bɔ̃ɛ́́
wife bad
'so you see that… it also has another name that they call it "give it to his bad wife"'

(Ktepa 3: 14–30)

(15) a. *ná ɛ-bɔ́ fɪɛ fɪ-dɛ́ fé-bu mə kə-bebúó*
CONJ 3SG-do like 2SG-have 2SG-break 3SG CM-proverb
'Then it would look like you are telling her a proverb.'

b. *ə́-mə sə́ má ká-mə́ ke-ɲínə́ dʒí ta mə sə mə kə bʊ̃ɛ́́*
3SG-IND say then CM-IND CM-name be take 3SG 3SG-IND wife bad
'That is why its name is "give it to his bad wife"'

Mr. D

(15) c. *sunə́-m sɛ́ ntí mɔ́ fɪ-é-bʊ saá fə ka-kpətrá nəḿ bə-sə́*
show-3SG say reason REL 2SG-PERF-use that POSS CM-fish DEF use-give
mə́ a
3SG TP
'Show her why you have given her that fish.'

Nana KT

(15) d. *má ɔ-tʃí nəḿ ɔ́-bɛ-pá fə́ tʃɛw*
then CM-wife DEF 3SG-VEN-beg 2SG beg
'Then the woman comes to apologize to you'

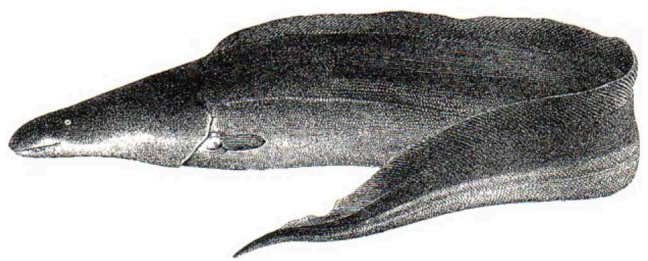
e. *asɛ fɪ-í-yɛ kəsə nəḿ mɔ́ ɔ́-brə́ asɛ́ɲ́ ko tia fə́ á*
say 2SG-PROG-go kese DEF REL 3SG-say word INDEF against 2SG TP
'She would say when you were going to *kese* and she said something against you'

f. *má ɔ́-kɛ́-pa fə́ tʃɛw*
then 3SG-FUT-beg 2SG beg
'Then she will apologize to you'

g. *má átʃia awaríɛ́ nɛḿ ɛ-bɔ awaríɛ́*
then now marriage DEF AM-do marriage
'Then the marriage will be on a sound footing' (lit. 'will be marriage')

According to the discussion, the bony tongue fish was also called "give it to his bad wife". This is because it was not considered to be delicious, and a man who caught it during a *kese* fishing expedition would only give it to his wife if she offended him. A wife who received such fish from her husband would reflect on what she had done to upset him and apologize to him. Once she made the apology, the problem would be considered resolved and the marriage would be fine again. The fish therefore played an important role in resolving marital conflicts among the Dwang people, although it was always in favor of the man. It is likely, therefore, that this special name was used by men only. While Nana KT was describing the fish, there were a few Dwang elders next to me who were listening to him. When he got to (14g), an old man joined him to shout *mə kə bɔ̃ĩ́*, suggesting it was a well-known name among the older people.

4.4 *Gymnarchus niloticus* (Cuvier, 1829) (Darkwa et al., 1999, p. 17, fig. 11)



The common name for *Gymnarchus niloticus* is frank fish. It is called *ɔtʃwɪrɛ* in Dwang. The prefix shows that it belongs to the *ɔ-* class, which means that it is classified with animate entities. The frank fish is very important among the Dwang, both for medicinal and cultural purposes. This is shown in the segment of conversation between Mr D and Nana KT (Nana_Fish_2b: 142–215) below:

(16) a. *saá fə ka-kpətrá nəḿ ka-bʊ kwá n-tʃú lɛ páá*
that POSS CM-fish DEF AM-be_at strong CM-water inside INT
'That fish, it is very strong in water' (142–143)

b. *á-mə sá a-lə m-fé maá nə fí-e-kó akɔdaí*
3SG-IND top CM-thing CM-place DEM FOC 2SG-PERF-give_birth child
'That is, if you give birth to a child'

c. *ná mi-é-dʒi nofóé nofóé, ɔ-m-bʊ kwa*
CONJ 3SG-PERF-be weak weak 3SG-NEG-be_at strong
'and he/she is very weak, not strong,'

d. *saá fə ka-kpətrá maá fɪ-ké-ʃɛdá kpalé ká-ḿ páá*
thus POSS CM-fish DEM 2SG-FUT-plan search CM-IND INT
'That fish, you can get it.'

e. *ka-mə a-kasaí dıá, nə fɪ-bʊ ka-dadʊ́á bə-lwié-lwie*
CL-IND CM-bone TOP CONJ 2SG-use CM-nail use-RED-enter
'Its bones, you use a nail to enter them.' (make holes in them) (150–151)

f. *ká-mɔ́ a-kasaí nəḿ fə ə-bwə dıá lɛ*
CL-REL CM-bone DEF POSS CM-hole DEF inside
'The holes in the bones,'

g. *nə fí-bʊ i-súri bə-wáá lɛ́*
CONJ 2SG-use CM-thread use-enter inside
'then you put threads through them.'

h. *nə fí-bʊ drɔ́ɛ́ ká-bú nəḿ kalé fɪɛ…. forty days*
CONJ 2SG-use tie CM-waist DEF thus like forty days
'And then you tie it around the waist for about forty days,'

Mr. D

(16) i. *n-ká n-ká n-ká dwianə́*
CM-day CM-day CM-day forty
'forty days.'

Nana KT

(16) j. *n-ká dwianə́ dıa… má fɪ-ɛ́-bʊ́-drɔɛ-m*
CM-day forty TOP then 2SG-PERF-use-tie-3SG
'Those 40 days… then you tie it around him'

k. *kɔ-fʊ́ time mɔ́ ɛ́-kɛ́-tɪŋ a*
go-reach time REL CL-FUT-break TP
'till the time that it breaks.'

l. *ám ɛ-tɛ́rɛ́ tɪŋ fa-á-ta bíó*
3PL PERF-finish tear 2SG-NEG-take again
'When they are done (finish) breaking, you don't take them again.'

m. *má ɔ-kɪɛ-bʊ kwa fɪɛ … ka-kpətrá nəḿ pɛpɛ́pɛ́*
then 3SG-REP-be_at strong like CM-fish DEF exactly
'Then he/she also becomes strong exactly like the fish.'

Nana KT

(16) n. *mə ó-sí lɛ́ kalé bə-yɛ mə kʊ-kʊ́nɛ́ lɛ… mə sánə́ nəḿ*
3SG CM-back inside thus VEN-go 3SG CM-neck inside 3SG middle DEF
'Right from its lower back up to its neck its middle.'

According to Nana KT, when a newborn is weak or sickly, bones of the fish are threaded and tied around his or her waist for forty days. The child would then become as strong as the fish. In addition to its medicinal properties, the fish serves other functions, including as a show of appreciation, and for customary marriage ceremonies:

(17) a. *mə ki-yíé nəḿ dʒí ki-yíé ko mɔ́*
3SG CM-flesh DEF be CM-flesh SPEC REL
'its meat is some meat that'

b. *err ésán sɛ o-dʒí ka-kpətrá mɔ́ ká-híá sɛ err kə-də bíárá kuŋúsə*
um since 3SG-be CM-fish REL AM-need say um CM-thing every reason
'since it is fish that is needed for... um everything'

c. *má fi-e-bú ki-yíé nəḿ bʊ-yɛ ká*
then 2SG-PERF-cut CM-flesh DEF use-go give_as_present
'then you cut the fish and give it as a present.'

d. *ɔ-kʊ ɛ-bɔ́ kʊ-dɔ́kʊ sá fə*
CM-some AM-do CM-thing give 2SG
'If someone has done something nice for you,'

e. *mɔ́ fə́ a-ɲésá é-sɔ́ e*
REL 2SG CM-face AM-SƆ TP
'if you are grateful'

f. *fɪ-í-dɪɛ-bʊ̋-yɛ ká mə*
2SG-PERF-be_able-use-go give_as_present 3SG
'you could go and give it as a present to him/her.'

g. *fɪ-í-bɛ-pɔ́ŋ́ ɔ-tʃí*
2SG-PERF-VEN-marry CM-woman
'When you are about to marry a woman,'

h. *nə fɪ-í-kparɛ mə ki-yíé bə-sá mə abusuafɔ́ nəḿ*
CONJ 2SG-PERF-look_for 3SG CM-flesh use-give 3SG family DEF
'then you look for the fish to give to her family.'

i. *ba-á-tíkí-tɪkɪ mə yíé nəḿ ŋkúrən ŋkúreŋ ŋkúrən*
3PL-PERF-RED-CUT 3SG flesh DEF round_piece round_piece round_piece
'You cut it into round round pieces.'

j. *fí-í-dɪɛ bə́-ká-kə ámə́ o-ɲi ɔ́-sí*
2SG-PERF-be_able use-RED-give_as_present 3PL CM-mother CM-father
'Then you give it to them as presents, father, mother.'

Mr. D

(17) k. *á-mə sá fí-ɛ-kɪɪ ɔ-dɔ́ maá má ɛ-tʃírɛ sɛ mə yó dɛ́ mfasʊɔ́ páá*
3SG-IND top 2SG-PERF-look ?? DEM then 3SG-means 3SG skin has benefit INT
'That means when you look at it, it has a lot of value.'

Nana KT

(17) l. *bebree ə́-mə́ sə́ ɔ-bʊ lwə́ tãẽ*
several 3SG-IND top 3SG-be_at scarce bad
'A lot, therefore it is very scarce.'

Mr. D

(17) m. *kaná nəḿ ɔ́-bʊ lwá a, má é-tʃɪrɛ sɛ ɔ-mɛn-bʊ aná*
thus DEF 3SG-be_at scarce TP then 3SG-shows that 3SG-NEG-be_at 1PL
n-tʃú maá lɛ́ bɛ́
CM-water DEM inside or
'The way it is scarce, does it mean that it is not in our water?'

Nana KT

(17) n. *ɔ-bʊ lɛ́ ɔ-bʊ aná n-tʃú maá lɛ*
3SG-be_at inside 3SG-be_at 1PL CM-water DEM inside
'It is in, it is in our water.'

Mr. D

(17) o. *ná mənə́ bɛ ná ɔ́-bʊ lwá*
CONJ what come CONJ 3SG-be_at scarce
'So why is it scarce?'

Nana KT

(17) p. *ɔ-má-lɛ m-fə́ŋ́ mɔ́ dédé bʊ a*
3SG-NEG-like CM-place REL noise be_at TP
'It doesn't like the place where there is noise.'

q. *dédé é-dʒí fɪɛ … m-fə́ŋ́ fɪ-ké-wá kə́sə́*
noise AM-be like … CM-place 2SG-FUT-pour kese
'Noise like … the place where you go to do *kese*,'

r. *ɔ-má-lɛ kanə́ŋ́*
3SG-NEG-like thus
'It doesn't like that.'

Mr. D

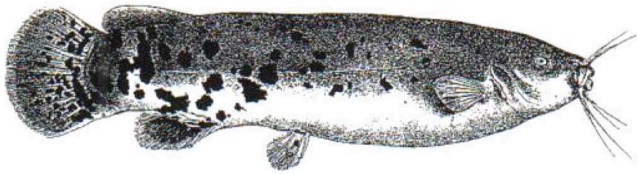
(17) s. *í-tʃwi asɪɛ á-ɪsɛ ba-a-fɪɛ-fɪɛ a?*
3SG-come_from say CM-person AM-PERF-RED-shout Q
'Is it because people are shouting?'

Nana KT

(17) t. *ɛhɛ́ɛ*
'That's right'

Dankwa et al. (1999) write that the frank fish is not threatened. However, Mr D's discussion with Nana KT suggests that while they may still be found in the Dwang area, they are not abundant. Mr. D actually lamented in a later conversation with me that the tradition of distributing the fish to family members during marriage has almost disappeared because of the scarcity of the fish.

4.5 *Malapterurus electricus* (Gmelin, 1789) (Darkwa et al., 1999, p. 36, fig. 33)



The *Malapterurus electricus* (Gmelin, 1789) is commonly known as the electric catfish. The Dwang call it *əmpusu*. They say it is tasty but also that it inspires a lot of fear because of its ability to give an electric shock to people who touch it. Obasohan et al. (2006) write that it is used locally for medicinal purposes by people around the Ogba River in Benin City, Nigeria, due to what they call "its mythical powers". The discussion below (Nana_fish_3: 506–570) shows that it is the same for the Dwang:

Nana KT

(18) a. *e-dʒí ka-kpətrá mɔ́ ká-mə e-yó ɛ-bɔ í-fú a*
3SG-be CM-fish REL CL-IND CM-skin AM-do CM-fear TP
'It is a fish that is scary.'

b. *ka-bɔ də́bə́ páá*
CL-do sweet INT
'It's very delicious.'

c. *má fɪ-é-lɛ ká-mə́ fɪ-é-ŋɛ́sɛ́ kanə́ŋ́ má ka-á-wʊrɛ*
then 2SG-PERF-remove CL-IND 2SG-PERF-? thus then CL-PERF-dry
'Then you remove it and ??, that way, it dries.'

d. *fa-á-wɔɛ-dɪnɛ́ kóráá má fɪ-tʃá fé-é-wo ka-mə́*
2SG-NEG-REP-cook even then 2SG-just 2SG-PERF-chew CL-IND
'You don't even have to cook it again before you can just eat it.'

e. *mə ɔ-wóɾɛ́ dɪá, ba-á-bʊ-bɔ́ ká-dúú bebree*
3SG:IND CM-skin TOP 3PL-PERF-use-do CM-medicine several
'As for its skin, it is used to make several kinds of medicine.'

f. *nə́ ɔ-tʃí kóráá nə́ ɛ-bɛ sɪɛ o-dʒi fə kə́ nə́ ɔ-kʊ́*
CONJ CM-woman even FOC 3SG-come say 3SG-be 2SG wife CONJ CM-some
ɪ-tá mə́
AM-take 3SG
'If a woman is your wife and somebody takes her,'

g. *fí-ɛ-bʊ́-bɔ kə-dúú i,*
2SG-PERF-use-do CM-medicine TP
'when you use it to make medicine,'

h. *mɪ-í-yé mə krɛ́ ɛ, má mə tulé é-wu kɔ́ráá*
3SG-PERF-go 3SG side TP then 3SG penis AM-die even
'when he (i.e., the other man) went to her place, then his penis would die completely.'

Mr. D

(18) i. *ná mánə kə-də kuŋúsə nə ba-á-bʊ əmá bʊ-bɔ́ álá mɔ́*
CONJ what CM-thing reason FOC 3PL-PERF-use 3SG use-do thing RED
sɛ́bɪ o
pardon INTERJ
'Why is its skin used to make something, pardon that (expression),'

j. *fə́ nə ɔ-tʃí ná ma-ké-dɪɛ́ dɪ-ŋ*
2SG CONJ CM-woman FOC NEG-FUT-be_able lie-Q
'that you and a woman would not be able to sleep (together)?'

Nana KT

(18) k. *á-lɛ́ bʊ mə lɛ́, err a-lɛ bɔ̃̄ɛ̃ bʊ mə lɛ*
CM-thing be_at 3SG inside um CM-thing bad be_at 3SG inside
'There is something in it, there is something evil in it.'

Mr. D

(18) l. *mənə a-lɛ́ ébóasə bʊ mə lɛ́ páá, ná ámə́ kuŋúsə*
what CM-thing ?? be_at 3SG inside INT CONJ 3SG reason
ba-á-bʊ-bɔ́ kə́-dú?
3PL-PROG-use-do medicine
'What special thing is in it because of which they use it for medicine?'

Nana KT

(18) m. *mə súnsum*
3SG spirit
'Its spirit.'

Mr. D

(18) n. *súnsum mə kalé?*
spirit 3SG thus
'What kind of spirit?'

Nana KT

(18) o. *m-a-kɛ́-ɲɪ brə́ əmə anə́ ke-ɲeŋ lɛ́ nəḿ*
1SG-NEG-FUT-know say 3SG 1PL Dwang inside DEF
'I won't know how to say it in our Dwang language'

p. *í-tʃwi fɪɛ mənə́ asɪɛ, anə́ é-brə ámə́ anə́ lɛ́*
3SG-come_from like 2PL say 1PL PERF-say 3SG 1PL inside
'because you've said we should speak our language.'

Mr. D

(18) q. *ɲɛ́ mɪ-í-kpɛŋ a?*
NEG:be 3SG-PERF-shock Q
'Is it not the one that shocks?'

r. *ɲɛ́ kɪ-kpɛŋ nəḿ kuŋúsə́ nə́ a?*
NEG:be CM-shock DEF reason FOC Q
'Is it not because of the shock?'

Nana KT

(18) t. *ee ɔ́-kɛ-kpɛŋ*
yes 3SG-FUT-shock
'Yes, it will shock.'

Mr. D

(18) u. *kɪ-kpɛŋ nəḿ ɛ-lɛ sə́ ɔ-dɛ́ power nəḿa?*
CM-shock DEF 3SG-inside give 3SG-has power DEF Q
'Is it the shock that gives it the power?'

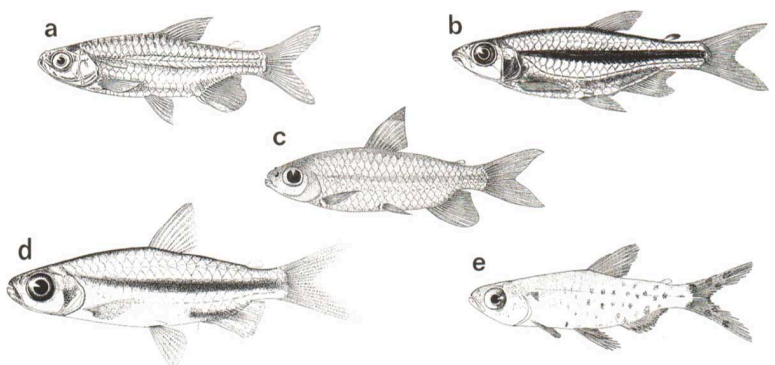
Nana KT

(18) v. *ɔ́-kɛ́-kpɛŋ fə́*
3SG-FUT-shock 2SG
'It will shock you;'

w. *má f-a-á-wɔɛ-dɪɛ krə lɛ́ kɔ́ráá*
then 2SG-NEG-PERF-REP-be_able hold even even
'And then you won't be able to hold her (i.e., the woman) at all.'

Nana KT echoes the belief of the Dwang that the ability to emit electric charges which shock people who touch the fish comes from an evil spirit that exists in the fish.

4.6 *Micralestes* (Boulenger, 1899), *Rhabdalestes* (Hoedeman, 1959) and *Lepidarchus* (Roberts, 1966) (Darkwa et al., 1999, p. 21, fig. 16)



The picture above shows five fish which Darkwa et al. (1999) divide into three genera, namely *Micralestes, Rhabdalestes* and *Lepidarchus*. The fish *Micralestes pabrensis* (a), *Micralestes occidentalis* (b) and *Micralestes elongatus* (c) belong to the *Micralestes* genus. Image (d) is *Rhabdalestes septentrionalis* and (e) is *Lepidarchus adonis*. Although belonging to three genera, Nana KT's comment (19a) below suggests the Dwang consider all three to be one type of fish. A single one is *kasɪépʊɪ* while many are *nsɪépʊɪ*. According to him, they are the primary food for other types of fish. He ends by explaining why the fish bears the name *nsɪépʊɪ* (Nana_fish_3: 84–108).

(19) a. *amə maá péé be-dʒí a-lə kóle*
3PL DEM all AM-be AM-thing one
'All of them are one.'

b. *m-kpətrá péé bɛ-bʊ n-tʃu lé ámá ə-dʒíbə ne*
CM-fish all AM-be_at CM-water inside 3PL CM-food FOC
'All the fish in water, this is their food.'

c. *ámá ká-dá fɪɛ mɔ́ ba-á-tɪɪ amə n-sɪépʊ é-dʒí aseɛ*
3PL CM-thing like REL 3PL-PERF-call 3PL N 3SG-be say
'The reason why they are called N is that'

d. *séséi maá déɛ, fí-ɛ-yɛ n-tʃú lɛ ndé ndé ndé ndé*
now DEM TOP 2SG-PERF-go CM-water inside today today today today
'right now if you go to the water today today today,'

e. *fɪ-ké-ɲa ɛsié n-tʃú nəḿ*
2SG-FUT-get draw CM-water DEF
'as soon as you draw the water,'

f. *fɪ-kɛ-ɲa a-kɔ́ ba-bʊ-bɔ́ ɛ-pɔ́*
2SG-FUT-get CM-some 3PL-use-make CM-soup
'you will get some to come and make soup.'

g. *á-mə sə nə ba-á-tɪɪ amə*
2SG-FUT-get CM-some 3PL-use-make CM-soup 2SG-FUT-get
'That is why they are called *nseépo*.'

The differences notwithstanding, the three genera of fish are named based on their accessibility.

5. Conclusion

According to Foley (2013, p. 1), anthropological linguistics is "concerned with the place of language in its wider social and cultural context, its role in forging and sustaining cultural practices and social structures." This study was conducted as part of a documentation project that peels away language to discover the mean-

ings that underlie the naming of fish, the cultural practices associated with harvesting fish, and how both the names and the practices are severely threatened, partly through contact, partly through cultural and ecological changes. We can safely assume that the *kese* practice was sustainable. Mr D pointed out that individual people could use it for fishing. However, its communal use was limited to specific occasions at specific times. As such, there would have been no risk of overfishing. The introduction of poisonous powder to replace the plant (doubtless through contact with outsiders) changed everything. The people may have caught a lot more fish during that time but they also destroyed many fingerlings in the process. This was why the Ghanaian government clamped down hard on the practice. Unfortunately, by including fishing with *kese* in the ban, the authorities killed off an important cultural pratice. Since its cultivation appeared to be labor intensive, the plant disappeared within a generation. Thus, although I made several attempts to find it during the two months I spent collecting data among the community, nobody could locate a single plant.

Two of the fish described (*daɲɛpʊasí* and *nsɪépʊɪ*) have genus names that are connected to their physical properties. *Daɲɛpʊasí* gets its name from the misperception that its gills are breasts. Three different genuses of tetras are classified as one fish (i.e., *nsɪépʊɪ*) because of their accessibility for a quick meal. They are probably the most common source of fish protein for the Dwang. The people also knew that they are the main source of food for other fish in the river. The name for the genus of a third fish, *katʃapéɛ*, is not based on a physical attribute. However, specific species within the genus are identified based on the color of their tails, such as *kədupa kɔ́kɔ* 'red tail'. Although the name *kəkpáŋ́kpáŋ́* is also not based on a physical attribute, the fish has a secondary name based on its use by men to punish wives with whom they have had disagreements, which thereby leads to the resolution of marital conflicts. The names *ɔtʃwɪrɛ* and *əmpusu* are also not based on physical attributes. However, these fish played important medicinal and customary roles in the lives of the Dwang. The naming of the fish throws light on the semantics of noun classes. One woman I interviewed told me in Akan, *adwene biá wobehu sɛ yɛfrɛ no kákáká no, nketenkete nono* 'any fish that is called *ka-* is tiny'. The *ka-* diminutive seems to go back to Niger-Congo (Felix Ameka, personal communication). This is not the case for *ɔtʃwɪrɛ* 'frank fish'.

It is not only the *kese* fishing practice that has disappeared. Much of the medicinal and customary uses described above have also almost died completely. Furthermore, many young people do not know the names of the fish. Eberhardt et al. (2019) describe the language as vigorous because parents use it to communicate with their children. However, the influence of Akan, the dominant regional language, is not only evident on the language of the young ones but of the adults as well, in the form of codeswitching, borrowing and calquing. There are many

instances where Mr. D had to check Nana KT because he used Akan instead of Dwang. For instance, when Naka KT says *atetʃɛ́* 'mud' in (12d), Mr D prompts him till he uses the Dwang word in (12h). When it comes to the discussion of the electric catfish, he gets stuck because he could not say 'give electric shock' in Dwang, and Mr D had to tell him in (18u).

Abbreviations

1	1st
2	2nd
3	3rd
AM	Agreement Marker
CL	Class (Pronouns)
CM	Class Marker
CONJ	Conjunction
DEF	Definite
DEM	Demonstrative
FOC	Focus
FUT	Future
IND	Independent
INTERJ	Interjection
NEG	Negative
PERF	Perfective, Plural
PROG	Progressive
Q	Question
RED	Reduplication
REL	Relativizer
SG	Singular
TOP	Topic
TP	Terminal Particle
VEN	Venitive

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CHAPTER 12

Perception and expression of color among the Wolof of Senegal

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The analysis and description of color terms has re-emerged at the center of discussions in contemporary anthropological linguistic research (based on well-established previous studies over the past decades). However, work on color terms is still lacking in most West African linguistic research, particularly in Senegal. Wolof, a lingua franca spoken mainly in Senegal, has three basic colors used with adverbs that are never used in other contexts, namely *ñuul* 'black', *ñuul kukk* 'extremely black', *weex* 'white', *weex tàll* 'extremely white', *xonq* 'red' and *xonq coyy* 'extremely red', around which gravitate other shades of color whose terms are taken from the surrounding vocabulary. The aim of this chapter is first to present the color concepts and their "shades" in Wolof and to discuss the question of the morphosyntactic encoding of color terms in linguistic constructions. We will also consider their classification on the basis of their semantic properties and occurrence in idiomatic expressions. Finally, we will show how the community identifies itself through colors and what symbolic representations of colors exist in the Wolof-speaking community.

Keywords: categorization, color, cultural representation, morphosyntactic encoding, Wolof

1. Introduction

Different modes of categorization from an anthropological linguistic perspective help to segment and organize the elements of language and culture, or of a *linguaculture* (Friedrich, 1989), according to grammatical or lexical categories. This is the case with the perception and realization of colors, which is considered "universal" overall but is expressed by people in their own ways according to the language(s) they speak. The challenge is to investigate the reasons why, some colors have semantic and morphosyntactic specifications that are different from those of other colors. Do these designations depend on the way we see the world or are

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they arbitrary? This study focuses on the perception and terminology of colors in Wolof, a Senegambian language of the Northern Atlantic group of the Niger-Congo family, bringing together various discussions and theories in contemporary anthropological linguistic research on the notion of color.

By using the nomenclature of colors in Wolof, we will demonstrate in this work that the perception of colors and their denominations can only be profoundly analyzed and understood by taking into account Wolof culture, its sociology and its environment. There are three basic colors (*xonq* 'red', *ñuul* 'black', *weex* 'white') which are expressed in the same way by all Wolof speakers, even if they speak different varieties of Wolof. The other colors, which we will call secondary, may be expressed differently in different localities. This article will describe color terms, including their special status within the linguistic system and their usage with their cultural connotations in idiomatic expressions.

1.1 Wolof: The ethnolinguistic context, data and the present study

Wolof people represent about 45% of the population of Senegal, estimated at nearly 16 million inhabitants. Wolof is the most important vehicular language and the most widely spoken lingua franca. It is widely used as a language of trade and social relations by nearly 90% of the population. We can note some differences in the regional dialects of Wolof, urban Wolof in the Cap-Vert peninsula and in the region of Saint Louis, the Wolof of Baol in the center of Senegal, and the Wolof of Saloum. These differences are mainly lexical but do not interfere with intercomprehension (and are thus mutually intelligible), nor with syntax.

Moreover, Wolof has certainly been the Senegalese language that has been most in contact with French since colonial penetration. It was also in contact with other foreign languages such as Arabic, Dutch, Portuguese, English and French very early on in their different periods of occupation in present-day Senegal. These contacts explain the large number of borrowings in the language. As a vehicular language, Wolof also has a significant place in the digital space, with new information and communication technologies across social media formats.

The corpus used in this work stems from various sources. As primary data, our corpus is made up of statements and texts drawn from oral and written productions in different linguistic registers by speakers from various social origins. We used public speeches, testimonies, accounts of conversations, public debates and Internet memes. Literary works, such as novels, plays, poems, stories, etc., songs and various other texts based around cultural events also served as part of our database. Another part of the corpus was drawn from spontaneous conversations among informants in Dakar (speaking so-called "Urban Wolof"), in Kër Madaaru (in the center of Senegal where Baol Wolof is spoken), in Saloum (where

Saloum Wolof is used), and in Saint Louis (where other regional dialects of Wolof are in use).

Mother-tongue judgments by the author as a native speaker were also included in the analysis when creating the corpus, and stimulus tests were conducted to check the hypotheses. As secondary sources, several articles, grammars, monolingual and bilingual dictionaries (Dard, 1826; Boilat, 1858; Kobès, 1869; Sauvageot, 1965; Diagne, 1971; Church, 1981; Dialo, 1981, 1983; Diouf, 2003, 2016; Robert, 1991; Fal, 1999; Cissé, 2009; Diagne, 2017; Sall et al., 2021), to name but a few selected sources, and text books (Ba, 2007; Juuf & Faal, 1996; Diop, 2012, 2017; Ndao, 2019, 2020; Mbaay, 2020) also served as a corpus and were consulted during the research. The data, collected from October 2018 to December 2021, comprised various formats, such as audio files, video files and written texts. As for the informants, these were mostly old people (over 70 years old) and some younger speakers, including men and women between 35 and 67, belonging to various groups with different socioprofessional profiles (e.g., teachers, computer scientists and data processors, students, housewives, farmers, fishermen and others).

1.2 General theoretical framework on color terminology

The theory on the terminology of color concepts can be analyzed from two main approaches: the universalist perspective and the relativist perspective, as outlined by Jameson (2005, p. 103; see Jameson & D'Andrade, 1997). There is a universalist approach to color categorization which can be summarized by saying that "biologically, all people, regardless of their sexes, ages or races, see colors almost in the same way" (Lakoff, 1997, p. 167; see also Heider Rosch, 1972). A popular version of this perspective asserts that although color naming differences exist across cultures, they are largely explained by a model of pan-human shared color experience, and this determines the non-arbitrary basis by which all cultures categorize and name color sensations. Our ability to produce and receive utterances must first be considered in relation to other abilities such as visual perception or motion control. There is not any "purely" linguistic concept, nor is there any word "truth" or reference either, but there are mental representations attached to words. As Jameson (2005, p. 89) says, "[m]ost researchers would concur that sensible cultural relativists agree with universalists that biology serves as an important constraint for color perception". Siouffi and Raemdonck (2018, p. 90) assert that "depending on understandings and perceptions, very different representations can be associated to a single word". Thus, focal colors have innate salience independent of any particular language. For instance, all humans see red in the same way due to their shared biology, and so they are bound to have a name for this color.

This universalist approach to the theory of color terms was highlighted by Brent Berlin and Paul Kay (1969) in their study *Basic Color Terms: Their Universality and Evolution* (see also Kay & Maffi, 1999). Berlin and Kay were the first to advocate for the universality of color terms by pointing out that the division of the color spectrum (using the Munsell color chart) in languages is not arbitrary, but rather governed by cognitive constraints. According to their theory, there are maximally 11 basic color terms, divided into six levels with a first level of two fundamental color terms: white and black. The second level languages have three basic colors: white, black and red, and so on until the sixth level, which includes pink, light blue, grey, orange and purple. They also imply that terms such as *green-ish* or *gray-ish* are not considered "basic" according to their model, since they are not monolexemic (see also Dimmendaal, 2022, p. 40). Figure 12.1 shows Stages I-XI of Berlin and Kay's model.

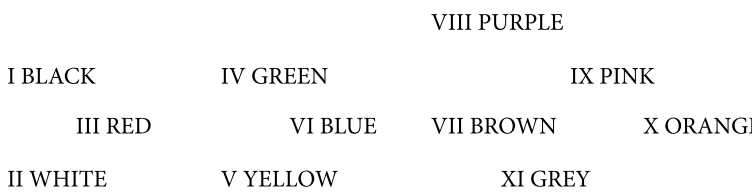


Figure 12.1 Basic color terms according to Berlin and Kay (1969); illustration taken from Dimmendaal (2022, p. 42)

The hierarchy and universality of designations for colors have been discussed and reworked by many authors. The model by Berlin and Kay, in particular, has yielded debates on its applicability in recent years, and on whether this model can still be used at all. Kimberly A. Jameson (2005, p. 6) considers that "[w]hile it can be argued that bilingualism in English affects the results to some extent, they do not support the possible objection that bilingualism of their informants distorted their findings". Furthermore, she says that:

> [m]any languages that are classified at or above Stage V (using the original framework of Berlin and Kay, 1969, or recent revisions) have a separate abstract concept for color represented by a superordinate linguistic term; however, many unwritten languages (…) do not have a native construct for color indexed by an unborrowed superordinate lexical term and thus may not have an abstraction for color integral to their cultural transmission of the color lexicon. (…) Various results in the literature suggest that Kay would not likely observe the same correspondence between his computed centroids and elemental hues under different empirical settings or stimulus sets. (Jameson, 2005, p. 97)

The universalist theory is thus challenged by a moderate form of the relativist perspective of color categorization. This theory points to the role cultural conventions and pressures may play in describing colors. In this approach, the reality of colors is universal but is represented by each people in their own ways. Thus, different languages draw the lines in different ways. There are many properties of color categories (see Rosch, 1975) that are a function of language and culture (Kay, Berlin & Merrifield 1991).

In the relativistic approach, categorization, as a process, is sometimes difficult to observe, because the frontiers of lexical units are not always defined in the real world, owing to the vagueness of some concepts. That is the case with color categorization, whose spectrum is a continuum in which it is difficult to see limits between units. However, this difficulty in categorizing does not prevent languages from naming the different colors and their variations, particularly the ones more frequently used than others (Tornay, 1979; Segerer & Vanhove, 2019). In this perspective, large parts of color naming and categorization behavior are shaped by sociocultural influences, and these influences produce differences in cross-cultural color naming that cannot be explained by the popular universalist explanations.

Colors, in Wolof, as well as in other Senegalese languages, are categorized in a different way. Color concepts can be encoded differently in terms of their morphosyntactic properties, semantic scope, and category assignment (Wierzbicka, 1992). It is problematic to apply the theory of Berlin and Kay to Wolof. Wolof has three "basic color terms" *weex* 'white', *ñuul* 'black' and *xonq* 'red'. And we can add a fourth which is related to the shade of human skin *xees* 'to have a light complexion'. These color terms, that we call basic color terms, are different (also from a morphosyntactic perspective) from the other color terms, which we consider as secondary. They show particular patterns of morphosyntactic behavior distinct from secondary color terms. This certainly does not mean that the secondary colors are less relevant than the basic colors or are derived from the basic colors. We distinguish between basic color terms and secondary color terms in Wolof because to the first can be added intensifiers, but not to the second. The basic color terms are also unanimously known to everybody and are named in the same way by all the speakers of the language.

2. Terminology of color concepts in Wolof

In Wolof, a term meaning 'color' itself does not exist. Other expressions are used instead with specific meanings to express the concept of color. The color can be

named *melo m*[1]- or *wirgo w-* in Wolof and also (rarely) *cu*[2] *m-*, related to the name *cuub* 'dye'. The word *cuub* is widely used in Wolof for 'dye' (the verb is *suub*[3] 'to dye'; however, the word *cu* for 'color' is no longer used). The term *wirgo* was consecrated by a Wolof researcher Fallou Cissé,[4] who was one of the first to talk about a list of the different colors in Wolof and gave the lexeme *wirgo* as the equivalent of 'color'. The word *wirgo* cannot be used to denote human beings. This word also means 'kind', 'variety', 'category', type, etc. It is starting to be used by some Wolof speakers to mean 'color'. The lexemes used to express 'color' in Wolof (*melo m-* and *wirgo w-*) highlight the fact that color belongs to perceptual categories (Kay & McDaniel, 1978) in which are also contained the outline, form, variety, pattern, kind and category of a concept. We have to point out, however, that the term *melo m-* is common in expressions describing color but can also mean 'shape', 'resemblance', 'appearance' or 'allure'. This word is a derivative of the verb *mel* 'to resemble' (see (1)–(2)).

(1) *Xale bi na mu mel?*
xale b-i na mu mel
child CLSG.DEFPR-PR how 3SG.NAR is (look.like)
'How is the child?' *Or:*
'What does the child look like?'

(2) *Bunt bi na mu mel?*
bunt b-i na mu mel
door CLSG.DEFPR-PR how 3SG.NAR look.like
'How (i.e., of what kind) is the door?'

For such a general question, the answer can be given with regard to the "color" of his/her skin (3), to the size (4), to the body size, the shape or an object's materiality (8), etc. With regard to the question in Example (1), the answer could be, among others, one of the following qualifiers: *ñuul* 'black' (3), *gàtt* 'short' (4), *rafet* 'beautiful' (5) and so forth.

(3) *Xale bi dafa ñuul.*
xale b-i dafa ñuul
child CLSG.DEFPR-PR 3SG.EMV black
'The child is black.'

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1. The abbreviations (*m-, w-, g-, ...*) are nominal classes attached to the noun. Wolof has eight singular nominal classes (*w-, k-, l-, m-, j-, b-, g-, s-*) and two plural nominal classes (*ñ-, y-*).

2. This word seems not to be used anymore because none of the people who were interviewed knew it or were familiar with it. The 65-year-old interviewee who gave us this word says he remembers the use of this word by elders in his village when he was younger.

3. There is a consonant change between the noun and the verb in Wolof.

4. WAX (Wolof Ak Xamle) on Twitter: "#wolof # wirgo yi. Ban ak ban ngeen si xam? 2020"

(4) *Xale bi dafa gàtt.*
xale b-i dafa gàtt
child CLSG.DEFPR-PR 3SG.EMV short
'The child is short.'

(5) *Xale bi dafa rafet.*
xale b-i dafa rafet
child CLSG.DEFPR-PR 3SG.EMV beautiful
'The child is beautiful.'

And with regard to the question in (2), the answer could be, among others, one of these assertions:

(6) *Bunt bi dafa ñuul.*
bunt b-i dafa ñuul
door CLSG.DEFPR-PR 3SG.EMV black
'The door is black.'

(7) *Bunt bi buntu weñ la.*
bunt b-i bunt-u weñ la
door CLSG.DEFPR-PR door-of iron 3SG.EMCP
'The door is of iron (material).'

(8) *Bunt bu dëgar la.*
bunt b-u dëgar la
door CLSG.DEFPR-REL strong 3SG.EMCP
'It is a strong door.'

To get an appropriate answer about the color of a referent or concept, it is necessary to mention terms for specific colors. This will assist one's interlocutor in understanding that one seeks to get an exact answer about the color, already citing color terms in one's question instead of asking for 'color' in general (see (9)).

(9) *Xale bi dafa ñuul wala dafa xees?*
xale b-i dafa ñuul wala dafa xees
child CLSG.DEFPR-PR 3SG.EMV black or 3SG.EMV light
'The child is black or has a light complexion.'

The fact that there is no specific word for 'color' in Wolof, as there is in other languages such as French (*couleur*) or English (*color*), is not extraordinary and does not necessarily mean that Wolof has no knowledge of colors or that its speakers have little interest in them. Wolof exhibits a fine-grained understanding of "colors" and "shades". These are just identified and named according to perceptual and sociocultural criteria that are different from those in other languages. Moreover, Wolof is not the only language without a specific word for 'color'. This is, for exam-

ple, also a characteristic of the Yelî Dnye language of Rossel Island in Papua New Guinea, as described by Levinson (2000). The author points out that "Yelî has no higher word for 'color'. To ask what color something is, one would be obliged to use the English borrowing (non-colloquial) color … Instead, one would normally ask: His body, how is it? or His body, how does it look?" (Levinson, 2000, p. 10). This is more or less the same process in Wolof. In a similar turn, Gerrit J. Dimmendaal states, mentioning the Munsell color system (Dimmendaal, 2022, p. 55), and also in alignment with the present author's argumentation for Wolof:

> [T]he lexical meaning of colour terms in languages is simply reduced to denotational meanings in the metalanguage. A speech community may have a concept of 'colour' without having a word for it. But the mere fact that not all languages have a word for 'colour' should at least provide us with a hint as investigators that not all people necessarily treat the connection between the lexical item and the object or referent as a socially or materially decontextualized 'natural categorization of nature'.

3. Categorization of colors in Wolof

Colors in Wolof can be categorized into two types: basic elementary color terms and secondary color terms. By basic elementary color we mean the three main colors in Wolof, *ñuul* 'black', *weex* 'white' and *xonq* 'red', which are the only colors that collocate with a specific intensifying adverb. As for secondary colors, they are colors made up of the names of objects, plants, fruits or animals. They never carry intensifying adverbs and can have lexical and perceptual variations.

3.1 Basic color terms

3.1.1 *Black, red and white*

Among the color samples used in our surveys, black, red and white were easily recognizable and were described immediately with the same words by all of the participants in our survey. They are the three basic colors that are actually used in everyday speech, in the enunciative discourse. Their codability is much easier than that of other colors. The basic color terms that are commonly designated and uttered by all Wolof speakers are thus *ñuul* 'black', *weex* 'white' and *xonq* 'red'. These three color terms are the only ones to be used with an intensifying adverb *kukk* (for *ñuul*), meaning 'extremely black', *tàll* (for *weex*), meaning 'extremely white', and *xonq* (for *coyy*) with the meaning 'extremely red'. It should be noted

that expressive adverbs or intensifying adverbs specify the degree of intensity of a color at its highest point.

(10) *ñuul* 'black' *kukk* 'extremely' *ñuul kukk* 'extremely black'

(11) *weex* 'white' *tàll* 'extremely' *weex tàll* 'extremely white'

(12) *xonq* 'red' *coyy* 'extremely' *xonq coyy* 'extremely red'

There are no semantic differences between the intensifying adverbs but they cannot be used interchangeably. Each one is to be used with its specific color term. It is therefore not accepted by speakers to combine *ñuul tàll' or *ñuul coyy', *weex kukk or *weex coyy, *xonq kukk or *xonq tàll'.

In addition to the three basic colors, Wolof has other terms pertaining to the color "shade" when referring to Black people, making use of terms otherwise used to express degrees of "obscurity" (of the sky, etc.).[5] These terms, referring to "Black" skin color and to obscurity, are *xees* 'light complexion' (when a person is perceived as "light-skinned")[6] and *lëndëm* 'obscurity', respectively (the latter being used when a person is perceived as "dark-skinned"). These terms also collocate with intensifying adverbs: *pecc* for *xees* only and *këriis* for *lëndëm* only, then taking an intensifying meaning of 'extremely "light(-skinned)"' vs. 'extremely "dark(-skinned)"', respectively.

(13) *xees pecc*
xees pecc
light.complexion extremely
'extremely "light"'

(14) *lëndëm këriis*
lëndëm këriis
obscure extremely
'extremely "dark" (obscure)'

In sum, the following five colors are the only ones to collocate with intensifying adverbs, each specific to one color term (Table 12.1). These are not interchangeable. Thus, it is, for instance impossible to utter *xonq pecc, *null coyy, *weex kukk or *xees tàll (to name but a few unaccepted pairings).

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5. It should be noted that the notion of color terms for human skin color is a highly sensitive and politically charged topic. The concept of *colorism* is often used in discussions of the underlying ideologies and attitudes associated with skin color (often influenced by by racist ideas rooted in imperial and colonial discourses). For a discussion of colorism in the Ugandan context see Knipping (this volume).

6. If it is a White person the basic color term *weex* is used with the intensifier *tàll*.

Table 12.1 Intensifiers and their specific color terms

Intensifier	Used with	Color
coyy	⟶	*xonq* 'red'
kukk		*ñuul* 'black'
tàll		*weex* 'white'
pecc		*xees* '"light" complexion'
këruus (*kuruus*)		*lëndëm* '"dark" complexion'

The predominance of these basic color terms over secondary colors is explained by four factors listed by Berlin and Kay. First, a secondary basic color cannot include another color. For example, the color 'crimson' is encompassed in the term used for 'red', which is why it is not considered a basic color term. Besides, the wording of a basic color is generally simple; it cannot be made up of more than a single lexeme. Additionally, basic color terms must have a large semantic scope. Finally, basic color terms are often used, common and known by everybody. Only the third and fourth factors can be applied to the Wolof basic color terms. It must also be noted that, in terms of perception, focal colors are among the most salient ones. In addition, the existence of a color term in a speaker's first language (or mother tongue) facilitates the memorization of that color. However, the most relevant observation with regard to the basic color terms 'black', 'white' and 'red' is pointed out by Dimmendaal (2022, p. 47):

> 'Black' or 'dark', and 'white' or 'light' are presumably related to human experience with the rising and setting of the sun, i.e., with dynamic processes (expressed by verbs in many languages). But 'red' also tends to be treated as a dynamic verb (…) Again, there is probably a deeply rooted evolutionary reason for this. Being able to recognize the colour of fruits that have ripened in nature has tremendous evolutionary advantages, as it is essential for the survival of different species.

