THE MOUTH

Critical Studies on Language, Culture and Society

On Language and Culture

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CONTENTS

01

Editorial work outside the epistemic dungeon: studying "language and culture" in difficult times

01

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Mouth Editors

With every paper, every contribution we receive as journal editors, we find ourselves in a well-known dilemma: Is this the latest "state of the art", is it sufficiently critical and reflected, is the submitted paper based on empirical and innovative research or have recent publications by well-known scholars been cited, does it fit the standards of academic writing, is the paper stylistically clean and does the language of the text "sound" good? – to mention but a few of these common concerns. And each time we must rethink our approaches and unlearn academic behavior (rather than practice, perhaps) in order to be able to appreciate the generosity and hospitality offered to us by the contributors.

It is a complicated, often contradictory and difficult process, but we do enjoy facing the challenge of leaving the "epistemic dungeon" by acknowledging specifically the individualism and artful voices of many contributors of The Mouth. What we appreciate each time we get to work on a new issue of our journal, is not a perfect academic style or finding the latest publication appropriately cited somewhere, but the

original thinking and creativity offered to us, together with the possibility of connecting with diverse epistemic contexts, and learning something new and unknown as soon as we dive into the submitted texts. We therefore ascribe to the idea of publishing diverse academic contributions and papers that convince us with their creative writing, artful texts and experimental content.

After two inspiring (yet digital) departmental lecture series with a focus on linguistic anthropology at the universities of Mainz and Cologne in the summer term of 2021 and winter term of 2021/2022, respectively, we had planned to compile an issue on a fairly popular topic, namely "language and culture", a field at the heart of our journal's agenda and close to most of our own research foci as researchers. However, the timing of asking speakers of both colloquia to submit revised versions of their presentations could not have been more difficult: In the midst of the Covid19 pandemic, most colleagues were facing major challenges in their professional and personal lives, and The Mouth was understandably not among their most pressing concerns. Instead of receiving inspirational and artfully written texts, we mostly collected friendly rejections or announcements of delays. While the real world out there had long since been hit by the pandemic and its catastrophic effects, academia's mantras of "publish-or-perish" and "can-you-help-us-out-with-a-peer-review" were actually still present. So we had to face the initial disappointment of being told by potential contributors that they were no longer able to perform, write, review, or keep deadlines. Perhaps this presented another occasion for us to climb the stairs out of the epistemic dungeon and breathe in some "real" air. We then put the issue aside for the time being.

Some months later, still during the pandemic, we invited colleagues from around the world to send us whatever they found relevant and enlightening as thematic contributions. We were, and we are still amazed by diverse and thought-provoking papers we received, on a range of topics that are linked to linguistic and cultural practice – yet still outside of mainstream categories of linguistic anthropology or anthropological linguistics.

Dayò Àkànmú and Francis Yedé invite us in their amazing paper on corruption to engage with a perspective that allows to play with it. Since corruption is ubiquitous, has been there since time immemorial, as they write, we have to deal with it. And one way to restore agency again and again is creativity in language and laughing at what is at stake. Yet the authors also make clear that courage is needed in order to write about corruption. They remind us that there is always some sovereignty that people can keep. Yorùbá, a world language, they write, is one of the tools to achieve this.

Selbut Longtau writes from a different position. His language, Tarok, is hardly ever seen as a world language, unlike Yorùbá. Tarok is spoken by a much smaller community in northeastern Nigeria, at the foothills of the Jos Plateau. Selbut Longtau has contributed to knowledge about the language, history and anthropology of the Tarok over decades. In this volume, he presents his recollections and observations about the rituals of young women in the society prior to entering the stage of adulthood. The author acts as a broker who offers a translation of Tarok knowledge into academic approaches and language. The complexity of the ritual practices and their metaphorical meanings shed light on what is known in his culture about other forms of positionality

(pertaining to gender, age, etc.), and help to understand readers that this does not necessarily mean to position oneself in a stagnant, permanent way. Young women in the Tarok society assume diverse roles and speak from changing positions as they grow up. In Tarok, marriage (which is the final stage in growing up) is preferably based on clan exogamy. Married women have their own way of speaking, in a "broken" form of Tarok, performing unfamiliarity. Upon marriage, girls become women, and women turn into foreigners.

A special contribution is the first published academic text by Konca Manav, "Türkischer Kaffee. Ein geschichtsträchtiges Getränk", in which she takes a look at the history of the coffee bean and also of coffee roasting and enjoyment, guided by her memories of the unique smell of Turkish coffee. She shows how, in today's fast-paced world, Turkish coffee has remained a stable part of Turkish eating and drinking culture. Konca Manav addresses the topic from her position as a German-Turkish woman who, as a heritage, has determined the sensibility for tastes and scents over generations.

Sambulo Ndlovu writes about the role of gender in kinship terminology and analyzes various grammatical means of expressing gender with kin terms in their cultural context. The author employs the concept of "doing gender" to show how affixation derives gendered kinship terms in this patrilineal society, for example the term *malume* 'male mother'. In a patriarchial society, the term *malume*, used for maternal uncles, seems to deviate from the other kinship terms in its morphological setup, but this, as the author explains, is in line with the underlying cultural conceptualizations of the social roles of these relatives as 'male mothers', who are seen as mothers rather than fathers.