The basic color terms shared by all, without any ambiguity, have a meaning and are related to life and nature. According to Wolof thought, black and white denote the circularity of life between night and day, while red refers to the sunset, to the mature products of trees (as a source of life) and also to many cultural and mystical representations in Wolof cosmology. (see also Diané, 2012)

3.1.2 *Other linguistic operations with basic color terms*

The basic color terms can also be used with derivational suffixes, or are linked to cultural connotations. They operate well with causativization (in this case, they cannot co-occur with intensifiers.)

(15) a. *ñuulal*
ñuul-al
black-CAUS
'to blacken'
b. *dafay ñuulal kawaram*
dafa-y ñuul-al kawar-am
3SG.EMV-IMPF black-CAUS hair-3POS
'he blackens his hair'

(16) a. *weexal*
weex-al
white-CAUS
'to whiten'
b. *dafay weexal këram*
dafa-y weex-al kër-am
3SG.EMV-IMPF white-CAUS house-3POS
'he/she whitens the house' i.e., 'he/she paints the house in white'

Basic color terms often also carry further verbal derivation suffixes, as verbs usually do (see Table 12.2 for an overview).

Table 12.2 Derivative suffixes on basic color terms

Suffix	Basic color terms with suffix		Occurrence of the suffix on a verb	
-aat (REP)	*ñuul* 'black'	*ñuulaat* 'to become black again'	*dem* 'to go'	*demaat* 'to go again'
-aay (QUAL)	*xonq* 'red'	*xonqaay* 'to whiteness'	*dëgër* 'to be tough'	*dëgëraay* 'toughness'
-al (CAUS)	*weex* 'white'	*weexal* 'to whiten'	*néew* 'to be few'	*néewal* 'to render few'
-aale (COM)	*lëndëm* 'be obscure'	*lëndëmaale* 'being obscure at the same time'	*yóbbu* 'to carry'	*yobbaale* 'to carry at the same time'
-ul (NEG)	*xees* 'be light'	*xeesul* 'he/she is not "light"'	*lekk* 'eat'	*lekkul* 'he/she does not eat'

While the intensifying qualifying adverb can be attached to color terms with the derived suffix *-al* (expressing the causative) and *-aat* (repetitive), this is not the case for the derivatives *-aay* (qualifier) and *-aale* (comitative). The following expressions are not perceived as grammatically correct: *ñuulaay kukk, *weexaay tàll, *ñuulaale kukk, *weexaale tàll, and so forth. The "shades" of basic colors can be expressed either by verbal derivation, using *-aale* ('anew, again'), or based on the addition of expressive adverbs such as *xaw* 'almost, a little' (see (17)–(18)).

(17) *Xonq**aale***
xonq-aale
red-anew
'reddish'

(18) *xaw a weex*
xaw a weex
a.little CON white
'a little/almost white'

Color terms display the same morphosyntactic encoding as verbs and occur in the same syntactic operations as stative verbs (see (19a–c), (20a–c)); this is the case for *xonq* 'red', *ñuul* 'black', *weex* 'white' and *xees* 'light complexion'. They can also occur with TAM markers. The three basic color terms *xonq* 'red', *ñuul* 'black', *weex* 'white' and *xees* 'light complexion' can serve as stative verbs (Dialo, 1981) and can be inflected for person and modality, as is, for instance, also the case for stative verbs like *tang* 'be hot'.

(19) a. *Dama ñuul.*
dama ñuul
1SG.EMV black
'I am black.'
b. *Dafa ñuuloon.*
Dafa ñuul-oon
1SG.EMV black-PAS
'It used to be black.'
c. *Ñuulul.*
ñuul-ul
black-3SG.NEG
'She/he is not black.'

(20) a. *Tàng na.*
tàng na
be.hot 3SG.PFV
'It's hot.'
b. *Tàngoon na.*
tàng-oon na
be.hot PAS 3SG.PFV
'It was hot.'
c. *Tàngunu.*
tàng-unu
be.hot-1PL.NEG
'We are not hot.'

We can note that the secondary colors follow the same pattern, for example with regard to *nëtëx* 'green' (as shown in (21a)).

(21) a. *Dafa nëtëx.*
dafa nëtëx
3SG.EMV green
'It is green.'
b. *Nëtex la.*
nëtëx la
green 3SG.EMCP
'It's a green one.'

3.1.3 *Cultural connotations related to basic color terms*

Colors are associated with cultural beliefs that vary greatly between one language and another (see also Seel & Nassenstein, this volume). Specific associations with a color can be reflected in the way a color term is used in idiomatic expressions or when describing an object or a referent. Black, for example, symbolizes wickedness, deviousness and mystery, while other colors have other specific meanings or symbolic associations in Wolof. In the following, we list some expressions and phrases using color terms and their (associated) meanings that are particular to Wolof society.

i. *The color white*

Among the Wolof, white is the expression of clarity, cleanliness, purity, righteousness, good or bad luck and also wisdom. Thus, Wolof speakers say *tëgg-bu-weex b-* 'jeweler' (to distinguish it from *tëgg-bu-ñuul b-* 'blacksmith'), due to the fact that a jeweler works with gold, which is a sign of prosperity and wealth. *Xaalis bu weex* 'white money' can mean a lot of money. White can also embody purity, righteousness and clarity. *Nit ku weex tàll* 'person who is very white' refers to a good person with a good heart, a sincere, righteous man or a pure, almost holy person. In general, white is the color of purity and piety; a white loincloth and clothes are used by a new bride to display the mark of her purity and a white dress is also used for prayer. Today, due to the introduction of Western traditions following colonization, Senegalese brides (Muslims and Christians alike) have adopted white dresses for weddings and for the reception of guests in a wedding context. However, formerly, in traditional society, the color white was not specifically the color of the bride; it was the material that predominated over the color. Yet, white does not always have positive connotations. It can also be an expression of bad luck. The expression *weex-dunq* is used to mean 'to be the scapegoat', literally meaning 'to have a white feather' (i.e., someone with a white feather may be the most visible and therefore the one who is often accused of all wrongs and

all guilt). The same holds true for the expression *weex-bët*, literally meaning to have 'white eyes', which means to be fickle or to have difficulty deciding and making a choice. White is also used in the sense of retribution and of corruption. *Weexal* 'whitening', 'making it white' means retribution, paying for prayers or giving money to corrupt somebody.

Often used idiomatic expressions that make use of *weex* 'white' are listed in the following:

(22)	*weex-al* white-CAUS	lit. 'to whiten'	meaning 'to recompense (also for prayers), to give cash as a bribe'
(23)	*weex-bët* white-eye	lit. 'white eye'	meaning 'to be fickle, to have difficulty making a choice'
(24)	*weex dunq* white feather	lit. 'white feather'	meaning 'to be a scapegoat'
(25)	*tëgg bu weex* jeweler REL white	lit. 'a jeweler who is white'	meaning 'a jeweler who deals in gold'
(26)	*xaalis bu weex* money REL white	lit. 'white money'	meaning 'a massive bill, a lot of money'

ii. *Idiomatic expressions with* ñuul *'black'*

Black is the color of the night, of darkness, insecurity and also ignorance. The following saying illustrates this connotation, meaning that if you see something black that you cannot control, you must flee.

(27) *Ku ndóbin rey sa maam, boo gisee lu ñuul daw.*
ku ndobin rey sa maam boo gis-ee lu ñuul
REL great.hornbill kill 2SG.POS ancestor CONJ.2SG.NAR see-TAM REL black
daw
run.away
'The one whose ancestor was killed by a great hornbill runs away as soon as he sees something black.'

Another expression, *xam-xam bu ñuul*, is often used to talk about witchcraft, which can cause harm:

(28) *xam-xam bu ñuul*
xam-xam bu ñuul
knowledge REL black
'knowledge that is black' ('occult sciences')

The color black can also represent, in the popular imagination, dishonesty, deceit, wickedness and much more. Wolof has the same representation (Diané, 2012). So, to speak of wickedness, Wolof will use *ñuul-biir* 'black stomach' to mean 'to be cruel', and *ñuul xol* 'to have a black heart' to mean 'to be wicked'. The word *lëndëm* 'dark' is also used to express deceit or wickedness. *Nit ku lëndëm*, someone who is difficult to understand, can alternate with *nit ku ñuul* 'a black person', referring not to skin color but to his/her bad temper. Expressions using the color black are, for instance:

(29) *ñuul-biir*
ñuul biir
black stomach
'black stomach' (meaning 'to be mean, cruel')

(30) *nit ku ñuul, ku lëndëm*
nit ku ñuul ku lëndam
human REL black REL obscure
'person who is black, who is obscure' (meaning 'obscure, elusive person')

(31) *tëgg-bu-ñuul*
tëgg bu ñuul
blacksmith REL black
'blacksmith'

(32) *xam-xam bu ñuul*
xam-xam bu ñuul
knowledge REL black
'knowledge that is black' (referring to occult sciences)

(33) *ñuul xol*
ñuul-xol
black heart
'to have a black heart' (meaning 'to be mean')

(34) *Danoo rey bëy wu ñuul.*
danoo rey bëy wu ñuul
1PL.EMV kill goat REL black
'We killed a black goat' ('We happened not to have dinner (accidentally)'.)

iii. *Idiomatic expressions with* xonq *'to be red'*

Red can express femininity, can refer to being a woman or being attractive, and is associated with life and passion.[7] The color red is also popular with Wolof families who practice *ndëp*, a ritual ceremony to ward off bewitchment, madness, disease, bad luck or evil in general. The red cow, the red rooster and the red kola-nut, among other things, are often sacrificed to ward off evil and avoid bad luck. Red can symbolize danger and misfortune in Wolof culture.

3.2 Secondary color terms

The secondary color terms represent descriptive expressions referring to objects in the natural environment like *mboq* 'corn', *ñax mu tooy* 'fresh herb' and *dànq* 'light mauve (fruit with the botanical name *detarium microcarpum*)'. They serve as categorizing colors that make connections with elements of nature and the environment. These terms cannot be used with intensifying verbs. For these colors, some inter-speaker variation was observed, depending on the regions but especially according to professions of the speakers: dyer, farmer, fisherman. This makes sense as color is also a perceptive (cognitive-linguistic) category and speakers perceive color differently according to their environment. The important thing here is the conceptualization that draws on particular life experiences, so that a fisherman, for example, tends to describe the sea as *màndaxe* 'green', while others would categorize or perceive the sea as 'blue'. For the fishermen of Saint Louis (northern Senegal), *màndaxe* means not only the color 'orange' but also expresses 'beauty' and 'richness' (when the sea is not agitated and promises a fruitful fishery). This is the case also, for example, with regard to the term *mboq* 'corn' or 'light yellow', which can also be named *uul* in Bawol (the main Wolof-speaking region in Senegal) or *nere* in Saloum (another Wolof-speaking region). Actually, *mboq*, *nere* and *uul* represent 'cereals' or yellow tree fruits.

As noted above, the major theoretical assumption is the universality of visual perception, but what is different is the conceptualization (Rosch, 1975), which draws on particular life experiences, so that the fisherman, for example, tends to describe the color corresponding to 'blue' by using terms that also denote the sky.[8]

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7. This color is much more culturally expressive among the Bedik, a small ethnic group in the east of Senegal, for example, than the Wolof.

8. The color of the sea for example, is not always perceived as what corresponds with 'blue' by the fishermen of Guet Ndar (a fishermen's district in Saint Louis). It can be perceived as 'green' or 'white', depending on the season and can be an indication of a "fishy" or "non-fishy" sea. The farmer will also describe colors with reference to objects in the natural environment that are green (plants or unripe fruit) or yellow (ripe fruits). The dyer (i.e., a person working with

Among dyers, 'blue' is either expressed with *baxa* (35) which is a famous dye color but can also be called *bulo* (borrowed from French *bleu*). Yellow has different variations according to specific regions. It can be named *mboq* 'corn', *puur*, *uul* 'wild fruit (*parkia biglobosa*)' or *rat* '*combretum glutinosum* tree', which has a yellowish color when turned into an infusion. 'Yellow' can also be called *nete* in Saloum, a Wolof-speaking region in Senegal. 'Purple' is called *dànq*, which is the name of a wild fruit, *yolet* or *wiyolet*, which are borrowed words, or sometimes *palmaan*. Note that *palmaan* is a composite category; it covers not only the color purple but also part of the spectrum of green and black, or brown and black (see (36)).

(35) *mbubu baxa*
mbub u baxa
buckwheat of light.blue
'a light blue buckwheat'

(36) *cuubu palmaan*
cuub u palmaan
buckwheat of dark.purple
'a dark purple buckwheat'

'Green' is called, according to regional variants, *nëtëx* 'dark green', *ngel* 'light green', *njaxnaat* 'green of a type of sorghum mite', etc., depending on lightness and a speaker's language variety. The color 'orange' is commonly labeled *guro* 'kola nut', whose juice combines shades of red and orange. 'Brown' is given different names depending on the shades, i.e., *lëng* for 'brown', whereas *xuun* is used for 'dark brown'. 'Grey' is called *baam* – which, however, is a word that is not known by many of the speakers who were interviewed and seems to be very rarely used. Most refer to 'grey' as *ñuul wu leer* meaning 'light black'. The lexical variation shows the mobility of words in the lexical repertoire of a language, connected with and depending upon the mobility of the speakers.

Besides the primary division of colors into two fundamental categories, we also observe an effort of precision and detail. The range of Wolof color terms used nowadays could be extended further by including such borrowings as *xoraay* which is the designation for the color 'pink' by some speakers, probably as a reference to the coral pearl, of pinkish color. This is also the case with the word *bulo bik* 'blue pen color' to explain the dark blue color of a blue pen.

color to dye cloth, for example) uses a very specific color lexicon due to his/her profession and according to his/her mixtures. This is the case for the words *baxa* 'light blue' and *palmaan* 'dark purple' (see (35)–(36)).

In the following (Figure 12.2), we have grouped color terms and the names of different "shades", with some other names that vary according to region and dialectal variety in Senegal. These color chips were reproduced on the basis of the cross-referenced color chips described by Fallou Cissé (2020),[9] a Wolof researcher, and color words listed by our informants or found in common Wolof dictionaries. We endeavored to represent, in this table, the majority of the colors that can be identified by Wolof speakers and/or found in speakers' surroundings, reflected in their clothing practices, beads, hairstyles, professional settings, etc. This overview figure does not, however, claim to be exhaustive.



Figure 12.2 A chart of basic and secondary color terms in Wolof

9. WAX (Wolof Ak Xamle) on Twitter: "#wolof # wirgo yi. Ban ak ban ngeen si xam? (2020)"

10. The fruit *detarium microcarpum*.

11. *Yolet* is a deformation of the color term *violet*.

12. *Mboq* 'corn', *nere* 'fruit of *parkia biglobosa*, *mimosacées*', *uul* 'fruit of the African carob tree'.

13. The equivalent to the term 'orange' is taken from the juice of the kola nut.

3.3 Luminosity, brightness, saturation, brilliance

The degree of luminosity, brightness, saturation and brilliance can be expressed in basic color terms as well as in secondary color terms with linguistic constructions employing qualifying stative verbs.

(37) *xonq bu ñor*
xonq bu ñor
red REL ripe
'red which is cooked' ('very red')

(38) *weex bu xall*
weex bu xall
white REL be.off-white
'white which is off-white'

(39) *ñuul bu tàkk*
ñuul bu tàkk
black REL turn.on
'shiny black'

(40) *guró bu lëndëm*
guro gu lëndëm
kola.nuts/orange REL dark
'dark orange'

In addition to these expressions, one can also consider *leer* 'to be clear', *xàññaaral* 'to be gaudy, with too many colors', *boyy* 'to be shining' or *xoyyi* 'to be luminous', which are important for visual perception (Hering, 1964). It is culture, experience and environment of a speaker that determines the choice of these terms. This can be explained as follows, based on Dimmendaal (2022, p. 55):

> Visual physiology no doubt also plays a role in the perception and categorization of colour, setting constraints on the cultural construction of colour categories. However, our current understanding of the human cognitive system cannot help us in any way in explaining the tremendous variation between languages in terms of the semantic domains potentially covered by 'colour terms', as different dimensions are involved, for example material (skin colour of human beings and animals) or physical state (succulent or dessicated, ripe or unripe, dirty or clean).

3.4 Syntactic operations

Secondary color terms also play a role in syntactic operations based on lexical combinations (41), adding a nominal complement to color terms or based on relativization (42).

(41) Nominal complement:
baxa asamaan
baxa asamaan
blue sky
'sky-blue'

(42) Relativization:
baxa bu dër
baxa bu dër
blue REL dark
'blue which is dark', i.e., 'dark blue'

4. Names of colors distinguishing animate referents

In Wolof, based on the detailed and fine-grained description of colors and shades, human and animal typologies are treated differently and categorized according to different parameters. In the following, the categories around "shades" (see also the footnote below on human skin color) of human referents are explained (4.1).

4.1 Human beings

The color of human skin can vary, depending on a person's origin and whether the referent is categorized or categorizes him/herself as "Black"[14] or "White". Wolof therefore distinguishes a "Black" person *nit ku ñuul* from a "White" person *nit ku weex*. The category *nit ku weex* does not correlate with the (often-cited administrative) category "Caucasian" but includes people from very different backgrounds and various descents, including people who identify under the umbrella terms "Arab" or "Chinese", Japanese nationals, and many more. The category *nit ku ñuul* distinguishes three "shades": *ñuul* (a 'dark black complexion'), *xeereer* (a 'half dark-half light complexion') and *xees* (a 'light complexion'). Thus, in Wolof, the following terms are found:

14. Generalizing skin color categorizations such as "Black" and "White", which are often politicized and debated categories, are marked with double quotation marks and capitalized in this chapter, as will already have become obvious. Moreover, it is widely known these skin color terms do not correlate in their entirety with the English general color terms *black* and *white* (used for skin color), which are commonly used to describe a person's skin color, as elaborated upon in the text.

(43) *nit ku weex*
nit ku weex
person REL White
'person who is White' ('person with White complexion')

(44) *nit ku ñuul*
nit ku ñuul
person REL Black
'person who is Black' ('person with Black complexion')

(45) *nit ku xeereer*
nit ku xeereer
person REL slightly.light-skinned
'person who is a little bit "light-skinned"' ('person with "half dark-half light complexion"')[15]

(46) *nit ku xees*
nit ku xees
person REL have.a.light.complexion
'person who is "light-skinned"' ('person with "light complexion"')

It can be noted that the complexions *ñuul* '"Black", dark', *xeereer* 'dark-half "light"' and *xees* '"light"' can also be associated with ethnic groups that are often associated with one of these categories. The Wolof, for example, are often (in the literature and in public discourse) characterized as *ñuul*, while the Seereer (in central Senegal), the Hal Pulaar or Fulani (in northern Senegal) are considered to be *xees* or *xeereer*, as are the Bedik (in eastern Senegal); the Diola in southern Senegal, a "minority" ethnic group that is said to have originated in Guinea, are also generally associated with the category *xeereer*, etc. However, with inter-ethnic marriages and the skin whitening (or bleaching) of young women, there are more and more Wolof who tend to display "light" (*xees*) or "half-light" (*xeereer*) skin complexions. This point on the link between ethnicity, complexion and practices of categorization can potentially be developed in forthcoming studies, especially by addressing the racialized ideas and colonially reproduced (perceived) distinctions behind them.

15. The distinction between different "complexions" in people's (emic) perspective on skin color is here a rough approach to different conceptualizations; it becomes obvious that the English equivalents are not fitting translations or exact equivalents. These are listed to explain the perceived "shades" to the non-Wolof-speaking reader.

4.2 Animals

Some animals in Wolof society are described and designated with expressions describing the characteristic color of their hides. This is the case, for example, with horses, which can be referred to with different names depending on the specific color of their skin. This means that in terms of the descriptive colors and shapes used for horses, it is the visual systems of their users that seem to structure them. Pastoralists and farmers communicate and conceptualize all sorts of visual experiences in terms of the appearance of livestock. Characteristics such as brightness and shine, rather than tint, are central to the meaning of some color terms. In addition, the conceptualization of the highly descriptive distinction of "stripes" vs. "spots" used to name a horse is based more on visibility and highlighting effects than on actual geometric form. The Wolof terms correspond to colors, patterns and designs, but they also refer to attributes such as the brightness and shininess of a hide (see Table 12.3). This topic is well researched for numerous African languages and linguacultures.

Table 12.3 Color terminology used for horses and other animals in Wolof

Horse names	Gloss
xacc w-	'grey horse'
jàkkeer w-	'chestnut/brown horse'
xëcc w-	'black and white horse'
jébb w-	'black or chestnut-colored horse with white spotted legs'
mbéey w-	'a white horse'
pello b-	'a horse with a white spot on the forehead'
seereer m-	'a sheep with albino, white, black or brown coat'
xonq m-	'hissing snake, *Psammophis sibilans*'

5. Conclusion

This analysis of the perception and identification of colors among the Wolof people has shown that color terms in this language can be categorized into two types: basic (elementary) color terms and secondary color terms. The three basic color terms (*ñuul* 'black', *weex* 'white' and *xonq* 'red') may correspond to the criteria set in Berlin and Kay's (1969) study. The secondary color terms show, however, some degrees of variability, in the sense that different expressions exist for one and the same color. The basic colors or fundamental color terms are also differ-

entiated from the secondary color terms because they are perceived with more prominence than the other colors and have morphological as well as syntactic and semantic characteristics specific to them.

Basic color terms are the only ones to be used with an intensifying adverb. They can be used in derivations, especially with causative or factitive suffixes, among others. They are linked to cultural connotations. The "codability degree" is higher for the basic colors, because they are easily designated in Wolof by actual Wolof terms, whereas the secondary color terms are either lexemes borrowed from French, or words taken from the surrounding languages with possible lexical variants depending on the region where each different Wolof dialect is spoken. Secondary color terms are subject to variation according to the region where a speaker comes from because these are generally terms that stem from nature and the environment of a speaker. In Wolof the lexical item always has a link to something, the word in the utterance very often being socially or materially contextualized. Both primary and secondary colors can be used as verbs, but this can be understood to be due to the "verbalizing character" of the Wolof language.

Moreover, even though Wolof speakers identify and perceive colors and their patterns very well, Wolof does not have a specific term for 'color'. The names given to the word color in Wolof (*melo m-* and *wirgo w-* are used) highlight the fact that color belongs to perceptual categories in which are also contained outlines, forms, varieties, patterns, kinds and categories of a concept. Designations are based on perceptual and sociocultural criteria that are different from other languages.

This study has also shown that the Wolof color term system evolved by integrating new words and concepts into the language or by tapping into the Wolof lexemes that were no longer in use. It is certain that with economic and sociocultural development, other terms will appear to designate colors used and adapted in the daily life of the Wolof as they are confronted with modernism and openness to others. As the Wolof say, languages are sometimes "unruly" and "flexible" (as in *làkk dafa sob* 'language is turbulent') because they necessarily adapt to the environment in which they are spoken.

This work could have been further enriched had it been based on a comparative and diachronic analysis of the patterns of color terminology in other Senegalese languages, through a more in-depth sociolinguistic, ethnolinguistic and psycholinguistic analysis. This would have helped to better understand the link between tradition, culture, the natural environment of the speaker and the choice of words in the color lexicon in Wolof, but also in other ethnic groups that share historical links with the Wolof. This would also have enabled us to better perceive the motivations for the choices of secondary color terms. The analysis of the perception and explanation of cattle colors in relation to the visual perception of pastoralists could also be further investigated in future studies and research.

Abbreviations

1	1st person	IMPF	imperfective
2	2nd person	NAR	narrative
3	3rd person	OBJ	object
ADV	adverb	PAS	passive
CAUS	causative	PL	plural
CL	classifier	PFV	perfective
CLSG.DEFPR	singular classifier	POS	possessive
COM	comitative	PR	proximity
CONJ	conjunctive	QUA	qualitative
EMCP	emphatic complement	REL	relative pronoun
EMV	emphatic verb	REP	repetitive
FACT	factitive	TAM	time, aspect, modality

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WAX (Wolof Ak Xamle) on Twitter: "#wolof # wirgo yi Ban ak ban ngeen si xam? 2020

CHAPTER 13

"Show your feelings!"

On the expression of emotions in Rabai (Midzichenda)

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This contribution analyzes the encoding of emotions in Chiraphai (Rabai), a Midzichenda language from the Kenyan coast. In the focus, especially, are matters of a rather discrete display of one's feelings vs. open invitations to "show what you feel", discussing core emotions in the language and also including concepts of feeling shame (*kona haya*) or witnessing shameful behavior. Herein, the authors specifically investigate body part metaphors that play a role in the expression of emotional language; they include an analysis of color terms that incorporate a specific emotional connotation. Finally, grammatical means of encoding emotions are taken into consideration in this first anthropological linguistic analysis of the language.

Keywords: emotion, Rabai, body part metaphors, color terms, shame

1. Introducing Rabai language and culture

While numerous languages spoken in Kenya are well described (among others, see Dimmendaal, 1983 for Turkana), many languages of minority groups lack substantial descriptions and analyses. This includes numerous coastal Bantu languages such as those of the Midzichenda (or, in Swahili, Mijikenda)[1] group, the "nine towns", referring to nine ethnic groups who speak closely related Bantu languages that are sometimes treated as dialects of one language; among them are Kigiryama (Taylor, 1891) and Chidigo (Nicolle, 2013, among others), the two best

1. While Mijikenda is the established Swahili term for coastal communities in the literature (see Nurse & Hinnebusch, 1993, among others), the authors prefer to label them Midzichenda according to the common self-denomination of speakers when referring to their language(s). The antiquated and derogatory label Kiníka for this group of languages is absolutely avoided. It has to be added that Swahili is not a Midzichenda language.

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described varieties. These nine groups, who live in the hinterland to the north and south of the city of Mombasa, have been in direct contact with the coastal Swahili population and with early traders, missionaries and colonizers for centuries, which had an impact on their social organization, their cultural practices, and their languages, too.

The Rabai language, labeled *Chiraphai* or *Chiravai* [ʧiɾaβai][2] by speakers or, following Swahili orthography (and pronunciation), *Kirabai* by most other non-Midzichenda communities, is spoken by about 99,000 to 116,000 people (as roughly estimated by Mbwika, 2018, p. 1) in Rabai Sub-County in Kilifi. It is therefore among the smaller Midzichenda communities (see Map 13.1 for Rabai and adjacent areas), compared to the aforementioned Kigiryama and Chidigo, which are spoken by far more speakers. Rabai is a Bantu language classified by Maho (2009) as E72e, meaning that it belongs to subgroup E70, "Nyika-Taita", within the family of Bantu languages (which are part of the larger African language phylum of the Niger-Congo languages). Major settlements in the area are the economic center of Mazeras, the village of Rabai Mpya, and the larger settlement of Mkapuni, as well as surrounding villages. Considerable numbers of Arabai in the city of Mombasa, many of them working in the agricultural trade sector, in public transport, and a few people also in the tourism industry.

The German missionary Johann Ludwig Krapf (1810–1881), who arrived in the area in 1844, was the first to write about and publish on the Rabai language and its speakers. He is considered the founder of the village Rabai Mpya (lit. 'New Rabai'), where the Krapf Museum is located today, right at the location of the first church constructed in East Africa, marking the beginning of missionary and linguistic activities in Kenyan coastal areas. Krapf, together with his fellow missionary Johannes Rebmann, was interested in both Kiswahili and in Midzichenda languages. Even though Rabai is not directly mentioned in either of their works, most references made to the Midzichenda people, whom Krapf and Rebmann derogatorily label as *Wanika/Wanyika*, actually refer to Rabai speakers. A Swahili grammar sketch (Krapf, 1850), with equivalent forms given in Midzichenda (in Krapf's terms "Kiníka dialect"), was published in 1850, an ethnographic account of his travels a few years later (Krapf, 1858), and an extensive Midzichenda dictionary a quarter of a century after that (Krapf & Rebmann, 1887). Most of the linguistic data in these works is believed to be Rabai rather than other Midzichenda languages due to the location of the missionary base in Rabai Mpya. In more

2. Most Northern Mijikenda (NMK) languages, to which the Rabai language belongs, prefer the grapheme <v> to express the voiced bilabial fricative /β/, while Southern Mijikenda (SMK) prefers <ph>. While in Rabai both conventions are recurrent, the speakers who contributed to this work expressed their preference of <ph> over <v>.

recent years, Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993, pp. 533–540), in their groundbreaking work on Swahili and Sabaki, provide more phonological, morphological and lexical overview data on a range of Midzichenda languages, with valuable observations on Rabai. While there are no recent descriptions or analyses of the language apart from a few unpublished works (Mbwika, 2018, etc.), accessible dictionaries and typological or discourse-centered studies on Chidigo (Mwalonya et al., 2004; Nicolle, 2015) have proven to be very helpful in a first attempt to describe the grammar and explore anthropological linguistic core topics.

Culturally, the Arabai[3] are closely connected with neighboring Midzichenda groups, and specifically with the (other) northern groups (Ribe, Kambe, Kauma, Chonyi, Jibana, Giryama) more than southern groups (Duruma, Digo). Most of the Midzichenda rely on the palm tree economy, with coconuts as the major crop of the region. Based on common beliefs, they refer to the Giryama people as their alleged "mothers", meaning that, according to creation myths, they emerged from within the Giryama community – which has shaped ideologies toward forms of cohabitation in some areas. Both in terms of shared cultural practices and mutual intelligibility, they feel closer to them than, for example, to the Digo-speaking community in the south (who are often associated with negative attributes and meta-linguistically labeled with negatively charged emotional language). Regarding the expression of and metalanguage around emotions, no concrete studies are available, although some contributions are currently in preparation (Mietzner, to appear).

The present contribution is based on initial fieldwork carried out on the Rabai language in 2021 and 2022 in the settlements of Rabai Mpya and Mkapuni, and in Mombasa, based on elicitation for first linguistic data, semi-structured interviews on the encoding of emotion and using ethnographic methods when researching emotional language. Participant observation during commemoration ceremonies (of deceased family members) and other festivities was a particular focus of this first ethnographic fieldtrip.[4] Ethnographic data could also be gathered during

3. Bantu languages are characterized by different prefixes to denote a language, its speakers, ethnic communities and so on. The prefix *m(u)-* marks a single speaker, while *a-* denotes several speakers and *chi-* is the prefix for the language. The prefix *u-* in Rabai refers to an abstract entity or state, or a collective identity.

4. Both authors are greatly indebted to Dennis Jira, who went out of his way to assist and correct the early attempts to delve deeper into the language of emotions in Rabai. Without him and his efforts, time and friendship this piece would not have been written. Moreover, the entire Mwanzaka-Mwalimu family is warmly thanked for their hospitality during the first field visit to Mkapuni, and specifically Johnson Mwanzaka Vitengeni and his brothers Alfred Mwalimu and Sababu. The entire staff at the Krapf Museum, especially the curator Ambrose Kizi, are also thanked for their help and openness. Axel Fanego Palat, Angelika Mietzner and Anne Storch are

walks with *kaya* elders in the only publicly accessible sacred forest of the Arabai, the Kaya Mudzi Muvya (declared a World Heritage Site in 2008; for more information see Kibet & Nyamweru, 2008).[5]

2. Research on language and emotion: Some approaches and directions

While it is clear to some scholars that "emotion" is the umbrella term used in the literature, others make a clear distinction between "emotion", "affect", and "feeling". Damásio (1999), although no anthropologist or linguist, distinguishes emotions and feelings insofar as emotions "are psycho-physiological processes related to the state of the whole body by means of somatic markers" and feelings are "mental states experienced from the first-person perspective, that is, experienced by a subject with a sense of self" (Wang & Pereira Jr., 2016, p. 7, summarizing Damásio 1999). Other scholars make distinctions with regard to the degree of consciousness, i.e., by categorizing "feelings" as being more conscious than "emotions", and so forth. In the linguistic literature, the term "emotion" is the most widely used.

Ponsonnet, who is among the most prolific scholars in the linguistic study of emotions, has provided an excellent summary of the research literature in a recent overview chapter (2022, pp. 309–311), which will not be repeated here.

thanked for their joint interest in the Midzichenda languages, culture and the complex sociocultural changes taking place in the tourism setting along the Kenyan coast. The authors acknowledge valuable comments and ideas by Andrea Hollington, Alice Mitchell and an anonymous reviewer. Philipp Seel has generously contributed beautiful illustrative artwork, and Monika Feinen is warmly thanked for drawing the map. Special thanks go to Gerrit J. Dimmendaal, as academic teacher, colleague and friend, whose anthropological linguistic work has been a major source of inspiration to both contributors for many years. Both authors vividly remember his class "Anthropological Linguistics", taught at the Universidade de São Paulo in February 2020, where Brazilian students were amazed by his vast knowledge and his heartwarming style of teaching. The present contribution is part of a larger anthropological linguistic project carried out by the first author on the Rabai language.

5. This requires an explanation. The *kaya* was historically a fortified village, and the "traditional homestead" and cultural center of each Midzichenda community. Later, with ongoing deforestation, this turned into a sacred forest, often guarded and "administered" by the *kaya* elders (as gatekeepers), a group of influential cultural and spiritual leaders who also gather to make community decisions and decide on legal questions, and who are seen as the cultural ambassadors of their communities. While some communities have one *kaya*, others such as the Rabai have several, among which one is usually open to visitors, and others are not (a lot has been published on the *kayas*; see for instance Spear, 1978 for an influential study). On the Rabai *kaya*, see specifically Kibet & Nyamweru (2008).



Map 13.1 The approximate location where the Rabai language is spoken

Roughly summarized, the trend to examine the language of emotions began in the 1980s–1990s, first with anthropological works by Renato Rosaldo, Catherine Lutz, and particularly Lutz and Abu-Lughod (1990), a volume that included articles by influential scholars such as Judith T. Irvine (working on Wolof). These anthropological studies approached emotions as a cultural phenomenon and focused on different genres of discourse and performance (Ponsonnet 2022, p. 314). Shortly afterwards, Besnier's (1990) article on "affect" was published, mainly focusing on "emotional language in the context of language acquisition and socialization" (Ponsonnet 2022, p. 316), as did other works around the same time, authored by scholars such as Elinor Ochs, Bambi B. Schieffelin, and James M. Wilce (who

has widely published and had a major impact on the field of research (ibid.)). In the study of the emotional lexicon, Wierzbicka (1999, and many other important works) has to be mentioned. Palmer and Occhi (1999) have provided a valuable study of the "languages of sentiment", and so has Wilce (2009) with *Language and emotions*. One of the most recent overview works is Pritzker, Fenigsen and Wilce (2020). A brief overview of the literature is found in Wilce (2014), Ponsonnet (2014).

Among the relevant works published on emotional language in African languages, Tramutoli (2020) has provided a detailed account of the Bantu language Swahili, which is of value for the study of Chiraphai, too, one of the major neighboring languages. Tramutoli's focus lies (classically) on "the lexicon of emotions", metaphors, and cultural meanings of specific terms. Storch's (2017a) volume on *Consensus and dissent* comprises diverse and inspiring insights into the language of emotion in different languages from the African continent: Coly (2017) looks at "emotional" gestures and concepts of shame in Wolof; Mietzner (2017) at experiencer constructions in a Kalenjin language; Pasch (2017) at body part metaphors for emotion states in Zande and bodily reactions of experiencers that display their self-control as an expression of strong emotions (such as screaming, throwing things away, etc.); and Storch's (2017b) introduction prepares the ground for a discussion of a refined understanding of emotions (as practices of "consensus" and "dissent").

In this contribution, while we provide a "classical" list of core emotions and how these are expressed, we are not only interested in specific lexemes that convey emotions, but what people do and how they act in order to embody them (with their clothing style, their grammatical means, their cognitive-metaphorical strategies). As Ponsonnet (2022, p. 314) notes with reference to influential works that break away from common "key word" approaches (specific emotions expressed by equivalent salient terms in the lexicon, a normative endeavor that often proved to be insufficient): "Rosaldo and Lutz call for more attention to language use, i.e., to what people *do* with language, and in particular how they *use* language to enact, express, shape, and in a sense 'produce' emotions in a social context." This focus on cultural practices as encoding emotions and on emotions as "cultural phenomena" rather than static lexical expressions will at least to some extent also be adopted in this contribution, with a special emphasis on color terms, body part metaphors and grammatical forms.

3. Emotions in Rabai: Expressive colors, meaningful body parts, and evaluative grammar

In Rabai society, emotions (as further discussed in Section 3.1) are often shown, addressed, and spoken about freely and explicitly in various contexts.[6] The same also applies to other (northern) Midzichenda communities such as the Giryama. Parkin (1991, p. 13) notes, for Giryama burial ceremonies, that these are "emotionally heavy and excitable occasions" and that "the funerals seem at times to go beyond the rules supposed to govern them and threaten to get out of control, like the fear, grief, anger and insults that are expressed at them".[7] Similarly to Giryama culture, grief and sadness are openly shown among Arabai, too, and members of the community are therefore, as the title of this contribution reveals, invited "to show their emotions" – in a range of different (multi-)semiotic ways.[8] One's open display of emotional states in Midzichenda communities is based on the fact that there is no inherent notion of taboo associated with them, or with the language around them. Yet, despite the openness to *showing* emotions, these are often *expressed* and *encoded* more implicitly in Rabai culture, with reference to culturally encoded color distinctions, which may represent, transport or evoke emotions in non-verbal communication, especially when speaking about colors of clothes worn on specific occasions (see Section 3.3), through body part terminology and body part metaphors that are associated with specific emotions (Section 3.2), and through specific grammatical forms that have human referents (Section 3.4).

Performing or showing emotions does not therefore necessarily mean speaking about them. All these domains, which will be discussed in the following subsections, reveal the complexity of encoding emotion in interaction among Rabai speakers. Only in few cases are emotions actually labeled, i.e., metalinguistically

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6. Pasch and Dusa (this volume) present a contrary case where in Zande society male individuals are not supposed to show their emotions. Several of the contributions found in Storch (2017a) also reveal differences in concealing vs. publicly displaying one's emotions.

7. Here, one may also consider McIntosh's (2005) work on women's obscene funerary songs in Giryama culture. Based on her observations that during funerary rituals norms of communication are challenged and transgressed among Agiryama, one could assume a similar case among the Arabai – that funerals could be a highly specific context in which emotions such as sadness or anger etc. are licensed. We are grateful to one reviewer pointing us to this study and for valuable comments.

8. This openness has at times been described in the literature as "uncontrollable passions of anger, hatred and jealousy" (Parkin 1991, p. 54), attributed by anthropologists to Midzichenda speakers in older studies without clarifying that some of these practices are bound to ritualized performances of witchcraft.

referred to by distinctive names, but often communicative practices already inherently contain performed emotion, which may be the reason why there is no cultural taboo on speaking about one's emotional state (as displayed emotions are understood as being part of and included in specific communicative practices). This means that the expression of specific core emotions like (what is translated into English as) SADNESS or HAPPINESS are embedded in sociocultural practices without emphasizing them repeatedly through questions and answers or naming them in discourse (see also Pasch, 2017 on Ubangian languages) as is common in many languages in the Western world (cf. English: *Martha, are you happy*?; *I am so sad today, Ted was very angry at the car seller*, etc.). In Rabai, speakers' emotional states are openly part of their communicative behavior but are explicitly addressed in discourse only when elicited or narrowed down through interviews.[9] Grief or SADNESS, for example, is implicitly rooted in communication with deceased ancestors through the spirits, by erecting wooden carved sticks or rods in the forests that serve as "memory markers". The spirits

> of both recently deceased male and female members of the homestead can strongly influence the lives of the living (…). Small, ca. one to 1 1/2 foot high, uncarved or slightly carved, natural wooden posts, also called koma, are installed in the centers of homesteads after ancestral spirits have appealed to the living, usually in dreams, for recognition. (Udvardy, 2014, p. 78, on Giryama spirits)

The carved posts are, in Rabai culture, specifically erected in the *kaya*, the sacred forest, and therefore constitute a recognized *kaya* elder's means of communicating with one specific ancestor (or several ancestors, if several of his/her ancestors are buried in the *kaya* surroundings). Sadness or grief about the loss of a family member becomes a private interaction between *kaya* elder and ancestor, without expressing this sadness verbally or through emotional gestures, tears or facial expressions. The ubiquitous recognition of a *koma* as a channeled (and localized) connection between the deceased and succeeding kin is a form of emotional

9. This contributes to the complexity of research on emotional language in Rabai and other Midzichenda languages. Narrowing down and distinguishing emotions requires a multimodal analysis of gesture, intonation, and volume of speech or phonetic loudness as a marker of specific emotions (see for instance Dimmendaal, 2022a on the speech styles of forest foragers in the Congolese rainforest, where loudness of speech fulfills social functions, and a specific speech style deviates from "normal" speech). In Rabai society, it can be noticed that during commemorations of the deceased the volume of spoken interactions (in decibels) is greater than in other contexts. Moreover, loud speech is interspersed with laughter (as a form of performed remembrance) in these situations. Loud speech, as explained by speakers, here expresses the attentiveness of those attending the cultural event, the focus on the deceased ancestor, and also performed grief (or SADNESS).

exchange, although the location where it takes place does not necessarily mean that the person is buried there.

3.1 Core emotions: A brief look at central concepts

Defining core or main emotions is difficult in that the concept of "emotion" is not a universal one, as also made clear by Wierzbicka (1999, p. 274). It is without doubt that human beings are capable of receiving and transmitting similar emotions or feelings consciously or unconsciously (i.e., that what they feel and process as sensory information, both as psycho-physiological processes or experienced mental states, is subject to neurotransmission in their brains and that this process occurs in all human beings alike), but the way speakers of different languages in different linguacultures conceptualize and express emotions (and, even more, how they translate them) and how they distinguish them metalinguistically from each other is not uniform at all. Wierzbicka shows how concepts for specific equivalent core emotion terms in different languages always come with divergent connotations and readings even though they are said to refer to the "same" underlying concept:

> [T]he phenomenon of ANGER is of course real, but it is no more real or more revealing of human nature than the phenomena of RABBIA (identified by the Italian word *rabbia;* cf. Wierzbicka 1995c) or SONG (identified by the Ifaluk word *song;* cf. Lutz 1988; Wierzbicka 1992a). Similarly, the phenomenon of EMOTION is of course real enough, but it is no more so than German GEFÜHLE or Russian ČUVSTVA.[10] (Wierzbicka, 1999, p. 273)

The concepts of emotion that exist in different languages may overlap in their meanings, but they describe a rather vague concept of emotion that has different components depending on cultural influence (see Wierzbicka, 1999, p. 274). In the case of Rabai, speakers often define ten "core emotions" that in English would be translated as HAPPINESS/JOY, LOVE, SADNESS/ANGER (conceptualized as one in Rabai), FEAR, LUST/DESIRE (conceptualized as one), SHAME, JEALOUSY, SURPRISE and SYMPATHY. It is, however, clear that emotions can be expressed not only through nouns, as "in many languages of the world, nouns only represent a small fraction of the emotion lexicon (…) and there is no evidence that they necessarily encode the emotion concepts that play the strongest role in the local emotional etiquette" (Ponsonnet, 2022, p. 311), leading to a limitation or a simplification in the expression of emotional states. Ponsonnet's (2016) study discusses convincingly how adjectives, verbs and also noun morphology may convey emotions, and how

10. The author uses small caps to express shared, universal concepts (see Wierzbicka, 1999, p. 8).

these may be more appropriate than often-cited nominal constructions. However, in Rabai, speakers often associate nouns with specific core emotions[11] (this emic understanding is also represented hereafter in the list of specific emotions and the examples found in dialogues and elicited constructions).