The contribution by Anne Storch deals with invented languages and concepts of linguistic practices. She draws on two books by Umberto Eco and Clemens J. Setz respectively to discuss the perceptions and conceptualizations of invented languages and their purposes. Her analysis of constructed languages also includes the influence of colonialism and imperialism and the phantasies that have been projected onto linguistic creativities in these contexts. In the final part, the author shares personal experiences of her visit into the world of invented languages on conlang.fandom.com (a website where people can create their own languages) by reflecting on the notion of mimesis.

In his paper, Obert Mlambo examines the verbal practices of veterans of the war of independence (often referred to as *Chimurenga*) in Zimbabwe, focusing on their rhetorical strategies of self-formation in discourse. One of the main features in the speech of Zimbabwean veterans is the focus on constructed masculinity or, in contrast, a rhetoric of effeminacy attributed to political enemies. Thus, speaking about the liberation war of the ZANU-PF political party since the 1980s involves different discursive strategies of conveying ideologies of masculinity and notions of strength and heroism in these contexts, which Mlambo analyzes in his rhetorical and linguistic anthropological contribution against the background of a patriarchal society.

Ellen Hurst-Harosh focuses on cultural artefacts and material objects in relation to the language practices of African youth in South Africa (sometimes referred to as tsotsitaal). By looking at the connection between person and object, or person and musical practice, the author explores the ways in which brands (as global styles), music, and cell phones play a cen-

tral role in young people's language and interactions, and how speakers use body language, touch, look at, or react to these objects, and reflect on them in their conversations. Drawing on a rich corpus of empirical data, she focuses on the ways in which global influences and local practices coincide in these studied contexts of young peer groups.

In his stimulating contribution on *ohùn*, a concept from Yorùbá youth culture in Nigeria, Augustine Agwuele analyzes how young people in particular use language to resist a very hierarchically organized society that revolves around notions of seniority. The focus here is on an introduction to Yorùbá seniority and its acquisition, its obligations – and then on the speakers' means of challenging and deconstructing notions of patriarchy and these social dynamics around "juniors" and "seniors" through the *ohùn* attitude.

Luca Ciucci's study examines the Paraguayan language Chamacoco in terms of linguistic secrecy and concealment. He focuses on the Ebitoso dialect, which is spoken by the vast majority of the Chamacoco population. Secrecy and concealment of Chamacoco are very present practices in Ebitoso and manifest themselves in different ways. Ciucci describes four of these ways of concealing the language, offering a deep insight into the background of concealment and unveiling, leading from religious practices to indigenous identity to secret language.

Roger Blench contributes two short pieces to this volume which shed light on the ways in which language practices and especially oral tales and stories help to understand the early history of mankind. In "Away with the fairies: how old is oral human culture?" the author explores the question of using oral history to re-construct early human connections. Showing similar tales in various parts of Eurasia and Africa, Blench argues for an early existence of complex oral culture. Moreover, he argues for a common origin of the similar tales and folklore which means that oral histories could help to reconstruct aspects of early human history such as migration and contact. In his other piece, "From Tibet to Nigeria via Hollywood: travels of Chaucer's 'Pardoner's Tale'" Blench traces the movements of a tale of the three rioters who seek to kill death and all die in the end. While a famous part of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, the author situates the origin of the story in the Himalayas and finds similar stories in various parts of Africa, Asia and Europe.

We hope you enjoy reading The Mouth 10.

The editors

11

02

A stylistic analysis of corruption-induced idioms and idiomatic expressions in Yorùbá literary and routine communication

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A stylistic analysis of corruption-induced idioms and idiomatic expressions in Yorùbá literary and routine communication

Dayò Àkànmú & Francis Yedé

1 Introduction

Corruption as a phenomenon, it is said, is as old as humanity itself. Corrupt practices cut across all areas of human endeavors. Today in Nigeria, corruption has permeated virtually all sectors of government and social domains. Due to its long existence, its incursion is always linked to human vaulting ambition and unbridled aspiration to achieve the inconceivable within a short period of time. The history of corrupt practices in Nigeria goes back in time even before the corrupt laden second Republic and the subsequent military regimes which succeeded it. For instance, one of the hallmarks of corruption was noticed in the 40's, during colonial era, when Aníkúráʹ, a notorious armed robber tormented Lagos and its environs unchecked. The impunity with which Aníkúráʹ operated was uncanny and its successes were undoubtedly linked to complicity of the then Royal Police Force. Aníkúrá's robbery prowess, wanton gratification and connivance with the Nigeria police

were vividly captured in the notable *Oríkì* (panegyric) to eulogise him thus:

Aníkúrá
Ògbójú olè tí ń dàboro
Àgbà olè abàsùnwọn gbọ̀ọ̀rọ̀
Jàgùdà kéékèèké l'ọlọ́pàá Èkó ń mú
Aníkúrá ḿbẹ níbẹ̀ wọn ò lè mú u
Bí wọn bá m'Áníkúrá
Owó ńlá
Aṣọ ńlá
Níí fí dí baba wọn lẹ́nu
Àyìnlá baálẹ̀ jìbìtì
Àyìnlá baálẹ̀ wàyó
Ó gbowó Ìjèbú
Ó fi dẹwú ẹtù sílé
(Ọlájubù 1977: 10) quoted in Ọlátúnjí, 1984)

'Aníkúrá
The great robber that shows off in fez cape
The celebrated robber of a bottomless pouch
Lagos police can only meddle with petty thieves
Nobody dares arrest Aníkúrá of the untouchable mien
If they arrest Aníkúrá
Big sums of money, big garments
He deploys to seal their father's mouth
Àyìnlá, the enigmatic trail blazer in fraud
Àyìnlá, the taskmaster of dishonesty
He filches Ìjèbú's money
To acquire an expensive *ẹtù* garment.'

As noted in Olatunji (1984), Aníkúrá must have been delighted by the recognition of his dexterity in professional armed robbery then. This is due to the fact that there was no evidence of him taking the *Rárà* artist who composed the song to court. The song, nonetheless, became an instant hit and popular all over Yorùbá land.

The colonial government also did not ban the playing of the record though; it was capable of corrupting moral and destabilizing social order.

This recourse to history establishes that corruption-induced expressions like *wàyó* 'dishonesty' and *jìbìtì* 'fraud' in the excerpt above are age-long internalized social issues which are common in a society where corruption is endemic. It is against this background that this paper sets to examine and analyze corruption-induced expressions and its effects on the communicative performance of the Yorùbá language speakers.

2 Corruption and its expressions

Corruption has multi-faceted meanings and can be viewed through different lenses. Its meaning is viewed from personal or consequential perceptive. Chen (2020) describes corruption as a dishonest behavior by those in position of power, such as managers or government officials. To him, corruption is the means of giving or accepting bribes or inappropriate gifts, double-dealing, under-the-table transactions, manipulating elections, diverting funds, laundering money and defrauding investors.

Geddes and Grosser's (2010) *Webster Universal Dictionary and Thesaurus* gives the concept of corruption as the synonyms of putrescence, rottenness, adulteration, contamination, debasement, sinfulness, wickedness, bribery and dishonesty. All these manifest in human trait and in his daily activities. Ekso (2006) is of the view that corruption is an embodiment of fraud, embezzlement, falsification and perversion designed to gain some benefits for self or one's favorites.

The Yorùbá language like other world languages possesses a standard variety used in

every formal conversation situation while it also retains the non-standard variety for phatic communion and other day-to-day interactions among the users. There are other forms of expressions, however, which include jargons of various trades, sports and occupations. There are also the rich vocabularies of slang of imprecation, of ribaldry as well as the corruption-induced expressions derived from new Yorùbá idioms.

New Yorùbá idioms and idiomatic expressions are contemporaneous and are part of modern communication employed to instruct, persuade, exhort, abuse, extol and entertain in all areas of life. For instance, they are used by radio and television presenters who anchor different Yorùbá programs on radio and television. They are also employed by Yorùbá newspapers journalists, musicians, politicians, commercial bus conductors, film producers, artisans, students and literary artistes (Akanmu 2014). The expressive power of the new idioms makes them eligible to be accommodated into the lexicon of the Yorùbá language. Unlike the traditional idioms, many of the new Yorùbá idioms and idiomatic expressions originated from the youths, artisans, musicians, politicians and other users of the language who are versatile and conversant with the latest developments in technology, science, engineering, politics, trade and commerce (Akanmu 2019).

As reiterated earlier, corruption-induced expressions derived from the new Yorùbá idioms and idiomatic expressions are new expressions brought about by the endemic corruption in the contemporary Yorùbá society and by extension, Nigeria. Corruption is an age long phenomenon which has assumed hydra-headed dimensions in a pervasive manner and has permeated all aspects of the people's lives. It is notable and natural then that corruption-induced expressions are bound to emerge from this type of society.

3 Method of data collection

Data for this paper were drawn from routine communications in Yorùbá and four literary texts from Adébòwálé's play, *O Ṣèyí Tán* (1995); Lérè Adéyẹmí's novel, *Àkùkọ Gàgàrà* (2001); Adédoyin Abégúndé's drama text, *Ìgbéyàwó ku Óla Ìgbéyàwó ku Óla* (2004) and Dayò Àkànmú's anthology, *Jongbo Ọ̀rọ̀* (2002) with sufficient examples of usages of corruption-induced expressions derived from the new Yorùbá idioms and idiomatic expressions. Linguistic metaphorization strategy derived from nominalization, composition and phonaesthetic coinages was employed for data selection. Data analysis, which was done mainly at stylistic and pragmatic levels, illustrated the issue of corruption expressed and contextualized in bribery, internet fraud, politics, looting and contract splitting.

4 Everyday language practice vs. literary language

In order to understand the linguistic processes and creative strategies at work in the practices and expressions of corruption, we draw a line between everyday language and literary language. The former is considered here the sum of practices that provide common ground for all participants, whereas the latter requires particular knowledge in order to be deciphered. This is what Jan Mukarovsky (1970), whose work we consider as the theoretical framework for this paper, has observed early in the discussion of such phenomena.

Our consideration of his model is hence based on the fact that it can be used to clarify the 'differential specifica' between the language of everyday usage and literary expressions. This will be gleaned from the explication and interpretation of the ingenious nature of corruption-induced expressions derived from the new idioms and idiomatic expressions.