3.1.1 Nyemi: *HAPPINESS/JOY*

In Chiraphai, *nyemi* describes a wide range of positive emotions that are related to HAPPINESS or JOY. However, in languages such as English, HAPPINESS and JOY are not automatically synonymous. Wierzbicka (1999) notes a clear difference between these two equivalents that are expressed with *nyemi*:

> One clear difference between *happy* and *joy*, then, has to do with the personal character of the former (highlighted by expressions such as *pursuit of happiness* or *personal happiness)*, and the non-personal, "selfless" character of *joy*. Unlike being *happy, joy* can be shared with other people and can be seen as open to everyone (cf. expressions like *the joy of Christmas* or *the joy of knowledge)*. If *joy* implies that 'something very good is happening', *happy* implies that 'some good things happened TO ME'. (Wierzbicka, 1999, p. 5)[12]

While there is no lexical difference (with just one equivalent form in Rabai), the noun *nyemi* has different readings or connotations that are context-dependent: According to speakers, the emotion encompasses a temporary feeling triggered, for example, by the achievement of a goal (this corresponds with English JOY), but also long-term states including inner peace (which would correspond with English

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11. This is interesting in that most Bantu languages are rich in deverbal derivative processes, i.e., forming new nouns from verbs, but usually not vice versa. In many Bantu languages, the lexical inventory shows a rich pool of verbs, while nouns are often prone to lexical borrowing. This also explains speakers' preference for nominal constructions in the conceptual distinction of core emotions in Rabai: the language has been in longstanding contact with Swahili (as part of the Swahili "colonization" of the Midzichenda areas, and later also as the predominant language under British colonial rule) and has borrowed numerous lexemes, among them many nouns. Among the terms that denote core emotions, *huzuni* and *haya* are the result of lexical borrowing (these two lexemes are identical with the Swahili words from which they were borrowed; see below). These borrowed nouns are then often paired with the equivalent verbs for 'to see' (*kukona)* or 'to be with/have' (*kukala na*) in Chiraphai to express an emotional state based on a phrasal construction. It is therefore no surprise that specifically in the case of these prominent borrowed nouns – but also with regard to others – nouns are listed first when speakers are asked to name "core emotions". In other Bantu languages verbs would be expected to be uttered first by speakers (e.g., in Kinyarwanda, Lingala, etc.). Therefore, approaching emotions through nominal constructions in the Rabai language comes close to a speaker's conceptualization.

12. As stated by one reviewer, not all speakers of English would agree with Wierzbicka's definitions of happiness and joy. However, it is clear that these concepts are distinctive.

HAPPINESS). However, the latter is also dependent on external factors, such as people. Happiness is finite in that these factors can fade, and so can happiness itself.

Wierzbicka (1999) observes for English that the adjective HAPPY differs in meaning from the noun HAPPINESS. The adjective represents a weakened form, because the statement "*I am happy with the present arrangements*" does not express the actual feeling of happiness, but rather contentment (1999, p. 52). In the case of Rabai, 'to be happy' is expressed by *kuna nyemi* 'there is happiness (i.e., one has happiness)' or *kukala na nyemi* 'to be with/have happiness', as shown in (1a, b).

(1) a. *reero nina nyemi nyinji sana kwa kukala dzipata mapeni*
reero ni-na **N-yemi** n-inji kwa kukala dzi-pat-a
today SP_{1SG}-have NP_9-HAPPINESS AP_9-QUANT because SP_{1SG}:PRF-get-FV
ma-peni
NP_6-money
'I'm so happy today because I've got some money.'

b. *unanihenda nikale na nyemi sana*
u-na-ni-hend-a ni-kal-e na **N-yemi** sana
SP_{2SG}-PROG-OP_{1SG}-make-FV SP_{1SG}-be-SBJV with NP_9-HAPPINESS very
'you make me very happy'

3.1.2 Henzo*: LOVE*

Henzo describes the complex concept of LOVE, which, while being an emotion that is felt through or for others, can have many facets in Chiraphai, and encompasses different meanings (as is also the case in Ancient Greek, where different lexical terms denote different kinds of LOVE). *Henzo* means, first and foremost, 'togetherness' (which can also described with the synonyms *ushirikiano/chando*), yet is paired with a strong kind of 'bonding' (as is expressed with the Greek term φιλία *philía* as a form of 'friendship between equals', and to some extent the Greek ἀγάπη, *agápē*, a kind of 'family love' or 'brotherly love'). This togetherness can be between family members, lovers, close friends that "have become family" (as expressed by speakers in interview excerpts) and it can also be shown outwardly and publicly. Love between family members (*mahenzo ga familia*) is understood as a general concept of LOVE, while romantic love or love in a partnership (*mahenzo ga mahaba;* in a way corresponding with Greek ἔρως, *érōs*) is considered more intense. One example of *henzo*, found in a recorded text, is presented below (2).

(2) *mahenzo gangu kwenu ni mabomu*
ma-**henzo** ga-angu ku-enu ni ma-bomu
NP_6-LOVE PP_6-$POSS_{1SG}$ LOC-$POSS_{2PL}$ COP AP_9-big
'my love for you is big'

3.1.3 Huzuni: *SADNESS/ANGER*

The borrowed lexeme *huzuni* (from Swahili) encompasses a wide range of emotions[13] around what English translates as SADNESS but also ANGER[14] (a semantic overlap not uncommon in languages worldwide) (see (3)). The definition of SADNESS is certainly language-specific and culture-specific, but in English and also in Rabai it includes semantically related concepts such as 'disappointment', 'despair' or 'concern' (see also Wierzbicka, 1999, p. 61). In Chiraphai, SADNESS is not necessarily connected to the personal loss of someone or something but can also be felt with or for others (for example, when one stands by a person in his or her grief), i.e., as a form of sympathy that extends from hearer to speaker, which includes the realization that what has happened is (at least partially) due to fate, as also summarized by Wierzbicka (ibid., p. 62): "Thus, the prototypical cognitive scenario associated with the concept *sad* involves an awareness that 'something bad has happened' (not necessarily to me) and an acceptance of the fact that one can't do anything about it."[15] The lexeme *kuhuzunisha* is a denominalized verb which, with the causative derivative affix *-ish*, agentively extends SADNESS onto a second referent, as in *uhoho wa kwako here unahuzunisha* 'your childhood made [me] sad (#angry)'.

The concept of ANGER as a second reading of *huzuni* describes a very intense and expressive emotion: caused by frustration, stress, lack of communication skills and many other factors, anger often expresses itself through impulsive or aggressive behavior. On the premise that emotions should always be expressed, anger can be shown openly in interaction among Arabai. While the rules of politeness in Swahili would not permit openly displayed anger toward elders or

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13. The impossibility of finding exact equivalents, or of "translating" emotional states at all, is well known. Dimmendaal (2022, p. 213) notes: "Biological (or clinical) dimensions of emotions are reflected in English nouns such as *anger, disgust, empathy, fear, grief, hope*, or *love*. But as soon as one starts comparing words from other languages, which at first sight appear to present direct translations of these terms in English (as the metalanguage), it turns out that they do not necessarily cover the same emotional domains". He discusses examples from Ethiopia where the English equivalents are only rough approximations and where the concepts in African languages correspond to and cover several emotions in English (as also becomes evident in Rabai).

14. In neighboring Swahili, Dimmendaal (2015, p. 169) observes: "It is rather striking that in the Bantu language Swahili, for example, there are various lexical items relating to feelings of anger which have been borrowed from the Semitic language Arabic" (*hasira, ghadhabu, kasirani, ghaidi*). It becomes evident that multilingual Rabai speakers, who know Swahili and use it in daily life, have not borrowed these terms and therefore rely on the polysemic *huzuni*. The authors agree with Dimmendaal that more psychological and ethnographic work must be carried out on this – both with regard to Swahili and Rabai.

15. Recent research has focused on bringing different perspectives on sympathy and its expression in different African languages together (Mitchell, 2021).

religious leaders (Yahya-Othman, 1994, p.147), in Rabai society, anger can be expressed toward elders without impinging on respect for age (on the condition that the emotional outbreak is justified).

Anger is usually directed at someone who has done something but can also be directed at the fact that something happened because someone caused it (cf. also Wierzbicka 1999, p.88), as is common in Rabai society. In order to avoid escalation, it is considered appropriate to politely apologize as a sign of respect, if one has made another person angry (*kutsukizya* and *kutsikirwa* are used as causative verbs in this case) (see (4)). As can be seen, the nominal concept expresses both (English) concepts, whereas the verbs that are based on different stems only have one meaning.

(3) *dzana here na huzuni kwa kukala wawe here yulazwa*
dzana here na **ø-huzuni** kwa kukala
yesterday SP_{1SG}:PST:COP with NP_9-SADNESS/ANGER because
ø-wawe here yu-laz-w-a
NP_9-grandmother SP_1:PST:COP SP_1-insert/admit-PASS-FV
'yesterday I was sad (/angry) because Grandma was admitted to hospital'

(4) *unitsukizya*
u-ø-ni-**tsuki-iz**-a
SP_{2SG}-PRS-OP_{1SG}-bother/hate-CAUS-FV
'you made (make) me angry (*sad)'

3.1.4 Woga*: FEAR*

Woga describes the emotional concept of FEAR. The verb *kwogopha* can be translated as both 'to be afraid (of)' and 'to fear' and therefore describes two different concepts. "[*A*]*fraid* is inherently personal ('something bad can happen to me') whereas FEAR is not ('some bad things can happen')" (Wierzbicka, 1999, p.73). One is afraid of immediate dangers, such as during the outbreak of a fire or an accident. FEAR, on the other hand, is more of a general condition (5a, 5b) that is usually not acute, as in the case of a specific phobia, as also shown in the examples.

(5) a. *nagopha kwenda na usiku*
na-ø-**goph**-a kw-end-a na u-siku
SP_{1SG}-PRS-FEAR-FV INF-go-FV with NP_{11}-night
'I fear going at night'

b. *woga we ndorohenda kapatire matsere ga msada*
u-**oga** u-e nda-ro-hend-a ka-pat-ir-e ma-tsere
NP_{11}-FEAR PP_{11}-$POSS_{3SG}$ FUT-RC-do-FV SP_1:NEG-get-APPL-FV NP_6-maize
ga-a N.sada
PP_6-CON NP_9-help
'his fear made him not get the maize distributed (food packet)

3.1.5 Haya*: SHAME*

Haya describes an emotion widely considered a "moral emotion" (Wierzbicka, 1999, p. 11): SHAME. Defined by Ponsonnet (2022, p. 316) as "an eminently social emotion with implications around empowerment", it often refers to a faux pas committed by oneself; however, one can also feel shame for things for which one is not responsible or that affect one's self-image (cf. Wierzbicka, 1999, pp. 109–110). Feeling shame, or being ashamed (*kona haya* 'to "see" shame') in Rabai culture can result from various behaviors, caused either by oneself or by other people in the same community, due to "group face", a central concept associated with SHAME. This is a key sociopragmatic concept in Rabai society (and also exists in Swahili society). Yahya-Othman (1994, p. 148) contrasts "group face" with "individual face" (following Nwoye, 1992, who has studied face-saving strategies in West African communities) by noting that individuals want to behave according to "culturally expected norms of behavior" that may be regulated or sanctioned by society in other ways, while "individual face" targets a speaker's personal needs and public self-image (without concern for the group as a whole).

As is also the case with other lexical loans from Swahili, Chiraphai speakers only use *haya* but never the semantically close *aibu* (Tramutoli, 2020, p. 8 describes the subtle difference between these two for Swahili). Behavior considered as "shameful" in Rabai culture is:

- Lack of hospitality (guests should always be offered a seat and also food)
- Insults directed to old people or not greeting them (often sanctioned with the direct question: *Kona haya kutsalamusa atumiya*? 'Aren't you ashamed not to greet old people?')
- Discussions of love or sexuality in the presence of the elderly (especially among men)
- Eavesdropping on conversations that were not intended for one's own ears. If this happens by accident, one pretends not to have heard it in order to save face (can be followed by the question: *Ndekaphi uso wangu?* 'How shall I restore my face?')
- Lying and gossiping (*kukenga* 'to lie'; *kusengenya* 'to gossip')
- Drunkenness in public, resulting in misbehavior (intoxication alone is not an offense)
- Dressing up "provocatively" (especially restricting women; "skirts and dresses should reach to the knees" – interview excerpt 2021)

Politeness also plays a role in the conceptualization of SHAME in Chiraphai. The Rabai language exhibits positive politeness strategies in the sense of Brown and Levinson (1987) (see also Dimmendaal, 2022b, p. 232ff. for an excellent overview),

which also allow a speaker to ask another person whether (s)he is not feeling ashamed of a particular action (see (6)). This direct politeness strategy, addressing the positive face of the hearer, reflects the open negotiations around emotions and their public display in Rabai culture (6).[16]

(6) *Kona haya kuvala nguo fuhi?*
ka-u-on-a **ø-haya** ku-val-a N.guo fuhi
NEG-SP_{2SG}-see-FV NP_9-SHAME INF-wear-FV NP_9.clothes short
'Are you not ashamed to wear short clothes?'

3.1.6 Chidzitso*: ENVY* / Wivu: *JEALOUSY*

Jealousy is a complex emotion, as becomes evident in the literature available: Senft (2018, p. 197), for instance, in an inspiring chapter on the Trobriand Islanders' pragmatic strategies, distinguishes *kaiwada/pugipogi*, both encompassing 'jealousy' and 'envy', from *uliweli* 'marital jealousy' – because in Kilivila society, the sexual freedom that young people enjoy is over once people get married. Thus, a different noun is used once people find themselves in a different stage of their life. In Rabai, as in English, envy is conceptually distinguished from jealousy; however, in spoken interaction both concepts are sometimes used interchangeably and not kept strictly apart. What both emotions have in common in Rabai society, and what makes them exceptional among other emotions, is that they can be addressed in metalinguistic discourse (see (7a)) but should not be openly shown (as both are considered face-threatening and cast a bad light on the envious or jealous individual) – in contrast with other emotions such as ANGER, HAPPINESS and so forth.

Chidzitso describes the emotional concept of ENVY – sometimes, especially colloquially, extended to the semantically close concept of JEALOUSY. Envy is usually caused by someone possessing something that someone else would like to possess, but "envy doesn't have to be focused on possessions (…) it is not a question of what another person 'has' and of what I 'lack', but rather, of 'good things that have happened to another person and have not happened to me'" (Wierzbicka, 1999, p. 97). The feeling of envy is therefore based on the desire for good things also to happen to oneself – which is not automatically considered a negative emotion. The negative aspect of the feeling of envy arises from the fact that someone may evaluate the fact of something good happening to another person and not to him/herself as something bad (ibid., p. 98). For the Rabai, ideally

16. More insights into Rabai politeness strategies and the implications of *haya*, including the cultural importance of "third-party face", the self-censoring of speakers and face-saving strategies in conversational discourse will be presented elsewhere in a forthcoming publication, due to the limited scope of the present chapter.

no reason for envy should exist within their community, as they otherwise fear the loss of social cohesion and solidarity, as expressed in (7b). Thus, everyone is required to work hard (*henda bidii* / *kazana sana*) to realize their goals and desires in life. An envious look at others shows "bad character".

There is a slight semantic differentiation: while *chidzitso* is based on the desire to have or experience something, *wivu* is based on the desire not to lose something. *Wivu* implies not so much a comparison between oneself and a second person but among a constellation, usually of three people. In this constellation, person X has the wish that person Y feels positively for him or her (expresses affection, sympathy, etc.), but suspects that person Y holds these feelings to a greater extent for person Z and thus evaluates this as bad on an emotional level (cf. also Wierzbicka, 1999, p. 99). The feeling of jealousy (*kukala na wivu* / *kuhenda wivu* 'to be jealous, to "do" jealousy') arises from the fear of losing something or being replaced. Mietzner (to appear), in a refreshing and inspiring article on reciprocity and envy, discusses different aspects of emotions and community interactions in the neighboring Midzichenda language Chidigo, and defines the primary emotional concepts as follows:

> *Uroho* and *dzitso* are the two most obvious concepts of envy in Chidigo. *Uroho*, or the parallel most commonly used Swahili word *wivu*, is envy of small things, of a pair of shoes, of a kilo of flour, or even of something that someone else has got and that one begrudges him (…) However, there is also a variant of envy in which the person has some agency. *Dzitso* [literally 'eye'] is envy of something that someone else wants to achieve. This includes someone managing to get their child to grammar school, or someone being able to afford a motorbike that might generate income from taxi rides in the future. (Mietzner, to appear, n.p.)

The "eye metaphor", i.e., using the lexeme *dzitso* (pl. *matso*), from which the Rabai concept of *chidzitso* is also derived, is known by Rabai speakers but *uroho* is not; here, Rabai speakers prefer the Swahili loan *wivu* as a broader term expressing 'jealousy'.[17] In Rabai, the use of the direct body part *dzitso* for ENVY (without the prefix *chi-*) is accepted by speakers but not attested in the data collected.

17. Interestingly, Mietzner's important and more recent insights are not included by Mwalonya et al. (2004, p. 42) in their Chidigo dictionary, wherein in Chidigo *wivu* can mean both 'envy' and 'jealousy' (p. 196), without a clear semantic difference. However, they list *dzongo* as a separate lexeme which denotes a specific kind of look and as the 'evil eye', "which causes people who are eating to get stomach upsets when someone with this evil eye looks at them".

(7) a. *nahenda wivu dzuzi kwa kukala mwenehu wa chilume wakwenda Nairobi hacheye*
na-a-hend-a u-**ivu** dzuzi kwa kukala
SP_{1SG}-PST-do-FV NP_{14}-JEALOUSY day.before.yesterday because
mu-enehu u-a ki-lume a-a-kwend-a Nairobi hache-ye
NP_1-sibling PP_1-CON NP_7-male SP_1-PST-go-FV N. alone-3SG
'Two days ago I was jealous because my brother went to Nairobi alone.'

b. *uchihenda wivu, undonda*
u-chi-hend-a u-**ivu** u-nda-ond-a
SP_{2SG}-COND-do-FV NP_{14}-JEALOUSY SP_{2SG}-FUT-lose.weight-FV
'If you become jealous, you will grow thin.'

3.2 Color terms and emotions: "Speaking" clothes and "screaming" colors?

Although emotions are very basic psychological experiences, they are nevertheless abstract. When trying to describe and analyze emotions, when trying to put them into words, people tend to make use of color terms and employ metaphorical language. For speakers of English, it is thus possible to *see red, feel blue*, or *turn green with envy* – but "are such color-emotion associations fundamental to our shared cognitive architecture or are they cultural creations learned" through processes of language acquisition and socialization (Jonauskaite et al., 2020: 1245)? This question has been explored by the cited group of scholars, who came to the conclusion that there are global similarities in the way certain emotion concepts are associated or paired with particular color terms. Yet, while the association of color and emotion displays universal tendencies, the encoding and expression of color (see Dimmendaal, 2022b for a discussion; see also Sall, this volume; the introduction to this volume) in the world's languages has incited controversial debates in anthropological linguistics, primarily based on Berlin and Kay's (1969) early model of "basic color terms", which is nowadays mostly considered outdated and has largely been dismissed – or replaced with more recent approaches to the conceptualization of color (for a promising approach, see Ameka & Amha, 2022).

In Rabai, the three colors *ngundu* RED,[18] *nyeruphe* WHITE and *nyiru / kaniki* BLACK (the latter, as will be explained later, can fall into the realm of what in

18. As can be seen in the body text, color terms (without language-specific connotation) are usually given in single quotation marks. In the case of the Rabai colors of special cultural significance, they are presented in small caps to show that no direct one-to-one translation to English is adequate but that the concepts are only rough approximations (and that a color such as *nyiru* cannot be equated with English *black* from a speaker's perspective and is therefore written as BLACK – since "color is arguably the most contested topic in linguistic relativity", as summarized

English would be called *black* or *blue*) are considered the main or central colors and have a special cultural significance – and they also transport emotions. Rabai "traditional"[19] clothing often displays a tricolor mix of these three colors. Women wear long BLACK dresses and WHITE pieces of cloth joined using a red rope to form a skirt called *hando*. Patterned *kitenge* fabrics, also in RED, WHITE and BLACK, are often worn around the torso and as headgear (Figure 13.1). Men, especially the male *kaya* elders, wear a *shuka* around their hips in the same colors, but usually go bare-chested (Figure 13.2). The tricolor pattern of RED, WHITE and BLACK is called *kishutu* and is widespread across Kilifi County (and found in several Midzichenda communities). Briefly stated, these colors represent *uhenzo* (LOVE) (through the color RED), *amani* ('peace') (WHITE) and *utsai* 'witchcraft / black magic' (BLACK) and people commonly believe in the (healing) powers of this traditional fabric and its colors.[20]

The *shuka* and *kitenge* fabrics can often also be in the colors that speakers of English conceptualize as *dark blue, white* and *red*. This is because the (English) colors *dark blue* and *black* are not strictly distinguished in Rabai; i.e., the range of color gradations of *nyiru* encompasses several equivalents in the English language (from *black* to *dark blue* and, as can be seen in Figure 13.1, even *navy blue*) – yet only where these particular clothes are concerned. Chiraphai *does* have a distinctive color term *gushe* (that roughly corresponds to *dark blue* in English); however, this lexeme is not used to describe the color of fabrics (these are always *kaniki*), but only other objects. The explanation of speakers is that *gushe* does not encode the same emotions as *nyiru* (see below), which makes it unsuitable as symbolic color on clothing, and when "reading" emotions from fabrics and from someone's choice

by Ameka and Amha, 2022, p. 347). The same convention is used when referring to metalabels for emotions, in order to show that *henzo* does not correspond to English *love* nor can it easily be translated as 'love'; it is therefore glossed as LOVE.

19. It has to be noted that the use of the term "traditional" (with double quotation marks) does not bear a negative or pejorative notion in this text, i.e., it is not meant to reflect an allochronistic anthropological perspective of Othering (in alignment with Fabian, 1983), marking a group's studied practices as stagnant throughout time, as outdated or obsolete, etc.; it simply refers to practices and patterns of specific cultural significance in Rabai.

20. The world over, color-emotion symbolisms are not very common, and not even studied in great detail for many languages. Christian spirituality uses specific colors, as elaborated upon by Utriainen (2020, p. 405) with regard to the archangels: "The colors belonging to each angel expressed emotions or emotion-like energetic qualities: Raphael was associated with turquoise and tranquillity and healing, Gabriel with white and communication, and Jofiel with yellow and joy, for instance". More recent color-emotion pairings are used in language biographical studies with a focus on the so-called "language portrait", where respondents draw their language repertoires and are supposed to use colors to express the emotions associated with specific languages they speak.



Figure 13.1 "Traditional" tricolor clothing of Rabai men (Philipp Seel, 2022)

of clothing. Special occasions often have a color dress code: BLACK clothing is worn at funerals, but WHITE is worn at baptisms. Wedding dresses are also usually WHITE, with the groom choosing any color for his suit. At traditional weddings, the *hando* is often worn by women and the *kishutu* by both men and women. These common dress codes are no longer obligatory today. *Kaya* elders, however, often still follow and propagate these "color policies" or recommendations.

RED: The color term *ngundu* (RED) symbolizes and is linked to *nyemi* (HAPPINESS) and to *henzo* (LOVE), but also to *huzuni* (ANGER/SADNESS).[21] A person wearing this color can therefore, dependent upon how it is combined with other colors,



Figure 13.2 "Traditional" tricolor clothing of Rabai women (Philipp Seel, 2022)

display any of these emotional states. In terms of the three "traditional" colors, not only *ngundu* (RED) but also *nyiru* (BLACK) can symbolize ANGER or SADNESS. There are thus always different interpretations; "reading" and "translating" colors into emotions is no easy task, and requires in-depth cultural knowledge and practice (considering and including the context, i.e., the event or occasion, the color mix, the individual's facial expressions,[22] gestures and his/her verbal interactions). The world over, it is common for (what English uses as) the color RED to be associated with both positive and negative characteristics. Strength, courage and love,

21. Also across the closely related Midzichenda group, some colors may evoke very different associations. Angelika Mietzner (p.c.), for instance, has observed different associations (and emotions) with the color RED in Chidigo.

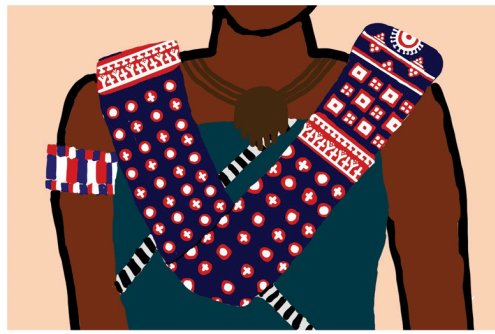


Figure 13.3 *Kishutu* fabric as worn by Arabai (Philipp Seel, 2022)

but also hatred, aggression and bloodshed are frequent associations (Welsch & Liebmann, 2012). In some languages, idioms can be found in which the color corresponding with English *red* is associated with strong emotions. In English, for example, one can say that someone *sees red* when a person becomes angry and aggressive, losing control over his/her actions. Despite the fact that *ngundu* is also associated with ANGER in Rabai, no idioms of this kind could be recorded.

WHITE: As already briefly mentioned, *nyeruphe* (WHITE) is associated with the concept of *amani* 'peace' in Rabai. The color white as a symbol of "peace" has become widely used in Christian communities[23] since the arrival of missionaries in the area in the mid-19th century – and especially since the introduction and availability of industrially manufactured clothing. Related to emotions, *kaniki* (WHITE) in Rabai symbolizes "peace" in general, but also "inner peace", a positive feeling of CONTENTMENT or TRANQUILITY (see also Example (9b) for such an association with *nyeruphe*).

(8) a. *ngombe nyiru*
'black cow'
b. *nguo ya kaniki*
'black clothes'

22. Emotions are also often associated with physical reactions. For example, certain color-emotion/wellbeing associations are based on facial changes – particularly in the Western world. Typical idiomatic expressions in English (with a very Eurocentric connotation when assuming that these may be valid in non-Western Englishes, too), which in most cases have no equivalents in other languages, are: *turning red with anger/shame*, but also *turning chalky (white) with fear*. Independently of an actual physical reaction, one can also *turn green with envy* in English. In Rabai, these color-emotion associations of the type [turn [COLOR] with [EMOTION]] do not occur or function at all, and there are no equivalents that refer to facial "color".

23. The biblical "white dove" became a global symbol of peace and is also often referred to among the Arabai when speaking about conceptualizations of WHITE in their language.

c. #ngombe kaniki
'black cow'

BLACK: Lexemes equivalent to Chiraphai *nyiru* also symbolize, in many communities around the world, darkness or negativity (Welsch & Liebmann, 2012); one common association with this color term in Rabai is *dziza* 'darkness'. In Rabai, negative emotions such SADNESS, ANGER, JEALOUSY and ENVY are associated with *nyiru*. One often-cited example is the idiomatic expression *roho ye ni nyiru* 'his/her heart is black' to express that a person is 'bad', 'cold-hearted', or 'jealous/envious'. Both of the color terms *nyiru* and *kaniki* refer to black color. *Kaniki* refers exclusively to black or navy blue clothing or black or navy blue fabric but is not used in any other context. All other objects whose color corresponds with (the English term) black are considered *nyiru* (see (8a)–(8c)).

The fact that the Rabai equivalents to the three colors BLACK, WHITE and RED play such an essential role in the language with regard to speakers' conceptualization of emotions raises questions around how these can be related to the underlying theoretical foundations of color terminology in the world's languages. As summarized by Dimmendaal (2022, p. 38), the early philologist Lazarus Geiger had already assumed in his theory of the evolution of color names (1878) that the sensitivity to prismatic colors developed evolutionarily, beginning with a sensitivity to the color RED. Ameka and Amha (2022, p. 347) state that the resonances of this problematic and highly contested approach ("if one did not have a word for a color, it meant that one did not see such a color", ibid.) were still visible in Berlin and Kay's work published almost a hundred years later. Brent Berlin and Paul Kay developed their theory of *Basic Color Terms* in 1969 based on a survey of 98 languages with 20 in-depth analyses, stating that "the languages of the world share all or part of a common inventory of color concepts, and that the terms for these concepts develop in a particular order" (as summarized by Hardin, 2013). Based on their research, Berlin and Kay created a list of 11 basic color terms, which they arranged in stages. 'White' and 'black' form Stage I, followed by 'red' in Stage II (see Sall, this volume). It is known today that the ability to designate and name color terms is not related to people's general cognitive abilities, nor that color names would have evolved according to speakers' cognitive development; however, the color RED does seem to play an interesting role in color perception. Even though the 1969 model has major conceptual problems and has been revised several times, also the tricolor distinction BLACK–WHITE–RED seems to be culturally significant not only in the Rabai language (cf. for instance the Ubangian language Gbaya, where process verbs are used to express exactly these three colors, as shown by Roulon-Doko, 2019, cited in Dimmendaal, 2022b, p. 47). It is most likely that the predominant function of these three colors in several lan-

guages around the globe has evolutionary reasons: 'black' and 'white', in parallel with 'dark' and 'light/fair' as color shades, are related to day and night and the biological sleeping-waking rhythm of human beings, whereas recognizing the color 'red' is an evolutionary advantage in that in fruits it is frequently a sign of edibility: "Being able to recognize the colour of fruits that have ripened in nature has tremendous evolutionary advantages, as it is essential for the survival of different species. Hominids and birds have receptors for the colour 'red', as shown through experiments" (Dimmendaal, 2022b, p. 47). In Rabai, these three colors have been conventionalized and nowadays serve as identificational colors (as is the case, for instance, with the colors of national flags in some countries) with associated emotional states.

3.3 Emotion and the body: Metaphors and figurative language use

There is a rich body of literature, especially published in recent years, that focuses on the figurative mapping of emotions onto parts of the body, especially in the field of cognitive linguistics, investigating the cross-linguistic distribution of particular metaphorical expressions. The insights gained show that cross-linguistically many languages share specific metaphors (the 'heart', especially, is a candidate for emotion metaphors in many languages, yet with different connotations), but that in the world's languages, there is also a high degree of variation as to which body parts express which emotional states (see, for instance, Sharifian et al., 2008; Brenzinger & Kraska-Szlenk, 2014; and Kraska-Szlenk, 2019, with a focus on the head; and Ponsonnet and Laginha, 2020 with a typological overview of Australian languages, to name but a few). In the Africanist context, body part metaphors have also been studied in detail by Ameka (2002) with a focus on JEALOUSY metaphors, and several valuable examples are also discussed in the contributions found in Storch's (2017b) volume.

Body part metaphors are recurrent in many languages; often, these body parts stand for and "embody" specific functions and are used in a wide range of semantic domains (see Brenzinger & Kraska-Szlenk, 2014, and many others). In an inspiring contribution, Dimmendaal (2015) analyzes these body part metaphors, focusing on languages such as Lomongo, isiZulu, and Swahili where such metaphors are used to convey specific emotional states of speakers; the frequent occurrence of these phenomena in African languages, and specifically, in languages of the Bantu group, also applies to the Rabai language. Further, Ponsonnet (2022, p. 323), in a recent overview chapter, notes that

> [t]he semantic domain of emotions is very rich in metaphors. This is perhaps unsurprising, given that others' emotions are not directly observable, and are

> therefore more abstract; and one's own personal emotional experiences lend themselves very naturally to 'embodiment', i.e., representations in terms of physical aspects of the person.

Hollington (2015, p. 86) states that "the cognitive processes involving body parts can be very culture-specific regarding the selection of actual body parts which undergo metaphoric extension and the respective choice of the target domains to which the body parts are linked through the mapping process that creates the metaphor". Different linguacultures, according to Hollington (ibid.), also deviate in terms of the acclaimed "center" of emotion (and cognition) in the body, which is language-specific. While numerous African languages locate the center of emotions in the so-called "gut" (comprising the superordinate concept of "belly" or "stomach", but also the "liver", etc.) and therefore fulfill the criterion of abdominocentrism,[24] Rabai belongs to the languages in which the seat of emotions is metaphorically said to lie in the heart, therefore qualifying for cardiocentrism (ibid., p. 86), as is also the case for languages like English. Chiraphai speakers repeatedly emphasize in interviews on emotion that "emotions sit in the heart (…) everything sits in the heart, *roho*, or *moyo. Uhenzo wa ndani ya moyo* [love is inside the heart]" (D. K., interview excerpt, 2022). Neighboring Swahili, according to Tramutoli (2020, p. 8), follows the same system, even though in the literature the 'liver' is often prominently mentioned: "While constructions involving 'heart' as a metaphor seem to predominate in Swahili, the 'liver' (*ini*) is also considered to be a seat of feelings (Dimmendaal 2002: 72)"; the author also mentions the hypothetical grammaticalization path of *ini* to the postnominal locative enclitic *=ni* 'in, at, etc.' in Swahili. In another study, Dimmendaal (2015, p. 162) discusses emotion terms based on body parts in different Bantu languages and observes a semantic shift in some languages where the Proto-Bantu root for 'heart' has taken over the meaning of 'liver', and therefore also turned into the abdominocentric "seat" of emotions:

> The Proto-Bantu root for 'heart' *-*timà*, which has been retained as such in languages like Mongo (but not in Zulu), in fact means 'liver' in a number of other Bantu languages (Guthrie 1970: 108). This type of shift in meaning is of course common cross-linguistically (Wilkins 1996). It may also be one of the reasons why 'heart' and 'liver' are sometimes used interchangeably in figures of speech, as observed for Nilotic languages like Päri above.

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24. Enfield and Sidnell (2022, p. 473) also observe this abdominocentric seat, reflected in metaphorical language use, in languages from South East Asia, asking: "If the Chewong way of saying 'I was ashamed' is literally translated as 'my liver was tiny', does this mean that the blood-producing organ is 'the seat of all consciousness' (Howell 1981: 142–3) for Chewong speakers?".

In Swahili, *moyo* represents the 'heart' and *roho* represents the 'soul' (see Tramutoli, 2020, p. 41, ad passim); however, as also recurrent in many contact varieties of the language and other closely related languages, Chiraphai speakers do not make this difference and employ both lexemes interchangeably with no semantic differentiation. The Proto-Bantu *-timà "also occurs [in Swahili] even if the use of *moyo* is more common in metaphorical expressions" (Tramutoli, 2020, p. 9). In the Rabai language, the Proto-Bantu lexeme is not used (but is known by speakers). The source domain *heart* can target the emotions FEAR, ENVY, CONTENTMENT and LOVE, depending upon the grammatical construction involved and the adjectives used (see (9a)–(9e)).

(9) a. *moyo wangu unatetemeka*
'my heart is shivering' → FEAR
b. *roho yangu ni nyeruphe*
'my heart is white' → HAPPINESS, CONTENTMENT
c. *roho ye ni nyiru*
'his/her heart is black' → ENVY, JEALOUSY, evilness
d. *yuna roho bomu*
'(s)he has a big heart' → LOVE, generosity, kindness
e. *yuna roho ntite*
'(s)he has a small heart' → selfishness, stinginess

As already mentioned, there are no 'liver' or 'stomach' metaphors as the center of emotion is believed to be the heart, not the belly. The same applies to the chest (i.e., Rabai speakers would not speak of a *heavy chest* or a *heavy load on the chest* when feeling depressed). The face, which serves as a metaphorical source for SHAME in many languages (including English as a metalanguage: the loss of "face" as a metaphor to indicate social disapproval), is rarely used in Rabai. Two examples where face is not used metaphorically but where it is used as a direct indicator of HAPPINESS or SADNESS, are listed in (10a, b).

(10) a. *uso ukwaya kwa shida*
u-so u-kway-a kwa ø-shida
NP_{11}-face SP_{11}-shrink-FV with/due to NP_{9}-problem
'the face shrinks (shrank)' (referring to one's SADNESS; '(s)he is sad)
b. *uso we unangala*
u-so u-e u-na-ngal-a
NP_{11}-face PP_{11}-$POSS_{3SG}$ SP_{11}-PROG-shine-FV
'his/her face is shining' (referring to one's HAPPINESS; '(s)he is happy')

A heavy or aching back (*mongoni*) is used as a metaphor for problems, and emotionally as a metaphor for SORROW and also SADNESS; but the metaphor *mabeba gakwaya* 'falling shoulders' serves even more often as indicator of SADNESS. The body (a shivering body, a heavy body or a lightweight body) as a whole can also be used to convey specific emotions such as FEAR, SADNESS or HAPPINESS. The body is also involved in metaphors around gaining or losing weight (*kukala mwembamba* 'to be/come thin'; *kukala mubomu* 'to be/come heavy'), as widespread in African languages, representing SADNESS or HAPPINESS, respectively (often also as a direct consequence of negative emotions such as ENVY/JEALOUSY, as discussed above). A 'heavy head' (*chitswa chiziho*) stands for SADNESS and SORROW. The eyes, when described as being wide open (*matso ga gagaluka*), or becoming open, can refer to SURPRISE, FEAR, or DESIRE/LUST; e.g., a man is said to open his eyes wide after spotting a beautiful woman, which expresses his sexual desire (*nomboza dzitso* 'I opened my eye/s'). Similar metaphors are widespread in neighboring Midzichenda languages. In Rabai, the mouth and also the teeth, when used metaphorically, especially target either a person's eagerness to gossip and spread news (as in *yuna mulomo wa haraka*, lit. '(s)he has a fast mouth'), or address the good qualities of a person and also his/her happiness (as in *yuna meno meruphe* '(s)he has white teeth').

Metaphors and figurative speech are recurrent in proverbs along the East African coast; in the case of Swahili, but less so for Midzichenda languages, this represents a well-researched genre. In Rabai, specific sayings or proverbs also make metaphorical usage of body parts (see also Kövecses, 2010 on metaphor and emotion in idiomatic or ritualized language use), such as the heart, the eyes, the fingers or the hand. In paremiological usage, body parts usually represent figurative concepts of unity and togetherness (expressed with a part-of-whole metaphor, especially when constituent X is part of constituent Y, e.g., the fingers of a hand, see (11a, b)), kindness or sorrow (heart metaphors, as in (12)), emotions such as envy (or, to some extent, jealousy) (with an eye metaphor (13)), and many more. Children already acquire the meaning of these metaphors as part of their language socialization in Rabai society. Some of the recurrent body part metaphors in proverbs and sayings are, however, not limited to Chiraphai, but can also be found in Swahili proverbs (Nassenstein, 2022) or even in global usage.

(11) a. *hupha mwenge here mala ga mkono ganza*
hu-ph-a mu-enge here ma-la ga-a m-kono gu-anza
SP_{1PL}-be-FV EP_1-one like NP_6-finger PP_6-CON NP_3-hand AP_3-whole
'we are together like fingers on a hand' (meaning: unity, togetherness, solidarity, LOVE)

b. *chala chimwenga kachirunza tsaha*
ki-ala ki-mwenga ka-ki-runz-a ø-tsaha
NP_7-finger EP_7-one NEG-SP_7-kill-FV NP_9-louse
'one finger cannot kill a louse' (meaning: unity, togetherness, LOVE)

(12) *roho yangu ibeba manji*
ø-roho i-angu i-ø-beb-a ma-nji
NP_9-heart PP_9-$POSS_{1SG}$ SP_9-PRS-carry-FV AP_6-QUANT
'every [my] heart carries a lot' (meaning: 'everyone struggles/hides sth.') (SADNESS or secrecy)

(13) *ndarya na dzitso*
na-ø-ri-a na dzi-tso
SP_{1SG}-PRS-eat-FV with NP_5-eye
'I eat with the eye' (meaning: 'I don't get what I desire') (JEALOUSY/ENVY)

3.4 Emotional encodings in grammar: Evaluative morphology

Apart from the focus on body part terminology, color terms, interjections and lexical categories in emotion research (to name but a few), researchers pursuing the "Natural Semantic Metalanguage" approach (with 65 semantic primes assumed to be the semantic core of a language) have also taken grammatical categories into consideration (for an overview, see Zhengdao Ye, 2020, p. 148). Ponsonnet (2022, p. 324) lists several "loci of affect" (following Besnier), such as person reference, evidentiality (and therein, specifically, mirativity), valency and clefting as parts of the syntax, and also evaluative morphology. Among these fields of study, rooted in the grammar of the language under scrutiny, Wierzbicka (2003) has looked at diminutive forms, which have proven a rich field of research. This work was later expanded and redefined by Ponsonnet (2018), offering a typology of emotional connotations in diminutive and augmentative constructions (see also Grandi & Körtvélyessy, 2015; Körtvélyessy, 2015 for overview works on the morphosyntactic constructions that are used for diminutives, augmentatives and so forth).

The Bantu languages, especially, reveal at the morphosyntactic level a complex and fine-grained system of prefixes (and concords) which can be subsumed under the label "evaluative morphology". Languages like Chiraphai display a system of genders or class pairs that reveal corresponding singular-plural pairs. Class 12 (*ka-*) is well known as a category through which "small things, tiny people, small-sized concepts" are expressed. This noun class attaches the prefix *ka-* to noun stems, as in *muhoho* 'child' → *ka+hoho* 'small child', or cliticizes *ka=* to entire nouns including a nasal prefix, such as *nyumba* 'house' → *ka+N.yumba* 'small house'. The semantic range of class 12 prefixes encompasses the following conno-

tations: DIMINUTIVE (size: "small"), PEJORATIVE (negative quality: "tiny, skinny, malnourished, ugly"), AMELIORATIVE (positive quality: "cute"), with DIMINUTIVE being the core function in the noun class (for a typology of diminutive marking and the different morphological construction types in Bantu languages, see Gibson, Guerois & Marten, 2017). Despite these commonly known semantic encodings of evaluative prefixes, a speaker's emotional stance can be expressed, too, which covers the semantic range of different emotions, and can be labeled (in analogy with Burdelski, 2020, p. 28) as a speaker's "affective stance" in this case. While "affective stance" is a pragmatic effect, which arises from different kinds of linguistic resources working together, instead of only being encoded by specific noun class affixes, in the Rabai language this effect is more strongly achieved through specific nominal prefixes than e.g., only through prosody, the use of qualitative adjectives etc.[25] While Bantu languages seem to differ in some ways from Australian languages such as Dalabon, which are well described in this regard, there are still commonalities. Ponsonnet (2018, pp. 17–18) summarizes, in her typological overview:

> [A]lthough diminutives display a well-acknowledged cross-linguistic tendency to express child-related emotions, in many languages diminutives can also express "deeper" emotions. Diminutives seem to favor positive emotions such as compassion, love and admiration, but they can also express negative emotions, such as contempt. As for augmentatives, their emotional extensions are somewhat more limited, but they do display a blend of positive and negative emotional connotations including contempt and repulsion, admiration and respect, endearment and compassion. Diminutives and augmentatives do not contrast sharply with respect to emotional valence (positive or negative), but while diminutives are anchored in intimacy, the emotions conveyed by augmentatives more often relate to a broader social context.

In Chiraphai, COMPASSION and SYMPATHY are the emotions that are often expressed with a noun class 12 "diminutive" prefix; see (14a, b). In both examples, the speaker is not simply encoding small size (already expressed with the qualitative adjectives *katite* 'small' and *kodzonda* 'skinny', respectively), nor does the use of the diminutive add a connotation of cuteness, but it emphasizes the speaker's emotional stance towards the human referents that are mentioned. In order to evoke sympathy, the class 12 noun and adjective (also with the concord of the same class) are sufficient – the explanation given in (14a) that the child 'was crying' is not needed to reveal the speaker's emotional state of feeling sorry (PITY) for the child, as explained by speakers. The example refers to a situation where a per-

25. We are grateful to one reviewer for encouraging us to make this clear.

son had entered a village on the way to the coastal areas and spotted a child along the way who had a head wound, an incident which he later narrates to his friends when reaching the hotel resort. The second Example (14b) expresses sympathy by drawing on a comparison with a dog (*kuro*), stressing the pitiful condition of the 'small skinny man' that the speaker refers to.[26]

(14) a. *dzana phorokwenda kwa Laura, nona kahoho katite kanarira kwa sababu yakulumwa ni chitswa*
dzana pho-ro-kwend-a kwa Laura na-on-a ka-hoho
yesterday when-RC$_{1SG}$-go-FV to L. SP$_{1SG}$:PST-see-FV NP$_{12}$-child
ka-tite ka-na-rir-a kwa sababu a-a-ku-lum-w-a
AP$_{12}$-small SP$_{12}$-PROG-weep-FV because SP$_{1}$-PST-INF-hurt-PASS-FV
ni ki-tswa
at/with NP$_{7}$-head
'yesterday, when going to Laura's place, I saw a small child crying because it was hurt on the head'

b. *hudzona kadzitu kodzonda here kuro yunavoyavoya*
hu-dzon-a ka-dzi-tu ka-dzonda here ø-kuro
SP$_{1PL}$-PRF:see-FV NP$_{12}$-NP$_{5}$-man AP$_{12}$-skinny SP$_{1}$:PST:COP NP$_{9}$-dog
yu-na-voy-a-voy-a
SP$_{1}$-PROG-beg-FV-beg-FV
'we have seen a tiny skinny man who was begging like a dog'

AFFECTION, or emotional approval, is also commonly expressed with noun class 12 in Chiraphai – whereby the context often clarifies the speaker's stance (Ponsonnet, 2018 also speaks of 'love' or 'admiration' in this case), often also through the use of a specific qualitative adjective (which "points" to a particular

26. Speakers also made it clear that it is not always the noun class prefix that conveys the notion of COMPASSION or SYMPATHY; syntactically agreeing forms (concords on other constituents of the noun phrase, etc.) may also express this emotion without a nominal referent. One special case is the subject marking on verbs: speakers explained that a speaker's utterance of *Kanagwa!* (ka+na+gw+a) 'it (e.g., the small child) is falling right now' with the progressive aspect *na-* cannot express COMPASSION because the speaker would be watching the incident without intervening ("you are watching it but you are not doing anything about it; you are therefore not allowed to pity what has happened", D.K., interview excerpt). In another (constructed) example, the same speaker said that the verb *Kadzegwa!* (ka+dzi+gw+a) 'it has fallen' with the perfect marker *dzi-* would indeed express COMPASSION or SYMPATHY as the incident happened when the speaker was unable to intervene, i.e., (s)he might have found the child on the stairs right after the accident (in such a case, where "legitimate COMPASSION" is expressed, a speaker would often add the interjection *ohh*). Tense and aspect markers have rarely been examined for their expression of emotion, which could be a promising topic to pursue in future studies.

reading). The use of noun class prefix 12 together with the adjective *-dzo* 'nice' or 'good' conveys the idea of cuteness in this case.[27]

(15) *Mayo, phaho kahoho kadzo kanazunguluka kwenda kwa chila mutu!*
ø-mayo pha-ho ka-hoho ka-dzo ka-na-zunguluk-a
NP_{1A}-mother SP_{16}-COP NP_{12}-child AP_{12}-nice SP_{12}-PROG-move.around-FV
kwenda kwa chila mu-tu
going.towards to QUANT NP_{1}-person
'Mother, this cute small child is whirling around every person!'