Mukarovsky refers to language practices that provide common ground as "standard language," which is the language of ordinary conversation. Its main concern is to forge understanding between the speaker and the audience in order to strengthen effective communication (Crystal 1997: 68). In Yorùbá, language of everyday discourse can be informal and devoid of embellishment. It does not draw attention to itself neither is it open to provocative questions of its actual meaning. It is used on radio, during political debate, for campaigns and used in preaching in the church and mosque. Its aim is efficient communication that utilizes employment of words and phrases that can be easily comprehended. Therefore, to complement undistorted communication in standard language, language use must conform to the principles guiding appropriateness and acceptability. Hypotheses crucial to standard language are 'backgrounding' and 'automatization' illustrated by the example below:

Òkè pòpó!
Òkè pòpó ló ń lọ!
Òkè pòpó nì yí!

'Òkè pòpó!
It is going to Òkè pòpó!
Here is Òkè pòpó bus!'

The content of the above example is derived from the activities of the bus conductors in one of the popular bus stops – Òkè pópó – on Lagos Island. It is obvious that no single element needs further explanation as regards the intended meaning. In contrast, the language of literature, also referred to as poetic language because of the application of embellished language and its unique nature, is exceptionally different from such everyday language practices. It varies in the lexicon, syntax and all forms of the given language, and has been described as 'a stylistic variation of the standard language' by Ọlátẹ́jú (1998). In literary language, the intentional violation of the norms of the standard language is what makes possible the poetic language. The hallmarks of literary language are foregrounding and de-automatization, which are illustrated in the examples below:

Òkè pòpó ẹ méjeejì kó máa jó
Òkè pòpó ẹ méjeejì kó má sọ̀rọ̀
K'ókè pòpó ẹ méjeejì kó ma dansia

'Let your two Òkè pòpó continue to dance.
Let them initiate communication
Let your two Òkè pòpó dance provocatively'

Unlike the previous example of everyday language practice, here Òkè pòpó has been de-automatized or foregrounded to have a new meaning – 'delightful or provocative breasts' which is different from its original meaning in the earlier example that refers to 'a popular location' or 'a bus stop' on Lagos Island. Without the earlier example, there can never be this present one, because Òkè pòpó in the earlier example serves as the background to understanding the present one. Although,

foregrounding is logically prohibited in the standard language, this is not to say that it is not possible in standard language. The above therefore serves as background for the explanation of the new idioms and idiomatic expressions that are foregrounded in the selected corruption-induced expressions analyzed in this paper.

5 Linguistic strategies for the formation of new idioms and idiomatic expressions

According to Bámgbóṣé (1975), word formation is a universal linguistic concept, which is studied by paying attention to the patterns in which a language forms new lexical items. Formations of corruption-induced expressions in this paper are noted through the following linguistic strategies:

5.1 Nominalization

Ruvet (1973: 172) views nominalization as the derivation of a noun phrase from an underlying clause or sentence or the process of forming a noun from other word classes. Below are some examples of new idioms and idiomatic expressions created from the linguistic process of nominalization.

Idioms	Formation	Literal meaning	Idiomatic meaning
Alásàkaṣà	Oní+àsà+kí+àṣà Pre+n+neg.mrk+n (owner-of-bad-culture)	Alásàkaṣà Owner of bad culture	Onísọkúsọ (User of bawdry expression)
Elébòlò	Oní+ebòlò Pre+n	Elébòlò Seller of Ebòlò vegetable	A prostitute
Ólóṣekóṣe	Oní+ọṣẹ+kí+ọṣẹ Pre+n+neg.mrk+n	Ólóṣekóṣe Possession of bad soap	Olóríburúkú (An unfortunate person)

5.2 Phonaesthetic coinage

According to Ọlátéjú (1989: 132), idioms in this category are called phonaesthetic idioms because they evolve from phonaesthetic coinages. Idioms of this nature refer to words or expressions which by the virtue of their sound composition imitate or suggest their meaning. Naturally, they are idiophonic or onomatopoeic and they exhibit close relationship with the sound component of the word and its meaning. They are mostly made up of one word. The following are examples of such coinages:

Idioms	Formation	Literal meaning	Idiomatic meaning
Gòòbe	Phonaesthetic	A Hausa expression for tomorrow	Confusion/chaos
Ọ́róbọ́	Phonaesthetic	Coined from its big/heavy sound	Big/obese/large size

5.3 Composition

Composition is another word-formation strategy in Yorùbá. According to Bámgbóṣé (1994), composition is primarily the forming of a single word from an entire phrase. The native speaker can capture the importance of the original phrase and thus derive a concept of the meaning of the word. For instance, *Àfúnnupè* 'constricting the mouth in order to pronounce' is created from *A máa ń fún ẹnu pè é* 'we habitually constrict our mouth to pronounce it' and is used in line with the linguistic term 'fricative'. Awóbùlúyì (1992) on the other hand, sees composition as a technique in which new terms are created in the language by combining some of its morphemes: mostly derivational types. From the explanation above, it can be deduced that composition is a process that assigns an already existing word to a new word class or syntactic category through the linguistic process of affixation and reduplication. Examples of composition abound in new idioms and idiomatic expressions. Consider the following:

Idioms	Formation	Literal meaning	Idiomatic meaning
Ólóyún ó pọn-mọ	Ó+ńi+oyún+ó+pọn+ọmọ She+is+pregnant+and+still backs+a+child	She is pregnant and still backs a child	Obese/passenger with load
Mámugàrí	Má+mu+gàrí+ Do+not+drink+cassava+flakes	Don't drink gari	Hand-cuff
Abọ́máfọ̀ọ́	A+bọ́+má+fọ̀ọ́ That+which+fell+but+did+not+break	Unbreakable	An overcomer

The foregoings are created from sentences such as:
- Ó lóyún ó pọnmọ
  (she is pregnant and backs a child)
- Má mu gàrí
  (don't drink cassava flakes)
- Ó bọ́ ṣùgbọ́n kò fọ́
  (it/he/she fell but did not break)

All the above sentences can be defined idiomatically as 'obese/overload passenger', 'hand-cuff' and 'to overcome disastrous experience/trouble' respectively.