However, there is also a common reading of negative emotions when the diminutive prefix of class 12 is used, thus expressing disapproval or CONTEMPT, insinuating that a referent is perceived as "small" and "disproportional", or that a particular behavior is "inappropriate", etc. Here, it is not only the noun class prefix 12 and the adjective *-bonge* 'huge' that convey this meaning but also a speaker's intonation, with a high (to extra high) tone on the adjective and a lengthened vowel in the adjectival stem: [kabɔ́ːŋɛ] (see (16)).

(16) *phana kahoho kabonge sana kaweza kwenenda*
pha-na ka-hoho ka-bonge sana ka-wez-a ku-enend-a
SP_{16}-have NP_{12}-child AP_{12}-thick very SP_{1}:NEG-can-FV INF-move.around-FV
'there is a small child so much overweight it cannot (even/barely) walk'

In only a few cases, noun class 12 is "neutral", with the adjectives *-bonge* (CONTEMPT) and *dzo* (AFFECTION) not featured, and a referent is only perceived as 'small' without further affective stance (17).

(17) *Mayo, phana kahoho katite …*
ø-mayo pha-na ka-hoho ka-tite
NP_{1A}-mother SP_{12}-have NP_{12}-child AP_{12}-small
'Mother, there is this small child …'

Depreciation, aversion, disapproval or CONTEMPT toward somebody or something can often be expressed with the noun class 5 prefix *ri-*, which usually serves as an augmentative. However, AUGMENTATION is semantically often paired with PEJORATION, turning objects, bodies, etc. into "disproportional", "bulky" or "unshapely" units, and thus serving as an insult. In the Rabai language, the

27. Specific body parts such as *mibadzo rabomu* 'big eyes' (noun class 5) also express AFFECTION or emotional approval, especially when referring to children, small animals, etc.

denominal derivation or "class shift" into class 5[28] serves to express a speaker's aversion (as in (18)), or even DISGUST/REPULSION.

(18) *deejay wa dzana here mtite na ridzitswa ribomu*
ø-DJ u-a dzana here m-tite na ri-dzi-tswa ri-bomu
NP_{1A}-DJ PP_1-CON yesterday SP_1:COP:PST AP_1-small with NP_5-NP_5-head AP_5-big
'yesterday's DJ was a small person with a huge head' (meaning: he was ugly)

SURPRISE can be expressed with augmentatives – often accompanied by qualitative adjectives and verbs that underline the speaker's emotional state, as in (19), where a person narrates an incident when he became aware of the bulky and not-very-handy mobile phone that his friend suddenly pulled out of his pocket.

(19) *dzishtuka na dzisima ribomu*
dzi-shtuk-a na dzi-simu ri-bomu
SP_{1SG}:PRF-be.shocked-FV with NP_5-phone AP_5-big
'I was shocked (surprised) about the abnormally huge phone (that my friend had)'

4. Outlook: Further anthropological linguistic research in Midzichenda languages

The present chapter has given a brief overview of emotional states and their encoding in the Bantu language Chiraphai, based on preliminary insights resulting from two fieldwork stays on the Kenyan coast. It has become evident that actual "emotion words" or core emotion terms only play a minor role to speakers, particularly due to the performative aspect of emotion in interaction – to speakers, rather than mentioning, labeling or referring to their emotional states, the colors of one's clothes transport or convey an emotion, body part metaphors are used and emotions can be embedded in and expressed through particular morphological forms, too. There are no cultural or social constraints on showing *huzuni* (SADNESS/ANGER), *henzo* (LOVE) and so on in public. While self-control must be learnt and is at the core of a person's public display of emotion in some societies (Senft, 2017; Pasch & Dusa, this volume), in the Rabai context the public negotiation and display of affect and the social negotiation of a person's emotions are very normal, due to the fact that "language socialization theory considers emotions not

28. As may become evident in the examples, class shift into noun class 5 or noun class 12 requires an operation whereby the initial prefix of the noun (e.g., class 1 for human beings: *mu-*) changes to the prefix of class 5 (*dzi-*). The additional prefix (*ka-, ri-* etc.) is then prefixed to this class 5 prefix. This operation also occurs in other Midzichenda languages and in Swahili.

simply as private, internal states but as shared, public practices conveyed through voice, facial expression, gesture, touch, and other semiotic modalities in socially situated interaction" (Burdelski, 2020, p. 29). In future research on Chiraphai, it would therefore be rather interesting to examine in which cases individuals' emotional states "can't go public", e.g., in what way the expression of *haya* (SHAME) as a special case, due to the partial adoption of coastal Swahili politeness strategies, may cause a speaker to hold back or conceal specific emotions in cases where "group face" and thus the social balance could otherwise be threatened. Specifically with regard to the impact of Swahili on Midzichenda communities, cross-linguistic studies from the Kenyan coast could be an interesting future endeavor (e.g., building on Mietzner's inspiring work on Chidigo).

In particular, the grammatical encodings of emotions in Bantu languages have so far remained largely understudied, be it in the morphology of noun classes and concords, or in the syntax (see Tramutoli, 2020, pp. 10–11 for inspiring ideas). Here again, the NSM framework (and Wierzbicka's groundbreaking studies) could potentially yield fruitful insights in future studies. A more profound anthropological linguistic study of Chiraphai (and other practically undocumented Midzichenda languages) will surely profit from scholars' impressive achievements in emotional language research over the past few years – and could potentially inspire colleagues to focus on the encoding of emotions in other Bantu languages, too.

Abbreviations

#	semantic unacceptance	LOC	locative
-	morpheme boundary in glossed examples	NEG	negation
		NP1	nominal prefix of class 1
+	morpheme boundary elsewhere	PL	plural
		POSS	possessive
=	clitic boundary	PP	pronominal prefix
ø	null	PRF	perfect aspect
AP	adjectival prefix	PROG	progressive aspect
CON	connective	PRS	present tense
COP	copula	PST	past tense
EP	numeral prefix	QUANT	quantifier
FUT	future tense	RC	relative concord
FV	final vowel	SG	singular
INF	infinitive	SP	subject prefix

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CHAPTER 14

Verbal lexicalization and cultural domains in Toposa

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Toposa, an Eastern Nilotic language of South Sudan, packages a great deal of semantic information in verb roots. This chapter investigates whether lexicalization processes in the verb can be linked to the emergence of cultural "schemas", "frames" or "scenarios" (Goddard & Wierzbicka, 2014). The chapter shows that Toposa has refined verbal lexicalization in cultural activities and scenarios in the lexical domains of mobility, sacrifices, rituals, carrying, cutting, herding, transportation of goods, and daily activities that at large reflect typical characteristics of the pastoralist cultures of East Africa and thus suggests a link between culture and language in the semantic domains of activity verbs.

Keywords: semantic domains, verb lexicalization, language and culture, cultural scenarios, cultural keywords

1. Introduction

Toposa, an Eastern Nilotic language of South Sudan, packages a great deal of semantic information in its verb roots.[1] As previously observed in Schröder (2016), motion verbs conflate verb frame and satellite frame information in hybrid motion frames. Furthermore, lexical information pertaining to time, manner, purpose, goal and instrument can be encoded by the verb root (Schröder, 2017). To take a simple example, the action of cleaning is lexicalized differently in Toposa depending on the instrument: the verb specifies whether the activity is done with

1. Toposa is an Eastern Nilotic language of the Nilotic language family that consists of Western Nilotic (Dinka, Shilluk, Päri, Burun, Nuer, etc.), Southern Nilotic (Tugen, Nandi, Keiyo, Marakwet, etc.) and Eastern Nilotic (Bari, Maasai, Teso-Turkana, etc.) (Vossen, 1982). Maasai, Teso-Turkana (which includes Toposa), and Southern Nilotic languages have VSO word order and are marked nominative languages.

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a cloth (*pye* 'wipe') or a broom (*weny* 'sweep').[2] Examples (1) and (2), taken from narrative texts, are intended to show that the instrument is indicated only in the verb and not elsewhere in the clause. Elicitation confirms that an argument encoding the instrument would not be possible in these clauses.[3]

(1) *Toricị sekẹ ke-rumw-orị nya-ki-yepẹ nyekerụ ka nya-pyere daŋ*
already DEP-finish-VEN FEM-DER-clear dancing ground and FEM-sweep all
'The dancing ground has already been cleared and swept completely.'

(2) *A-sik-i Losike nya-ku-ŋinyi nyegeci*
3SG-abandon-IPFV L. FEM-DER-clean.with.rag mixing.stick
'Losike has given up wiping the mixing stick.'

In a recent paper on verbs of vision, Wnuk (2022, p. 158) comments on the "cross-linguistic variability and malleability of (…) concepts" involved in verbal meaning "in domain after domain". This chapter contributes to our knowledge of this cross-linguistic variability by considering lexical semantics across a range of domains in Toposa, including "human locomotion" (Malt & Majid, 2013, p. 584), or what I refer to here as mobility. Following my analysis of the proliferation of verb roots in Toposa denoting different features of motion events, including those involving the motion of cattle, I turn to domains that relate to more ceremonial activities, namely, sacrifice, marriage, and other rituals. These unique verbalization processes open a window for understanding the culture of the Toposa people. Other domains mentioned frequently in the literature on lexical distinctions in the verb include those of cutting and carrying. I consider these domains in the final section. In exploring verbal lexicalization patterns in Toposa, I am particularly interested in the cultural motivations behind these lexicalization processes, inspired by Wierzbicka's work on the relationship between lexical domains and cultural meaning and her suggestion that languages are the "best mirror of the human mind" (Wierzbicka, 1994, p. 431).

Toposa is a highly inflectional and derivational agglutinative language with elements of fusion. Here I briefly summarize the verbal and nominal morphology of the language to help the reader follow the examples.

The most important prefix slots for the verb are the person prefixes and the dependency marker *to-*/*ki-*. These morpheme categories are mutually exclusive and occur in the same slot. The verbal extensions of the verb are ventive/itive,

2. The English translations arguably encode instrument as well, though they are classified as 'manner' verbs by Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2020, p. 160).

3. The data in the examples is taken directly from the texts, which were mostly transcribed by native speakers and the orthography therefore differs. Underlining of vowels indicates devoicing.

Table 14.1 Morphological structure of the Toposa verb and deverbal nouns

STRUCTURE OF THE VERB					
Person DEP	**Root**	**Ventive Itive Plural**	**Benefactive Passive Habitual**	**Imperfective Perfective Passive Plural**	**Translation**
to-	*mat*	*-arɨ*			'They run away'
a-	*naŋ*	*-un*		*-eta*	'They arrived'
to-	*doc*		*-akin*	*-ae*	'It was mixed'
ku-	*cum*	*-u*			'He speared'
ki-	*swok*		*-et*	*-e*	'They always left early'
STRUCTURE OF DEVERBAL NOUNS					
Gender	**Nom.**	**Root**	**Benefactive Itive Ventive**	**Agent Instrument**	**Translation**
nya-		*jul*		*-ot*	'Sacrifice for the prevention of diseases and misfortune'
nya-	*ki-*	*gur*	*-okin*		'Ritual performed when mixing one's own cattle with others'
nya-	*ki-*	*lom*	*-un*		'Ceremony performed for a returnee'
nye-	*ka-*	*pu*	*-or*	*-on*	'A person who regularly guts bulls'

benefactive, habitual, passive and imperfective and perfective aspect. Like most Eastern Nilotic languages Toposa has two verb classes, a To-class and a Ki-class. The distinction derives from the form of the imperative which appears with To-verbs and Ki-verbs. The two verb classes also align with different person prefixes: in the To-class, the personal prefixes (in the order of 1st/2nd/3rd person SG and 1st/2nd/3rd person PL) are: *a-*, *i-*, *e-*, *e-*, *i-*, *e-*; while in the Ki-class, the person prefixes are *e-*, *i-*, *i-*, *i-*, *i-*, *i-*. In deriving deverbal nouns, the verb root is always preceded by the nominalizer *ki-* and the female gender marker *nya-*. If a noun is derived into an agentive noun the female marker *nya-* changes to the male gender marker *nye-* and the nominalizer from *ki-* to *ka-*, as in *nyekapuoron* 'a person who regularly guts oxen'. The nouns can also carry verbal extensions like benefactive and itive and ventive. The noun can also contain an instrumentalizer and an agentive suffix.

The empirical basis of this contribution is the corpus of texts compiled by M. Schröder (2010). The text compilation contains 74 texts including animal fables,

as well as biographical, historical, fictional, mythological and true-story narratives. It also comprises of expository and procedural texts. The texts were collected between 1981 and 2000 from Toposa people of all ages who were born and lived around the area of Kapoeta, South Sudan. In the first phase, when there was no alphabet established for the Toposa people, the texts were audio-recorded, transcribed and translated into English by me and my husband, Martin Schröder. In the second phase, after establishing an alphabet, texts were written down in Toposa and then translated by my husband, myself and Pastor Lokuuda, a native Toposa speaker. To investigate verb meanings, I also consulted the Toposa dictionary (M. Schröder, 2008). The dictionary has over a thousand entries and is followed by an appendix covering names for the areas of fauna, livestock, nicknames of animals, flora, numerals, names of other ethnic groups, interjections, ideophones, and irregular verbs. If neither of the expressions in the text nor the dictionary helped with the meaning of the verb roots, I consulted Pastor Lokuuda, who once a year visits our home.[4] Often I used the dictionary for investigating the semantic domains of lexical items like cutting, giving, going, coming, returning, etc. Then I tried to find examples in the texts. The examples in the present paper are all taken from the texts. The names of the sacrifices and rituals were first looked at in M. Schröder (1993a) and (1993b). Then the dictionary was consulted to find out whether the names of the sacrifice were related to a verb root. If a verb root was identified, an example from the text was searched for and documented if found.

2. Verbal lexicalization processes in the cultural domain of mobility

Toposa people belong to one of the pastoral cultures of East Africa, in which movement, walking and the economic concept of mobility is dominant. Pastoralist groups have to move their cattle from one grazing ground to another for economic reasons. So, walking and being mobile is a habit that is part of daily life. The importance of mobility and walking is manifested in the lexicalization of motion events, an especially rich lexical domain. I would argue that movement on foot from one place to another holds so much salience in Toposa culture that the linguistic domain of moving and walking is highly differentiated and can be regarded as one of the keywords of the culture (Goddard & Wierzbicka,

4. I am grateful to Pastor James Lokuuda who helped to clarify the meaning of some of the more complicated verb constructions.

2014, p. 19).[5] Other Nilotic languages that highlight and differentiate the domain of walking include Cherang'any, a Southern Nilotic language spoken in Kenya (Mietzner, 2015). This section will demonstrate examples of the mobility domain.

Table 14.2 provides an overview of all attested verb roots that are used in the lexical domain of mobility, organized according to path, motion, path + motion, and driving cattle:

Table 14.2 Verb roots used to express mobility

Lexical domain	Examples	English translation
PATH OF MOTION		
from source	yek	'leave'
from source + time	swok	'leave early in the morning'
to goal	boŋ	'return'
to goal	naŋ	'arrive'
to goal + time	waru	'arrive at dusk'
en route	por	'pass by'
en route	por	'pass through'
to goal	wap	'follow'
to goal + manner	tup	'follow closely'
to goal (goal perspective)	pap	'approach'
to goal	ram	'migrate'
MANNER OF MOTION		
gait + speed	ker	'run (fast), race'
gait + speed	suk	'run'
gait + speed	mot-mat	'run fast, run a race'
gait	rim	'stroll, wander about'
gait	la	'wander about, stroll about'
gait + speed	kom	'walk fast, hurry'
gait + time	kiiy	'walk all night'
manner + object	cak	'trample'
gait + speed + activity	buny	'walk fast doing something'
manner + purpose	ced	'run to get something'

5. Like many African languages, Toposa is first and foremost a verb-framed language (Schröder, 2016) where the lexicalization of the path in the verb is more prominent than specifying the manner of motion.

Table 14.2 *(continued)*

Lexical domain	Examples	English translation
HYBRID MANNER AND PATH OF MOTION		
gait + speed + to goal	ber	'run ahead'
gait + speed + from source	wok	'run away, escape'
gait + speed + path	curw	'run around'
manner + goal	dol	'arrive carrying something'
DRIVING CATTLE		
to goal + object	ram	'drive [cattle]'
to goal + object	me	'drive [cattle] from behind'
to goal + object	twar	'drive [animal]'
to goal + object	ruj	'drive [cattle] as one herd'

Table 14.2 shows that the lexical domains of 'running' and 'walking' contain several different lexical items. A fine-tuning of the activities of 'run' and 'walk' has taken place. Also note that the meanings of 'leave taking' and 'arrival' have a lexical distinction for time. The following sections examine meanings in the domain of mobility in more detail.

2.1 Verbs encoding path of motion

Typical verbs that demonstrate movement away from and movement back to a source in the semantics of the verb are, respectively, the verbs *yek* 'leave', illustrated in (3a), and *boŋ* 'return', illustrated in (3b). *Yek* and *boŋ* are typical verb-frame roots where the path is integrated into the lexical meaning of the verb.[6]

(3) a. *Te-yek-a nai nya-ki-waraˌ ŋakipi locoriniˌ*
DEP-leave-VEN then FEM-DER-look water waterhole
'He left to look for water in the waterhole section of the river.'[7]

b. *To-boŋ-osi nyepeewae nakopoˌ, to-luŋ-akiniˌ nyepeewae*
DEP-return-VEN:PL part country DEP-walk.out-BEN part
'One part returned to the country (=home), the [other] part walked out.'

6. Talmy (2000) claims that the way the world's languages organize their motion events can be categorized into verb-framed and satellite-framed languages. Toposa is typically a verb-framed language that also has hybrid frames where path and manner of motion are encoded in the same verb root.

7. H. Schröder (2013, 2020) demonstrated that Toposa is a 'clause-chaining language'. Toposa has medial clauses that are inflectional dependent on finite clauses and this dependency is

With respect to movement towards a goal, Toposa has two different verbs for 'arrive': *naŋ* and *dol*, where the difference is that *dol* implies that the person is carrying something: see (4a) and (4b) for examples. (An additional verb meaning 'arrive' is discussed in 2.2.) In Example (4b), the items being carried by the hunting-dog generation in the migration were their belongings. The meaning 'arrive' incorporates the path into the verb as in a typical verb-framed verb. While (4a) explicitly refers to the goal location (the city of Juba), (4b) talks about an implicit goal, namely the area of Loŋeleya, where one section of the Toposa people, the hunting-dog generation, settled:

(4) a. *Na a-naŋ-un-et-a Juba a-bu Lokuuta miṇi lokaḷe ka*
when 3PL-arrive-ITV-PFV-PL Juba 3SG-come.PST L. go.PST house of
amaakeŋe
uncle.3SG.POSS
'When they arrived in Juba, Lokuuta went to the house of his uncle.'[8]

b. *Ani e-dol-un-et-e neni, to-wuru-u-tụ nai ŋide*
When 3PL-arrive-ITV-PFV-PL there DEP-beget-ITV-PL then children
kecẹ
3PL.POSS
'When they arrived there, they begot their children.'

A further verb specifying movement towards a goal, i.e., a verb that incorporates the path, is *pap* 'to approach'. This verb emphasizes proximity to the goal, as illustrated in Example (5):

(5) *Ani e-pap-uun-i ɲakerụ, ki-ɲak-a-si nabo*
when 3SG-approach-ITV-IPFV dancing-ground DEP-charge-RFL-PL again
ŋisorokọ, …
young.men
'When they approach the dancing-ground, the young men charge again with mock-attacks.'

With verbs meaning 'pass', the specific orientation is to the route of the path, where either a person 'passes by' a particular ground, expressed in the verb *por*, or a person 'passes through, via', which is expressed in the verb *tor*. In Example (6a), the travelers go past Loopu without entering it, while in Example (6b) the traveler passes through Nagishot while on his way to Kapoeta.

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expressed through the dependency (DEP) prefixes *to-* and *ki-*, whereby *to* occurs with verb class 1 and *ki* with verb class 2 verbs.

8. The implied meaning of carrying something does not specify what is carried. It can be a material thing or a child.

(6) a. *… potu̲ ŋikalotoko̲ to-lom-a Kaalemuliŋa ki-por-u-tu̲ Loopu*
come:PL travellers DEP-enter-VEN Kalemuliga DEP-pass.by-ITV-P *Loopu*
'… travellers (traders) came, they settled at Kalemulinga, they passed by Loopu'

b. *E-los-i Kapoeta ki-tor Nakisod*
3SG-go-IPFV/PST Kapoeta DEP-pass.through Nakisod
'He went to Kapoeta, he passed via/through Nagishot.'

Another verb which integrates the meaning of path is expressed in the English verb 'follow'. Speakers of Toposa can choose when expressing the concept of 'follow' between the verbs *wap* and *tup*, shown in (7a) and (7b) respectively. The difference in meaning between the two lexemes is that *tup* carries the additional meaning of 'following closely', or very precisely, so it has some manner aspect incorporated. Both terms can be used literally and metaphorically. In the literal sense, the verb 'follow' has the path integrated in that somebody takes an existing path to reach a goal, or follows a person to reach a destination, as in (7a). In the metaphorical sense, both verbs can be used in the sense of copying the way or manner or activities of somebody else, as shown in (7b).

(7) a. *To-luŋ-akini̲ nai ikesi̲ ku-wap-akisi̲ nyapasi̲ Kidepo kalo to*
DEP-refuse-BEN with them DEP-follow-BEN swamp Kidepo from west
'They refused, they followed the Kidepo swamp (= valley) from the west.'

b. *Ku-cum-u̲ nyekoroe nya-kicuma nakalo teteno̲ to-tup-aki̲*
DEP-spear-ITV goat FEM-spear place right DEP-follow.closely-BEN
locye locye nabo to-tup-akisi̲ lucye daani̲
other other again DEP-follow.closely-BEN then all.others
'He starts to spear the goat into the right spearing place, another follows, and another, they then all follow.'

Another verb with 'follow' semantics is *reŋe*, which has the sense that somebody is following somebody in order to chase him, i.e., the motion and purpose of the action is integrated into the lexical meaning, as in (8). The story goes that a group of men had gone to a grazing ground with their cattle, but were not welcomed there, and so they were beaten and chased away:

(8) *Ki-det-ae ka ŋalita ki-reŋee*
DEP-beat-PASS with sticks DEP-chase
'They were beaten with sticks, they were chased away.'

2.2 Temporal semantics in motion verbs

One interesting dimension of Toposa motion verbs is that they can encode temporal information. If the Toposa people want to specify that the motion took place

at night, that time span is lexicalized in the verb root *kiiy* 'go at night', as shown in Example (9):

(9) *Ta-ram-akisi* *nai ikesi ki-kiiy-ata* *nyakwaaraa daani kya*
DEP-move-BEN:PL DS they DEP-go.at.night-VEN night all and
ku-wala
DEP-dawn
'So, they moved [away], they went at night, the whole night, it dawned and the light came.'

The deictic verbs 'leaving' and 'arriving' can also be specified for time: see the example with 'leaving' *swok* in (10), specifying that the person left early in the morning:

(10) *Ki-swok-ete* *ca, tani e-naŋ-i* *nyapaarani na*
DEP-leave.early-PFV/PL DS until 3P-arrive-IPFV day when
e-temokin-ieto *ikesi nya-ki-si*
3PP-enough-PFV they FEM-DER-flee
'They [always] left early in the morning, until the day arrived when it suited them to flee.'

To arrive early can be expressed with the verb *waru*, where early is specified as 'at dusk', as in Example (11):

(11) *Ani* *nai* *e-waru-un-i,* *bu* *nai* *nyaate*
When then 3PP-arrive.at.dusk-ITV-IPFV/PST 3SG:come.PST then cow
'When they arrived at dusk, the calf came.'

2.3 Manner of motion: Walking and running

The significance of the mobility domain is specially manifested in the lexical differentiation of 'running' and 'walking' activities. Toposa has three main verbs in this domain, where the difference lies in the area of speed. The verb *ker* in Example (12a) has the meaning of running fast, as in a race, while *suk* (12b) is a more general term for running, where speed is less important. The verb *mat* (12c) also integrates the idea of high speed into the lexical root:[9]

(12) a. *To-ker-a* *ŋide,* *to-lom-a* *nakaisi.*
DEP-run.fast-PL children DEP-enter-PL huts
'The children ran [away] fast, they entered the huts.'

9. The precise difference in meaning between *ker* and *mat* is still to be investigated. The verb *mat* 'run fast' has another variant, *man*.

b. *To-suk-o nayi ŋide e-ema ŋutuŋa.*
DEP-ran-PL this children 3P-tell people
'The children ran to tell the people.'

c. *Abu nyebu to-mat-arị tanị lokupworo*
3SG:come hyena DEP-run.fast-VEN till water.pool
'Hyena ran to the water pool.'

Two of the examples above are lacking satellites or motion suffixes that specify the path of the motion; only the manner aspect of the motion event (i.e. running) is expressed by means of the verb root. In (12c), we find a satellite denoting the goal of the motion event.[10] Another typical manner of motion verb is equivalent to the English verb 'hurry' in the sense of 'moving fast', whether walking or running. The idea of fast movement can also be expressed with the verb *ced*, as in Example (13a), or the verb *kom*, as in Example (13b). The verb *ced* has an additional element of immediacy relative to the time of speaking, i.e., without any dawdling or delay in order to try to get something or somewhere, whereas *kom* means walking fast.

(13) a. *Ani i-mwon-i, to-ced-orị nabo to-perẹ*
When 3P-satify-IPFV/PST DEP-hurry-VEN again DEP-sleep
'When he was satisfied, he hurried back to go to sleep.'

b. *A-bu to-limw-okị nyatemarị e-baa lokilye keŋẹ*
3SG-come DEP-tell-BEN that 3SG-say M/SG-husband 3SG.POSS
iŋesị ki-kom-u
3SG.OBJ DEP-walk.quickly-ITV
'He told her that her husband has informed her to hurry up.'

The idea of running around in circles, i.e., with manner and path conflated, is expressed in the verb root *curw*, as exemplified in the first clause of (14). Another manner of motion verb in this example, which expresses the idea of trampling, is *cyak*, where a patient is affected by the manner of motion – see the second clause of (14):

(14) *Abu ɲitaakạ ka nyaate ki-curw-okị, ki-cyak-ạ ŋide*
3SG-come calf of cow DEP-run.around-BEN DEP-trample-VEN children
ka Nyeŋatunyụ
of lion
'The calf of the cow came, ran around, and trampled on the cubs of the lion.'

10. The expression *tanị* in Example (10c) 'till' was originally a conjunction. However, in this example, 'until' functions as a preposition. In this example the locative marker *lo* also occurs on the goal noun, because the motion of running has a destination.

There are other specific senses of the activity RUN which also incorporate some aspect of the path of motion, as in the verb *ber* to 'run ahead':

(15) *A-to-ber-ite aeoŋ kiŋaren a-to-noki-te aeoŋ nyepeduru*
1P-DEP-run.ahead-SIM 1SG outside 1SG-DEP-hide-SIM 1SG tamarind
'I had run ahead [at the same time] outside, hiding myself [behind] a tamarind.'

Also within the lexical domain of running, the concept of 'fast running' can combine with the intention of 'running away' from the enemy. If the sense of 'run away' is intended, i.e., a combination of manner and movement away from a (dangerous) source, the cause of the running, then the verb *wok* occurs. An example with *wok* (16) is taken from a folk tale where the animals thought that the sun had fallen down (in fact it was a palm nut), so chicken and other animals ran away in a panic, fleeing from the danger:

(16) *Ku-wok-or-i̱ Ɲekokoro̱*
DEP-run.away-VEN-RFL chicken
'Chicken fled.'

Returning to the concept of a circular path of motion, which we already encountered with *curw* in (14), another verb which indicates both manner (in this case walking) with a path 'around' is *rim* as in (17):

(17) *To-lot-o̱ nabo Lobanyete̱ nya-ki-rebe̱ ŋawiyei ka Ɲibuya*
DEP-walk-VEN again Lobanyet FEM-DER-scout cattle.camps of Boyas
ki-rimi̱ iŋesi̱ ŋawiyei nyakwaare̱ daani̱
DEP-walk.around 3SG cattle.camps night all
'Lobanyet went again to scout the cattle camp of the Boya, he circled the cattle-camps all night [long].'

Such a hybrid type of verb, where both manner of motion and the path are encoded in a single verb root, is also manifested in the verb *laa* 'stroll around', illustrated in Example (18). The lexemes *laa* and *rim* seem to be near synonyms. If a speaker wants to express that he/she walks around in a full circle he/she chooses the verb *rim*, as in (17).

(18) *Nacye paarani̱ ki-laa-a Ɲeŋatuŋu̱ namoni*
another day DEP-stroll.around-VEN lion forest
'One day Lion strolled around in the forest …'

The concept of 'migrating' is expressed in the verb *ram*. Here the path is integrated in the lexeme of the verb as people move their place of residence from one place to another. As with the equivalent English verb, this verb also denotes a change in place of residence. An example is provided in (19):

(19) *Ta-ram-akisi̱* *Ŋimosiŋo naŋololo̱ Siŋaita to-lom-a* *Loŋela*
DEP-migrate-BEN:PL Mosingo river Siŋaita DEP-settle-PL Loŋeleya
'The Mosingo moved to the river Singaita, they settled at Longeleya.'

2.4 Driving cattle

In pastoralist cultures the cattle and all activities that surround cattle are crucial to the livelihood of the people. Cattle play a major role in marriage festivities and sacrifices for rituals and they are important for bridewealth and compensation of murder. But they are also part of everyday activities of herding. The activity of driving cattle is a common subject of discussion and is conceptualized linguistically in several different ways. There are four terms for driving cattle: *ram* (20a); *me* (20b); *twar* (20c); and *ruj* (20d).

(20) a. *Ta-ram-u̱* *nai Lobanyetę̱ nyaate keŋę̱* *lore* *i-damidami.*
DEP-drive-ITV DIS Lobaynyet cow 3SG.POSS village 3SG-dance:INT
'So Lobanyet drove his cow to [his] village (= home), dancing.'

b. *To-me-ki̱* *lokalę̱ nakwaare*
DEP-drive-BEN home night
'He drove [the cow] home in the night'

c. *A-bu* *Nyebu ki-yok-oki̱* *loceni̱* *keŋę̱* *i-twar-un-i*
3SG-come Hyena DEP-see-BEN nephew 3SG.POSS 3SG-drive-ITV-IPFV/PST
nyaate
cow
'Hyena came [discourse], he saw his nephew driving the cow [home].'

d. *A-bu* *Kwee* *to-ruj-u̱* *nyaate lokalę̱*
3SG-come Jackal DEP-herd-ITV cow home
'Jackal drove the cow back home.'

The verb *ram* (20a) is a general term for driving cattle while *me* (20b) specifies the driving of the cattle from behind, i.e., specifies the relative position of the herder to the herd. The verb *twar* (20c) does not only refer to driving of cattle but can refer to driving animals in general. The verb *ruj* (20d) specifies that cattle are driven together as one herd, so the herder invests efforts to keep the herd together. The path along which the herd of cattle are driven is expressed by the use of the motion suffixes, e.g., the itive suffix in (20a).

3. Lexicalization processes in the domain of sacrifice

The Toposa have a very elaborate system of verbs that lexicalize the various activities that surround the appeasing of ancestral spirits. Toposa people believe in the existence of a supreme being and the spirits of the departed, who have to be appeased by means of various sacrifices. Dimmendaal (2015, pp.174–175), comparing the Turkana and Toposa understandings of the spiritual world, mentions that the occasions which need sacrifices for appeasements among the Toposa are droughts, epizootics and diseases. Other occasions are dances and age-set ceremonies. The following examples demonstrate the lexicalization processes of Toposa in the domain of sacrifices. The semantic field of sacrifices is packed with cultural information and in this case the lexicalization processes demonstrate the significance of this aspect of Toposa culture. See also M. Schröder (1993b) for a detailed discussion of rituals and sacrifices among the Toposa people. Table 14.3 provides an overview of the lexical items to be analyzed.

Table 14.3 Verbal lexicalization and deverbal nouns in the domain of sacrifice*

Name of sacrifice	Verb root	Verb root meaning
nyajulot (see 3.1)	jul	'turn or hang upside down'
nyapukin (see 3.2)	pu	'gut; disembowel; kill animal as sacrifice'
nyakicak (see 3.3)	cak	'throw'
nyabuto (see 3.6)	but	'compensate for murder'
nyakibel (see 3.7)	bel	'break'
nyakigurokin (see 3.8)	gur	'spread out'
nyalemar (see 3.9)	lem	'bring, fetch, get'
nyakiriwokin (see 3.10)	riw~riy	'block, avert'
nyakilomun (see 3.4)	lom	'usher in'
nyekideriet (see 3.5)	der	'sacrifice an animal when child's teeth break through abnormally'
nyalemar (see 3.9)	lem	'bring'
nyakiriwokin (see 3.10)	riw~riy	'avert'
nyakibel (see 3.7)	bel	'break'

* Note: Not all kinds of sacrifice are discussed in the text that follows the table in subsections 3.1–3.10.

3.1 *Nyajulot*

The *nyajulot* sacrifice is performed for a range of reasons, from prevention or cure of diseases to prevention or stopping of misfortunes. In *nyajulot*, an area is magically protected by cutting the skin of the sacrificed animal into long thin strips and hanging them around the area, as discussed in M. Schröder (1993b, p. 17). The name of the sacrifice can be traced back to the verb root *jul*, which means 'turn or hang upside down'. The verb *jul* derives a noun through the addition of the gender prefix *nya-* and the nominalizer prefix *ki-*, as well as the instrument suffix marker *-ot*. Semantically, this derivation involved metonymic extension from the original meaning 'to hang upside down'. As part of this process, the deverbal noun *nyajulot* was first used to refer to the pieces of skin of the sacrificial animal that are hung upside down and placed around an area, i.e., via metonymic extension from the activity of hanging to the objects hung. A further step of metonymic derivation took place when the noun for the objects developed into an event noun to describe the sacrifice ceremony as a whole.

Through metonymic change, and with further lexical specification, *nyajulot* can also refer to other kinds of sacrifice: *nyajulot ka ŋakipi* 'sacrifice for water'; *nyajulot ka ŋuumwa* 'sacrifice for a good harvest'; *nyajulot ka nyakuru* 'sacrifice for rain'; *nyajulot ka nyedeke* 'sacrifice for disease'; *nyajulot ka ŋibaren* 'sacrifice for cattle'; *nyajulot ka nyakeru̱* 'sacrifice for [protecting] the dancing ground'; and *nyajulot ka nyecor* 'sacrifice for the waterhole', to protect the water in the well from being contaminated (see M. Schröder, 1993b, p. 18).

3.2 *Nyapukin*

The name of this sacrifice is derived from the verb root *pu*, which has various meanings such as 'gut; disembowel; kill a favorite bull'. The verb root *pu* in combination with the nominalizer prefixes *nya-* and the benefactive marker *-kin* extends the meaning to sacrificing an animal (usually a fat ram, he-goat, or ox) to an ancestral spirit to get the blessing of a senior relative, as in Example (21).

(21) *A-cam-iti̱ nyekamurani̱ keŋe̱ Lonyia*
3SG-want-PFV in-law 3SG.POSS Lonyia
nya-pu-kini̱ iŋesi̱ nyemoŋo̱
FEM-sacrifice.to.appease.spirit-BEN 3SG.OBJ ox
'His in-law Lonyia wanted to sacrifice an ox for him to appease the spirit.'

3.3 *Nyakicak*

The name of this sacrifice is derived from the root *cak* 'to throw'. The metonymic extension from the verb to the sacrificial noun is based on the activity that happens during the sacrifice, where dung mixed with mud is thrown at a designated object or person. This ritual was traditionally performed for cleansing purposes and occurs on three occasions: firstly after a person has been absent from Toposa land; secondly after mixing another household's cattle with one's own, either after a raid or after an exchange of goats and cows with another family; and thirdly after animals are received for the compensation of murder. The person or the family members who have to be blessed will be smeared with dung from an disemboweled animal (see M. Schröder, 1993b, p. 28). Nowadays, *nyakicak* has developed into a generic noun referring to the ritual activity of cleansing that can take place at any time. In (22), for example, a man who was known to have supernatural powers cleansed a stone in order to get water for his cattle:

(22) *Bee ani na e-nyam-ea nyakure ŋibarenẹ̱ keŋẹ̱ ta-ram-ạ̱ iŋesi̱ kode*
it.is.said.when 3SG-eat-INS thirst cattle 3SG.POSS DEP-beat 3SG or
ta-cakạ̱ to-lelew-u-tụ̱ ŋakipi ta-mat-a ŋibarenẹ̱ ka
DEP-throw.for.sacrifice DEP-flow-ITV-PL water 3PL-drink-PL cattle of
ŋituŋa keŋẹ̱.
people 3SG.POSS
'It was said [that] when thirst ate his cattle (= when his cattle were thirsty), he beat the stone or threw dung at it (= sacrifice)], water flowed [from that stone], his cattle and his people drank.'

There are further lexical extensions of the original *nyakicak* ceremony, including *nyakicak nyaupwala* 'to throw [dung] at shields' which is performed in the event of an abnormal birth to avert misfortune. The young mother has to throw chyme at the shield of the men present. *Nyakicak nyalyel* describes the ritual of throwing chyme at the grave of one's deceased father to honor him and appease his spirit.

3.4 *Nyakilomun*

The name of this sacrifice is based on the verb root *lom* 'to usher in'. The verb root *lom* captures the reentering of a person to his or her homestead after a long absence, especially from foreign territory. The person is welcomed back into the homestead by his father and brothers. The name *nyakilomun* derives from the verb root *lom* by adding the gender and nominalizer prefixes *nya-* and *ki-* and the ventive suffix *-un*. Here the relation between the verbal meaning and the name of the sacrifice is rather transparent, since the person is ushered back into his home-

stead (see M. Schröder, 1993b, p. 29). The ceremony takes the following form: an animal has to be slaughtered and the stomach content mixed with blood, and this mixture is then sprinkled on the returnee as they enter the gate in order to welcome him back into the community.

3.5 *Nyekideriet*

Further rituals are performed when a child's teeth break through abnormally. All of this information is lexicalized in the monomorphemic verb root *der* 'to make a sacrifice when child's teeth break through abnormally', from which is derived the name of the sacrifice *nyekideriet*. Again, this noun is derived by means of the gender and nominalizer prefixes *nye-* and *ki-* and the instrument suffix *–(i)et*. Another ritual that has to do with reproduction is *nyeburet*, which is performed if a woman's breasts leak before giving birth. The name of the ritual comes from the verb root *bur* 'to sacrifice an animal when breasts are leaking before birth'. The ritual basically is believed to protect the breast from getting infected.

3.6 *Nyabuto*

M. Schröder (1993a) talks at length about the sacrifices that have to be undertaken for the compensation of murder. The most common ceremony is the sacrificial ritual *nyakubuto*, where the noun is derived from the verb *but* 'compensate for murder'. The ceremony is performed as follows: The two affected families come together and a bull or a goat is slaughtered, roasted or boiled. The members of the affected parties sit together and have a meal that demonstrates that they have reconciled. The affected party has to be given a certain number of livestock to compensate for the murdered person (M. Schröder, 1993b, p. 24).

3.7 *Nyakibel*

Another ritual for the compensation of murder is called *nyakibel nyakoit*. The underlying verb root for *nyakibel* is *bel* 'to 'break'. The verbal construction is *nyakibel nyakoit* 'to sacrifice to compensate for murder', which originally means 'to break a bone'. Again, we observe metonymical extension from an activity performed at the ceremony to the event itself: in the ceremony the two parties come together and each member of the families breaks bones of the slaughtered animals. All food of the families has to be shared. If this ritual is not performed, it is believed that the members of the family of the murderer will never find peace and family members will die.

3.8 *Nyakigurokin*

A ritual is performed among Toposa when inherited cattle are joined to the cattle herd of the son, which also has to be performed when raided cattle are joined into a person's herd. The name for the ritual is *nyakigurokin*, from the verb root *gur* 'to spread out'. It seems that the original meaning of the verb 'to spread out' informed the meaning of the noun in the sense that somebody is spreading out or opening his territory for more cattle to join with his herds.

3.9 *Nyalemar*

Another sacrifice takes place in order to protect the fields of sorghum from the birds: *nyalemar ŋikeny* 'to sacrifice to protect sorghum fields from birds'. The verb root of this nominalization is *lem* 'to bring, fetch, get, harvest'. The semantic process by which this noun was derived is opaque to this author, as it does not seem to relate to ritual activities, which are rather cumbersome: the man who performs the ceremony has to stay indoors for six days without eating or drinking water or bathing. Before he comes out, people should not go to the field. When he finally comes out, he can eat so he has enough strength to walk a long distance to the west and he carries a goat, which is then slaughtered and roasted, and its head buried.

3.10 *Nyakiriwokin*

A sacrifice called *nyakiriwokin* is performed to avert bad luck from certain areas. The underlying verb root is *riw* ~ *riy* 'to block, avert'. So the verb root is nominalized and the original meaning of 'avert' or 'block' is maintained, encoding the desired outcome of the ritual. A sacrificial animal, referred to as *nyekiriyet*, is taken to the place where the protection is necessary and its skin stretched over a road or other areas as a form of protection.

3.11 Verbal lexicalization and slaughter activities

The final part of this section reflects briefly on the domain of slaughtering, since slaughtering in specific ways for sacrifices is also a cultural scenario encoded in single verb roots. When killing an animal for slaughter the complex verb lexicalization *gum* 'to shoot and pierce the vein and drain blood' is used. This verb is exemplified in Example (23).

(23) *Ani ki-doli isuwa nawi i-ki-to-gum-akiṇ̲*
When DEP-reach 1PL cattle-camp 1PL.OBJ-ERG-CAUS-shoot.drain.blood-BEN
ŋaakot ka nyaate
blood of cow
'When we reached the cattle-camp, they drained a cow's blood for us.'

If Toposa people want to express a specific type of sacrificial slaughtering that involves cutting the tongue, heart, and lungs of an animal, they can use the verb root *toropiy*, which encodes this complex meaning: see Example (24):

(24) *Ŋutuŋa daaṇ̲i lu e-sapan-et-e, i-toropiy-et-e*
People all who 3PL-initiate-PFV-PL 3PL-cut.tongue.heart.lung-PFV-PL
ŋibareneᵩ kecᵩ daaṇ̲i e-twono nyasapanᵩ bakiṇ̲i
cattle 3PL.POSS all 3PL-be.precious initiation like
nyakuluruᵩ
stripping.off.in.mourning
'All people who have been initiated cut the tongue, heart and lungs of their cattle together (= they do not kill by cutting the throat); initiation is as precious (= serious) as stripping off [all decorations] in mourning.'

4. Verbal lexicalization in rituals

This sections talks about how rituals and their procedures are captured in verbal lexicalization. The first section deals with marriage rituals and the second with other rituals. Table 14.4 provides an overview of the verb roots that have been identified so far in this domain.

Table 14.4 Verbal lexicalization in the domain of ritual

Ritual	Verb root	Translation
MARRIAGE RITUALS		
Marriage negotiation	lotoi	'arrange marriage negotiation'
Bringing the bride home	um	'bring [bride] to the groom's settlement'
Paying of bridewealth	uut	'pay bridewealth'
Cleansing ritual in case of marriage in the same clan	sub [nyatale]	'do a cleansing ritual'
Preparing the bride ritually for marriage	tal	'prepare bride ritually'

Table 14.4 *(continued)*

Ritual	Verb root	Translation
OTHER RITUALS		
Killing a favorite bull	pu	'gut favorite bull'
Chewing the first stalks	git	'perform a ritual for chewing the first stalk'
Fire ritual	pir	'perform the fire ritual'

4.1 Verb packaging in the cultural domain of marriage

The assumption of this paper is that in-depth study of lexicography and 'key words' can open a window to the understanding of a culture (Wierzbicka, 1979). Marriage is an essential part of the Toposa culture and the language encodes the different stages of the marriage negotiation rituals in monomorphemic verb roots. For example, recognized elders visiting the family of the bridegroom for marriage negotiations perform the first step of the marriage negotiation, which involves negotiating the bridewealth. The whole process is encoded by the verb root *lotoi* 'to arrange marriage negotiations', exemplified as a deverbal noun in (25):

(25) *E-los-it-o ŋikosukwou nyalotoi nyaberu ka Marko*
3SG-go-PFV-PL elders marriage.negotiations wife of Marko
'Elders have gone to negotiate for Mark's wife.'