6 Analysis of corruption-induced expressions

Apart from the routine conversion, the four selected texts from which corruption-induced expressions were extracted are *Ó Ṣèyí tán!* by Olúyẹ́misí Adébọ̀wálé *Ìgbéyàwó ku Ọ̀la*, by Abéégúndé Adédoyin, *Àkùkọ Gàgàrà* by Lérè Adéyẹmí and Jongbo Ọ̀rọ̀ by Dayọ̀ Àkànmú.

6.1 Ègúnjẹ

In *O ṣèyí Tán!*, a play written by Olúyẹ́misí Adébọ̀wálé, the word ẹ̀gúnjẹ, a corruption-induced expression derived from the new Yorùbá idioms and idiomatic expression is used as

allusion to the corrupt nature of the Nigerian system and her people. For instance; in Àjàyí's office, Fálànà derisively accused Àjàyí for supplying sub-standard furniture and refused to sit down even when he politely offers him a seat. In the end, Àjàyí remarked thus:

Àjàyí: Ṣé nítorí pé mo ní mo gba contract furniture yẹn lẹ fi wá ń complain? Quality tí owó tó kù gbé ni mo bẹ àwọn carpenters láti bá mi ṣe é, kì í ṣe favourite mi rárá. Ẹ̀gúnjẹ tó ba country jẹ́ ló jẹ́ ki quality ẹ̀ low.

'Àjàyí: Are you complaining because I got the contract to supply the set of furniture? I prevailed upon the carpenters to produce the furniture quality that is commensurate with the amount made available. I'm constrained. Ẹ̀gúnjẹ (bribery), the bane in the country, is the cause.'

In the above, the use of ẹ̀gúnjẹ, a corruption-induced expression is a phonaesthetic coinage from an existing Yorùbá word àgúnmu 'traditional herbal powder' used to derive the new Yorùbá idiom for 'bribery, inducement or palm-greasing'. Its use is to make the readers situate the source of the low quality of the products in the country to corruption. Going by Àjàyí's defense, he was incapacitated to supply sets of high-quality furniture because of insufficient fund due to the bribe given to those who facilitated the contract. If he failed to offer ẹ̀gúnjẹ, he would not get another contract offer. Ẹ̀gúnjẹ, a corruption-induced expression has become a household expression and has functionally been incorporated into the lexicon of the language and it features in people's daily conversation.

In Ìgbéyàwó ku Ọ̀la, a play by Abéégúndé Adédoyin, there is also the use of a corruption-induced expression ẹ̀gúnjẹ where a character called Owóníyì enters a particular office to see Gbádébọ̀'s boss and was told to offer bribe (ẹ̀gúnjẹ) before he could be allowed to see the person:

Owóníyì: Ẹ má bínú àwọn ọ̀gá ni mi fẹ́ rí.

Gbádébo: Mo ti gbọ́, ṣe ẹ̀yin náà mọ ìlú tí a wà yìí, ẹnu òfìfo kìí dún nàmùnàmù, ẹ̀gúnjẹ ló layé.

'Owóníyì: Don't be angry, I came to see your boss.

Gbádébò: I have heard. I am sure you are aware that in this country, nothing goes for nothing, ẹ̀gúnjẹ is the order of the day.'

Ẹ̀gúnjẹ, in its literal sense means something that is pounded and eaten. It is a phonaesthetic coinage or corrupt coinage of àgúnmu which is a traditional herbal powder. Unlike àgúnmu which in the standard language, ẹ̀gúnjẹ is otherwise creatively coined and used to exhibit the corrupt tendency of some Nigerians who smartly used the expression in their various offices or business for self-gratification. The act of living beyond one's income has brought about the expression ẹ̀gúnjẹ in the above excerpt. Ẹ̀gúnjẹ can be idiomatically or connotatively labelled as bribery and corruption.

6.2 Gbájúẹ

Gbájúẹ̀ is another corruption-induced expression. It is used in Lérè Adéyemí's Àkùkọ Gàgàrà to

illustrate fraudulent and corrupt tendency of a town called Ẹ̀tànlókù. In the text, Àlàó brusquely refused efforts and attempts of suitors from Ẹ̀tànlókù who propose to Fadékẹ́mi's, his daughter, based on the fact that majority of the young men from the town are fraudulent and corrupt. He breaks the silence on the issues when Fadékẹ́mi's mother, who is also from Ẹ̀tànlókù, continues to disturb him and seeks to know why he does not want to allow Fadékẹ́mi to get betrothed to men from Ẹ̀tànlókù:

> … Igbó mímu àti *gbájúẹ̀* tí wọ́n ń pè ní 419 ti jàrába àwọn ará ìlú Ẹ̀tànlókù

> '… marijuana and fraud otherwise called 419 have become a way of life of the people of Ẹ̀tànlókù'

Gbájúẹ̀ is a verbal expression which literally means 'slap him/slap his face'. *Gbájúẹ̀* could have been connected with an old expression *gbájú ìgan* used around 1960 and 1970 to refer to magicians who deceptively robbed people of their belongings at motor parks and other locations. They later observe the shocking effects and the excruciating pains suffered by the ones whose faces were slapped. It is akin to the same feeling felt by a defrauded person. Obviously, *gbájúẹ̀* 'fraudster' is someone who inflicts pains on another person through fraudulent acts. Today, apart from its use in the text and reflected in the excerpt above, *gbájúẹ̀* has become a household expression among the Yorùbá because of the pervasive influence of corruption in Nigeria. It is now an appellation used for people who are involved in criminal acts such as fraud, embezzlement and misappropriation of public funds.

6.3 Ójẹ̀lú

The use of the corruption-induced expression *Ójẹ̀lú* as word that describe corruption in political arena is captured in Àkànmú's *Jongbo Órọ́* in the extract below:

> … Òṣèlú niwọ́n ni àb'*ójẹ̀lú*?
> Nítorí olè tí wọn ó jàlú,
> Wọ́n fi Bíbélì búra èké lásán
> Káyé le rò pé wọ́n dàtúnbí,
> Wọ́n lo Àlùkùráánì, nígbàagba
> Iró funfun báláú ni wọn ń pa kiri

> '… Are they politicians or fraudsters?
> Because of their plan to loot the country's treasury
> They falsely swore with the Bible
> For people to think they are born-again
> They take oaths on Quran on several occasions.
> It is blatant lies that they peddle around'

In the above excerpt, the corruption-induced expression – *Òjẹ̀lú* – has literal and idiomatic interpretations. Its literal meaning refers to politician while its idiomatic meaning is used pejoratively to point to corrupt politicians as 'looters'. *Òjẹ̀lú* (*Ò-jẹ̀-ìlú* 'one who swindles the populace'), juxtaposes with *Òṣẹ̀lú* `ṣẹ̀lú 'one-who-rules or administers the town – politician'. The words shared derivational similarities and at the same time, they are semantically different and opposite. Before now, in the socio-political history of Nigeria, *Òṣẹ̀lú* was the accurate expression used for the political leaders or politicians who are selfless and who abide by the normal democratic tenets that brought about meaningful development and dividends of democracy to the country and the

citizens. Today, as reflected in the above text, *Òjèlú* which can be defined as corrupt or fraudulent politicians, is coined and used to depict fraudulent politicians who have derailed from the political principle of services to the people and have instead resulted to looting the country's treasury for their selfish agenda.

6.4 Ètùtù

Apart from the corruption-induced expressions in the selected texts, there are also others that are utilized in routine communication and day to day conversation of people on radio, musical rendition and other areas of human endeavour. For instance, *ètùtù*, a corruption-induced expression is frequently used between public bus drivers, bus conductors and policemen. The excerpt below is a reply from a bus driver to the police man who asked the driver to produce his vehicle particulars:

> Ògá, mo ti *șètùtù* láàárò
> 'Sir, I had made atonement in the morning'

Ètùtù is a Yorùbá word for 'sacrifice' or 'atonement.' In its original sense, *ètùtù* 'atonement' is used by someone instructed by Ifá oracle to appease the gods with certain sacrificial items in order to overcome a particular or general misfortune. *Ètùtù*, as used in the above metaphorically connotes bribery, though not in the real cultural sense of the word. But there is similarity of purpose here. The traditional *ètùtù* is offered in return for the grace granted by the gods or to avert misfortune, while the *ètùtù* 'bribery' in the context above is used as inducement offered to avoid being delayed unnecessarily by the police man on duty and thus avert the day's misfortune or loss of income. The users took advantage of the state of lawlessness in the country and quickly coined a term that could be easily decoded. After all, the policeman is very much aware that most of the commercial drivers do not have adequate particulars. Eventually, bus drivers provided *ètùtù* 'bribe' instead of the vehicle particulars. It should be stressed here that, the term *ètùtù* 'atonement' as used in this context calls attention to itself and also produces effects which ordinary language cannot produce. The effects are what Mukarovsky (1970) calls 'defamiliarization' or 'enstrangement'. One does not expect the use of the term *ètùtù* 'atonement' in the context shown above because the policeman on duty is not a deity and the object of atonement (money) is not the usual objects for offering penance to the gods either. It takes someone who is well versed in the Yorùbá culture to comprehend the expression in the context such as the one above.