The ritual that ends the bridewealth negotiation involves a goat being slaughtered by the father of the bride and given to the bridegroom and his company as a meal (M. Schröder, 1993b, p. 9). The final part of the marriage negation is when the bride is taken from her homestead and brought to the homestead of the bridegroom, a process packaged into the verb root *um* as in Example (26):

(26) *Na i-wum-ere nyapese*
when 3SG-bring.to.bridegroom's.settlement-INST:PASS girl
ki-nyony-oe
DEP-perform.marriage.ritual-PASS
'When a girl is brought [to the bridegroom's settlement], some marriage rituals are performed.'

At this stage, spears are also given to the bridegroom to symbolize the first stage of the bride's payments. This act of giving spears is denoted by the noun *nyakuuma*, based on this same verb root *um*. The paying of the bridewealth is lexicalized in the verb root *uut*, see also M. Schröder (1993b, p. 9), as expressed in Example (27):

(27) *Ani i-wut-a nyitooni, ki-mara ŋibarene*
When 3SG-pay.bride.price-VEN man DEP-count cattle
'When a man pays the bridewealth, he counts the cattle'

Another ritual has to be performed when marriage takes place within the same clan. That ritual is referred to with the noun *nyakisub nyetale*, a nominalization of the verb root *sub* 'make' and *nyetale* 'religious duty'. This expression relates to the cultural assumptions that marriage within the same clan is not the preferred option among the Toposa and thus that some cleansing ritual has to take place to avert the curse that such a marriage union can bring.

Another verb specific to the context of marriage is *tal*, which refers to the ritual preparation of the bride, typically performed by an elderly woman. This verb is illustrated in (28):

(28) *I-tale nyakimat nyateran.*
3SG-prepare.ritually old.woman bride
'The old woman is preparing the bride ritually.'

In 3.2 I already discussed the verb root *pu*, meaning 'to gut a favorite bull'. This verb is also used to derive the name of another ritual *nyakupuokin*, again with the gender and nominalizer prefix as well as the benefactive extension *-okin* to give a noun representing the activity. The background to the ritual is that when someone's favorite bull becomes old, the man decides to kill it. This ritual is performed among the person's age-set and accompanied by a praising ceremony *nyakupuokin* and war dance *nyakidamadam*. Then the animal is killed, disemboweled, skinned, and cooked to be eaten by the attendees. The name of the ritual (whole ceremony) is *nyapuor* (M. Schröder, 1993b, pp. 30–31). The verb *pu* is also used for the gutting and disembowel of any animal.

Other rituals are performed when the first stalks of the harvest season are chewed, captured in the noun *nyakigitakin*. The verb root *git* specifically refers to ritual chewing of these first stalks, as opposed to *rwab* which refers to chewing generally. One final ritual to mention is the fire ritual, the action of which is lexicalized in the verb *pir* (example 29):

(29) *Ki-pir-u (nyakim)!*
DEP-make.fire.ritually-VEN fire
'Make the fire-ritual (and curse)!'

M. Schröder (1993b, p. 25) writes that this ritual is performed after somebody has been robbed and the fire maker is called to curse the respective thief. This verb is another good example of the highly culturally specific nature of lexical representation.

5. Verbal lexicalization in everyday activities

In the last empirical section of this paper I will take a look at verbal meaning in everyday cultural domains that have also been explored in other languages, specifically those of carrying and cutting. These domains show high degrees of specificity in terms of the meanings that have been lexicalized in Toposa.

I have identified eight Toposa verbs that refer to different ways of carrying goods: see Table 14.5. It is not uncommon to have an elaborated domain for the meaning of 'hold while moving' (i.e., 'carry') specified in languages that do not traditionally make use of other means of transportation (see Hill, 2016; Heath & McPerson, 2009; Pawley, 1997).[11] The domain of 'carrying' (i.e., transporting by means of the human body) is salient in the Toposa culture as it is the only way that people transport goods or children on land. Hill (2016, p. 506) writes, quoting Cruse (2011, p. 205), that "salient domains stand out from their background in some way and have a superior power of commanding attention".

Table 14.5 The cultural domain of 'carrying'

Kod	**'carry something by hand'**
dak	'carry something in arms or hands'
nap	'carry on the back' (normally implying a baby)
tun	'carry something clutching with both arms'
lukụ	'carry something in cloth/apron'
wok	'carry something on the head'
rwoŋ	'carry something on shoulders'
lepelep	'carry sick/injured person'

The distinctions illustrated in the table reveal that the way of carrying something has received special attention in the culture. There is no generic term for 'carry' which subsumes these more specific terms. Toposa distinguishes between carrying goods by hand, in a cloth or apron, on the head or on the shoulders. Special attention is given to the fact that an injured person needs to be carried, as conceptualized in the verb *lepelep*.[12] The following examples taken from the text collection (M. Schröder, 2010) reflect some of these distinctions in the domain of carrying: see the example of carrying by hand in (30a), carrying on the back with

11. Hill (2016, p. 509) documents eleven different verbs for carrying in the culture of Longgu, an Oceanic language spoken in the northeast coast of Guandalcanal.

12. Note the verb root *lepelep* is a reduplication of the verb *lep* 'to throw upwards'.

the verb *nap* (30b), carrying, holding while clutching both arms through the verb *tun* (30c) or carrying on the head by the verb *wok* (30d):

(30) a. *Ta-dak-a nai iŋesi̱ nyakiriŋi̱ kiŋa ku-muj-u*
DEP-carry.by.hand-ITV DSC 3SG meat outside DEP-eat-VEN
'He carried the meat outside, he ate [it all].'

b. *Ta-nap-a̱ nai iŋesi̱ nyabwo ka nyadoli̱ tya ŋaculo to-kodo̱*
DEP-carry.on.back-ITV DS 3SG front of apron and beads DEP-carry
nyadere natikapipilani̱, te-ek-a jiki̱ Buya
calabash beautiful DEP-leave-ITV straight Boyaland
'Then he put [on the back] the front apron and the beads, he carried a very beautiful calabash, he left straight for Boya [land].'

c. *Ki-yau iŋesi̱ nyatapa̱ to-tun-u̱ ka nyatorobu*
DEP-receive 3SG porridge DEP-carry.by.clutching-VEN on chest
'He received the porridge, he carried it, clutching it with both hands.'

d. *Ku-wok-o nayi nyakutuluŋu̱ tani̱ lokupworo*
DEP-carry.on.head-ITV he pillow till water.pool
'Then he carried his mother's pillow to the water pool.'

Another domain that has appeared to receive special attention in the culture is that of cutting. Toposa distinguishes twenty-four different ways of cutting. Special attention is given to the patient of the verb, i.e., the object that is cut, such as string, grass, sticks and stalks, meat, ropes, fruit, leather, or animals. The cutting of meat receives special attention, with seven distinct verbs denoting the cutting of meat either into strips, off the bones, off the skin, without skinning (see also Majid et al., 2007, for a cross-linguistic study of cutting and breaking). One verb distinguishes the manner of cutting: *ver* 'cut smoothly', while another distinguishes the direction of the cut: *tel* 'cut across'. The generic term for cut is *tub*, which can be used for all objects, and the generic term for cutting meat is *yet* or *duŋ*.

Table 14.6 Verbs for cutting

Reb	**'cut a string'**
ŋed	'cut a rope'
tel	'cut across'
leny	'cut grass'
tel	'cut sticks'
ŋer	'cut grass for thatching'
did	'cut into strips'
karaŋ	'cut into cubes'
kep	'cut leather'
rikirik	'cut meat into strips'
dok	'cut meat off bones'

Table 14.6 *(continued)*

Reb	'cut a string'
waj	'cut meat off bones'
daŋ	'cut meat of skin'
lukṳ	'cut meat without skinning'
duŋ	'cut meat'
yet	'cut meat'
deŋ	cut off large fruit/plants'
wal	'cut off limb at joint'
muny	'cut off ear in case of twin birth (kid-goats/calves); 'cut off top half of goat's ear to curse thief'
rubor	'cut off (ear/nose) in fight'
yer	'cut smoothly or evenly'
tek	'cut sticks/timber'
kiek	'cut up animal'
tub	'cut (general)'

Example (31) nicely illustrates that different verbs are used for cutting grass and cutting timber:

(31) *Ani nabo e-bun-i nyekaru locye ki-teka-ta ŋituŋa*
when again 3SG-come-IPFV/PST year another DEP-cut.timber-PL people
to-ŋer-ete nyamoni ŋina
DEP-cut.grass forest DEM.DIST
'When again another year came, the people cut timber, they cut grass in that forest.'

The examples illustrate some of the cutting verbs found in the texts, namely, *karaŋ* 'cut meat into cubes' (32), *deŋ* 'cut gourds out of large fruits or plants' (33), and *wal* 'cut limb off at foreleg' (34):

(32) *Ta-lac-unị e-karaŋ-ik-ị nyakiriŋi*
DEP-untie-VEN 1SG-cut.into.cubes-BEN-RFL meat
'Untie yourself [so that] I [can] cut the meat into cubes for myself.'

(33) *To-deŋo ŋituŋa ka ŋieerea ka daani, to-lukwa ŋutwolị ka ŋaarekae*
DEP-cut large.fruit of settlement of all DEP-round bottles and calabashes
The people of all the settlements cut [gourds there], they rounded (= made) bottles and calabashes [from the gourds].

(34) *Tem nabo nicye 'Ata-wal-u̱ nyakwaata̱' tem nyekupe*
DEP.say again one DEP.1SG-cut.at.joint-VEN foreleg DEP.say spirit
'akaduŋu̱ nyakwaata̱ eni̱?'
DEP-cut.meat-VEN foreleg who
Another one said, "Let me cut the foreleg". The spirit said "Aai, kaai, who is this who is cutting off my foreleg?"

6. Conclusion

This chapter set out to demonstrate that semantic information packaged in verb roots can illustrate and draw out cultural assumptions, beliefs, practices and scenarios and thus a link between culture and language is established. The lexical domains that get special attention in the language through specificity can be regarded as keywords or key domains of the culture. One of those cultural key domains in Toposa, I have argued, is the mobility domain. In the mobility domain, a great deal of information is specified regarding manner of motion as well as in some cases about the time of the day. Concepts of running and walking are finetuned for speed and path. The lexical elaboration of the mobility domain can perhaps be linked to the necessity of moving from place to place in search of pasture, as is typical for pastoralist cultures. The Toposa language also reflects the cultural significance of the domain of sacrifices in order to appease the spirits. Investigation of the marriage domain showed verbal lexicalization processes for the different stages of marriage, including negotiating bridewealth, bringing home the bride, and anointing her. Finally, we observed many distinctions in the everyday domains of carrying and cutting. The different scenarios revealed in verbal lexicalization processes are central to the way of life of the Toposa people, as reflected in language.

Abbreviations

1/2/3	first/second/third person	INST	instrumental
BEN	benefactive	IPFV	imperfective
CAUS	causative	ITV	itive
DEP	dependence marker	OBJ	object
DS	discourse marker	PASS	passive
DER	noun derivation marker	PL	plural
ERG	ergative	POSS	possessive
FEM	feminine	PST	past
INT	intensifier	PFV	perfective

RFL	reflexive		Underlined vowels indicate
SIM	simultaneous		voicelessness
SG	singular	u	voiceless u
VEN	ventive		

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PART 4

Sociocultural dimensions of discourse structure

CHAPTER 15

Tail-head linkage in Upper Guinea Coast languages

The areal diffusion of pragmatic-syntactic structures (Baïnounk, Joola and Creoles)

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This paper draws attention to a phenomenon at the intersection of pragmatics, discourse analysis and syntax known as tail-head linkage (THL) in Baïnounk Gubëeher and other West African languages spoken in Upper Guinea (Senegal, Guinea Bissau, Cabo Verde). THL is a discourse feature common in narratives and procedural texts, whereby phrases or parts of phrases are repeated in consecutive phrases to create discourse cohesion. Largely absent from European languages, THL is common in languages of Papua, Australia and the Amazon, but has not yet been described in depth for any African or so-called Creole languages. However, these structures are well attested in Atlantic languages spoken in the Casamance area and also in various of the regional Portuguese based Creoles. As these languages are not closely genetically related, THL is a good candidate for an areal feature. Drawing on a corpus of transcribed texts in Baïnounk Gubëeher and Joola Kujireray and Banjal as well as experimental data in those languages as well as four varieties of Upper Guinea Creoles (Santo Antão, São Vicente, Casamance, Bissau), the discursive function, frequency and the syntactic strategies for the use of these structures are described and compared.

Keywords: Tail-Head-Linkage, Upper Guinea, discourse cohesion, rhetoric structure, syntactic strategy

1. Introduction

This paper describes a discourse feature named tail-head linkage (henceforth THL), whereby clauses or parts of clauses are repeated in consecutive phrases in order to connect sentences or paragraphs. THL is common in narratives and

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procedural texts and is attested in various language families in different parts of the world. This paper compares THL in languages from a diverse range of language families spoken on the Upper Guinea Coast,[1] including languages of the Baïnounk and Joola groups of the Atlantic branch of Niger Congo (Baïnounk Gubëeher, Baïnounk Gujaher, Joola Banjal, Joola Kujireray), as well as the Mande language Mandinka, which are all spoken in the Casamance area. The sample also includes the Portuguese-based contact languages of Casamance, Guinea-Bissau (here referred to as Kriolu) and the Cape Verdean islands of Santo Antão and São Vicente, here referred to as Cape Verdean. Although THL seems to be quite common in African languages, there are few detailed descriptions of its structural properties and African languages are underrepresented in comparative typological research. Specifically, for the Atlantic languages and the Portuguese-based contact languages of Upper Guinea, this is the first account of this phenomenon. THL as a discourse-structuring and rhetorical device sits at the meeting point between syntactic analysis and anthropological linguistics and I believe that an adequate understanding of THL can only be reached by considering syntactic features as well as cultural factors. In this paper, I will not only discuss the formal syntactic properties of THL, but will also provide some cultural context within which the languages of this sample are used, with the goal of at least preliminarily outlining three questions: 1. Which cultural specificities observed in Upper Guinea might favor the use of THL? 2. How do the local political structures contribute to the convergence of narrative strategies across the region? 3. How do ideological and stylistic factors influence the use of THL within a community? The mechanisms and parameters proposed in this paper in an attempt to answer these questions are not meant to be universal. They might be explanatory in this specific context, but other constellations could just as well lead to similar results. Clearly, further research is needed in order to advance in these issues; I am convinced that African languages have much to offer to an understanding of the typological, syntactic and anthropological aspects of THL and other discourse features by providing a wealth of data from linguistically and politically very diverse settings that will allow the development of new hypotheses and the finetuning of existing ones.

It is important to stress that the convergence of languages with respect to the use of THL is not necessarily dependent on language contact, but just as much on shared cultural features and frequent social relations that facilitate the spread of rhetorical strategies, discourse practices and narrative templates.

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1. The area of Upper Guinea Coast roughly refers to the coastline between Senegal and Sierra Leone, while the area investigated in this paper focuses on the central part of the Upper Guinea Coast including southern Senegal, Guinea Bissau and the Cape Verdean Islands.

1.1 Definitions and hypotheses

THL is a clause-linking narrative strategy which involves the repetition of the verb in adjacent clauses, with or without its arguments and adjuncts. The term "tail-head linkage" goes back to Longacre (1968) in his analysis of Philippine languages. Similar structures have since been identified and written about under the labels "recapitulative linkage" (Guérin, 2019), "backgrounded repetition" (McKay, 2008), "bridging-linkage" (Aikhenvald, 2019) and "tail-head linkage" (de Vries, 2005; Guillaume, 2011). The Australia/Pacific region is a hotbed for THL, with numerous accounts from Australian, Austronesian and Papuan languages, as well as from the Amazon basin. The direct and indirect references to this phenomenon in descriptions of African languages, as well as anecdotal evidence based on personal experience and comments by colleagues researching African languages, suggest that THL or related structures are actually not that rare on the continent, with attestations among speakers of West African languages well beyond the Upper Guinea Coast, especially among Mande and Kwa languages, and possibly all over the Niger-Congo phylum. Pike (1966, p. 5) mentions the existence of bridging structures in various West African languages. Vanhove (2005) writes on clause repetition in the Afroasiatic language Bedja, Sarvasy (2019) describes THL in the Bantu language Logoori, and Nicolle (2015, p. 11f) makes brief mention of tail-head linkage in Eastern Bantu narratives. In her detailed account of storytelling in Fon, Marjolijn Aalders Grool mentions THL and its discourse structuring functions (Aalders Grool, 2013, p. 25ff). For some reason African languages are not given much consideration in the typological literature on THL and there seem to exist few detailed analyses. I am not aware of accounts of THL in European languages (but see Alvanoudi's 2019 paper on clause repetition in Greek).

I here adopt the terminology and typological distinctions proposed by Guillaume (2011, p. 111), who labels the first occurrence of the clause the *tail clause* and the repetition the *head clause*. The terms "tail" and "head" are used to capture the position of these clauses in the discourse, and do not have structural implications. The following notation is adopted in the examples, following Guérin (2019): the tail clause is underlined and marked with the subscript 'TC' and the head clause is written in bold letters and marked with the subscript 'HC'. The separation into (a) and (b) is merely for ease of readability; the clauses are directly contiguous in the recordings.

[Tail clause] $_{TC}$ / [**Head Clause**] $_{HC}$

Example (1) from Baïnounk Gubëeher shows an excerpt from a video description of the stimulus Pear Story (Chafe, 1980), where the speaker uses THL to describe a chain of consecutive events.

(1) a. *[bu-ŋoc-honom a-nen]*$_{TC}$
cl.bu-hat-3sg:poss 3-fall
'His hat falls.'

b. ***[bu-ŋoc-honom a-nen-ne]***$_{HC}$ *u-mër a-raad bu-jeg*
cl.bu-hat-3sg:poss 3-fall-sub agr.u-pro 3-aux cl.bu-turn-head
'As his hat falls, he turns his head.' Baïnounk Gubëeher, HAS[2]

There are of course cases of repetition for grammatical reasons (pluractionality, duration of action) and as false starts, but THL is marked syntactically or through intonation as clause linking and is part of the stylistic repertoire of many speakers of the Upper Guinea languages considered in this chapter (see Figure 15.1).

Ideally, an analysis of THL would be based purely on naturally produced narratives, be they spontaneous utterances or more conventionalized narratives of oral literature. The following excerpt, cited here in order to show the use of THL in unelicited free speech, is part of a recorded and transcribed interview on funerary rites of circa 45 minutes, in which the speaker makes ample use of THL. A longer sequence of the text is provided in Table 15.3 in the Appendix.

Excerpt 1. (taken from Table 15.3 in the Appendix)

1 *in gaŋkan [buyin ka hëyinkéénén]*$_{TC}$ ***[ëyin hëyinkénén]***$_{HC}$
'those ones, they are singing their songs. They sing their songs,'

2 *ëdëënum binég adëk [ëbi]*$_{TC}$. ***[Gëbi]***$_{HC}$,
'this goes until the sun rises. When it rises'

3 *[andëk aŋkëfulët bugër]*$_{TC}$, *ayena buxëful*,
'they lift the coffin, it (the lifting) is called *buxëful*,

4 ***[aŋkëfulët bubugër]***$_{HC}$ *andëëgët*
They lift that coffin, they go.'

Speakers of Gubëeher, who use THL in natural genres, also use these structures in more controlled narratives, such as the video stimulus Pear Story. Since, unfortunately, I only have this kind of rich, natural data for Baïnounk Gubëeher, I will base this account mainly on elicited data, trusting that, as observed in Gubëeher, THL is not an artefact of elicitation, but a narrative device that speakers use in the structuring of all kinds of narratives, be they folk tales, interviews on cultural practices or descriptions of a video stimulus.

The use of THL-type structures by speakers of the genetically diverse languages compared in this paper suggests that this might be a feature that has spread as a result of intense linguistic and cultural integration across various

2. The initials indicate the speaker, whose age and language inventory can be accessed in Table 15.4 in the Appendix.

languages of the Upper Guinea Coast. I hypothesize that the prevalence of oral modes of cultural transmission is a relevant factor to be considered in the description of discourse structure for the following reasons. The culture of public speaking and collective conflict resolution favors the development of grammatically marked rhetorical styles, as does the recitation and need for memorization of narratives. This is probably true for most African societies, independently of how they are politically structured. Rhetorical skills are just as vital in societies with flat hierarchies such as those prevalent in Lower Casamance, with frequent public discussions and collective decision-making processes, as in the highly stratified Akan-sphere with its centralized and monarchic power structures (Yankah, 1991). Not by coincidence, we find extremely rich and diverse means of marking focus and topic all over the continent (Aboh et al., 2007) – and the same might be the case for grammaticalized and conventionalized discourse features such as THL. The high rate of convergence observed with regard to THL in Upper Guinea languages is in line with the strong cultural integration throughout the region. In this specific case, the lack of central authorities operating on a regional level favors high levels of multilingualism and complex patterns of linguistic and cultural divergence and convergence between smallish and rather autonomous groups with very diverse linguistic practices. Again, a completely different political scenario based on hegemony and subordination could produce the same outcome and facilitate the spread of rhetorical and narrative templates.[3]

1.2 Multilingualism and language ecology in Casamance

The languages of the Upper Guinea Coast have coexisted within an intensely interconnected and multilingual ecology for centuries (Mark, 2002; Brooks, 1993). The effects of this multilingualism have only started to be investigated,[4] and there has not been much research on pragmatic structures and discourse features of Upper Guinea Coast languages, and even less on their areal diffusion. Mean-

3. De Vries (2005) treats THL in languages of Papua New Guinea as an areal feature, spanning families of diverse genetic backgrounds.

4. The data reported in this chapter were collected by the author during annual field trips to Djibonker/Casamance between 2009 and 2020, first as a PhD student and between 2014 and 2018 as postdoctoral fellow on the Leverhulme-funded research project on multilingualism and language contact in a linguistically highly diverse microregion of Lower Casamance, "Crossroads: Investigating the Unexplored Side of Multilingualism", led by Prof. Friederike Lüpke of SOAS, University of London. Field trips since 2018 have been financed by the University of São Paulo. Fieldwork in Cape Verde was conducted in tandem with Dominika Swolkien (Universade de Cabo Verde). Most of the cited examples are excerpts from the description of the video stimulus Pear Story (Chafe, 1980).

while, it has become clear that the lexicon, semantics, syntax, morphology and phonology have been impacted by linguistic convergence (Watson, 2018, 2019; Cobbinah et al., 2016).

The languages Baïnounk Gubëeher, Joola Banjal and Joola Kujireray are the patrimonial languages[5] (Lüpke, 2016b) of a small area west of Ziguinchor/ Casamance (within the triangle formed by the villages of Banjal, Djibonker and Brin) spoken by culturally and socially very tightly integrated populations that exhibit high levels of multilingualism (see Cobbinah, 2020 for a description of the multilingual dynamics; for case studies see Weidl, 2019; Goodchild & Weidl, 2018; and Goodchild, 2019). The bulk of recordings used in the examples in this paper are from this geographical area. An additional recording site in Lower Casamance for data used in this paper is the village of Agnack, east of Ziguinchor, where most inhabitants speak Mandinka and Kriolu of Casamance, in addition to the patrimonial language Baïnounk Gujaher (see Lüpke, 2016a, 2016b for a description of the cultural and linguistic dynamics of this area). Most of the participants who contributed language data used in this paper are highly multilingual, as is typical for inhabitants of Casamance (see Juillard, 1995; Cobbinah, 2010); sociological data of participants cited in this text are detailed in the annex in Table 15.4.

Kriolu of Guinea-Bissau and Kriolu of Casamance are closely related Portuguese-based contact languages. They descend from Proto-Upper-Guinea Creole, which probably formed around the 15th and 16th centuries on Santiago, and also gave rise to the varieties of Cape Verdean, although this issue is not entirely settled (Jacobs, 2010). Speakers of Kriolu of Casamance, whether living in Ziguinchor or in the more rural areas east and west of town along the riverbanks of the Casamance, are typically highly multilingual and integrated into the local language ecologies (Nunez, 2015). In Bissau, the capital of Guinea-Bissau, Kriolu became the preferred medium of communication during the second half of the 20th century, during and after the war of independence, to the point that there are now people born in Bissau who grow up monolingually, with only very rudimentary notions of Portuguese or other African languages. For Kriolu of Guinea-Bissau and Casamance there is little research on contact effects with local African languages, but from what we know, the lexical and probably structural influence of Bak and Baïnounk languages is significant (Kihm, 2011; Rougé, 2004), especially in the domains of culture, religion, flora and fauna (Nicolas Quint, p.c.). Contact effects in the domains of discourse and semantics have received less attention, but are a promising area of investigation. Semantically and pragmatically, the Upper

5. The patrimonial language of a village, town or region is the language (or languages) associated with its founding population. As an ideological construct the patrimonial language can convey privileges such as land rights and political influence to its speakers.

Guinea Creoles (UGC), especially the continental ones spoken in Casamance and Guinea-Bissau, are clearly following local models in the usage of greetings, ideophones, proverbs, idiomatic expressions and common semantic extensions. This attests to the high degree of regional convergence of these structures.

Although it is assumed that Cape Verdean shares vocabulary and grammatical features with African languages (mainly Wolof and Mandinka) due to substrate influence or borrowing (Lang, 2011; Quint, 2006, 2009), the contact with Niger Congo languages is historical and contemporary exposure to African languages is very limited. Nowadays on the Cape Verdean islands, only a tiny minority of traders or migrants from the coast would have any knowledge of any continental African language.

The presence of THL in Upper Guinea Creoles, a topic that has not been discussed in publications on these languages, is relevant for the hypothesis that THL might have spread through linguistic and cultural contact. Firstly, THL is not a feature typical of European languages, but, as this paper shows, is an integrated part of the discourse structure of various Niger Congo languages that have been in contact with UGCs since their genesis. Secondly, the intensity, or ongoing duration of this language contact correlates with the rates of THL in the contemporary UGCs. Speakers of Casamance Kriolu are fluent in a variety of other African languages to a far greater extent than speakers of Cape Verdean and urban speakers of Guinea-Bissau Kriolu. Accordingly, THL is much more frequent in the narratives of speakers of Casamance Kriolu than in the insular varieties spoken on Cape Verde. Hypotheses about how and why discourse structure has been maintained on the islands are elaborated in Section 3.2.

I assume that language contact cannot be understood without taking cultural contact into account, as language change is not fully explainable by purely linguistic parameters such as language structure, borrowability, exposure, acquisition, etc. Linguistic divergence can just as well result from shared cultural practices, such as narrative genres, styles and templates, and can be shaped by ideological positions that produce cultural similarities and differences. The following section provides an overview of such shared sociocultural parameters.

1.3 The ethnographic picture of the Upper Guinea Coast

It is certainly possible to describe THL in purely syntactic terms, but in order to gain a deeper understanding of its functions and its geographic distribution, it is absolutely necessary to understand how language is used in Upper Guinea and which cultural practices, in terms of political organization, social norms and the associated speech styles and narrative templates, are shared across linguistic and ethnic boundaries.

Researchers working on the history and anthropology of the Upper Guinea Coast agree that the region has been a culturally integrated area for centuries (Mark, 2002; Hawthorne, 2003; Brooks, 1993; Baum, 1999; Crowley, 1990). As is typical for a frontier society (Kopytoff, 1987; Scott, 2009)[6] at the fringe of large empires, the region is characterized by high levels of individual and societal multilingualism and multiple ethnic identities, as well as patterns of flexible alliances between partially autonomous groups (see Cobbinah et al., 2016; Cobbinah, 2020 for a detailed account). Multilingual practices are further intensified through the hosting of strangers, exogamous marriage patterns and adoption practices. Frequent ethnic conversions and intense contact between populations that at times identify as ethnically different and that speak different patrimonial languages, i.e., languages associated with the founders of places (Lüpke, 2016b), blur linguistically established ethnic lines (Cobbinah et al., 2016). These forms of social organization have been attested since pre-colonial times and are still functioning (Mark, 2002).

Interestingly, the areas in which THL-like discourse structures are known to occur share similarities with the Upper Guinea Coast in that they tend to be inhabited by multilingual, self-governing societies with oral modes of transmission of knowledge, such as the Amazon basin, West Papua, Papua New Guinea and aboriginal Australia. It is possible that this is due to a description bias, since discourse features are often left undescribed in grammars and first descriptions, with a focus on phonology, morphology and basic syntax, which are in many cases the only sources on African languages.

Despite the high linguistic fragmentation of the region, material cultures, cultural events, political organization and institutions and models of managing knowledge across Lower Casamance are largely compatible. As claimed in Cobbinah (2020), the different languages in their repertoires enable actors to signal difference or loyalty to specific groups, while the cultural homogeneity always leaves the possibility of forming or reshuffling political alliances. Due to the large linguistic repertoires of the contemporary inhabitants of Casamance, many people are able to perform speech acts in shared genres, which is necessary in cases where the existence of analogous discourse structures are a reflection of shared cultural structures and a result of the strong social integration between the com-

6. James Scott's (2009, p.10) description of what he terms "shatter zones" or "refuge zones" definitely applies to Lower Casamance: "Virtually everything about these people's livelihoods, social organization, ideologies, and (more controversially) even their largely oral cultures, can be read as strategic positionings designed to keep the state at arm's length. Their physical dispersion in rugged terrain, their mobility, their cropping practices, their kinship structure, their pliable ethnic identities, and their devotion to prophetic, millenarian leaders effectively serve to avoid incorporation into states and to prevent states from springing up among them."

munities of Lower Casamance. Language choice and strategies of turn-taking and face-saving criticism are to some extent formalized and correlated with the use of specific templates or constructions across the region. Linguistic choices can also be conditioned by ideological considerations, which in turn can be shared across speech communities. An example of this is the use of more formal and controlled speech in certain settings, which requires the avoidance of linguistic material identifiable as originating from other languages perceived as external.

All of the languages in the sample exist in cultural spheres that rely on the oral transmission of knowledge and tradition, be it informally or during ritual occasions such as the male initiation or other salient events. Culturally salient genres, each of which has specific characteristics, include historic and cultural narratives, gossip, political speeches and storytelling. The fact that many of these discourse genres are shared, or tied to shared cultural norms or multilingual practices, makes it quite plausible that the linguistic expression of these discourse types is also shared. The flexible identities, large language repertoires and frequent regroupings and ethnic redefinitions that characterize the populations of Upper Guinea all work towards facilitating the spread of pragmatic structures. The fact that these are less obviously identifiable than lexical or morphological material makes it more difficult – and less necessary – for speakers to consciously control their use in multilingual situations when adapting or managing identities (see Lüpke, 2016a on conceptions of identity and their linguistic manifestations).

2. Constructions: THL in Upper Guinea languages

THL is attested in all of the languages of the sample to varying degrees. The constructions are similar in terms of syntactic structure, even across genetically unrelated languages. Based on the cross-linguistic typology of Guérin & Aiton (2019), I consider THL as a specific type of bridging construction, which can either be unmarked, i.e., the head clause is a verbatim repetition of the tail clause, or be overtly marked, i.e., the head clause is marked by conjunctions or clause-structuring morphology. It is not implied that these differences in marking correspond to functional differences, although this is a possibility. A second kind of bridging construction which is cross-linguistically attested and also occurs in Upper Guinea is what Guérin and Aiton (2019, p. 4) call "mixed linkage". Here, the repetition of the tail clause as the head clause is accompanied by the use of an anaphoric element. Many languages that have THL employ a generic light verb such as 'do' in this type of construction. The languages analyzed in this paper use verbs with semantics of 'end' or 'finish'. The third type or "summary linkage" (Guérin & Aiton, 2019, p. 4) does not involve repetition of the verb. The refer-

ence to the tail clause is solely made by way of an anaphoric element, such as an adverb or any of the light verbs also used in the mixed type. Table 15.1 provides an overview of the different types and the corresponding templates.

Table 15.1 Types of THL attested in Upper Guinea languages

Type	Label	Template
1	(a) Plain THL	[Tail clause] / [Head Clause (repeat tail clause)]$_{\text{non-final clause intonation}}$
	(b) Marked THL	[Tail clause] / [Head Clause (repeat tail clause)]$_{\text{subordinator}}$
2	Mixed THL	[Tail clause] / [Head Clause (repeat tail clause] $_{\text{anaphoric element}}$
3	Summary linkage	[Tail clause] / [Head Clause]$_{\text{anaphoric element}}$

Types 1 and 2 involve the repetition of the verb; in some cases the head clause features a non-identical but semantically related verb. Arguments and adjuncts of the verb can but do not have to be repeated together with the verb. Examples of all types will be provided in the following subsections.

2.1 Plain tail-head linkage

The structurally simplest form of THL is the plain repetition of the tail clause as head clause without the use of conjunctions or clause-structuring morphology. This type of THL, with or without omissions of adjuncts or arguments, is attested in all languages in the sample, as for example in Kriolu of Guinea-Bissau as shown in (2), where the clause *peras kay* 'the pears fall' is used as the tail clause and subsequently directly repeated as the head clause.

(2) a. *xepeu kay na coŋ i bay-ba i maja pedra [pera-s kay]*$_{TC}$
hat fall PREP ground 3SG go-PAST 3SG hit stone pear-PL fall
b. ***[pera-s kay]***$_{HC}$ *un di si kolega-s na pasa*
pear-PL fall one of 3SG:POSS friend-PL IMP pass
'The hat fell on the ground. He went on and hit a stone, the pears fell. The pears fell, one of his friends passing by…' Kriolu of Guinea-Bissau, BA

In the languages of the sample the head clauses are phonologically marked as non-final, with rising intonation. The tail clause is phonologically a main clause with final, falling intonation. It is therefore possible to distinguish these instances of THL from other kinds of repetitions (e.g., corrections, emphasis, etc.) through intonation. Figure 15.1 shows the Praat-generated representation of the recording transcribed in Example (2) with clause final falling intonation on the tail clause and rising intonation on the head clause. This pattern is observed in all languages

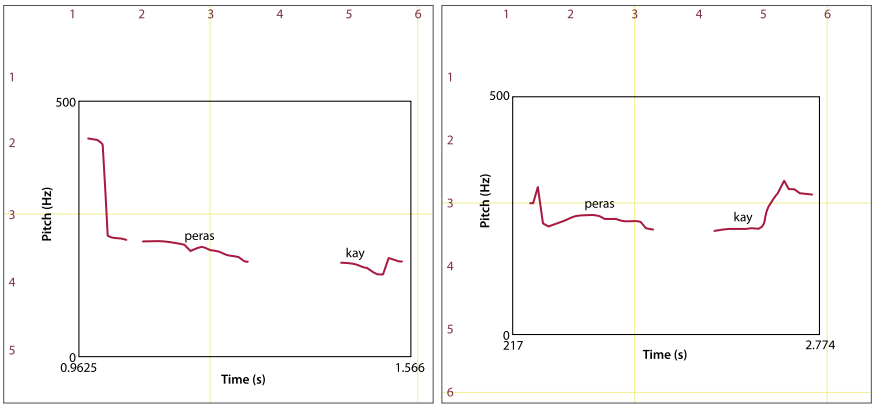


Figure 15.1 Intonation curve of a tail clause (left) and a consecutive head clause (right) in Guinean Kriolu, generated with Praat

in the sample discussed in this chapter. See Guérin and Aiton (2019, p. 8) for similar observations in other languages that employ THL.

Cross-linguistically, modifications of the head clause in relation to the tail clause are common and might affect number and type of arguments, tense and aspect inflection, word order, additions, subtractions, etc. (Guérin & Aiton, 2019, p. 13). The languages of this sample also show modifications of various kinds. The tense and aspect marking in the head and tail clause can be the same, as in Example (2), or different, as in the two examples from Joola Banjal and Kujireray in Examples (3) and (4). In these cases, the use of the perfective in the head clause emphasizes the temporal or causal sequence of the events that are connected. Note that the speaker in Example (3) chose not to repeat the direct object in the head clause, whereas the speaker who uttered Example (4) repeated the complete clause, including all of the arguments.

(3) a. *Ni-jux an-ë-ine a-jing-e ni bu-nunu [e-tuj gu-yaba]*$_{TC}$
1SG-see man 3SG-climb-PFV PREP CL.bu-tree CL.e-pick CL.gu-guava

b. ***[na-tuj-e]***$_{HC}$ *inje ni-ju-ju ga ga-tegel ga-tuj-i gu-ban*
3SG-pick-PFV 1SG.PRO 1SG-see-REDUP ? CL.ga-basket AGR.ga-pick-PFV AGR.ga-end
'I saw a man who climbed a tree to pick guavas. He picks [them], and I see a basket picked already.' Joola Banjal, HAS

(4) a. *[a-taj e-pix avocat]*$_{TC}$,
3SG-AUX CL.e-pick avocado
b. ***[na-pig-e avocat]***$_{HC}$ *yok si-pochol si-ming*
3SG-pick-PFV avocado until CL.si-pocket AGR.si-full
'He is picking avocadoes. He picks [them] until his pockets are full.'
Joola Kujireray, XB

In Example (5) from Baïnounk Gubëeher, the speaker uses a periphrastic construction with an auxiliary in the tail clause and the unmarked tense in the head clause,[7] whereas the Baïnounk Gujaher speaker in Example (6) uses the perfective in both clauses.

(5) a. *na [g-aŋ-kan-ne **bu-daabin** ka jë-ñéér]*$_{TC}$
there FOC-3PL-do-SUB CL.bu-wrap POSS CL.ja-palm.fiber
b. ***[a-n-daabin jë-ñéér]***$_{HC}$ *yok a-dëëk a-dëëk a-hai*
3-PL-wrap CL.ja-palm.fiber until 3-go 3-go 3-full
'And then they do the wrapping with the palm fiber. They wrap the palm fiber until it is full(-y covered).' Baïnounk Gubëeher, JHS

(6) a. *a-fakë ŋaf-i a-bekan, [a-wutah-i]*$_{TC}$
3-do:again? climb-PFV PREP bike 3-leave-PFV
b. ***[a-wutah-i]***$_{HC}$, *immi raaxël-d-oom-i [im woosiin-i]*$_{TC}$
3-leave-PFV 3PL:PRO meet-??-PFV 3PL whistle-PFV
c. ***[im woosiin-i]***$_{HC}$ *a-wulla-hiin-i*
3PL whistle-PFV 3-return-DER-PFV
'He climbed back on the bike and left. He left, he heard those he met whistle at him. They whistled, he turned around.' Baïnounk Gujaher, ANM

The plain recapitulative linkage is also attested in the Santo Antão variety of Cape Verdean.

(7) a. *el te pará lá [el te panhé-l un sext de kex lá]*$_{TC}$
3SG IMPF stop there 3SG IMPF grab-3SG.O INDET basket POSS those *there*
b. ***[el te panhá un sext]***$_{HC}$ *el te levá*
3SG IMPF grab INDET basket 3SG IMPF take.away
'He stops, he grabs a basket, one of those there. He grabs one (of his) baskets, he takes [it] away…' Cape Verdean/Santo Antão, AFS

A specific but rather rare type of THL, that uses the non-finite form of the verb in the repeated head clause, has been detected in Baïnounk Gubëeher. Its function is to the effect of offering an aside or an explanation of an event, as shown in (8).

7. This TAM form is zero-marked and used for a range of functions, including mood (obligation, probability) and narrative tense-aspect.

(8) a. *a-ñoŋ të-bën të-ruk [an-sik]*$_{TC}$
3-take CL.ta-cloth AGR.ta-other 3PL-make.tight
b. ***[Bu-sik Bu-mbooŋ]***$_{HC}$ *sam buruk u-wuul-oŋ sin-cind*
CL.bu-tighten AGR.bu-DEM NEG:IMP NEG:IMP 2-see-PL CL.sin-string
si-ni a-nób-un-um-a
AGR.sin-REL 3-tie-CAUS-APPL-PASS
'They take another cloth and tighten it. The tightening is in order for you not to see the string he has been tied with.' Baïnounk Gubëeher, JHS

2.2 Formally marked tail-head linkage

All languages in the sample employ constructions where the head clause is overtly marked as subordinate, either through morphology or through the use of conjunctions. The morphological or syntactic encoding of these clauses depends on the language-specific strategies of clause linking.

The Baïnounk and Joola languages have morphological means of marking certain types of temporal and causal subordinate phrases. The Baïnounk Gubëeher prefix *g-* is commonly used in conditional phrases, corresponding to English 'if' (9) and is also used in temporal sequences as in (10).

(9) *g-i-dëëk-ëmboot i-wúúl*
COND-1-go-IRR 1-see
'If I had gone, I would have seen'/ 'If I went I'd see.'
Baïnounk Gubëeher, elicitation, HS

(10) *g-a-cuc-i barum a-hundul omlet a-nen riéŋ*
COND-3-throw-PFV so.that 3-turn.around omelette 3-fall down
'When he tosses the omelette in order to flip it, it falls to the ground.'
Baïnounk Gubëeher, ES

Both conditional and temporal phrases marked with *g-* always occur with perfective marking. The use of this subordinating morphology emphasizes the consecutive nature of connected events, as in (11), where it is made clear by the speaker that the actors take the small mat after having put the item in question (in this case the body of a deceased person) over the hole.

(11) a. *[a-n-siŋg na a ko-jund kokooŋ]*$_{TC}$
3-PL-lower.head there PREP CL.ko-hole AGR.ko:DEM
b. ***[g-a-n-siŋg-ém]***$_{HC}$ *a-ñoŋ ko-xoot*
COND-3-PL-lower.head-3SG.O.PERF 3-take CL.ko-woven.mat
g-a-ŋ-kan bu-ñoŋ
FOC.O-3-PL.AUX CL.bu-take
'They put (him) face down over that hole, when they have put him face down, they take a small woven mat.' Baïnounk Gubëeher, JHS

The suffix *-ne* in Gubëeher is often used in relative and other subordinate clauses, although it is also attested in main clauses and appears to have discourse functions related to known or new topics. In Example (12), *-ne* is suffixed to the verb of a head clause of a tail-head structure.

(12) a. *bu-jeg g-a-raad-i [bu-ŋoc-honom a-nen]*$_{TC}$
CL.bu-turn.head FOC.O-3-AUX-PFV CL.bu-hat-3SG.POSS 3-fall

b. ***[bu-ŋoc-honom a-nen-ne]***$_{HC}$ *u-mër a-raad bu-jeg*
CL.bu-hat-3SG.POSS 3-fall-SUB AGR.u-PRO 3-AUX CL.bu-turn.head

c. *ë-dëëk [a-loŋun a bu-lur]*$_{TC}$
3-go 3-hit.against PREP CL.bu-stone

d. ***[a-loŋun a bu-lur]***$_{HC}$ *a-nen*
3-hit.against PREP CL.bu-stone 3-fall
'He turns his head, his hat falls. As his hat falls, he turns his head, he hits a stone. He hits a stone and falls.' Baïnounk Gubëeher, HAS

The distribution of *-ne* is similar to the distribution of the Joola Banjal suffix *-me*, analyzed by Sagna (2008) as a subordinator, which also occurs in relatives and other subordinates and in THL constructions (13). The properties of Gubëeher *-ne* and Joola *me/-ma/-maa* are not yet fully understood. Its occurrence in main clauses and its overall distribution suggest that its use is sensitive to information structure, distinguishing known from unknown, or focused from unfocused information, as discussed by Berndt (2010) based on data from Joola Banjal.

(13) a. *no na-baŋ me n e-bekal yayu na-mund-e a-remben*
CONJ 3SG-put-SUB PREP CL.e-bike AGR.e:DEM 3SG-do.first-PFV 3SG-?
na-jiŋ [na-pedale]$_{TC}$
3SG-climb 3SG-pedal

b. ***[na-pedale-me]***$_{HC}$ *na-yem-or ni bu-tin ni a-niine*
3SG-pedal-SUB 3SG-meet-REC PREP CL.bu-path PREP CL.a-man
'After he sets up his bike, he first climbs on it and pedals. When he pedals, he encounters a man on the way.' Joola Kujireray, XB

Example (14) from Joola Banjal combines the subordinating suffix *-me* with the conjunction *no* 'when', formed by the relative pronoun *o* and a noun class prefix (cf. (15)).[8]

8. Interestingly, the THL constructions in Fon analyzed by Aalders Grool (2013) also employ a topic marker, the clause final particle *ɔ́* on the head clause, which is a marked or unmarked embedded relative clause with temporal semantics that is interpreted as a WHEN clause.

(14) a. *iki gu-yem-or [gu-gël-or]$_{TC}$ e-ŋoch-ol n-e-elo*
then 3PL-meet-REC 3PL-pass-REC CL.e-hat-3SG.POSS n-AGR.e-fall
b. ***[no gu-gal-or-me ni ji-juur jaju]$_{HC}$*** *[e-ŋoch-ol*
CONJ 3PL-pass-REC-SUB PREP CL.ji-girl AGR.ji:DEM CL.e-hat-3SG.POSS
n-e-lo]$_{HC}$ ***[no e-ŋoch-ol e-lo-me]$_{TC}$***
n-AGR.e-fall CONJ CL.e-hat-3SG.POSS AGR.e-fall-SUB
'They meet and pass each other, his hat falls. As they pass each other with the girl, his hat falls. When his hat falls … ' Joola Banjal, HAS

(15) *na-cce n-o n-i-somut me*
CL.12b-INDEF AGR-REL LOC-1SG-illness SUB
'Once when I was ill' Joola Banjal, Sagna (2008, p.181)

In Baïnounk Gujaher, Mandinka and Kriolu of Casamance we find that speakers use temporal or causal conjunctions in order to mark the head clause as subordinate. In Gujaher *biriŋ* 'since' is attested in a THL construction (16).

(16) a. *a-bët-i, [e-gecnah-i ëŋgë febbi-hënëm]$_{TC}$ ram-ëd-om*
3-come-PFV 3-pass-PFV with goat-3SG.POSS greet-NEG-3SG.O
b. ***[biriŋ a-gecnah-i]$_{HC}$*** *wol u-duk [fur-um-ut-i]$_{TC}$ ëmbaax*
since 3-pass-PFV child:CL.u AGR.u-one leave-APP-VEN-PFV ?
ëŋgë bekan ***[biriŋ a-bët-i]$_{HC}$*** *a-lik-ah-i reŋ-kë ci-no*
with bike since 3-come-PFV 3-stand-REFL-PFV under-POSS CL.ci-tree
'He came, he passed with his goat, he didn't greet him. After he passed, a boy appeared on his bike, after he [the boy] came, he put [the bike] under the tree…' Baïnounk Gujaher, ANM

Biriŋ is most probably of Mandinka origin (from Mandinka *kabiriŋ* 'since'), and is used by the same speaker in the Mandinka version of the video description (17). This can mean two things: either THL is a feature of Mandinka, in which case we should observe it with monolingual speakers of Mandinka, or the cited examples are evidence that speakers transfer discourse strategies from one language in their repertoire to another without any problem.

(17) a. *kiliŋ y-aa-la naafo tombon [a-y-a foofor]$_{TC}$*
one PERF.TR-3SG-POSS hat:DET pick.up 3SG-PFV.TR-3SG whistle
b. ***[kabiriŋ a-y-a foofor]$_{HC}$*** *dindiŋo loo-ta*
since 3SG-PERF.TR-3SG whistle child stand-PFV.ITR
'One of them has picked up his hat, he whistles at him. As he whistled at him, the boy stopped.' Mandinka, ANM[9]

9. I have maintained the spelling used by the transcriber, which is not the official spelling used for Mandinka.

In Kriolu of Casamance a great variety of subordinating conjunctions are used in THL: *ora/oca (ke)* 'when', *disna* 'since', *note* 'if', *si* 'if' (see Example (18)) and a peculiar form of verb-reduplicated construction (as shown in Example (19)). Interestingly, Kriolu parallels the use of conditional and temporal subordinate phrases in THL constructions observed in Joola and Baïnounk Gubëeher.

(18) a. *i yel i fika [i na rinka si fruta]*$_{TC}$
be 3SG.PRO 3SG stay 3SG IMPF pick 3SG.POSS fruit
b. ***[s'i rinka]***$_{HC}$ *i ta puy-l na pasta sin*
if3SG pick 3SG HAB put-3SG.O PREP bag like.that
'And he, he stays and picks his fruit. When he picks it, he puts it in his bag like this.' Kriolu of Casamance, RM

(19) a. *i bim suta nan pedra [i kay]*$_{TC}$ *ka firma kela pasta*
3SG come trip PREP stone 3SG fall NEG fix that bag
b. ***[kay k i kay]***$_{HC}$ *i sinta la gora*
fall CONJ 3SG fall 3SG sit there now
'He trips on a stone, he falls, the bag doesn't stay put. After he fell, now he sits there.' Kriolu of Casamance, JBM

The construction in (19b) can be roughly translated as 'fall that he falls', *k(e)* being a subordinating conjunction used in various contexts. I am not aware of any similar construction in any of the other local languages. Verbal reduplication is used with perfective semantics or for verb focus in Baïnounk and Joola languages, but not attested so far with a subordinating function. Interestingly, a reduplicated construction with similar semantics is attested in Haitian Kreyol:

(20) *Rive li rive lakay l'al dòmi*
arrive 3SG arrive house 3SG.go sleep
'As soon as she arrived home, she went to bed.'
Kreyol (Haitian), Valdman (1988, p. 214)

2.3 Mixed linkage

The mixed linkage type combines clause repetition with an anaphoric element, usually a light verb or an anaphoric adverb (Guérin & Aiton, 2019, p. 21). In Examples (21)–(23) below, the anaphoric element is a verb translatable as 'finish' or 'end'. The repetition can be plain THL or marked THL.

A pertinent question that Guérin and Aiton (2019, p. 23) raise in this context is whether the anaphoric element forms a clause with the content verb, as an auxiliary, or whether they constitute two separate clauses, in which case, their status as mixed linkage is in question. In the examples cited here, the intonation indicates that the two elements form a single phrase, as does the fact that the 'end' verb and

the repeated verb can occur in any order. Compare Example (21), with the order *'end' + repeated verb*, and Example (22), which has the order *repeated verb + 'end'*.

(21) a. *toke iméérəŋ ba-ñoŋ-ér ka jë-ñéér [a-n-nób*
then they CL.ba-take-GER POSS CL.ja-palm.fiber 3-PL-tie
a-riŋ-kenem]$_{TC}$
CL.a-body-3SG.POSS

b. ***[g-ë-n-tijini g-a-nóbi-réét]***$_{HC}$ *a-ñoŋ të-bën të-ruk*
COND-3-PL-end COND-3-PL-tie-FUT2 3-take CL.ta-cloth AGR.ta-other
an-sik
3PL-pull.tight
'Then they take palm fiber and tie his body (…). When they are done, when they have tied him they take a cloth and fasten.'
Baïnounk Gubëeher, JHS

(22) a. *[a-muumul]*$_{TC}$
3-wipe

b. ***[a-muumul a-mukun]***$_{HC}$ *a-haan a gu-ceec*
3-wipe 3-finish 3-put PREP CL.gu-basket
'He wipes (it), he wipes (it) he finishes he puts (it) in the basket.'
Baïnounk Gubëeher, HAS

(23) a. *na-ŋgar [na-ti]*$_{TC}$
3SG-take 3SG-clean

b. ***[na-ban-e na-ti]***$_{HC}$ *fo* a-ban *na-ban-en a-hox na-kan fo*
3SG-end-PFV 3SG-clean until 3SG-end 3SG-end-TR 3SG-tie 3SG-put until
ni gaagu
PREP DEM:AGR.ga
'He takes it to clean [the pear]. He takes it to clean, he is done cleaning, he puts on the scarf and then he puts [the pear] in the other basket.'
Joola Banjal, HAS

For an example of mixed linkage in Guinea-Bissau Kriolu, see (28) below, where the speaker uses the verb *kaba* 'end' together with the repeated verb in the tail clause.

2.4 Summary linkage

Some languages, including the ones analyzed in this paper, allow less canonical THL structures, in which the verb is not repeated. Instead, the head clause features only the anaphorically used light verb or adverbial that summarizes the action of the preceding clause or paragraph. In Gubëeher both the verbs *mukun* 'end' or *tij* 'end' occur in such constructions, as shown in (24). In Joola Banjal and Kujireray the verb *ban* 'end' is used in this type of construction, as in (25). The status of these constructions as THL is disputable, since the defining feature of verb

repetition is lacking, but the fact that the anaphoric elements used in summary linkage are also used in constructions of the mixed type presented in Section 2.3 justify their inclusion in this discussion.

(24) a. *anaŋg' [an-dëëg-ët an-dën]*$_{TC}$
and 3PL-go-VEN 3PL-put.down
b. ***[g-an-tijin-i]***$_{HC}$ *an-ñoŋ-om*
COND-PL-end-PFV 3PL-take-3SG.OBJ
'(...) and they come and put (it), when they are done, they take him.'
Baïnounk Gubëeher, JS

(25) a. *na-teb ga-tegel gagu ga-meŋ me iki [a-baŋ fachil ni ba e-bekan yayu to na-filen yo me]*$_{TC}$
3SG-take CL.ga-basket AGR.ga:DEM AGR.ga-full-SUB then 3SG-put front PREP towards CL.e-bike AGR.e:DEM where 3SG-lay CL.e:PRO SUB
b. ***[a-ban]***$_{HC}$ *na-arul e-bekan* yay
3SG-end 3SG-lift CL.e-bike CL.e:DEM
'He takes the basket which is full and puts (it) in front of where his bike lies, then he lifts the bike.' Joola Banjal, HAS

Summary linkage is not attested in any of the Upper Guinea Creoles in the sample, but compare the item *cabá* (literal translation here: 'to finish') in Example (26), from a poem by the Cape Verdean lyricist Sérgio Frusoni, in the literal translation into Portuguese, which is rendered as *depois* 'afterwards'. It provides temporal and textual cohesion between two paragraphs describing an idyllic scene.

(26) ***Cabá*** *da tarde metê na rebéra t' uvi aga ma pardal cantá*
finish PREP afternoon put PREP river IMPF hear water and sparrow sing
'Later, in the afternoon, get into a river listening to the water and the birds singing. [Port.: Depois, à tarde, meter-se numa ribeira a ouvir a água e os pardais cantar]' Cape Verdean/São Vicente, Frusoni & Lima (1992, p. 56)

The root *cabá* (or *kabá* in the official ALUPEC orthography used in Cape Verde), has the meaning 'end' or 'finish', as does its Portuguese cognate *acabar*. This use of *cabá* appears frequently in this poetry collection from the mid 20th century; it is not very common any more in Mindelo (Dominika Swolkien, p.c.), but has been observed in the speech of inhabitants of Santo Antão. In this grammaticalized form as an adverb, *cabá* does not combine with any verbal morphology, such as person, number or TAM, and appears to be the result of a grammaticalization process which probably had its source in a verbal construction resembling a summary linkage, like the one in Example (24). Interestingly, the cognate verb *kaba* is used in THL structures in Kriolu of Guinea Bissau, as shown in Example (29) further below.

3. Discussion

After having presented the data on THL along syntactic lines, I find it necessary to make some observations about the functions of THL based on the corpus (Section 3.1) and point out some patterns concerning the frequency of THL across and within speaker communities. The intracommunity patterns suggest stylistic variation that seems to be correlated with other social parameters, such as age and urban/rural identification, and reflect a deep/light distinction commonly made by speakers of African languages (see Section 3.2).

3.1 Distribution and functions of THL

THL structures are typically found in narrative or procedural texts (Guérin, 2019). Their structural properties depend on the syntax of the specific language, but their functions extend into the cultural sphere. The interplay between culture and language structure has been explored by Enfield (2002), Hale (1966, 1986), and Wierzbicka (1979, 1988), among others. It is in this context that Sherzer (1987) calls attention to discourse as the nexus that connects culture and language:

> Instead of asking such questions as does grammar reflect culture or is culture determined by grammar, or are there isomorphisms between grammar and culture, we rather start with discourse, which is the nexus, the actual and concrete expression of the language-culture-society relationship. (Sherzer, 1987, p. 296)

Sherzer's approach, which I adopt in this paper, is based on language use. Rather than supposing a determining influence of culture on grammar (or vice versa), he proposes to consider discourse as a level on which language uses resources in order to shape, create and express culture, which of course can have formal repercussions.

Guérin and Aiton (2019, p. 3) suggest, in very general terms, that the primary function of what they call "bridging constructions" is to add structure and cohesion to a text, e.g., through referent tracking. More concrete suggestions for the function of THL from other geographical areas include the transmission of spatial information (Obert, 2019, forthcoming), cohesion of discourse events and participants (Guillaume 2011, p. 112), and highlighting of relevant information (Van Kleef, 1988, p. 152ff). Guillaume (2011) distinguishes two broad types of THL, a paragraph-linking type and a paragraph-internal type that links sub-events. As for the Upper Guinea languages described in this paper, THL does not seem to highlight the most relevant information, nor to provide cohesion between paragraphs. Its use in chains of events and its encoding with temporal or causal conjunctions or morphology suggests that THL links consecutive actions and provides

text flow. This is reminiscent of Aikhenvald's (2008, p. 545) description of THL in Manambu, where it marks completion of events, and McKay's (2008, p. 10) analysis of Rembarrnga, where THL signals the succession of events by highlighting the new event and backgrounding the past event. Referring to the Kwa language Fon, Aalders Grool (2013, p. 125) claims that these structures introduce plot twists and "new information that moves the story forward". In his account of Eastern Bantu storytelling, Nicolle (2015) relates that the function of THL is language dependent but is often used to "maintain continuity at various points in a narrative, and in many texts tail-head linkage has the additional function of highlighting the following event" (Nicolle, 2015, p. 11). THL can occur within paragraphs and between paragraphs. In Makonde (Nicolle, 2015, p. 11), THL is used to "slow the action down before a significant development in the story", whereas in the languages Jita and Digo (Nicolle, 2015, p. 12), THL constructions do not highlight relevant parts of the plot but are used to list consecutive actions or provide better text flow.

It cannot be excluded that THL is linked to textual cohesion strategies such as reference tracking in Baïnounk Gubëeher, possibly in conjunction with argument encoding (pronominal, zero, full NP), but much more research into discourse features of any of the local languages would be needed in order even to begin to form viable hypotheses. The sample from the cultural narrative from Gubëeher in the Appendix contains stretches with a high frequency of THL in direct succession and long stretches without any THL. This unequal distribution of THL across texts in Upper Guinea languages also suggests that these structures have rhetorical effects, highlighting plot-relevant sequences, conveying thematic continuity by signalling turning points and central plot sequences. Towards the end of the "pear stories", usually the place where speakers lower the intensity and comment on the plot, the density of THL is conspicuously low, whereas the central parts of narratives are thick with repetition. In practical terms, repetition gives the speaker time to plan their discourse and relate the narrative without pauses, as observed by De Vries (2005, p. 378).

3.2 THL and speech styles

Many African languages distinguish between two fundamental types of registers, often referred to as "deep" and "light". These categories convey ideological notions of ownership, purity and identity. Rural speakers who are connected via ethnic identity to a language are usually considered as owners of the language, speaking it in its supposedly purest and most sophisticated form, corresponding to the deep register. Of course, notions of purity and complexity are socially constructed and partly imagined and do not necessarily correspond to linguistic judgments.

The deep register is associated with local forms of speech and knowledge of rich vocabulary for cultural and economic practices (religion, agriculture, etc.), as well as with the use of certain grammatical distinctions and devices, whereas the light register is associated with urban speakers, who use the language as an interethnic or interregional lingua franca, who often resort to code-switching and who tend to use grammatical and lexical innovations. For Wolof, the deep register is associated with the rural heartland of the interior of northern Senegal, where Wolof is the patrimonial language of the population. The light variety, characterized by a large amount of French-origin vocabulary and a restructured noun class system, is often referred to as "Urban Wolof" by linguists, although this might be misleading, as the same variety is also used by rural speakers in Casamance. A similar split is observable for Baïnounk Gubëeher: the deep register, characterized by an avoidance of items considered as French or Wolof, is used in more formal situations, such as public speeches and religious ceremonies, involves a certain rhetorical skillset that not all speakers have, and connotes local values and lifestyles. The light register, typical of younger speakers, allows for an ample use of clearly identifiable French and Wolof items, seems to evoke more urban and less local or rural attitudes and has informal or colloquial connotations. Table 15.2 captures some of these parameters of the different registers or styles.

Table 15.2 Parameters correlated with speech style

Deep register	Light register
older	younger
illiterate	literate
local/rural-identifying	urban-identifying
less mobile	more mobile
avoidance of foreign associated items	high rate of foreign associated items

I have observed that older people with conservative attitudes in Djibonker often complain that the ability to use the deep register in Baïnounk Gubëeher ("pure" Gubëeher, according to them) among the youth is retreating, along with the obsolescence of traditional education and values. These worries might be unfounded, since youngsters might acquire and use the deep register when they advance in age and hierarchy, but the distinction between "a pure" and "a faulty" way of speaking is a direct reflection of speakers' metalinguistic awareness and is interesting as such. This difference also has syntactic and pragmatic manifestations: the use of THL, morphologically marked subordination and frequent repetitions is associated with the deep register, while the use of adverbs and con-

junctions of French origin, such as *parce que* 'because', *donc* 'therefore', *après* 'after', *et puis* 'and then', *alors* 'so' and *puisque/lorsque* 'since', are correlated with the more casual light register. The fact that the majority of discourse-structuring adverbs and conjunctions have entered the language through contact with French, either directly or via Wolof, indicates that before contact with the European languages, other means of structuring discourse, that are still used in the deep register, were the dominant strategies, such as parataxis, THL, morphologically marked constructions and formulaic expressions. Sherzer (1987, p.303), in his description of discourse styles practiced by Kuna narrators, contrasts the prevalent aspect-oriented style, which has frequent jumps between timelines and participants, with a more sequentially organized logic, characterized by the use of adverbs and conjunctions with temporal implications (*and, then, after that*, etc.) that he labels Indo-European logic.

The data from Bissau suggests a similar dynamic. Urban monolingual speakers of Kriolu seem to prefer a style based on conjunctions, whereas speakers who have other local African languages in their repertoires make use of THL. The speaker in Example (27) is a girl of 14, who grew up in Bissau. Apart from Kriolu, she does not speak other African languages. Instead, she speaks French, Portuguese and English. She does not use THL at all and connects her phrases with adverbs like *logu* 'then' and *gora* 'now'.

(27) *si xapeu kai* ***logu*** *i bai ma un bokadinhu son i maja na*
3SG.POSS hat fall then 3SG go more INDET little only 3SG bump PREP
pedra ***logu*** *i kai biskleta kai* ***logu*** *pera i darma*
stone then 3SG fall bicycle fall then pear 3SG pour.out
'His hat fell. **Then**, he just goes a little further. He bumps against a stone **then** he falls. The bike falls **then**, the pears fall out.' Kriolu of Guinea-Bissau, MRB

A similar dynamic has been observed in Cape Verde, where young urban speakers from Mindelo do not use THL at all, resorting to temporal adverbs to structure the story, as in (28).

(28) ***nton*** *kel boiz-zin fká ta xpiá kel senhor s' el ka táva*
then DEM boy-DIM stay IMPF watch DEM mister if 3SG NEG PAST
t'oiá-l ***nton*** *el panhá un sext d' pera el po na se*
IMPF see-3SG.O then 3SG grab INDET basket of pear 3SG put PREP 3SG.POSS
bisikleta el bai
bicycle 3SG go
'**Then** the boy keeps watching the man – whether he sees him. **Then** he takes a basket of pears, puts (it) on his bike and goes.' Cape Verdean/São Vicente, SE

In contrast, the speaker in Example (29) is a middle-aged woman who was born and grew up in Bissau. In addition to Kriolu, she speaks various local languages including Fula, Manjaku, Biafada and Manding. She is very well integrated into rural networks and the cultural dynamics of the hinterland and her use of THL closely resembles what we see from rural speakers of Baïnounk and Joola languages on the Senegalese side, with very frequent use of THL and a complete absence of temporal adverbs for structuring the discourse.

(29) *[i bay mbokadu]*$_{TC}$ *[i* **bay mbokadu son**]$_{HC}$ *[i kay na* con]$_{TC}$ *[i*
3SG go a.little 3SG go a.little only 3SG fall PREP ground 3SG
kay]$_{HC}$ *i darma tudu mininu-s bin [e juda kuji]*$_{TC}$ *[e* ***kuji***
fall 3SG pour everything child-PL come 3PL help pick.up 3PL pick.up
i **kaba**]$_{HC}$ *i miti dentru* saku *[i* ***miti dentru saku***]$_{HC}$ *e toma toma e*
3SG finish 3SG put inside bag 3SG put inside sack 3PL take take 3PL
puy riba e bisikleta
put on DEM.PROX bicycle
'He goes a little. He goes a little, he falls on the ground. He falls, everything pours out. Kids come and help pick up [his things]. They pick [them] up, it is done, they put [them] in the bag. They put [them] in the bag, they take [them] and put [them] on the bike.' Kriolu of Guinea-Bissau, MB

Turning again to Cape Verde, in contrast to the young speakers just mentioned, a female speaker of 47 years, who has lived in Mindelo for decades, but was born on the more rural neighboring island of Santo Antão and maintains ties with her family who still reside there, used THL frequently in her narrative. THL has been found in four of the ten narratives from Santo Antão (see Example (7)), but in none of the other narratives recorded in Mindelo/São Vicente.

It seems justifiable to apply the rural/urban and deep/light contrast that conditions the use of THL in Kriolu of Guine Bissau, Bainouk Gubëeher and the Joola languages of the sample, to the situation in Cape Verde. Santo Antão and its variety of Cape Verdean are clearly associated with rural and traditional lifestyles characterized by small settlements, agriculture and conservative social norms. The variety of São Vicente is an urban variety, cosmopolitan and modern, that is the result of the encounter of various varieties of Cape Verdean, when the island was rapidly colonized and urbanized in the 19th century. The hypothesis proposed here is that THL is an old feature, dating back to the time when enslaved Africans were brought to the islands with their languages and cultural practices and shaped the emerging Cape Verdean language. Even in the absence of a continuing influx of speakers of African languages with the cessation of the slave trade, the discourse forms that rely on THL would have continued to be used, and the various cultural, economic and political ties that have connected the islanders

to mainland Africa since the settlement of Cape Verde in the 15th century have remained intact. The ongoing maintenance of narrative structures and templates, for example, could explain the maintenance of narrative and discourse features such as THL, especially in areas with more conservative linguistic and cultural practices, like Santo Antão.

Clearly more data is needed to make a statement on the usage of THL on the Cape Verdean islands, both in terms of frequency but also of geographic variation. It would be particularly interesting to compare other discourse features, genres and narrative practices in Cape Verdean and mainland African languages, to see whether the use of THL is correlated with any of these. It would also be illuminating to analyze data from the island of Santiago, whose variety supposedly manifests a stronger African influence in its grammar and lexicon than the Barlavento varieties.

4. Conclusion and future research

This paper has presented data and analyses on tail-head linkage in a genetically diverse sample of languages spoken on the Upper Guinea Coast and in the Cape Verdean islands, as well as an account of salient discourse genres that span linguistic and ethnic boundaries. This is the first account of this phenomenon in any of these languages. In terms of their characteristics, the syntactic types of THL attested and their use in discourse, the observed THL constructions are quite similar across the languages of the sample with regard to their syntactic properties. The three main types of bridging constructions established in Guérin (2019), THL, summary linkage and mixed linkage, are attested in various of the Upper Guinea Coast languages. The role and functional load of the type of construction chosen, modifications in tense and aspect, and the omission or insertion of arguments or adjuncts demand more detailed research and larger corpora.

I hypothesize that THL is an areal phenomenon and that its spread is due to shared cultural patterns and the intense multilingualism practiced throughout the region. It remains an open question whether a certain type of socio-cultural organization favors specific discourse structures. The data from Agnack attest to the pervasiveness of THL across languages. A speaker (AMN) who performed the pear story in three genetically very distant languages (Mandinka, Gujaher and Kriolu of Casamance) uses THL in all of them. The use of THL is clearly linked to stylistic choices, and is more frequent in speakers who speak a conservative form of the language that avoids conjunctions and discourse markers associated with French, whereas younger or more urban oriented speakers make abundant use of these items. It seems that at least for Baïnounk Gubëeher the dominant strategy

of clause linkage used to be THL at some point before contact with French and urban Wolof.

The patterns observed on the Cape Verdean islands of São Vicente and Santo Antão pose some interesting questions worth following up. The fact that THL is used at all on the island of Santo Antão comes as a surprise, given that African influences are supposed to be weak in the Barlavento varieties and contact with speakers of African languages is supposed to be quite remote in time. Either THL is a remnant of the period of the formation of Proto-UGC that has survived the centuries, or the historical situation regarding the presence of Africans – and their impact in the shaping of the Barlavento varieties – has to be revisited (see Swolkien & Cobbinah, 2019).

The issue of THL has potential theoretical implications. The morphosyntactic innovations in the grammars of languages that have co-existed in highly multilingual configurations, like those on the Upper Guinea Coast, could be at least partly the result of structural changes driven by the diffusion of discourse practices – among other cultural practices. Concretely speaking, phenomena such as tail-head linkage, through their semantic, pragmatic and discursive functions, have the potential to trigger profound restructuring on the syntactic and morphological level, for example in terms of argument structure or subordination strategies in general. Guillaume (2011, p. 113) correlates the use of THL structures with low overt argument density. The high frequency of zero objects in all languages of the current sample needs to be described, explained and correlated with discourse phenomena such as THL.

The observed patterns do not indicate that THL is used to reinforce important turning points of a narrative, or to sum up paragraphs. It seems, rather, that THL is used to provide text flow in sequential passages and possibly with rhetorical effects, such as heightening tension. It has to be kept in mind though, that neither the functions of THL in Upper Guinea Coast languages nor the general principles of structuring discourse in narrative are clearly understood yet. This is definitely a promising field for further research.

Abbreviations

1,2,3	first, second, third person
AGR	agreement
APPL	applicative
AUX	auxiliary
CAUS	causative
CL	noun class marker
COND	conditional
CONJ	conjunction
COP	copula
DEM	demonstrative
DER	verbal derivation
FOC	focus
HAB	habitual
IMP	imperative

IMPF imperfective
INDEF indefinite
INDET indetermined
IRR irrational
ITR intransitive
LOC locative
NEG negative
O object
PASS passive
PAST past
PL plural
POSS possessive
PREP preposition
PRO personal pronoun
PROX proximal
PFV perfective
REC reciprocal
REDUP reduplication
REFL reflexive
REL relative pronoun
REV reversive
SG singular
SUB subordinator
TR transitive
VEN venitive

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Appendix

The following example illustrates how one speaker uses THL in a cultural narrative, recorded as a semi-directed interview. The purpose is to give an impression of the density of THL and the distribution of the different types. For reasons of space the example has not been glossed.

Table 15.3 Baïnounk Gubëeher, Example from narrative, extract, DJI101210AC, JHS

Text	Bridging structure type
me unaanam aciri anaŋg'[andëëgët]$_{TC}$ Me, one of mine dies, and they come	
[gandëëti]$_{HC}$ *[areeŋkem]*$_{TC}$ when they come they prepare him	THL marked
[bureŋkhenem]$_{HC}$ *gëndëëti awuc kojund muŋkoonam a gupeŋ* his preparation, when they come they dig a hole in the living room	THL non finite
anaŋg'andëk añoŋot kuur kulaañ, kuur kunaapëla ha hauc and they go and take a mortar, a mortar for pounding palmnuts	
anaŋg'andëëgët andëëk andën ***[gantijini]***$_{HC}$ *añoŋom* and they come and put (it) down. When they are done, they take him	Summary linkage
[ansiŋg na a kojund kokooŋ]$_{TC}$ they put (him) face down over that hole	
[gansiŋgém]$_{HC}$ *añoŋ koxoot gaŋkan buñoŋ* when they have put him face down they take a small woven mat	THL marked
antooxul nini anaŋg'aŋŋaaŋun fok ayeem axëëbëlax they cut (it) like this and they open his mouth you have to pry his mouth open,	
ayexërëxëm an [axëbula, num iŋgune aŋaŋun]$_{TC}$ they force his mouth open, that is: opening the mouth	
[gaŋkëbulém gaŋaŋuni]$_{HC}$ *ayeem an aŋgu bugokonom* When they have opened his mouth they put him with his head…	THL marked

Table 15.3 *(continued)*

Text	Bridging structure type
[asiŋga naaŋ a kojund kokooŋ]$_{TC}$ *[gasiŋgairéét a kojund kokooŋ]*$_{HC}$ downwards over the hole. When they have put him head down over that hole	THL marked
burum anaŋgu ëfunot honi agu a biékéném it is to remove everything inside his stomach	
anaŋgu ansiŋgem naaŋ bahan gëgu burum anaŋ jicum ariiba and they put him head down there so that the next day he can be buried	
jacet amooŋ [andëëgët]$_{TC}$ at night they come	
[gandëëti]$_{HC}$ *gëgu annooxa mees ñaŋkulux ñanliix gahani ganaakini, ëyin*, when they come and when they sit, when the rooster crows twice they sing	THL marked
[ëyin ñalaanaŋ]$_{TC}$ they sing the dirges	
[ëyin ka ñalaanaŋ]$_{HC}$ *igina uyit buyeŋka aŋkaanai guxaana hëyin, anaŋgu anciir* singing the dirges of those that have died and that have made their songs,	Infinitival linkage
in gaŋkan [buyin ka hëyinkéénén]$_{TC}$ ***[ëyin hëyinkénén]***$_{HC}$ those ones, they are singing their songs. They sing their songs,	THL plain
ëdëënum binég adëk [ëbi]. ***[Gëbi]***$_{HC}$ *andëk aŋkëfulët bugër, ayena buxëful*, this goes until the sun rises. When it rises they lift the coffin.	THL marked
[aŋkëfulët bubugër]$_{TC}$ *andëëgët* They lift that coffin, they go.	
*gandéni, [**gaŋkëfuti**]*$_{HC}$ *naŋ a gujund guŋgoŋ* When they have lifted the coffin and put it at that hole	THL marked
gandéli bimbi gantijini gawanini a raŋkoot when they get there, after having laid him on the woven mat	
[ahubun gujund guŋgooŋ]$_{TC}$ they cover the hole	
[ahubun gumër]$_{HC}$ *an ënégin pe* they cover it and smooth it over.	THL plain

Table 15.4 Information on the speakers. Languages in brackets reported as only limited knowledge

	Age at recording	Repertoire	Residence
JHS	ca. 70	Baïnounk Gubëeher, French, Wolof, Joola Banjal, Joola Kujirerai, Joola Fogny, Joola Kaasa, Manjaku, Mankanya, Kriolu, Mandinka, Bayot, Bassari	Djibonker
HAS	52	French, Baïnounk Gubëeher, Wolof, Joola Kaasa, Joola Kujirerai, Joola Bandial, Kriolu, (Bayot), (Joola Fogny), (Fula), (Mandinka)	Djibonker
PM	43	Baïnounk Gujaher, Joola Kalounaye, Mandinka, Kriolu, Mankanya	Agnack Grand
RM	ca. 50	Baïnounk Gujaher, Mandinka, Wolof, Kriolu, Joola Fogny, (Balant), (Mankanya), (Manjaku)	Agnack Grand
ANM	54	Baïnounk Gujaher, Mandinka, Wolof, Kriolu, Joola, French, Mankanya, (Arabic), (Latin), (Ancient Greek)	Agnack Grand
MRB	14	French, Portuguese, English, Kriolu of Guinea-Bissau	Bissau
PS	22	Joola Kujireray, Joola Fogny, Baïnounk Gubëeher, Wolof, French, English, Banjal	Brin
XB	20	Joola Kujireray, French, Wolof, Joola Banjal, Joola Kaasa	Brin
TB	40	Joola Banjal, French, Wolof, Joola Fogny, Joola Kaasa	Brin
AdC	47	Cape Verdean [varieties of Santo Antão, São Vicente and Santiago], Portuguese, English, French	Mindelo
AFS	42	Cape Verdean [varieties of Santo Antão, São Vicente, Santiago], Portuguese	Vila das Pombas (Santo Antão)
SE	25	Cape Verdean [São Vicente], English, French, Portuguese	Mindelo
IRD	25	Cape Verdean [Santo Antão], Portuguese, English, French	Cabo da Ribeira (Santo Antão)
JBM	60	Baïnounk Gujaher, Baïnounk Guñaamolo, Wolof, Kriolu, Mandinka, Joola Kaasa, Joola Fogny, French	Agnack Grand
GP	29	Kriolu, Baïnounk Gujaher, Mandinka, Joola, French, (Portuguese), (Manjaku)	Agnack Grand
MB	39	Kriolu, Fula, Portuguese, Manjaku, Biafada, Mandinka	Bissau
BA	14	Fula, Kriolu Bissau, Portuguese	Bissau

CHAPTER 16

On politeness and taboo among the Zande

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Azande living in rural areas have to obey many rules of behavior, many of which are determined by politeness or are rules determined by taboos, which are often interrelated. Politeness rules concern behavior towards other people, and they depend on age, social hierarchy and in-law-relationships. If these rules are disrespected, offenses can be corrected. Taboos, however, are absolute prohibitions with regard to certain persons, places or phenomena, which are complied with by everybody. Neglect of taboos may lead to sanctions which cannot be undone, such as hair turning red or the body becoming uncontrollably obese. The impact of taboos is stronger than that of politeness rules.

Keywords: Pazande, taboo, politeness (strategies), FTA, child-parent-interaction

1. Introduction

Since the times when the first travelers to the geographical center of Africa visited the Zande,[1] the male members of their ruling class have been known for their polite behavior, which, according to Evans-Pritchard (1957b, p. 61), was "unsurpassed by any aristocracy in the world". It was characterized by generosity and a strong sense of justice towards subordinates. This behavior was learned by the young princes during their sojourn of many years at the court of the king (Evans-Pritchard, 1962).

Today the Zande aristocracy has lost its political power, but now it is the Zande as an ethnic group, i.e., the commoners, who are described by their ethnic neighbors as very polite; even in urban centers, Zande in the Central African Republic (CAR), in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and in Uganda

1. *Pazande* is the autoglottonym of Zande language, the prefix *pa-* being derived from the noun *pai* 'thing, matter'.

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are known for their polite behavior.[2] They reportedly pay their rent on time, they handle rented housing with care, they do not destroy other people's belongings, they are never rude nor do they raise their voices against other people and they are friendly colleagues in their work places. The current reputation of the Zande as being particularly polite indicates that the politeness, as described by Evans-Pritchard, was not only a characteristic of the aristocracy, but of Zande society as a whole.

The aim of this paper is to discuss those aspects of Zande politeness and of taboos which appear to be the most important ones for our consultants and to outline in what way the two regulatory forces overlap. Some aspects, like the use of bad words (see Nassenstein & Storch, 2020) or linguistically tabooed words and phrases related to sexuality (see Culpeper, 2019) are not investigated.

Our research is based on the evaluation of texts published by Evans-Pritchard (1933, 1957a, 1957b, 1957c, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1965, 1970, 1974, 1967), the contributions by Isaac Waanzi to several blogs, and on Faustin Dusa's personal experience as a Zande growing up in a village near Niangara, later living for a couple of years in Isiro and finally moving to Kisangani.[3] He provided the examples for which no other source is indicated; for missing pieces of information or for explanations he contacted friends in Kisangani or relatives in his home area by telephone.

When we asked several Azande living in Kisangani about Zande politeness rules, they did not discuss their actual urban behavior, which according to them is determined by the conditions of urban society and hence is not very different from that of other ethnic groups in town. They rather referred to their "traditional" rules that are valid in rural areas, but not in urban centers, rules the value of which they nevertheless still highly appreciated. Most of these rules belong to two categories: the first concerns the rules of respect and obedience towards persons of power or higher social status, in particular by women with regard to their husbands, children towards their parents and everybody towards older people and persons of power. The second category concerns honesty, trustworthiness and reliability towards other persons of equal or different social status and the readiness to help fellow Zande in need. Rules of respect are considered a social

2. The Zande territory covers the triangle of South Sudan, DR Congo and CAR. Today many Zande who have fled from war in Sudan, RCA and DRC live in the urban centers of Uganda, where they are known as Azande people, and in other countries on the continent or overseas where they are seen as immigrants from Sudan, DRC or CAR.

3. The authors met when Helma Pasch worked as a visiting professor at the University of Kisangani in March and April 2020. We express our deeply felt gratitude to the German Academic Exchange Service for sponsoring that travel. Pasch and Dusa filled the time of the first COVID-19 lockdown, when the university was closed, to carry out research for this and some other texts.

necessity, non-compliance with which may result in direct sanctions by the disrespected persons. By comparison, in non-hierarchical situations, proving to be an honest, reliable and supportive person is not a question of obedience, but rather of kindness and a sense of solidarity and responsibility, while neglecting to do so will in the long run result in social and economic problems irrespective of the social status of the person concerned. Despite the difference between the two categories of politeness, the following proverb (Example (1)) applies to both of them.

(1) *iriso* *na-yugo* *gu* *ra-ka* *na* *manga pai* *rengbe* *Zande ka*
politeness PROG-teach DEF life-PLUR PREP make thing obligatory Z. SUB
du *nâ* *ni* *kɔ̀yɔ̀* *dú*[4] *kura-ni* *ní*
COP PREP ANAPH towards COP.REL other-ANAPH ANAPH
'Politeness teaches life and the matters which are obligatory for a Zande to follow them towards another one.'[5]

Iriso is given as an equivalent for 'politeness, courtesy' when politeness is the topic, but in most other contexts the term is translated as 'awe, respect'. The term is a nominalization of the verb *irisa (i)* 'to be polite, to honor, to favor, to esteem',[6] which is the causative extension of the verb *irã (i)* 'to be honorable'. This basic verb describes the subject as a person with the inherent right to be honored and respected. It follows that *iriso* results to lesser extent from a person's free decision to show good behavior towards another person, than from that other person's status according to which he may expect people of a lower status to honor him, because respect for a person of power is normal.[7]

The fact that the observation of given rules of politeness towards persons of higher status is obligatory entails that non-compliance with these rules leads to punishment. This applies in particular with regard to children, who may be scolded or beaten for behaving in a face-threatening way towards their parents by being undutiful or disobedient. Gross impoliteness, which implies a severe viola-

4. The high tone is the relative marker.

5. The literal translation is: "Politeness teaches living and doing things (which are) compulsory for a Zande to be with them towards where the other one is."

6. Lexicon entries of verbs give the imperfective forms (most of which end in /*-a*/) plus – in case of vowel changes – the final vowel (*-u, -e, -i* or *-o*) of the perfective form in parentheses.

7. It is important to note that the term *iriso* ('politeness') is not as frequently used in conversations as is the case with the respective equivalents in European languages and that politeness terminology is not rich. Children are taught polite behavior from a young age, but there are no standardized sets of rules of verbal politeness such as those in England which children learned by heart in order to be well accustomed to the use of the most important politeness rituals (Aster, 1878).

tion of social norms, e.g., an adolescent son beating his father, means breaking a taboo, and it may lead to a cursing rather than physical punishment.

Taboos are defined as prohibited or unacceptable individual behavior that affects everyday life by causing discomfort, harm or injury. Breaches of serious taboos may be associated with metaphysical risks when sacred places, objects or people are concerned, and they may lead to physical punishment when powerful persons are affected. Breaking less serious taboos can lead to nothing more dangerous than scolding or disapproval (Allan & Burridge, 2006, p. 1). Unlike politeness rules, taboos must be followed by all members of the society, but since some taboos are related to social hierarchies, superiors are less restricted in their lives than inferiors.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 discusses some theoretical points of politeness, with the subsections discussing hierarchical (2.1), non-hierarchical (2.2) and avoidance-based (2.3) Zande politeness. Taboos are the topic of Section 3 with a theoretical introduction and subsections on food taboos (3.1), taboos prevailing in the initiation camps (3.2), taboos concerning the oracle (3.3) and the oracle (3.4). The borderline between politeness and taboo will be outlined in the conclusions in Section 4.

2. Zande politeness

Politeness has been a topic of linguistic investigation for about 50 years. Among the most influential studies are those by Brown and Levinson (1987), Leech (1983), Lakoff (1973, 1989) and Culpeper (2011), in which pragmatic solutions are discussed which people use in order to prevent conflict in communication and establish a peaceful and friendly coexistence. The basic rules of politic politeness are claimed by these authors to apply universally. In the terms of what is often referred to as Brown and Levinson's "face-saving theory of politeness" (Watts, 2003, p. 85), speakers aim to save the interlocutor's positive face (the desire to be appreciated in social interaction) and his negative face (the desire to act freely or the need not to be imposed upon), or, more specifically. they try to avoid threatening the face of the interlocutor by doing a face threatening act (FTA). It is important to note that Brown and Levinson, the most influential among the abovementioned authors with regard to the discussion of politeness, have an individualistic concept of face. They discuss politeness in dialogues of two or few participants in which a Model Person, as a competent speaker of a natural language, willfully decides on a personal level how to address the other person and which strategy of politeness to apply in order to satisfy communicative needs and at the same time avoid threat-

ening the face of the interlocuter. Their model is based on the speaker's choice of behavior, while the reaction of the hearer is neglected.

Matsumoto (1988) and Ide (1989) reject the claim of the universality of politeness strategies in the politeness literature, which are based on an individualistic concept of face and which neglect the impact of the cultures of given groups. They show that in languages with honorifics, like Japanese, the alleged universality of politeness does not easily apply. With regard to Japanese society, where strong social distinctions are encoded in the grammar of the language and the speaker must indicate his own social position as well as that of the interlocutor, Brown and Levinson's notion of face, and particularly negative face, is not easy to apply. Here, politeness strategies do not depend on volitional choice but rather on prescribed social norms. When talking to people of higher social status, to people with more power or to older people, different sets of pronouns and different classes of verbs must be used, and there are also special politeness forms to be used in formal situations.

Matsumoto (1988, p. 405) furthermore criticizes that the way Brown and Levinson use the term "culture" with so many different senses, in most cases without a definition, arguing that it is a "vacuous notion" which may be helpful for the discussion of politeness$_2$, but which will hinder the consideration of politeness$_1$ and the ways in which polite behavior is discussed within social groups.[8] Another point of criticism is that Brown and Levinson's model applies better to the Western world than to many other parts of the world. Watts considers it rather a theory of facework than of politeness (Watts, 2003, p. 97).

Kopytko (1995, p. 487, cited in Archer et al., 2012, p. 87) considers the model of Brown and Levinson "decontextualized pragmatics", and he criticizes it for not taking into consideration the dynamics of communicative interaction where interlocutors do not merely plan their own utterances, but respond to turns. All participants, hearers as well as speakers, assign politeness to utterances within a given communication. In this sense, Archer et al. (2012, p. 87) regard politeness more as interactive social practice than as a set of rules of behavior.

Watts (2003, p. 89) criticizes, among other things, the view that actions might look either polite or impolite depending on the context and that "facework is not necessarily coterminous with the attribution of politeness". More importantly, researchers need a lot of interactional context in order to know whether the par-

8. Politeness$_2$ is "a term within a theory of social behaviour and language usage" which has commonly been interpreted as social adequacy [e.g., don't impose]); politeness$_1$ is a closed inventory of learned forms [e.g., "please", "thank you"] or behaviors that in and of themselves communicate politeness (Watts et al., 1992, p. 3).

ticipants would consider given actions and utterances polite or not, and to be able to evaluate a given interaction.

Brown (2015) responds that many studies on politeness have an emphasis on cross-cultural differences, with insufficient attention on the theoretical front addressed to the cross-linguistic or cross-cultural parallels. She stresses that politeness has a significance far beyond "the P's and Q's of appropriate behaviour and speech",[9] i.e., politeness$_1$, and that the aim of Brown and Levinson was to "formulate a cross-culturally applicable 'etic' set of concepts in terms of which politeness can be analyzed in 'emic' terms for any particular society", i.e., politeness$_2$. While emic concepts are meaningful within given societies and can be used to describe given societies in their own terms, etic concepts belong to a universal set and are defined from outside the perspective of a given culture, and they are used to compare behavioral or linguistic systems across different cultural groups.

It is important to take into consideration that all interactions contain face-threatening acts "that by their nature run contrary to the face wants of the addressee" and they may do so also with regard to the speaker (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 65). It is, among other things, (self-)humiliating actions like expressing responses to the hearer's faux pas, gratitude, excuses, making promises and offers or accepting the hearer's thanks or apologies which threaten the negative face of the speaker. His/her incapacity or unwillingness to save Alter's face may, however, have the same effect. This is why in many cases a speaker considers it appropriate to fulfil the role ascribed by their status in appreciation of the higher social status of the Other (Raible, 1987, p. 151). During a university event, for example, an undergraduate student would not even think of asking a person of considerably higher social status, such as a professor or the dean, to go and fetch him a drink, since this would primarily embarrass himself; in neglecting the differences of social status he would have forgotten about tact and the rules of good behavior. As an individual, the professor or dean might feel offended or merely astonished and amused by such a request, which is so incompatible with the difference in status that it is downright absurd, but as an official person he cannot easily tolerate it. The student's behavior would humiliate the professor himself, above all and cause him to lose face because of the non-recognition of his own status and the role he has to play in given situations.