6.5 Yàúyàúù

Yàúyàúù is another corruption-induced expression that is very common in the language of everyday usage. For instance, a presenter, Ọláwálé Babalọláof 107.5 FM (Radio Lagos) on a programme called *Ọmọ Ilé Olórin* narrated the experience of his encounter with some 'area boys' (social miscreants) who pleaded for money at a wedding reception thus:

> Ẹ̀yin yàtò̩ s'áwọn ọmọ *yàúyàúù*
> Tó ń ya bébà lóní yanya
> 'You are different from the Yahoo boys (Internet fraudsters) who spend extravagantly'

In the above, *yàúyàuù* is a loan-word taken from internet related activities which are

provided by 'yahoo', a site for sending and retrieving information on the internet. It is derived from the new idioms and recreated through full reduplication-'yahoo' (*yàúyàuù*) to mean 'an Internet fraudster'. The word *yàúù* is similar in sound with its English equivalent 'yahoo'. 'Yahoo', to Yorùbá perception, sounds very cacophonic. Hence, its pejorative uses to refer to Internet fraudsters as persons of rough, noisy and rude personalities. *Yauu* or Internet fraud which is akin to fraudulent life or doubtful personality is antithetical to *omoluabi* personality held in high esteem in Yorùbá or other cultures across the world. In the above, the expression, *yàúyàuù* was coined to show that some expressions can be adaptable to things or inventions that are alien to Yorùbá culture. Today, the expression 'Internet fraud' has no other name in Yorùbá society than *yàúyàuù*. This assertion is corroborated by the researcher's experience in a conversation between a taxi driver and a passenger at Agbowó in Ìbàdàn, where the taxi driver exhibited his knowledge of the term 'internet fraud' thus:

> … gbogbo títì ló ti bàjé tán, àwọn ọmọ tó jáde Unifásitì kò ríṣé ṣe. Gbogbo wọn ló ti di yàúyàúù. Kín ló ń jé yàúyàúù gan-an? Ọ̀nà ìjanilólè lórí kọ̀mpútà…

> '…all the roads are in bad state, the University graduates are unemployed. They have all become *Internet fraudsters*. What is the exact meaning of internet fraud? An act of defrauding on the computer…'

The use of the expression *yàúyàuù* in contexts above makes interpretations very easy. This is because it is through the context that we are able to comprehend the meaning as a condemnable corrupt act in a society which many of the unemployed graduates see as the shortcut to livelihood.

6.6 Gẹ́ranmáwọ́

Àgémáwọ is another example of corruption-induced expressions used in routine communication, especially by those who eat at road-side or make shift restaurants. It is always common in those places to hear customers making such request in the excerpt below:

> *Àgémáwọ* ni mo fẹ́
> 'I prefer the meat cut with the main skin.'

The use of *àgémáwọ* which literally means 'the meat cut with the main skin' in the context above, can be interpreted connotatively as a preferred or choice meat. Whenever such a request is made, the food vendor knows she has to supply the combination of meat and skin. In another context, *àgémáwọ́* is used by Adébáyọ̀ Fálékè, a news-caster on 105.5 FM radio stations, Ibadan, to admonish the entire civil servants in Oyo State thus:

> Ẹ̀jọ̀wọ́ gbogbo ẹ̀yin òṣìṣẹ́ ìjọba tó fẹ́ rinrin àjò lójó Jímò tòní, ẹ má *gẹ́ranmáwo*' fún 'jọba, ẹ dúró kí àkókò àtilọ sílé tó kí ẹ tó gbéra sọ

> 'We advise all government workers planning to embark on a journey this Friday, not to act in way akin to cutting meat with the skin in various government offices. Please ensure normal closing schedule before going away.'

Unlike the previous examples, the expression *géranmáwo* 'cut meat with its skin' as used in the above context has nothing to do with the issue of 'preferred choice meat'. Here, it can be identified to mean corruption/cheating/deceit/insincerity on the part of those workers who are of the habit of leaving their offices before the closing time.

6.7 Jẹun sápò

Jẹun sápò 'eat into the pocket' is another corruption-induced expression used in *Ọmọ Gómìnà* 'Governor's Child,' a film produced and directed by Anta Láníyan. In the film, a character called Oṣùọlálé uses the expression, in a discussion with his friend Akínbò, to portray fraudulent and corrupt lifestyle of the Nigerian politicians thus:

Akínbò: Oṣùọlálé, ǹ jẹ́ o rántí san owó ẹgbẹ́ tìrẹ fún akòwé ẹgbẹ́ kí o tó kúrò nínú ìpàdé?

Oṣùọlálé: Kí ni ò ń sọ nígboro ẹnu yìí? Níbo ni o ti fẹ́ kí n rówó? Àfi bí ẹni pé àwọn olóṣèlú ti kó gbogbo owó ìlú nílẹ̀ tán, wọ́n kàn ń *jẹun sápò* ni.

'Akínbò: Oṣùọlálé, did you remember to pay dues to the secretary before you left the meeting?

Oṣùọlálé: What exactly are you saying? Where do you expect me to get money? It is like the politicians have packed all the money in circulation. They are just enriching their pockets.'

In the above, *Jẹun sápò* which literally means 'eat into the pocket' can be interpreted as self-gratification. This interpretation is arrived at because of the penchant for diverting public funds for personal use by political office holders in Nigeria. Expressions of this nature are fore-grounded and their meanings cannot be derived from each of their lexical components. They are also not allowed in standard Yorùbá because they are semantically deviant except those that have been exhaustively used and gradually found their ways into the lexicon of the language.