With regard to politeness among the Zande, our consultants stated quite clearly that there are fairly strict rules which people of low status have to comply with. This means that there is more need to be polite towards social superiors than towards social inferiors. In complying with the given rules, inferiors do not only aim at saving the face of superior interactants, but also their own. They save their

9. Cf. Lakoff (1973).

own face not just as persons of lower status, but as members of a social group, e.g., as women or children, who are well aware of the prevailing allocation of rights and duties that are given between themselves and persons of higher social status.[10] They know how to play their roles according to their status and they do so willingly.

This is apparently in contradiction with Evans-Pritchard's (1957b, p. 61) description of Zande politeness as a feature of male aristocrats which they practiced according to their own decisions. Self-determined politeness is, however, given in non-hierarchical situations and in downward politeness.

2.1 Hierarchical politeness

The strong social hierarchies explain that rules of politeness which a person has to comply with are determined by his social position; hence, upward and downward politeness must be differentiated. For most Zande, however, upward politeness is more important and the rules of upward politeness were the first and "most important ones" to be discussed by our consultants. This means that their application aims not only at saving the face of interlocutor as an individual, but even more at saving the face of a person of power or higher status. We did not get any information concerning a rejection of such rules, and our consultants said that they had no problems showing reverence to a person of higher status, like local chiefs or the elders in the Zande community in Kisangani.[11] Respect for the superior person, combined with the recognition of the own lower status and the capacity to deal with it, may be considered a face-saving strategy since it shows that one is able to behave in compliance with one's status. Respect for a person in power as the "assignment of high social and personal appreciation", and the recognition of social stratification with self-humiliation or even self-subjugation, is a way of gaining protection from the interactant in power. Since the inferior also profits from the situation, this helps them to comply with the rules of politeness willingly (Raible, 1987, p. 151, 155).

Formal linguistic encoding of upward positive politeness is, however, far less developed in Zande than, for instance, in Japanese. Apart from a small number of morphemes indicating politeness, major linguistic devices to express politeness include talking in a low voice, keeping silent and obeying avoidance strategies

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10. For a discussion of status and role see Goodenough (1965, p. 8), who states that "[t]he duties that ego's identity owes to alter's identity define ego's duty-status and alter's right-status" and vice versa.

11. Note that all of them were men who enjoyed the upward politeness of their wives and children.

with regard to personal names (see Section 2.3.). These are accompanied by ritualized non-verbal communicative behavior such as keeping one's distance from a superior person, assuming a submissive posture, or not looking into his eyes.

The first linguistic device is the pronominal plural form to address a single interlocutor in order to express reverence and respect (see Head, 1968); this is the most frequent morphological device indicating positive upward politeness. When addressing a single person, speakers of Zande distinguish a T-form (*mo*), the 2nd singular pronoun, and a V-form (*oni*), the 2nd plural pronoun. It is good behavior for a speaker to use the V-form in cases where the interactant is a person of power, a rule which children must learn at an early age as they have to apply it with respect to their parents, in particular the father, but also other elder men in the family. In Example (2), the visitor, for his part, addresses the child by the singular noun *wi-re* 'my child', thus indicating the lower status of the child. With regard to the owner of the toilet, *ga-oni bambu a-geno*, he uses the plural form *oni*, and it is evident that this pronoun refers to the father or some other male relative of the child,[12] who is apparently not related to the visitor; hence the V-form of the pronoun is required. In agreement with that politeness strategy, he softens his request by using the subjunctive marker *ka*.

It is worth mentioning that such a T/V-distinction is practiced in rural areas and also in urban centers, and not only in Pazande but also in other languages, including French. In Example (2), the child appropriately addresses the visitor with the 2PL pronoun *oni*; he also uses the plural form of the address term *buba* 'father'.

(2) a. *E wi-re ka mi ndu ku rogo ga-ani bambu a-geno?*
EXCL child-1SG.POSS SUB I go DIR in POSS-2PL1 house PL-guest
'Hey, my child, if I go to your (family's) toilet?

b. *a-buba, bambu a-geno ka boro sana-he tipa-ha*
PL-my.father house PL-guest SUB person ask-INAN2 because.of-INAN
mbata… oni ndu a-ndu
PL-before 2PL1 go III-go
'Father, the toilet, as if one ever asks first about it…, you simply go ahead …' (Isaac Waanzi)

Children also apply the V-form to their parents; the first time a child neglects this rule the father may scold him or her, but the second time s/he may be beaten in public so that other children will learn the lesson as well.

In many of the stories documented by Evans-Pritchard where people talk to princes, the use of the V-form and the other ritualized verbal expressions of polite-

12. A child cannot be the owner of real property.

ness are not found. They are, however, documented in the story of a person who tells by which strategies he manages to deceive people. The first consists of giving wrong information and the second of hiding deceit behind the utmost non-verbal and verbal politeness, using the V-form pronoun *oni*, the subjunctive from of the verb and in addition the reverential suffix *-nga*, as shown in Example (3). The narrator wants to make clear that without the second strategy the first one would not work. It is, however, obvious that the simultaneous application of so many positive politeness strategies is overdone and it makes the utterances incredible. Note that the term of address, *nda*, is singular, as if the speaker wants to indicate to his actual listener that he is not overpolite to him, but a trustworthy person.

(3) *ko ki ya ʻnda, oni e nga ko, ko pe-ke nga ha,*
3M SEQ say comrade 2PL1 let REV 3M 3M tell-PLUR REV INAN2
oni ongo nga ka gia nga ga-ko pai.
2PL1 be.silent REV SUB hear COP POSS-3M word
'He said "You there, you let him speak his piece, but you be quiet and hear what he has to say first"'. (Evans-Pritchard, 1974, p. 62)

This story teaches that merely applying formal rules of politeness is not enough, but that this must be supported by honesty and sincerity, an experience which people have in all societies. Weinrich (1986) investigates how and why overdoing such politeness makes utterances implausible, with clear reference to the statement by the protagonist Faust in a tragic play by Goethe:[13] "*im Deutschen lügt man, wenn man höflich ist*" ('in German to be polite is to tell a lie').

Many speakers assume that the *mo/oni* distinction to address a single person dates back to precolonial times, that the second person plural pronoun was not used then to indicate horizontal social distance as it is in Romance languages (see Brown & Gilman, 1960), but that it was used only as a honorification strategy encoding vertical distance or status hierarchy. After independence, the French T/V-pattern would have been borrowed from French as spoken in CAR and DRC and conflated with the old Zande pattern. As a consequence, the criteria which determine the use of the second person pronouns differ from those in modern European French. While in European French the V-form is used among adults as a sign of social distance when talking to people with whom there is no close personal relationship, irrespective of their social status, the T-form is normally no longer used by the upper class to address people of a lower social class. This, however, is what many Zande in rural areas do: the higher person addresses the lower one with the T-pronoun *mo*, and the lower person addresses the higher one

13. Faust is the protagonist in the most important tragedy (*Faust*) of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.

with the V-pronoun, *oni*, in particular when addressing a chief, but also the adult men in the family. The use of the T-form towards children or as a sign of disdain towards certain adults like beggars is a remnant of its function of marking vertical distance (Pasch & Mbolifouye, 2011, p.7), which is also given in modern French.

Other formalized morphological and lexical expressions of politeness are the frequently heard terms *tambuahe* ('thanks [for] it') or *tambua pai* ('thanks [for the] matter'), which are used to verbalize gratitude in positive politeness. Less frequent is the use of the so-called *nga-* of reverence, often translated as 'please', which is suffixed to the verb in requests addressed to higher status persons. In Example (4) it is combined with *ani nahõpai bero* 'we ask from you', which Jehovah's Witnesses apparently created to overcome the lack of an equivalent for the English "please" or French "s'il vous plait" as an expression of negative politeness. It is based on the verb *hõ* 'to ask' and the direct object *pai* 'matter'.

(4) *Ani*[14] *na-hõ-pai* *be-ro* *mo* *gedi-nga* *gu* *keke-a-pai*
1PL PROG-beg-matter hand-2SG 2SG1 read.IMP-REV DEF write.RED-?-matter
na ye fuo *gere.*
come after this
'Please [= we ask this from you], read the following article.' (From Glosbe)

It is striking that several of the stories documented by Evans-Pritchard (1957, 1962, 1963, 1974) do not give evidence of the use of second person pronouns as indicators of vertical distance, but princes address commoners with *mo*; the latter use the same pronoun to address the princes and the verbal suffix *-nga* is not used either. Formal politeness may, however, be expressed instead by the reverential address term *gbia* 'chief, prince', by the subjunctive form of the verb marked by the subordinator *ka* and by the fact that the request is accompanied by an explanation giving evidence of the speaker's goodwill, as is shown in Example (5).

(5) *gbia,* *ka* *mo* *mbiri nga* *gu* *buda re* *ya,* *mbiko* *si* *wa* *ngua*
prince SUB 2SG1 drink NEG DEF beer DEM NEG because INAN1 like poison
rogo *yo*
inside there
'Prince, do not drink this beer because it appears that there is poison in it.'
(Evans-Pritchard, 1962)

Brown and Levinson's statement that superiors are less polite to inferiors than the other way round also applies to Zande society. The fact that, with regard to the Zande aristocracy, Evans-Pritchard observed only the opposite might indicate

14. Occasionally this pronoun is replaced by the first person singular pronoun *mi* 'I'.

that the aristocrats performed well in presenting their forefathers as fair and caring rulers.

While neglect of upward politeness is likely to be sanctioned, downward politeness cannot easily be claimed. Nevertheless, there are many situations when it appears wise for higher status people to behave politely towards people of lower status and Evans-Pritchard (1957b, p. 61) explicitly mentions the politeness of the princes towards their subordinates, which he describes more precisely as "generosity and a strong sense of justice". Yabuuchi (2006, p. 330–331) considers downward ingratiation a necessity in order to be liked by the subordinates and maintain power. Such ingratiation is perceived rather as kindness or friendliness than a type of politeness; it enhances the reputation of the person concerned, but the notion of face plays no role.

An example of a caring and generous prince is given in the story "Ongossi wounded", where Ongossi was badly wounded by a wild animal while hunting and Prince Basongoda ordered that he was not to go hunting again lest a beast kill him (Evans-Pritchard, 1963).[15] [16] Some princes, particularly Gbudwe (1870–1905), who was apparently the most popular prince in the Zande Empire (Evans-Pritchard, 1971), served food quite generously to all visitors who came to their courts.[17] Furthermore, in the stories by Evans-Pritchard, Prince Ndukpo, son of Gbudwe (Evans-Pritchard, 1957b), is praised by some men because they gave them wives, helped them in difficult situations, e.g., by giving them spears with which to pay the bride price, and – quite importantly – did not abuse his power in order to plunder the possessions of his subjects or take their wives (Evans-Pritchard, 1963).

Generosity was expected to be reciprocal, and people were allegedly ready to provide food and water or beer to a prince who treated them well, when he came to see them. This attitude is shown in the following text (Example (6)), where people explain to their new prince, Gangura,[18] how they had treated his predecessor, indicating indirectly that they would be likewise generous towards him as the new prince if he treated them well, and that they might respond to ill-treatment by moving their allegiance to another prince.

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15. Ongossi, who as a commoner had become governor under King Ngangi, settled in Gbudwe's territory after Gbudwe had conquered Ngangi's territory in about 1875 (Evans-Pritchard, 1960, p. 15).

16. Basongoda was the eldest son of Gbudwe (Evans-Pritchard, 1960, p. 10).

17. On the basis of many stories Evans-Pritchard managed to establish the genealogy of the kings and princes of the Zande Empire (1957a, 1957b, 1960), but by then it was impossible to find out at what time some king or prince had performed specific acts.

18. Gangura was another of Gbudwe's sons (Evans-Pritchard, 1960).

(6) *Mbiko ani a-inga nga iliso te; gbia na-ta kura ani ki*
because 1PL1 III-not.know NEG politeness NEG king II-yet appear 1PL1 SEQ
zi kina kondo wa ta du mara-a a-ki pai-ko ti gbia
seize just hen like yet be metal-INAN2 III-import side-3M at meet
na-ni, ki ya 'Gbia, mo ye te ba?' Si du ni iliso.
with-ANAPH SEQ say prince 2SG1 come NEG place INAN1 be MANNER politeness
'For we did not omit courtesy [we were not ignorant of courtesy]; as soon as the prince appeared we caught a fowl or took some metal objects to salute him with them saying "Prince, have you not come here?" That is in courtesy.'
(Evans-Pritchard, 1963)

For a chief who treated his subjects in a fair manner and who was a valuable source of support and good advice, even when deprived of political power by colonial government it was possible to maintain his influence. An example is the chief of Ligwa, a village in the east of CAR, who as late as 1955, i.e., towards the end of the colonial era, was still a highly respected moral authority (Leynaud, 1963).

In families, top-down orders are of the same type. A hungry husband may ask his wife for a meal bold on record *fu riahe fere* (give food for.1SG) 'give me food' or just by the term *riahe* 'food', and nobody would consider such behavior impolite. The wife, however, and the children (those old enough to master the language and the politeness rules), would ask the head of the family for some water using explicit polite forms, i.e., *ka mo fu-nga ime fe-re* (SUB 2SG give-REV for-1SG).[19] But although the head of the family is also entitled to the best piece of food, we were able to observe on several occasions that when we gave a piece of fruit or bread as a farewell gift to our consultants, they would take it home for their girlfriends, wives or children.

Some speakers of Zande repeatedly asked the first author for water in a bold on record way, like the head of the household. When we asked them whether they considered that way of asking polite, they confirmed it, but when asked whether a woman could ask for water in the same way, they negated it categorically. After that question they changed their way of asking for water to that of subordinates. There was apparently a cognitive dissonance with regard to Pasch, on the one hand as a woman, who could hence be asked for water in a direct command, and on the other hand in her role as a visiting professor.

Little children ask only indirectly for water by describing their need: *gomoro ime na-manga-re* (hunger water PROG-make-1SG.2) 'I am thirsty', an expression which adults may use as a politeness strategy when they want to avoid giving direct orders.

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19. Situations when they would do so are not frequent, since it is normally the mother's task to provide water to drink.

2.2 Non-hierarchical politeness

In non-hierarchical situations politeness is not requested by some from others, but exchange is voluntary because people want to be on good terms with each other in order to establish conditions for solidarity, mutual assistance and cooperation.

Where groups of people of the same social status carry out hard work and hence do not have the time to care about politeness rituals, they express their demands and orders to each other directly, without being impolite and threatening the face of the interactants. They may use imperative forms, i.e., the verb without a pronoun and without further explanation, or even by only naming the item they want, e.g., *(fu) ngume*! '(bring) sand!', *(fu) gire*! '(give) rope!' The employer will give his order in the same way, again without being regarded as impolite.

In such non-hierarchical situations explicit linguistic politeness would not be helpful, since economy of words makes the work more efficient. Even outside such working situations the use of the second person singular pronoun (Example (7)) instead of the mere imperative form is normally sufficiently polite.

(7) *mo pe pa-ha fe-re*
2SG1 tell matter-INAN.2 for-1SG2
'Tell me about it.'

Among Zande people, keeping silent plays as much of a role as the appropriate use of verbal politeness forms. The most important rule is not to dispute or complain in public or in a way that a third person would notice. For women, this applies in particular with regard to marital problems and other family affairs, which have to be solved inside the house, and it means that the rule must be obeyed by wives and bigger children. Even the physical punishment of women is carried out inside the house and no cries of pain must be heard outside. A wife who complains aloud about her husband or cries when beaten loses her face as a person and as a wife, because she has shown in public that she is unable or unwilling to be a good wife, who does not commit mistakes that deserve such punishment, or because she is not strong enough to endure the pain. It must, however, be noted that such rules, even though confirmed by our consultants, give an unrealistically harsh description of life: in many cases, reproaches by the head of the family to his wife or children can be invalidated by reasonable explanations. There is normally no need for formal apologies and even a strong apology without explanation may not do. Such strategies allow the "lower" person to keep his/her positive face, which might be damaged by the apology strategy, as Nureddeen (2008) describes with regard to Sudanese Arabic.

A noteworthy example of politeness based on the feeling of solidarity and the readiness to give mutual assistance is given by Isaac Waanzi, who describes how Zande refugees are supported by their ethnic fellows. Displaced people quite often manage to find 'relatives' (*agume*) in the host community who integrate them into their families, although they are not really members of these families but belong only to the same clan. And even Zande who are not members of the clan of the host may be welcomed as new relatives because giving help in times of need is considered normal, as is expressed in the following proverb (Example (8)).

(8) *boro ga-mo ni nga gu ni na-dusio-ro rago kerepai*
person POSS-2SG1 ANAPH COP DEF ANAPH II-meet-2SG2 place difficulty
'Yours is the one who comes to your aid when you are in disaster.'
(Isaac Waanzi)

While people are reluctant to ask for someone's personal name, it is normal to ask visitors about their clan in order not to pass relatives unknowingly, because relatives are as close to a person as a scar is to his body (Example (9)). In areas where there are many Zande, at least one out of ten households hosts a new family member as the normal duty of a relative. They give them good food, clothes and land to cultivate.

(9) *gume wa séro áro*
relative like trace wound
'A relative is like a scar.' (Isaac Waanzi)

2.3 Avoidance-based politeness

In many situations politeness rules require a lower status person to be silent in the presence of a higher status person, who may be the head of the family, or the chief. Particularly with regard to the latter, an applicant must position him- or herself at an appropriate distance in order to wait for attention and must assume a specific humble posture when talking to the chief. For example, a woman who wants to ask the chief for help because her husband treats her badly will wait in silence at some distance from him until he invites her to come closer. She will crouch beside him, avoiding looking into his eyes but casting down her gaze and raising her concerns in a low voice only after being invited to do so. Like other applicants, she will not call him by his name, but by his title, *gbia* 'prince, chief'. The non-verbal self-humiliating behavior of the woman constitutes negative politeness; waiting in silence and using the title rather than his name as an address term are practices of avoidance-based negative politeness (see Brown, 2015, p. 327). Allan and Burridge (2006, Chapter 6) call taboos on names "fear based", since a person's name is regarded as an inalienable possession, i.e., a proper inseparable part of the owner

and not just a symbol but "the verbal expression of his or her personality". Sorcerers can do harm to a person if they are in possession of that person's true name (Burridge, 2012, p. 84).

A chief is not the only category of person who must be addressed by his title; persons of the older generation are quite generally called by their genealogical status and not by their names: *tita* 'grandfather', *(b)uba* or *baba* 'father', *nina* or *nana* 'mother', *ando* 'uncle' and *deliba* 'aunt'. A widow, in particular, must not pronounce the name of her late husband lest she might become uncontrollably obese and from time to time lose control of her speech, which are typical consequences of taboo breaches. Its mentioning would demonstrate a closeness which is not necessarily given. The brothers and the adult sons may mention the name when it is asked for, but not otherwise. These avoidance rules differ clearly from in-law avoidance rules in Southern Africa, Hlonipha (Finlayson 1982) and among the Kambaata in Ethiopia described by Treis (2005), where names of male and female relatives must be avoided and both men and women have to respect them, although stricter compliance is expected from women than from men.

The rule not to pronounce the names of certain persons, e.g., the prince, have been qualified by some speakers as being determined by politeness, while pronouncing the names of elderly relatives has been described as breaking a taboo, and the type of sanctions that follow are typical of sanctions of taboo breaches. This is an indication that the borderline between politeness and taboo is not easy to determine, and that on a *politeness-taboo* continuum avoidance strategies must be located in the middle. While disrespecting certain avoidance rules may lead to punishment by the addressee affected, disrespecting other rules will have consequences as for breaking a taboo, e.g., normally some form of bodily damage which cannot be ascribed to the action of a person.

The reason why the rules of name avoidance are almost gender neutral is that the name of any person is the antinomic of death, and it is only when giving a person a name that he or she is made a human being. As a consequence, the name of a person is very much tied to his personhood, and it must be used with caution since it deserves the same respect as its owner and to use it inappropriately is to break a taboo. In order to avoid such a risk a Zande will tell someone his name only when s/he has confidence in the other person, since to convey one's name is to surrender oneself. In order to protect the name of another person, nobody will pronounce it in dangerous circumstances, e.g., at night, in the bush or at the river (Kpikumbano, 1996, p. 32–36).

An important rule of saving a speaker's face, which we were given on several occasions, says that "a Zande man does not show emotions" and does "not raise his voice against other people", "he avoids quarrelling" and should "keep silent" when confronted with reproaches, which may be qualified as negative politeness.

Such a way of keeping silent is a face-saving strategy for terminating futile discussions with interlocutors who are unwilling to accept a given situation. It can in fact be easily observed that Zande do not talk much and – even on request – they normally do not repeat an utterance. This makes it difficult to decide, in a given situation, particularly when there are several interactants arguing, whether keeping silent is a polite or an impolite strategy.

Keeping silent when not explicitly invited to speak constitutes an important ritualized non-verbal communicative behavior of inferiors towards persons in power. Politeness towards a high-status person is often expressed by remaining silent instead of talking, by speaking in a low voice and/or in a submissive posture. The silence of petitioners who come to see the chief and have to wait for him, even though this is not volitional, is considered polite behavior. It indicates respect for the chief's position and the latter's right to begin the communication, eventually allowing the petitioner to voice her or his concern, or to refuse communication. The submissive posture and avoidance of direct eye contact underlines the face-saving strategy of the petitioner.

Zande chiefs may use silence and even total refusal of communication to express their power towards lower status interactants, while for the latter being silent and waiting is the way of being polite. By Western standards, a chief's refusal to answer questions is not an act of politeness, but in Zande society, where social hierarchies and demonstrations of power are accepted, it is not regarded as impolite since it can be expected, and may be called politic (cf. Watts, 2003). Non-Zande likewise do not call the silence kept by Zande interactants impolite, but they describe them as difficult persons to deal with.

By keeping silent a speaker may keep dignity and face, and in many cases this is also a way of saving the face of the interactant, since it helps to calm emotions on both sides. It may, however, be that the interactant is confused, because positions cannot be clarified. What may be a face-saving strategy for the person who refuses to speak may appear impolite for the person who expects a response. This means that, in the long run, conflict-avoiding silence may give rise to uncertainty and distrust, which means that silence may also be perceived as impolite. With regard to such situations, non-Zande occasionally state that "with a Zande, you never know where you are."

It is important to note that impoliteness or bad behavior do not necessarily result from the ill will of a person, but the person may have been incited by *pa kpere* 'matter of misfortune' to misbehave towards a person of higher status. In such cases the evildoer may use that condition as an explanation, but he cannot be sure that this will spare him/her from punishment (Example (10)).

(10) *ka si ngia kperé du na-ri-ro, mi du re, mo ye*
SUB INAN1 COP.SUBJ misfortune exist II-eat-2SG2 1SG1 exist here 2SG1 come
ka ta-re
SUB beat-1SG2
'If it is misfortune which is eating you, I am here, you may come to beat me.'

It is important to note that inappropriateness of behavior is a matter of degree and a given behavior is normally considered a taboo breach when it is socially highly inappropriate, such as insulting one's father (Pasch, 2019, p. 221).

3. Taboos

Since Frazer's (1902) article on the term taboo, it has for a long time been defined as "consecrated, inviolable, forbidden, unclean or cursed".[20] It refers to forbidden behavior because such behavior is considered dangerous to the author of an action, to other persons or to an entire group. Taboo breaches entail either civil or religious penalties. The latter, inflicted by the offended spirits, generally take the form of a disease. According to Radcliffe-Brown (1939, p. 5) the word means simply 'to forbid' or 'forbidden' and it can be applied to any kind of prohibition. Douglas (1979, p. 72f) gives a similar short definition of the term, "ban or prohibition", adding that the way the word is used in English and other European languages does not have much to do with religion, but refers to "a rule (…) which cannot be explained"; she states that "taboo systems uphold cultural systems, which are patterns of values and norms." This means that breaking certain taboos is an inappropriate behavior showing disrespect for social hierarchies and power relations (see Metz-Göckel et al., 2015, p. 10), which may lead to some kind of trouble for the offender irrespective of whether it was intentional or not. This may be physical punishment, when a powerful person is affected, or physical problems may arise when moral values have been disrespected (Allan & Burridge, 2006, pp. 1, 6).

The functions of taboos are not always very clear, but for some there are rational explanations: verbal taboos, for example, help to prevent distress and offence, and incest taboos may prevent the detrimental outcomes of inbreeding. In many cases, however, people do not know why given taboos were created, but they respect them nevertheless (Allan & Burridge 2006, Chapter 10).

For the Zande, next to witchcraft, taboo breaches are the major sources of failures, mishaps or diseases. Evans-Pritchard (1976, p. 228) gives *gira* as the equivalent of 'taboo' and he defines it as refraining from some action which, according

20. Frazer (1902) also notes: "The word 'taboo' is common to the different dialects of Polynesia (…) it would thus originally mean 'marked thoroughly'. Its ordinary sense is 'sacred'".

to a mystical belief, will cause these undesired effects. He shows, through a number of examples, that non-compliance with taboos is the explanation for such effects which have not been provoked by sorcery. If, for example, a child dies, and it becomes known that the parents had sexual intercourse before the child was weaned, or if someone develops leprosy after having had an incestual relationship, then quite clearly the taboo breach and not witchcraft is the cause of the disease and eventual death (Evans-Pritchard, 1976, p. 27). According to Lagae and Vanden Plas (1925, 56) *gira* (*i*) is a verb meaning 'to renounce eating certain foods', indicating that it concerns only food taboos.[21] Bad words are nowhere characterized as taboo. Similar to what can be observed in many other societies (Pasch, 2019), the equivalent of the term *taboo* is not a frequent term in conversations and people refer rather directly to the misdeed itself.

Some taboos refer to inappropriate behavior which threatens moral norms and values and hence must be complied with by all people in the same way, while other taboos refer to inappropriate behavior that threatens the given social hierarchies; these require different ways of behaving from people of different social status. As mentioned above, disobedience to the parents by children is considered bad manners and leads to scolding or beating as a punishment. When teenagers or older children fight with their parents, things become more serious. If a son who is circumcised beats his father, he creates a situation which cannot easily be repaired, because this is not only bad behavior, but it means grossly violating rules of respect towards elders, in particular his own father, i.e., he has broken a taboo. The latter may not hit back in revenge but rather may utter a curse that this son will also be beaten by his own son someday. Non-respect of most other taboos may lead to sanctions which occur at some unknown moment in the future. They are not provoked by persons but consist of bad things which attack the evildoer's body like a disease: carrying a fetus in a wrong position, growing grossly obese, or the penis developing the shape of a sweet potato.

A mild taboo, the neglect of body hygiene, which may lead to scabies, may become the topic of parodic performances. While it would not be good behavior to imitate a person who is affected by that disease, it is not unusual that during the end-of-mourning ceremony, when people come together to drink and to dance, someone spontaneously sings the *kpúrínya* song (Example (11)).[22]

21. They use the spelling *giḷa* (*i*), which reflects the pronunciation in DRC.

22. *Kpurinya* refers to the irritations of the skin and *ma* to the effects of these irritations that make the affected person scratch himself.

(11) *kpúrínya*, *kpúrínya*, *kpúrínya*
mí a-manga wai bɛ kaza má-kpurinya
1SG1 III-do how because.of sickness scabies
mí a-pí waɽí bɛ kaza má-kpurinya
1SG1 III-stretch.out where because.of sickness scabies
mí a-rá wàɽí bɛ kaza má-kpurinya
1SG1 III-sleep where because.of sickness scabies
'What will I do with this sickness of scabies? [I do not know what to do …]
Where will I stretch out with this sickness of scabies? [I do not know where to …]
Where will I sleep with this sickness of scabies?' [I do not know where to sleep …]

The function of this song, which verbally constitutes the lament of a person badly affected by scabies, is to make the mourning people return to laughter. The idea is highly amusing that someone is suffering as badly as described in the song simply because s/he was too lazy to wash him-/herself properly on a daily basis when coming home from work and instead went to bed dirty.

3.1 Food taboos

The only taboos people talk about without being queried are genuine food taboos, i.e., taboos concerning the consumption of food, irrespective of the situation. These food taboos concern refraining from eating the totem animals of one's clan, animals into which their members will turn after death. Each clan has its totem animal, *sino*, the meat of which is taboo for all members, irrespective of his/her sex or social position, hence they are not allowed to eat it. This means that food taboos are highly conditioned taboos, since the animals concerned may be eaten by members of other clans. Some aristocratic clans, for example, have the leopard as their totem animal, or another animal which is not frequently eaten, which they consider agreeable since this means that there is hardly any food restriction for them, while the totem animals of some commoner clans are hard to comply with since they are regular food for most people.

The fact that the animals involved are not taboo as such explains why people can talk about them so freely. Everybody knows his/her own totem animal and those of the other clans. If someone wants to participate in a meal and does not recognize that the meat served is from his/her totem animal, s/he normally gets a warning from somebody who is aware of the danger (Example (12)). With regard to children, this means that they are taught to respect their food taboo in an explicit way.

(12) *ka mu li-nga-he ya sino-ro du*
SUB 2SG1 eat-NEG-INAN2 NEG taboo-2SG2 be
'Don't eat it, it is your taboo (totem animal).'

If somebody eats the meat of his/her totem animal without knowing it, that person will become aware of it only when something bad happens, which is considered the sanction for breaking that taboo. Death is a possible though not very frequent consequence (Evans-Pritchard, 1976, p. 27)). If a child is born in the wrong position this indicates that the mother has eaten food which was taboo for her.

3.2 Taboos in initiation camps

Different types of food taboos apply in the initiation camps for boys, which are still organized in rural areas today, although these are not the only taboos. The initiates' sojourn there is very much determined by a number of other taboos which teach self-control, body hygiene and sexuality. As long as the boys are in the initiation camp, for example, no female person may go there and see the boys. The boys for their part must not leave the camp and see the women in the village. The taboos prevailing here are particularly strong and disrespecting them may lead to bodily defects or deformations of various kinds.

Food in the boys' initiation camps consists mainly of fufu made of cassava flour. All other starchy foods, like bananas and tubers, are taboo and their consumption would lead to serious effects on the body.[23] A particularly strong taboo is on the consumption of sweet potatoes, for fear that the freshly circumcised penis, swollen after the operation, might remain swollen and maintain its deformed shape, which resembles that of a sweet potato. The only meat they are allowed to eat is that of *mbíyo*, a wild goat which is black all over, hence it does not have a pleasant appearance. When the boys go hunting for a *mbíyo* they may also hunt other animals, but these will be sent to the village. If the boys eat other kinds of meat, the circumcision wound will not heal, but will keep bleeding. This fear is expressed in an initiation song (Dusa & Pasch, in press) in which a boy in the first days after circumcision considers himself a raw sweet potato of which one end is cut off so that the raw moist and reddish inner part becomes visible (Example (13)).

(13) *madada*[24] *bʌ-iwɔ-ɽɔ iwa abangbe o*
belt father-raw-2SG2 raw sweet.potato
'Your papa-raw is a raw sweet potato, oo.'
[your freshly circumcised initiate is a raw sweet potato]

23. Evans-Pritchard (1976, p. 110) speaks more vaguely about a "tabooed state for two or three days" and that the neophytes abstain from sexual intercourse and various foods.

After circumcision, the boys are not allowed to take a bath for fear that they might grow big like elephants (Kpikumbano, 1996, p. 27), i.e., develop uncontrollable corpulence.

3.3 Taboos concerning the oracle

Evans-Pritchard (1976, pp. 129–156) is our only major source of information about different taboos concerning the consultation of the poison oracle (*benge*). When asking the oracle, the operator sits opposite the chicken if he has respected the taboos, but if he has failed to do that he will sit at a distance of several meters; other men who did not keep taboos have to remain at an even greater distance.

In fact, *benge* is a poison produced from a wild forest creeper, but in Zande eyes it only becomes the *benge* for oracle consultations if prepared respecting given taboos and employed correctly according to the "traditional" procedures. If the poison proves impotent in preliminary tests, this is normally attributed to a taboo breach. Evans-Pritchard says that in the days when he carried out his research, *benge* was often imported from the Congo and in many cases it was allegedly ruined, because it had passed through the hands of somebody who had neglected the relevant taboos.

If someone wants to consult the poison oracle he must not have sex with a woman during the preceding night. In the times of the Zande empire, a prince unwilling to renounce intercourse might sleep with a boy before consulting the oracle.[25] Sex with a young boy could not affect the oracle, and hence was not taboo (Evans-Pritchard, 1970, p. 1430), as is expressed in the following proverb (Example (14)).

(14) *kumba gude na-gbere-sa nga benge te*
man boy II-bad-CAUS NEG oracle NEG
'A boy does not spoil the poison oracle.'

Only males may take part in the sessions–adults and those boys who are old enough to observe taboos of mourning after the death of a relative. Younger boys might not be able to observe the food taboos and hence are kept away. Nevertheless, the preferred operators of the oracle are teenage boys of between 12 and 16 years of age. They are old enough to comply with food taboos and due to their

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24. With his lamentations the initiate virtually addresses his *madada*. *Madada* is the name of a belt to which *àgáka* fibers are attached in such a way that it looks like a skirt. It covers the lower body to the knees without rubbing the wound and causing pain.

25. The life of the so-called boy-wives serving as concubines to young warriors who were not yet allowed to marry is described by Evans-Pritchard (1963, 1970).

young age they are able to refrain from sexual intercourse. Because of their youth it is believed that they are neither able nor motivated to cheat, since the adult problems presented to the oracle do not concern them.

The rubbing-board (*iwa*) oracle likewise loses its prophesying power when a taboo is broken by the operator, and turns into merely a carved piece of wood.

3.4 Taboos concerning sexuality

Unlike food taboos, those concerning sex and sexuality are gender specific. Nobody must see an adult person of the other sex naked. But while girls must not see boys when they are bathing, boys for their part need not stay away from the place where girls wash, and they may observe them.

In the days of the Zande Empire a man caught in adultery was sometimes killed or mutilated, but normally compensation in spears was accepted (Evans-Pritchard, 1933). Sex with a member of the family other than the spouse, with the mother-in-law in particular, is a very serious infringement of the taboo.

Such public taboos and the consequences of their breaches are conveyed by proverbs (Examples (15), (16)) and in stories of Ture, the Trickster (Example (17)), which are still known in rural areas but which are no longer remembered by the Zande living in urban centers.[26]

(15) *i a-za nga boro ti da kurugbo ba-ni te*
3PL PERF-dissuade NEG person on wife corpse father-ANAPH NEG
'One does not dissuade a man from approaching the widow of his father.'

(16) *u na-kpi nga ari-yo mangi-ru nye koyo te.*
ANIM.SG1 PROG-die NEG sky-there feather-ANIM.SG2 stay there NEG
'If it (a bird) dies in the sky its feathers will not stay there.'

The messages of such proverbs are indirect and they may not be understood by a young person or by somebody unacquainted with the culture. Example (15) indicates that talking about a taboo breach is in itself taboo, hence a potential taboo breaker cannot be impeded from transgressing taboo rules. Example (15) verbally describes a situation, not explicitly related to sexuality, which teaches that an action, however far away and secretly it was committed, will not remain secret, but that it leaves traces which will be found some time by someone at some place and shame will fall on the taboo breaker. Sanctions of illegitimate sexual intercourse consist of shaming before the community, i.e., a loss of face or pub-

26. They still know, however, about the stories and regret that they are no longer remembered. This explains why when Helma Pasch was in Bangassou, Bangui and Kisangani with copies of several of the stories, her Zande language consultants were extremely keen to get hold of some.

lic shame, *ze* (Example (16)),[27] and in the times of the empire, the husband concerned might in addition have beaten his wife and mutilated the rival.

Since talking about sexual behavior is taboo, in some stories illegitimate intercourse only becomes known because the private parts of the adulterers themselves start talking about it in front of the family or friends, as can be seen in Example (17). This is the end of a story where Ture had gone with his mother-in-law and not with his wife to collect termites, but instead of doing their work they had sex. On their way home they came past some villagers and lied to them about the termites not swarming at the place where they wanted to collect them. They even accepted an invitation to a meal of termites as consolation for their alleged bad luck. While they were eating with the other people, the truth about their intercourse and their lies came out.

(17) *ho i a-tona ni ka ri ra barangba Ture ki ya, "ako Ture,*
when 3PL III-begin ANAPH SUB eat-ANIM.PL2 front.part T. SEQ say T.
ya mo na-ri a-ge a-ri, wa mo ni-ta-ra na kina
say 2SG1 II-eat PL-termite III-eat like 2SG1 X-SIMUL-sleep PREP just
na-gbio-ro a-ge ni-bati?" Barangba na-gbio-ko ki
mother-in.law-2SG2 PL-termite X-escape front.part mother-in.law-3M SEQ
karaga-ha ki ya we, "ya mo zire?" Si ki iriwo ti a-boro
reply-INAN2 SEQ say QUOT say 2SG1 lie INAN1 SEQ frighten at PL-person
kporo gbe ze[28] *ki zi Ture na na-gbio-ko bakere gbe. Ture ki*
village very shame SEQ seize T. PREP mother-in.law-3M big very T. SEQ
zuba oto be ze.
leave speed because.of shame
'When they started eating them Ture's private parts said, "Oh dear! Ture are you now eating termites while when you were sleeping with your mother-in-law the termites escaped?" His mother-in-law's private parts replied, "Do you say it is a lie?" The people of the village were shocked. Ture and his mother-in-law were struck very hard by shame. Ture ran off in shame.'

(Evans-Pritchard, 1965)

The fact that the people found out that Ture and his mother-in-law had had sex put shame on both of them. This shame was increased by their apparent lies and their audacity in accepting the friendly invitation to a meal of termites which they had no moral right to accept. Shame, which falls on adulterers when illegitimate sexual relations are discovered, is the utmost loss of face and no possible explana-

27. Formerly, in Zande society, shame resulted only from sexual misbehavior (Pasch, 2017, p. 186). Other misdeeds might cause embarrassment but not shame. In Sudan, *ze* is also felt nowadays for other types of serious misbehavior.

28. *Ze* which can be seen in the eyes is translated as 'shame' or 'shyness'.

tion can ameliorate the situation. Running away from the people who know about the shameful action is the only way to save face to some degree. The fact that only Ture ran away indicates that men could make use of this solution more easily than women, who have to bear the despising reactions of others.

4. Conclusions

Both rules of politeness and taboos have the function of regulating social behavior and stabilizing the given hierarchical structures. Politeness rules primarily concern verbal and non-verbal communication, and they are applied to establish a friendly situation, or to save the face of the interactant when trying to achieve a specific objective. These rules tell people what to do in given situations even if one does not feel like doing so, and how to do it in order to avoid or reduce friction in communicative situations. Many politeness rules are status-sensitive and must be observed only by people of low social status, particularly women and children. Compliance is obvious to the interactants, while non-compliance will lead to loss of face of the interactant and possibly also of the speaker.

Taboos are prohibitions to do desirable things, and therewith they serve to maintain moral and cultural values. Non-compliance may remain unnoticed by other people, but sanctions may come nevertheless and make the taboo breach public. In short, politeness rules teach people to show good and appropriate behavior, and their application is necessary if one wants to be regarded as an acceptable member of the society. Taboos teach people, particularly men, to exercise self-control, practice sacrifice and to renounce desirable things like certain delicious foods, or – in specific conditions – sex.

Disrespect for the rules of politeness and of the taboos discussed in this paper may be considered the two poles of a continuum of appropriate behavior. The strictness of rules and the degree of formality of politeness strategies correlate with the social distance between the speaker and the interactant. The greater the distance the more formal strategies are required to fulfil the norms of upward politeness and to show that one is able to behave according to one's status. In the absence of social distance there is no need for formal politeness. Nevertheless, people on the same social level show solidarity and help each other to survive in case of need; however, this is not really regarded as polite, but rather as friendly and solidary. If persons in power practice downward politeness and treat inferiors in a fair and supportive way, this is again considered as friendly rather than polite.

Unlike politeness rules, which tell people what to do in given situations, taboos demand that people desist from doing things which they would enjoy doing. Politeness rules make behavior complicated or cumbersome, but help peo-

ple to get along with superiors. Compliance with taboos makes people learn to endure sacrifices, but it also makes sure that they survive in good health and with well-formed bodies.

It becomes obvious that the taboos are stronger than politeness rules, and the impact of a taboo breach is more serious than that of impolite behavior. This is confirmed by the following proverb (Example (18)).

(18) *sino* *súsì* *ìrìsa*
taboo pass.IMP politeness
'The taboo is stronger than politeness.'

Abbreviations

ANAPH	anaphora
ANIM.SG1	animate singular, Series 1[29]
ANIM.SG2	animate singular, Series 2
ANIM.PL2	animate plural, Series 2
CAUS	causative
COP	copula
COP.SUBJ	subjunctive form of the copula
DEF	definite marker
DEM	demonstrative
EXCL	exclamation
IMP	imperfective verb stem
INAN1	inanimate pronouns of Series 1
INAN2	inanimate pronouns of Series 2
IRR	irrealis
MANNER	particle introducing a description of manner
NEG	negation marker
QUOT	quotative
PL	plural prefix
PLUR	pluractional
POSS	possessive
PREP	preposition
PRES	present
PROG	progressive
RED	reduplication
REV	reverential

29. Zande has two series of pronouns. Those of Series 1, which are found in the position of the subject and in alienable possessive constructions, indicate a higher degree of control than those of Series 2, which are found in object position and in inalienable possessive constructions (Pasch & Mbolifouye, 2011, pp. 4–9).

SEQ	sequence
SIMUL	simultaneity
SUB	subordinator
1SG2	1st singular, Series 2
2SG1	2nd singular, Series 1
2SG2	2nd singular, Series 1
1PL1	1st plural, Series 1
2PL1	2nd plural, Series 1
3M	3rd singular masculine
3PL	3rd plural
II	progressive prefix
III	perfective prefix
X	past marker

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CHAPTER 17

The narrative of a witness

A conversation-analytic approach to Swahili

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On a regular basis, the news and other shows and documentaries on East African television feature various stories not only about events in politics and society, but also of personal fates related to them. In addition to the presenters, citizens of East African countries share their perspectives on how they experienced events. This paper focuses on the way in which these speakers tell their stories on a Kenyan TV show. It will show how the common ritual oral tradition in Swahili, also well-established in everyday conversation, is recontextualized in the media and therefore brought from the ritual frame to the digital context, where it is supposed to fulfill a particular purpose in favor of the TV program. Therefore, the presenters instrumentalize the narratives' inherent linguistic practices applied by their witnesses to engage viewers in their program.

Keywords: conversation analysis, Swahili, Kenya, media, ritualization

1. Introduction

Sometimes reality is too complex.
Stories give it form. (Jean Luc Godard)

On a regular basis, the news and other shows and documentaries on East African television feature various stories not only about events in politics and society, but also about personal fates related to them. In addition to the presenters, citizens of East African countries share their stories of how they experienced events. This paper focuses on the way in which these speakers tell their stories. In particular, it studies narratives of Swahili speakers from Kenya, taken from video sequences on

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YouTube, extracted from the TV program *Jicho Pevu* that originally aired between the years 2012 and 2016.[1]

This paper will show how the common ritual oral tradition in Swahili, which is also well-established in everyday conversation, is recontextualized in the media and therefore brought from the ritual frame to the digital context, where it is supposed to fulfill a particular purpose in favor of the TV program. Therefore, the presenters instrumentalize the narratives' inherent linguistic practices applied by their witnesses to engage their viewers in the program.

A narrative performance is always a "recourse to (…) different aspects of local and global contexts" (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012, p. 56). The Swahili storytelling practices applied in the examples provided are taken from and at the same time placed within the Swahili oral tradition, while they are also put into the global context of the digital realm and exploit some universal features of the narrative genre that can be applied globally. In order to understand the narrative practices and their impact on the program's viewers, the specific underlying participation framework is delineated; first, however, we present a brief overview of Swahili narratives in general and of former relevant research.

This paper uses the methodology of Conversation Analysis (CA), a discipline that started in the 1960s, established by the sociologists Harvey Sacks, Emmanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson, who began to study "talk-in-interaction". Based on Erving Goffman's "Interaction Order" and Harold Garfinkel's "Ethnomethodology", CA developed from a discipline that studied the organization of talk in social-institutional settings, moving into an interdisciplinary field of study greatly influenced by anthropological linguistics, which scrutinizes human social interaction in its cultural context, and, more recently, also interaction in (social) media.[2] Conversation analysts aim not to influence their data by setting a topic which shapes the collection of particular data, but rather by developing an idea and results according to what the data "offers". Studies on "ordinary language" (Schegloff, 1999) are supposed to unveil findings that are as natural as possible.

> Conversation analysis is analysis of real-world, situated, contextualized talk. As conversational order is achieved order and the achievement is done through the deployment of practices in particular contexts, only naturally occurring instances of actual talk can provide the information necessary for developing an account of what occurs in talk. The use of actual instances of talk allows for the possibility of an examination of what speakers actually do when speaking. (…) As an empirical

1. The extracts were transcribed and translated, with the original pronunciation being maintained for the running text, whereas in the interlinear translation, adjustments have been made where necessary in order to make the glossing more comprehensible.

2. See Schegloff (2009) for research trajectories of CA.

> discipline, conversation analysis allows order to emerge from the data without an intervening layer of theoretical constructs and allows for the determination of the organizing principles that are used and oriented to by the speakers themselves.
>
> (Liddicoat, 2007, p. 8)

The result is a detailed bottom-up approach that facilitates the recognition of subtleties of conversation in order to study language use amidst its cultural backdrop, which promises to be very effective within the realm of (social) media as well (see, e.g., Rüsch (2019) on instant messaging). This paper applies Conversation Analysis as a bottom-up strategy in order to achieve a thorough study of narratives about events that the speakers took part in. It is combined with gesture studies to analyze the body language displayed in the videos and the way it is intertwined with structure and speech practices. Three sets of practices are examined in their narrative function as well as with regard to the advantage that they offer for the program: ideophones and (iconic) gestures, elliptic repair initiation and questions and, finally, interjections and direct speech.

2. Narratives

Narratives or stories have always been a common form of interaction inherent in human culture. The term "narrative" or "story" denotes the narrated events, experiences or tales that are told by the "narrator" or "(story)teller", while "narrative event" or "storytelling" labels the situative action in which the story is told.

Stories can inform us, they can educate us, they can make us happy, sad or angry. They can be interesting or boring, exciting or informative. Stories can be tales or they can represent actual events. They can be told by only one person, the narrator, or by more people. And they are usually shaped by the recipients to whom they are told, just as they can be retold by those who hear them. At its simplest, narrative is a term used to refer to a story which has a sequence of events, with one or more key characters (Swann et al., 2004, p. 218).

Storytellers use manifold practices to involve and "capture" their audience. They ensure that they account for their own entitlement to tell the story and display factors that prove their credibility. In the stories presented in this paper, all the linguistic features used during the narrative event enhance the story contents, the speakers' presence as witnesses to the narrated events, and the (often emotional) involvement of the listeners. Therefore, stories like these can be described as a "dramatization of experience" (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012, p. 141).

Storytelling is always culturally and socially influenced. It may happen in a ritual context (ritual storytelling) or in everyday life, as a sort of "conversational

ritual" in the context of conversational interaction (conversational storytelling). Storytelling is a conversational action, and therefore it always has a particular purpose and goal.

> In narrating, perceptions and what we have seen or heard take shape as experiences. In other words, experiences of the world do not befall us; we create them, we integrate them in existing stories, or we make new stories out of them (…). The dynamics of society see to it that storytelling does not end but develops as an unfinished process in which causes are identified, links are forged, predictions are risked, and the exceptional is linked with the ordinary (…). Narrative practices relate to existing social orders, interpreting them, modifying them, and refining them. As we encounter them in narrative, subjective processes of experiencing and doing can only be grasped in relation to their specific socio-historical nature (…). (Schachtner, 2020, p. 3)

2.1 Ritual storytelling: Types of Swahili traditional oral literature

Storytelling and narratives are an important research topic as well as an effective means of gathering data in the field of anthropology and anthropological linguistics. Various studies deal mostly with cultural functions of storytelling (Schiffrin, 1996); the contextualization of narratives and rules of speaking in the narrative setting have been studied with the use of Hymes' (1974) "SPEAKING" grid (see also Eastman, 1984). Narratives have been studied in terms of the creation and representation of one's own identity (Schiffrin, 1996), language socialization and the interactional inclusion of children (Jirata & Simonsen, 2014), the psychological effects of the processing of trauma (Stewart et al., 2015) and many other fields. Finnegan (2012) attempts to offer a first overview of African oral literature in particular, covering several ritual genres.

Swahili has a lavish oral narrative tradition consisting of a variety of ritual orature types (Eastman, 1984; Knappert, 1982; Mugane, 2015). Among them are *kitendawili* ('riddle'), *usemi* or *msemi* ('saying'), *methali* ('proverb'), *vugo* ('sung poetry'), *wimbo* ('song') and *ushairi* ('poetry'). While *kisa* ('story') can describe any narrative event, *ngano* or *hadithi* ('tale') are part of ritual storytelling, i.e., they are narratives that are told in a ritual context or with the intention to transfer cultural knowledge. *Hekaya*, described as a "fanciful, just believable, story rooted in actual event about real people however far removed in time" by Eastman (1984, p. 336), originates from the Arabic/Islamic past and illustrates ways to live and act well according to Islamic beliefs. During the telling of these traditional stories, the narrator deploys a variety of linguistic strategies. Amongst these are structural patterns like the aspect marker *-ka-* and other practices such as raised pitch, vowel lengthening, onomatopoeia and ideophones, gestures and repetitions to provide

as vivid a story as possible (see Eastman, 1984; Russell, 1981). The same linguistic devices are used in the witnesses' personal conversational stories presented in the TV program *Jicho Pevu* and the most significant will be presented in a conversation-analytic approach in this paper. Also others that have not yet been identified as narrative practices in Swahili storytelling elsewhere are part of the demonstrated examples of this analysis. Despite the rich ethnographic analysis of oral tradition in Swahili and its "expressive culture" (Eastman, 1984), personal narratives have seldom been studied. An exception is Russell (1981), who offers a comparative approach to personal and fictional narratives in Kenyan Swahili as spoken in Mombasa. Personal narratives of events that actually happened, i.e., conversational narratives in Swahili, have not been looked at by researchers so far, neither using the methodology of ethnography of speaking, nor in a conversation-analytic approach.

2.2 Conversational storytelling: A cooperative enterprise

The discipline of Conversation Analysis (CA) emerged in the 1960s. Even though CA, due to its origins in sociology and ethnomethodology, is not as exposed to Western-centrism as other linguistic approaches, methodologies and theories (Ameka & Terkourafi, 2019), studies on African languages in general and Swahili in particular are scarce. Some of the few available studies include attempts to analyze the structure of Swahili conversations (Omar, 1992) as well as the meaning and use of rather neglected particles such as certain pragmatic markers and interjections (D'hondt, 2011; Eastman, 1983) and the conversational organization of service encounters in instant messaging (Rüsch, 2019).

In the field of CA, conversational narratives in interaction appear to follow a special structural pattern as "extended tellings" (Schegloff, 2007, p. 4; Stivers, 2013, p. 209), which makes them a common field of general conversation-analytic research (Goodwin, 2015; Mandelbaum, 2013; Stivers, 2013). That there have been no attempts to apply CA to Swahili narratives may thus seem incomprehensible. Yet, against the background of the rarity of conversation-analytic studies about *any* type of Swahili conversation this appears a logical consequence. As not every conversational story resembles another, and in the same way, the participative structure differs, prior to any conversation-analytic approach it is helpful to define the type of conversational narrative under examination and to determine its participative context.

Conversational storytelling itself, as opposed to ritual storytelling, is a subgenre[3] of conversational interaction. It includes any story that is told in the context of conversations, while ritual storytelling refers to narratives that are told in the ritual context of a cultural tradition. On a sociolinguistic level, the structure of everyday oral narratives was first analyzed by Labov (1972); however, Labov was criticized for his elicitative approach. Although the narratives that are presented in the current study emerged in a highly-structured and projectable interview context, they are still treated as conversational, rather than as ritual narrative. Yet they are close to storytelling in the Labovian sense, introduced by an interviewer (although the audience does not hear the interviewer's questions to the teller of the story). Therefore they are considered "elicited narratives", a term presented by Ervin-Tripp and Küntay (1997) to distinguish various types of stories as they occur in different conversational settings.[4] Thus, conversational narratives or conversational stories are not only a type of conversation, but they further incorporate subgenres of their own, whereby their classification depends either on the stories' aim, content or structure, or on the way they are introduced into the conversation. Other than delineated in traditional narrative research theories such as that of Labov, research has shown that narratives are, indeed, of dialogic nature (Schegloff, 1997; Swann, 2009) and the audience is by no means ever only passively present. The presence of a recipient or, in general, an audience of a storytelling is mandatory, not only to provide a recipient as a listener, but also as a co-author (Duranti, 1986). De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012, p. 108) call conversational storytelling a "cooperative enterprise" and it is commonly agreed among scientists that "the immediate audience plays an important part in any narrative" (Swann, 2009, p. 194). Thus, storytelling is inherently dialogic. In the analyzed media extracts in this paper, they are often presented as monologues, yet the dialogic nature of storytelling is maintained by showing the interviewer(s) in the interview setting once in a while (Figure 17.1). Furthermore, the speakers deploy a range of linguistic practices commonly used to keep the recipients' attention, on the one hand, and to secure the floor and account for an extended turn on the other, even though in the interview context the latter is not primarily necessary as the "telling rights" (Norrick, 2000) are assigned to them by the elicitation of the story. Some of these practices and mechanisms, among them some seemingly uni-

3. See Hyvärinen (2015) for a thorough discussion of narrative genres, narrative modes and narrative realities in his paper about specific narrative structures in relation to time and space and the construct of genre; see also De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012), who give an insight into narrative definitions and approaches in the research of narratives.

4. See Slembrouck (2015) for an insight into the researcher's role in narratives that are elicited in interviews.

versal ones and others well known especially in the Swahili context or commonly used in the whole of East Africa, are presented in this paper. It is worthwhile to take a look at the participation framework on hand in the media context. This helps to understand how media can take advantage of the features of storytelling inherent in human conversational and ritual interaction through this special type of narrative setting. In this context, the term "cooperative enterprise" gives rise to a whole new meaning of the functionality of stories: they create excitement, emotional affiliation and involvement among their audience, but they do not do this by themselves – instead, they achieve audience engagement with the use of characteristic narrative practices applied by the "storytelling witnesses" they present.

2.3 Elicited storytelling: Media and audience participation

Participation has been a scientific field of linguistic anthropology since the 1970s, as well as a crucial element of narrative analysis (see Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004). In the widest sense, "[the] term participation refers to actions demonstrating forms of involvement" and to "work that hearers as well as speakers engage in" (ibid., p. 222). Participation structure differs depending on the interaction type, and narratives provide a special frame for participants and the turn-taking structure established by them. The speaker holding the telling rights is accepted to hold the floor for longer than usual in order to tell his or her whole story. However, this entitlement comes with expectations that need to be fulfilled:[5]

> In telling and listening to stories participants hold one another accountable in terms of what each is warranted or obligated to know. This helps to explain why tellers often situate themselves within the events of the story as witnesses or as participants and in this way design their stories so as to make visible both the epistemic and the moral basis for their account. (Sidnell, 2010, p. 184)

In the same way that tellers situate themselves within the events that happened, the media presents them as witnesses and, consequently, their stories as believable truth to enhance their viewers' trust in the reports and ensure that they will watch the program again in the future. For this endeavor, the producers make use of a narrative's inherent feature that "storytellers reconstruct remembered events in words for a *particular audience* and for some *contextual purpose*" (Norrick, 2000, p. 5, emphasis added). The tellers featured in their program place themselves within the narrated events and inevitably function as witnesses in the (media) context within which they are telling their stories. For the interpretation of a story

5. For a thorough discussion of entitlement and story ownership, see Shuman (2015).

and its (social) functions, a narrative event's context is thus just as important as the participants in the storytelling.

> (…) stories are told to accomplish various sorts of action in conversation: as Schegloff writes, 'to complain, to boast, to inform, to alert, to tease, to explain or excuse or justify, or to provide for an interactional environment in whose course or context or interstices such actions and interactional inflections can be accomplished'. Recipients of stories are then oriented not only to the story as a recognizable unit of talk distinguished by a variety of formal features, but also to *what is being accomplished* through its telling. In order to explicate this aspect of conversational storytelling it is necessary to situate stories within the particular sequences in which they are encountered by the participants, since it is this location that provides the participants with the resources needed to discern what action is being performed through the story.
>
> (Sidnell, 2010, p. 194, emphasis in original)

In the digital era we live in, many aspects of human life are influenced by and transferred to the digital, which has led to the introduction of a "digital anthropology" (Horst & Miller, 2012). Given this development, the importance of digital-based storytelling is growing as well, since there are "processes of transformation and recontextualization of events that take place offline into stories to be told in various digital sites" (De Fina & Perrino, 2019, p. 2). One of these processes is that producers recontextualize stories within their programs to involve the audience as listeners, in order to engage them in the program. Engagement of the audience in general is also encouraged in many other ways in the digital realm these days, e.g., by the direct involvement of the audience as a third party in Japanese political TV interviews (Ikeda, 2009). In the current example, the involvement is rather indirect, as the audience is not actively taking part in the shaping of the stories told, but it is equally relevant, as it ensures that audience members feel like the participants in a narrative setting, surrounded by familiar social and linguistic practices, and therefore continue watching the program. Recontextualization is thus among the "central tools in the transformation of everyday narratives into other kinds of texts with a specific functionality within social practices" (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012, p. 134).

Through storytelling's dialogic and interactive character, in *any* context, the participation framework of narrator and recipient(s) needs to be guaranteed; in addition to co-authorship, participation roles during the telling of a narrative are constantly negotiated and can change. Duranti (1986) was one of the first to note that the audience is an active part in the creation of stories, but that there are also limits to the inclusion of the audience in the storytelling process. This is evident in the current examples, which pose one possible way of interpreting the "heterogeneity of the audience" (Goodwin, 1986). Other than the story's topic dividing



Figure 17.1 Two narrative settings as presented in the *Jicho Pevu* program

the audience, as described by Goodwin, here the spatial separation of the subsets of the audience, as well as their different participation roles – that are also influenced and restricted by the spatial arrangement – determine their heterogeneity.

The two levels of recipients can be separated into the primary or principal recipient(s) and the secondary or indirect recipients – the former being the reporters on whom the tellers focus and direct their attention to while narrating, the latter the watchers of the program. Hence, in this setting, the recipients of the stories can be considered what Goodwin (1986) defined as different "subsets of the audience", one subset being the direct recipients, i.e., the reporters of the show, the other subset being the audience watching the show on YouTube or TV.

In addition to many close-ups of the narrators, the editors of the program use the scene setting to transfer to the audience the narrative character of the interview, displaying the teller and the reporters (as direct recipients) together on screen (Figure 17.1, Jicho Pevu, 2012, 2014). In this focus of the camera, it becomes obvious that the reporters, as principal recipients, act as "responsive recipients" (Rühlemann, 2013) when they comment on and complement the storyline with continuers, like *mh*, and gestures such as nodding. The reporters may, however, also be co-constructive recipients who elicit new information about the background of the story and the narrated events. The editors thus present the actual narrative participation framework to their viewers, who, in Duranti's (1986) sense, cannot be involved in the storytelling process. Yet they are recipients of the stories, and their reaction is not detachable from the action of storytelling (Rüsch, 2020). According to Mandelbaum (2013, p. 504, emphasis in original), "all stories in conversation appear to be both designed by tellers and understood by recipients to be *doing* something."

Regarding the media, Ekström characterizes TV journalism in terms of three modes of communication represented in Table 1. The media make use of the fact that the narrative action most likely triggers a reaction (an evaluation of the events or opinion about the characters involved, any kind of emotion, etc.) that strengthens the engagement of the audience with the program. The viewers represent the typical audience with diverse levels of pre-existing information (cf. Goodwin,

Table 17.1 Communicative intentions in different modes of communication (Ekström 2000, p. 467)

Modes of communication	Basic communicative intentions
Information	Offering information that appears to be relevant enough, interesting enough and reliable enough to appeal to presumptive viewers.
Storytelling	Telling a story which is exciting or dramatic enough to engage presumptive views.
Attraction	Offering attractions that are spectacular, shocking or extraordinary enough to attract and fascinate presumptive viewers.

1986; Sidnell, 2010), comprised of recipients who know more about the story's content and those who know less, the latter being a crucial reason for storytelling being introduced in a conversational context. The presenters take advantage of this traditional narrative "recipient design" (Sacks, 1995) where the story should be news to recipients. This goes along with the traditional Swahili (and other) orature, which often includes the teaching of a moral, for instance, and therefore presupposes that the teller has knowledge to transfer to the audience. De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012, p. 108) describe this assumption as the perceived "prototype" of storytelling:[6]

> One of the first notions (...) was the idea that the events narrated were known only to the teller, that is, the distinction between the knowing teller and the non-knowing interlocutors as well as the ownership of experience rights (assumptions) that came with it.

Considering the presenters' aim to generate as many viewings as possible, the audience should not already know the content of the storyline that is told in the show, but "learn" something new. If the audience is engaged in the viewing process, the presenters attempt to sustain their engagement with the help of the narrative, which creates excitement, emotions, evidence of certain events through a direct witness (compare the assumed "ownership of experience rights" as described by De Fina and Georgakopoulou above), and therefore a "bonding" to the show. In this way, the presenters re-contextualize the stories from the context of the narrators' experience and personal surroundings to the media. The re-

6. See De Fina & Georgakopoulou (2012) for a discussion of alternative narrative types and structures, such as retold or shared stories.

contextualization of narratives is a "significant [process] in the configuration of the genre and scope of narratives and [is a central tool] in the transformation of everyday narratives into other kinds of texts with a specific functionality within social practices" (De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2012, p. 134). Storytelling hence represents the media's "communicative intention" to engage more viewers (Ekström, 2000; see Table 1). Thus, instead of just reporting or documenting a story, the creators of the show use narratives and their inherent features to attract and "capture" their audience. Or, as Clark (2008, original emph.) puts it in his twentieth writing tool, "take advantage of narrative opportunities":

> Reports convey information. Stories create experience. Reports transfer knowledge. Stories transport the reader, crossing the boundaries of time, space, and imagination. The report *points* us there. The story *puts* us there.

However, considering the inaccessibility of data on the recipients, due to the spatial separation of one subset of the audience from the storytelling scene on the one hand, and the only partial and rare display of the other recipients for the viewers on the other, the narrative constellation here does not allow for a further structural analysis of the participation framework or attention structure (Goodwin 1986) in the conversation-analytic sense. Therefore, as the field of participation offers limited access, the following section of this paper focuses on the linguistic practices of the speakers during storytelling to keep their principal recipients involved, and that are used by the media to engage the audience which consumes their show in front of the screens.

3. Narratives of the witness: The recounting of a past event for others

The data for this paper is drawn from four episodes of *Jicho Pevu*, a Kenyan program aired on TV and YouTube: "*Paruwanja la mihadarati* (Part 2) (Jicho Pevu, 2012)", "*Jaramandia ya uhalifu* (Jicho Pevu, 2013)", "*Kaburi la wazi II* (Jicho Pevu, 2016)" and "*Zilizala la Westgate* (Jicho Pevu, 2014)". The program reports on suspicious events and the personal fates related to them, including the involvement and corruption of politicians or the investigating police or soldiers. The producers invite witnesses to tell their story to the main reporter, Mohammed Ali.

Various linguistic practices common during storytellings, among them ideophones and gestures, elliptic repair initiation and questions, interjections and direct speech, are used by the narrators, and the media take advantage of the mechanics of those practices with regard to the involvement of the recipients of a story, and the engagement of their viewers with their program, in many ways. Emotional connections are made and an evaluative stance is triggered, tension is

built up and interest and attention is gained, a common ground is disclosed, evidence is projected. Selected extracts from the program display how the media use the traditional means of narratives in a recontextualized, modern, digital environment to capture their audience, just as listeners are captured in ritual storytelling settings, with their very own participation framework.

3.1 Ideophones and gestures

Ideophones portray the possibly most prototypical narrative feature. Many studies of this particular category of words, including early studies, were deeply influenced by African languages (Dingemanse, 2011). In the endeavor to describe and analyze ideophones, "stories have long been identified as key locus of ideophone use" (Akita & Dingemanse, 2019, p. 9). Being part of traditional ritual orature, it is no surprise that these "marked words that depict sensory imagery" (Dingemanse, 2011a, p. 25), or, in the storytelling sense, "iconic means to evoke sensory scenes" (Akita & Dingemanse, 2019, p. 9) also found their way into conversational narrative in everyday conversational interaction. Ideophones serve as emphasizing elements that enhance involvement among the participants in the sense of Tannen (2007) and enrich the aesthetics of any interaction (Dingemanse, 2011b).

Further, they are a means of evidence, expertise, epistemic primacy and the authority of a speaker, and they also create a common ground among speakers, since they are culturally and socially shaped (Rüsch, 2020; see also Dingemanse, 2017). Through their depictive nature, they enable the participants in the storytelling to recreate the narrated events and empathize with them, which gives them an emotional appeal (Lydall, 2000). This, in turn, is strategically applied by the media to engage their viewers.

For Swahili, ideophones were described by Baldi and Wamitila (2014), who also note how little data is provided on this word category, compared to the relatively large amount of other scientific material that is available for the language. In the *Jicho Pevu* program (Jicho Pevu, 2013), John Kibera, a former grave robber in Nairobi, tells his story of how he hid inside a coffin when he and his gang got into a police check with their car after they had stolen it (1). To make the story more vivid, Kibera uses ideophones as well as repetitions of them. Repetitions are a means of intensification, at times also iconic of the action that is described. Ideophones and repetitions are therefore closely connected practices. In the extract presented in this paper, Kibera uses the onomatopoetic ideophone *pea* to depict the loud sound of a bang or slam.

(1) *(…) sasa wakati* ***walikanyanga barabara ya Kenyatta Avenue*** **[deictic gesture: indexing behind over his shoulder]**, *kumbe, police wakawa wamemulika ile gari. Ilipigwa risasi zaidi ya kumi na tano* ***mimi nikiwa ndani nilisikia convection ya risasi pea! Pea!*** **[iconic gesture: snipping with fingers]** *Baada ya kulia, nikashindwa what next? Sasa ilinibidi jeneza ambao tulikuwa tumeiba nikaona ndiyo inaweza kunisaidia nikageuka nikaingia kwa hiyo jeneza ndani faster. Na nikalala na nikapretend nimekufa. nikakata pamba ya kando nikauma hapa. Sasa nikawa kimya kama marehemu. (…) Sasa nikiwa* ***nimebebwa juu*** **[iconic gesture: lifting right hand, palm up]** ***kabisa na askari sita, na watu wamejaa*** **[iconic gesture: moving both hands apart from each other in a circle]** ***kuangalia***, *watu wa kamera ndiyo wamepiga picha.* ***Ndiyo niligonga jeneza kwa asira, nikagonga pea!*** **[iconic gesture: beat down with right hand]** ***wakaachiria. (…)***

(1a) *(…) walikanyanga barabara ya Kenyatta Avenue (…)*
wa-li-kanyang-a barabara ya Kenyatta Avenue
3PL.S-PST-step.on-IND street CL9.CON NAME
'When they reached Kenyatta Avenue…'

(1b) *Mimi nikiwa ndani nilisikia convection ya risasi pea! Pea!* [iconic gesture: snipping with fingers]
mimi ni-ki-w-a ndani ni-li-siki-a convection ya
1SG.S 1SG.S-ASP-be-IND inside 1SG.S-PST-hear-IND convection CL9.CON
risasi pea pea
CL9.gun ID ID
'When I was inside I heard the sound of the gun: Pea! Pea!'

(1c) *…nimebebwa juu* [iconic gesture: lifting right hand, palm up] *kabisa na askari sita, na watu wamejaa* [iconic gesture: moving both hands apart from each other in a circle] *kuangalia*
ni-me-beb-w-a juu kabisa na askari sita na
1SG.S-PRF-carry-PASS-IND up completely by CL10.soldiers NUM.six COM
wa-tu wa-me-ja-a ku-angali-a
CL2-human.being 3PL.S-PRF-filled-IND INF-watch-IND
'I was carried high by six soldiers and people were crowding (all over) to watch.'

(1d) *Ndiyo niligonga jeneza kwa asira, nikagonga pea!* [iconic gesture: beat down with right hand] *Wakaachiria.*
ndiyo ni-li-gong-a jeneza kwa hasira ni-ka-gong-a pea
indeed 1SG.S-PST-hit-IND CL5.coffin COM CL9.anger 1SG.S-ASP-hit-IND ID
wa-ka-ach-ili-a
3PL.S-ASP-leave-APPL-IND
'Indeed, I hit the coffin with anger, I hit it pea! And they were scared off.'

> '(…) so when they reached Kenyatta Avenue, unexpectedly, the police were illuminating the car. It was hit by more than fifteen gunshots. When I was inside, I heard the sound of the gun, pea! Pea! After crying, I failed: what next? Now I had to-, the coffin that we had stolen, I saw that it could indeed help me. I turned and got into that coffin quickly. And I lay and pretended that I had died, I took some cotton wool from the side and bit on it here (i.e. inside my mouth). Then I stayed silent like a deceased. Now when I was carried high by six soldiers, and the people were crowded all over to watch, the people with the cameras took pictures. Indeed, I hit the coffin with anger, I hit it, pea! And they were scared off. (…)'

While Kibera is talking, he applies different kinds of gestures to support his storytelling in different ways. Situating the place of the narrated event, he points behind, over his shoulder to refer to the place described in his story. Using this deictic gesture, he indicates knowledge of the place where the police caught him and his gang. Another type of gesture is the iconic gestures that Kibera performs on several occasions: to depict an action (being carried) and to describe a scene (people were crowding all over the place), as well as twice when he utters the ideophone *pea*. Contrary to what is often stated, ideophones are rarely accompanied by gestures, but if they are, the accompanying gestures are most likely iconic gestures (Dingemanse, 2011a). The same is the case here. The depiction of the sudden sound of shooting, as well as the evoked slamming open of the coffin's lid, are represented by iconic gestures.

Gestures like these are characteristic of the dramatization of narratives; they emphasize the events and involve the audience through the conceptualization of the scene and the actions happening within it. Indeed, "speakers use gestures for conceptual expression. The images suggested by gestures refer to the speaker's concepts so the speaker is *thinking* in imagery *as well as* in words" (Kendon, 2004, p. 23, emphasis in original). This induced conceptual expression of imagery helps to offer the recipients of the story a clear idea of the events, the spatial context, the teller's emotional state of mind when he witnessed the events and the like; it helps to increase excitement and makes the story vivid. Thus, combined with ideophones, gestures are the perfect means to tie the participants not only to the story, but also to the narrative event as such – which, in this case, is the program they are following on screen.

3.2 Elliptic repair initiation and questions

Elijah Chemorei, nineteen years old, tells the reporter about the day his father, Erustus Chemorei, was killed (Jicho Pevu, 2012). During the time he is talking about his experiences, the interviewee uses a particular sentence structure which



nimebebwa juu – iconic gesture of being carried in the coffin



watu wamejaa – iconic gesture of people being gathered all around the car that was stopped by the police



pea! pea! – iconic gesture of shooting several times



pea! – iconic gesture of slamming the coffin's lid open suddenly

Figure 17.2 Iconic gestures in examples (1b)–(1d)

Rüsch (2020) identified as "elliptic repair initiation", a feature also common in another East African language spoken in Northern Uganda, the Nilo-Saharan language Acholi. Although the term suggests that it is an action related to repair, elliptic repair initiation "does not initiate a common repair, which is caused by a trouble source (…), but rather 'creates' a repairable utterance on its own" (Rüsch, 2020, p. 194). In this way, elliptic repair initiation is a common practice to stimulate the involvement of the recipients in the course of conversational narratives, but also to increase the attention of the audience in the context of explaining and teaching. Therefore, this particular narrative structure creates assertive focus (Nassenstein, 2016) and triggers "active listening", as described by Tannen (2007), as well as active participation. Elliptic repair thus influences the participation framework.

While Acholi speakers make use of a set of question words to articulate questions that are then answered by the speakers themselves, Swahili speakers form questions as well; however, they only partially use question words (2a–2b). Additionally, they also tend to truncate sentences (2c–2d) with a rising pitch to indi-

cate a question, in order to achieve mutual involvement throughout the narration of a story.

(2a) *Sasa kuiona, nikaiona kumbe ni ya- nikarealize ni ya nini? Ni ya polisi.*
sasa ku-i-on-a ni-ka-i-on-a kumbe ni ya
now INF-CL9.O-see-IND 1SG.S-ASP-CL9.O-see-IND INTJ COP CL9.CON
ni-ka-realize ni ya nini ni ya polisi
1SG.S-ASP-realize COP CL9.CON INTR.what COP CL9.CON CL9.police
'Now seeing it (i.e., the car), what a shock, it is of-, I realized it is of what? Of the police.'

(2b) *Anawaambia nini? Uizunguke compound!*
a-na-wa-ambi-a nini u-i-zunguk-e compound
3SG.S-PRS-3PL.O-tell-IND INTR.what 2SG.S-CL9O-surround-SBJV compound
'What does he tell them? (lit. 'He tells them what?') To surround the compound!'

(2c) *Mimi nikaingia kwa? Kwa nyumba.* [gesture: bends the head to the side]
mimi ni-ka-ingi-a kwa kwa ny-umba
1SG.S 1SG.S-ASP-enter-IND BEN BEN CL9-house
'I entered the? The house.'

(2d) *Baba alikuwa ameni…?* (not audible)
baba a-li-ku-w-a a-me-ni…
CL9.father 3SG.S-PST-INF-be-IND 3SG.S-PRF-1SG.O
'My father was … me?' (Verb slot not predictable because of the inaudible second part, thus indicated with '…')

A similar strategy is applied by Ali Gitonga's father in Example (3). Gitonga himself tells the audience about the time he was injured by several gunshots in the Westgate shopping mall terror attack in 2013 (Jicho Pevu, 2013). After he was brought outside for first aid, he was suspected of being part of the terrorist group as he was reciting the *šahāda* from an Islamic *ḥadīṯ*, as he is a Muslim. Being seriously injured, he did not want to believe that the investigating police thought he was involved in the attack, yet he was separated from other victims of the attack while he was in hospital. His father talks about when Gitonga was eventually allowed to return home after several weeks; while he does, he makes use of ERI accompanied by expressive mimicry (Figure 17.3) to quote direct speech:

(3) *Saa nane kijana wenu atafanya nini?* [expressive mimics: raised eyebrows/ eyes wide open] *Ataachiliwa.*
saa *nane* *ki-jana* *w-enu* *a-ta-fany-a* *nini*
CL9.hour NUM.eight CL7-youth 3PL-2PL.POSS 3SG.S-FUT-do-IND INTR.what
a-ta-ach-ili-w-a
3SG.S-FUT-leave-APPL-PASS-IND
'At two p.m. your son (lit. 'your teenager') will do what? He will be discharged.'



Figure 17.3 Expressive mimics accompanying ERI: Raised eyebrows and eyes wide open

The involvement and inclusion of the recipients of a narrative through elliptic repair structures requires a common ground for all participating speakers in order to guarantee comprehension; at the same time, elliptic repair initiation *creates* common ground among participants and thereby leads to a positive evaluation of the narrative experience (Rüsch, 2020). As "storytellings are organized around stance" (Stivers, 2013, p. 203), and "in the storytelling context, not adopting an evaluative stance is treated as a noticeable absence" (Stivers, 2013, p. 202), the reporters as direct recipients of the story are the ones who signal their stance to the teller. They do this through back-channeling with continuers, interjecting questions or mimics and other body language. The audience watching the show can relate to the applied practices as they are exposed to them on a daily basis in the context of conversational stories in their everyday interaction with others. Thus, they most probably also take a stance towards what is told, just without back-channeling (even though they may discuss their stance with other viewers or express it to them while they are watching together). At the same time, these commonly applied practices may lead to a positive evaluation not only of the story's content but also of the narrative event, which – on the other hand – plays into

the hands of the media production in terms of viewers' emotional and evaluative affinity towards the program.

3.3 Interjections and direct speech

A common feature in narratives is direct speech. By telling what was said with the same words that were uttered during the narrated event, first-hand knowledge of the events is provided and (assumed) evidence can be created. There are particular interjections that occur more often than others in that respect, among them the particle *ah*. It will be treated as a "reactive token" (Rüsch, 2020) here, which makes it a means of back-channeling, similar to continuers such as *mmh*, and therefore "serves to structure the conversation, support coherence, and indicate that the recipient follows and understands the speaker's words" (ibid., p. 118). Another rather prominent interjection that is widely used but has gained only little scientific attention so far is *ati* (sometimes also *eti*). *Ati* can etymologically be traced back to the proto-Bantu root **ti* 'to say' and therefore serves as a "secondary interjection" (Ameka, 1992). This means that, classified by its form, *ati* belongs to "those words which have an independent semantic value but which can be used conventionally as utterances by themselves to express a mental attitude or state" (ibid., p. 111). In terms of its functional classification (see Ameka 2006), *ati* covers a range of communicative functions. As an expressive, it can express the sudden realization or understanding of a fact and hence be classified as a cognitive interjection among the expressives; but it also serves to indicate a speaker's shock or surprise, which makes it an emotive interjection within the same category of expressives. At the same time, *ati* can be used to gain attention (conative interjection) and to introduce a statement (presentational interjection). With all these inherent pragmatic functions, *ati* and all other interjections, as well as other pragmatic markers, are context-bound, "[that] is, they are all produced in reaction to a linguistic or extralinguistic context and can be interpreted only relative to the context in which they are produced" (Ameka, 2006, p. 745).

In the narratives presented in the show, Cheryl Kitonga uses *ati* several times to express her surprise and shock over the murder of a prominent businessman and critic of the Kenyan government (4). Jacob Juma was killed in Nairobi 2016 on the way home from a bar, right after dropping Kitonga off from a lift he gave her. As probably the last person to see him alive, Cheryl Kitonga quickly became the subject of conspiracy theories about Juma's murder, while she claimed that she did not even know the identity of the man who was driving her home that night. In her witness story to the *Jicho Pevu* reporters, she tells them about the events of that night (Jicho Pevu, 2016):

(4) ***Ndiyo nikasikia kwa news, ati, Jacob Juma aliuliwa.*** *Alikuwa amemention jina 'ake the day before ni Jacob Juma but mimi sikujua ni- he's a prominent person, mimi sijahisikia hiyo jina before. Hata sikureact.* ***Mimi sikuwa najua ati -, ni mtu mkubwa.*** *So vile nilisikia Jacob Juma aliuliwa* ***nilishangaa: "Ai! Hiyo ni Jacob Juma!"***

(4a) *Ndiyo nikasikia kwa news, ati, Jacob Juma aliuliwa.*
ndiyo ni-ka-siki-a kwa news ati Jacob Juma
indeed 1SG.S-ASP-hear-IND BEN news INTJ NAME
a-li-u-li-w-a
3SG.S-PST-kill-APPL-PASS-IND
'Indeed, I heard it in the news, Jacob Juma was killed.'

(4b) *Mimi sikuwa najua ati –, ni mtu mkubwa.*
mimi si-ku-w-a na-ju-a ati ni m-tu
1SG.S 1SG.S.NEG-PST.NEG-be-IND 1SG.S-know-IND INTJ COP CL1-human.being
m-kubwa
CL1-big
'I didn't know that-, he is an important person.' (lit. 'that he is a big person')

(4c) *(…) nilishangaa: "Ai! Hiyo ni Jacob Juma!"*
ni-li-shanga-a ai hiyo ni Jacob Juma
1SG.S-PST-be.surprised-IND INTJ DEM.CL9 COP NAME
'I was shocked: "Ai, that is Jacob Juma!"'
'Indeed, I heard it in the news, Jacob Juma was killed. He had mentioned his name the day before, that it is Jacob Juma, but I didn't know that he is-, he is a prominent person. I have never heard that name before. I did not even react. I didn't know that-, he is an important person. So when I heard Jacob Juma was killed I was shocked: "Ai, that is Jacob Juma!"'

In excerpt (4a), Kitonga first expresses her surprise and shock about Juma's death when she utters *ati* before saying *Jacob Juma aliuliwa* 'Jacob Juma was killed'. The second time (4b), she inserts *ati* to indicate that she just realized at that moment, when she heard about his death, that he was a popular person in Kenya. In this story of the witness, *ati* functions in its full dimensions as an expressive interjection: emotive and cognitive, depending on the context. By inserting it at a particular point of the sentence, *ati* attracts the recipients' attention to the statement and – quite similar in form and function to elliptic repair initiation, and certainly with the same effect for the media – creates involvement.

The "lexical variability" of interjections and their "general status as expressions of shifts in cognitive states of various kinds" are also noted by Norrick (2009, p. 867), whose study focuses mainly on turn-initial interjections. An example of such an interjection in the Swahili narratives is *ai*, as found in Example (4c) above, to convey a surprised realization, recited in direct speech. The exclamation

ai, usually uttered quickly with audible aspiration and a high pitch, is another interjection used to introduce a statement that is accompanied by surprise and disbelief. It therefore fulfills a similar pragmatic function within a narrative as *ati*, and – just as in the example – commonly occurs in close surrounding to *ati* in conversational stories.

D'hondt (2011, p. 563) studies the interjection *ah* as turn-initial particle in second-pair parts in Swahili. He analyzes *ah* as a "response cry" (Goffman, 1978) that indexes negative evaluative stance:

> The basic claim is that *ah* constitutes a response cry that indexes to the other interlocutors the speaker's negative evaluative stance toward a particular issue. In this capacity, it frequently occupies the turn-initial position of a second pair part. Depending on the specifics of the sequential environment, the "object" of the indexed stance is traceable to either the particular item that is being talked about or the action performed in the preceding first. In the former case, the particle is used to demonstrate the speaker's affiliation with the previous speaker. In the latter case, it is used to demonstrate his disaffiliation with the previous speaker.

In the current narrative data in (5), *ah* occurs in the reproduced direct speech of Said Badi, who tells the story of his father, the late Badi, who got killed in Mombasa (Jicho Pevu, 2012). In this example, it partly also functions as an initiation of second pair parts, for instance in the mother's reply to Badi's worried questions about his father in (5a), which are retold in indirect speech:

(5a) *Ndiyo nikamwuliza: "Kuna nini? Mbona namwona ana wasiwasi?" Anani-ambia: "Ah! Nyumbani kulikujia askari usiku!"*
ndiyo *ni-ka-mw-uliz-a* *ku-na* *nini* *mbona*
indeed 1SG.S-ASP-3SG.O-ask-IND CL15-have.PRS.IND INTR.what INTR.why
na-mw-on-a *a-na* *wasiwasi*
1SG.S.PRS-3SG.O-see-IND 3SG.S-have.PRS.IND CL10.worries
a-na-ni-ambi-a *ah* *ny-umba-ni* *ku-li-ku-j-i-a*
3SG.S-PRS-1SG.O-tell-IND INTJ CL9-house-LOC CL17-PST-INF-come-APPL-IND
askari *u-siku*
CL10-soldier CL14-night
'Indeed, I asked her: "What is going on? Why do I see him worried?" (lit. Why do I see him having worries?) She told me: "Ah, there were soldiers coming for our home!"'

The response of the mother, starting with *ah*, shows her negative attitude towards the events going on at home, but, according to D'hondt (2011), also towards the son's question about the matter.

(5b) *Mimi nikamfuata nikamwuliza: "Ah, daddy, kuna nini? Mbona? Sielewi (…)"*
mimi ni-ka-m-fuat-a ni-ka-mw-uliz-a ah daddy
1SG.S 1SG.S-ASP-3SG.O-follow-IND 1SG.S-ASP-3SG.O-ask-IND INTJ ADD
ku-na nini mbona si-elew-i
CL15-have.PRS.IND INTR.what INTR.why 1SG.S.NEG-understand-PRS.NEG
'Then I followed him and I asked him: "Ah, daddy, what is going on? Why? I don't understand…"'

(5c) *Nikakaa naye tukaongeaongea. Akaniambia. Ah! Huyo ananipeleka mbio huu kazi mi nashindwa kuelewa kuna nini"*
ni-ka-ka-a na-ye tu-ka-onge-a-onge-a a-ka-ni-ambi-a
1SG.S-ASP-sit-IND COM 1PL.S-ASP-talk-IND-talk-IND 3SG.S-ASP-1SG.O-tell-IND
ah huyo a-na-ni-pelek-a mbio huu kazi mi
INTJ DEM.CL1 3SG.S-PRS-1SG.O-bring-IND CL3.speed DEM.CL3 CL9.work 1SG.S
na-shind-w-a ku-elew-a ku-na nini
1SG.S-win-PASS-IND INF-understand-IND CL17-have.IND QST.what
'Then I sat with him and we talked and talked, he told me (i.e., what is going on). Ah! That one, he takes me with that speed, it's work, I fail to understand what is going on.'

In the second Example (5b), the interjection *ah* initiates a question that follows Badi's description of his feelings and worries about the events that his father was exposed to. It therefore clearly indicates his negative stance toward the situation, on the one hand, and his affiliation to his father, whom he worries about, on the other. In the third Example (5c), *ah* does not introduce a second pair part. However, in the organizational structure of the telling at this point, *ah* expresses disaffiliation with the father's action of telling the son about his problems and secrets without making everything clear enough to him, so that Said Badi still cannot understand what is going on. Using this interjection in the recounting of events for others during storytelling triggers an emotional response and increases empathy for the teller among the listeners. That, in turn, creates affiliation with the teller, and – ultimately – with the program that presents his or her story.

4. A digital pathway from tradition to the future?

Considering the active use of narratives and of the storytelling practices that go along with it in the media, does a program such as *Jicho Pevu*, by recontextualizing a traditional genre into the digital context, actually provide a digital pathway for narratives from tradition to the future? Or is it just a way of taking advantage of traditionally established, common linguistic practices to engage the viewers, who are consciously or unconsciously affected by the use of such practices dur-

ing storytelling to fulfill an economic purpose? Probably it is both. Nevertheless, storytelling as a means has always fulfilled a rather egoistic purpose, whether of the society that wants to ensure that its structures and morals are transferred to the next generation of its members, or an individual who wants to share his or her experiences with others, present his or her knowledge to others or evince a narrative self-portrait in order to manifest his or her identity through storytelling (Schiffrin, 1996). In either way, storytelling has always had sociocultural significance and its recontextualization to a digital context does not change that. On the contrary, anthropological linguistics and digital anthropology offer the chance to analyze various newly developed narrative genres within the digital context of social media (De Fina & Perrino, 2019; Nuñez-Janes et al., 2017; Schachtner, 2020), as well as new manners in which the traditional narrative features are used by narrating speakers (and how third parties use these narrators for their own advantage) – an approach that the current paper aims to be a part of.

All of the practices described trigger or create at least one, and sometimes all, of the following reactions among the recipients of the stories, independent of the subset they belong to: emotions, involvement, common ground and/or evaluative stance, among others. All of these are practices that are inherent to Swahili ritual as well as conversational storytelling, and they are transferred into the digital space to make use of them in an indirect manner: The narrators as witnesses, usually as the main agents in storytelling, supported by their co-authors, are now made instruments for engaging the audience in front of the screens in the presentations – and this is a new, modern strategy of applying narrative practices. The examples presented thus gave the opportunity to see the underlying development of storytelling – from 'traditional' to 'modern' – in the digital era. For this purpose, the paper examined how the media recontextualize the traditional culture of storytelling for a particular purpose and extend it into a new realm. Swahili storytelling hence continues to develop through the use of its inherent social function: from the ritual to everyday conversation, from the traditional to the modern, and from the local to the global – through the digital.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3	1st, 2nd, 3rd person
ADD	address term
APPL	applicative
ASP	aspect
BEN	benefactive
CA	Conversation Analysis
CL	noun class
COM	comitative
CON	connective
COP	copula
DEM	demonstrative
ERI	elliptic repair initiator
FUT	future tense
ID	ideophone

IND	indicative
INF	infinitive
INTJ	interjection
INTR	interrogative
NAME	name
NEG	negation
NUM	numeral
O	object
PASS	passive
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRF	perfect
PRS	present tense
PST	past tense
S	subject
SG	singular
SBJV	subjunctive

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This collection presents new research on key topics in anthropological linguistics, with a focus on African languages. While Africanist linguists have long been concerned with sociocultural aspects of language structure and use, no comprehensive volume dedicated to the anthropological linguistics of Africa has yet been published. This volume seeks to fill this gap. The chapters address a broad range of topics in anthropological linguistics, including classic themes such as spatial reference, color, kin terms, and emotion, as well as emerging interests in the linguistic expression of personhood, sociality, and language ideology. All contributions are based on original empirical research and present insights into African language practices from a sociocultural perspective. The volume showcases research on dozens of African languages spoken across the continent, with particular emphasis on languages of East Africa. This book will be of interest to areal specialists as well as to anthropological linguists worldwide.

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