6.8 Gbémọ́ra/Gbémimọ́ra

Gbémimọ́ra/gbémọ́ra is another corruption-induced expression that can be seen in day to day conversation of the Yorùbá people. In 2007, Músíliyù Ọbaníkòró a gubernatorial candidate for people Democratic Party (PDP) used the expression in Lagos Island during his campaign:

Ẹ̀yin ọmọ bíbí ìlú Èkó àti ẹ̀yin olùgbé Ìpínlẹ̀ Èkó, ẹ má jẹ́ kí àwọn ará ibí gbe e yín mọ́ra bíi ti àtijọ́... ẹlétàn ni wọ́n, òrò ẹ̀tàn ló wà ní ẹnu wọn. (Ray power, March 2007)

'I appeal to the indigenes of Lagos State and the entire Lagosians. Don't allow those people to swindle you like they did in the past... They beguile; the words of their mouth are treachery.'

In the above, *gbé e yín mọ́ ra* used in this context is an existing word which literally means 'to cuddle you' or 'to embrace you'. Now, it has acquired new meaning. Its idiomatic meaning is 'to swindle or to deceive someone.' Linguistically, its coinage is through composition or

sentence reduction. Ọbaníkòró exposed his fellow contestants from the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) as beguilers and serial liars and he wanted the good people of Lagos State not to cast their votes for them. This gives vent to the expression *ẹ má jẹ́ kí wọ́n gbé e yín mọ́ra* 'don't allow them to deceive you.' The new meaning given to this expression is suggestive of its intention; to patronize. The expression itself has been elevated to become poetic language.

6.9 Inferences

It can be inferred from the data analyzed so far, that corruption-induced expressions derived from the new Yorùbá idioms and idiomatic expression have been and continued to be used to express different views, opinions and ideas to capture different areas of human endeavors. It is obvious that issues of corruption are addressed generally in all the analyzed data and contextualized in contract splitting, looting, bribery, internet fraud and discordant politics. It is also established that corruption-induced expressions are used to engender desirable communication.

7 Conclusion

This paper has investigated corruption-induced expressions with a view to establishing their communicative and stylistic effects in Yorùbá literary and routine communication. The paper discussed issues expressed through corruption-induced expressions, their structures and formations. Mukarovsky's standard language model was adopted because of its capacity to explain deviant and ingenious nature of corruption-induced expressions. The concept of 'differential specifica' between the language of

everyday usage and literary language was also discussed. It was clearly revealed in the paper that Yorùbá language has adequate mechanism and resources, like every other language of the world, to borrow from and nativize the components of the contact language as well as realign and stretch the structures of the original language to extend its frontier of usage. These coping strategies were found to be deposited in the existing word-formation structures of the Yorùbá language through which the corruption-induced expressions emanated. The uniqueness of these new idioms reflects ingenious lexical formation and semantic expansion to highlight the new normal in language use and, to foreground fraudulent practices and disorientation in the Nigeria socio-political milieu.

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03

Symbols and metaphors in the life of a Tarok girl from birth to early marriage

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1 Introduction

The Tarok people live in Langtang-North, Lang-tang-South and Wase Local Government Areas (LGAs) of Plateau State, in central Nigeria. They also live in large numbers in all the contiguous LGAs of Plateau, Taraba and Nasarawa states.[1] A slice of how the life of a maturing Tarok girl played out until she becomes a young married woman is subjected to a close look. Interpretations of the symbols and metaphors connected with that life are proffered. Many of the symbols can be studied *in situ* but some are cited here only for their historical value. A semantic analysis is undertaken for each Tarok terminology of the symbols in their present

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[1] Tarok population in 2006 was estimated at about 400,000 based on populations of electoral wards according to the Federal Republic of Nigeria: Legal Notice on the Publication of the Details of the Breakdown of the National and State Provisional Totals of 2006 Census. Official Gazette, 2006, 24 (94): B176-98. The estimate took cognisance of the Tarok population in Wase LGA and Diaspora.

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cultural settings. In the hill enclaves traditional Tarok life is still the norm of a sort. However, it is under severe threat but not completely replaced by modernity.

Fitzpatrick (1910: 35) who was considered the official ethnographer of the colonial office of northern Nigeria in that era provided this rather inaccurate information on Tarok marriage that warrants a paper like this one:

> Some of the Yergum[2] have a more informal method or procedure. A youth suggests marriage to a girl. If she agrees to the proposal, the youth kills a chicken, and taking this and his bed (a mat), goes in the evening to the compound of the girl's father. He gives the chicken to her mother, and is presented to her father, who shows him to a hut within the compound, where he places his mat. He and the girl pass the night there. In the morning the lad returns to his father's compound, leaving his mat where he slept. He spends the night at the house of the girl as and when he likes, and, at the end of four months, either marries her, or leaves her. A child born out of wedlock is regarded as being the property of the mother's father.[3]

A complete and formal Tarok ethnography has remained non-existent. The colonial sources as Temple & Temple (1919) and Meek (1925) are not only unprofessional but shallow. Some aspects of Tarok social life are mentioned in Famwang (1980, 1999), Dashe (1999), Galam (1999) and Longtau (1999). They provide some useful information on Tarok marriage systems, childcare and burial rites. However, none employed any formal ethnographical methodology. Shagaya (2005) is a huge work but it lacks ethnographical depth since it is expected to be a history. Lamle (2010) is an ethnography on Tarok that covers only joking relationships and laughter as a conflict management tool. This paper is a transition compilation meant to fill only the lacunae that exist in the understanding of symbols and metaphors associated with the life of a Tarok girl from birth to early marriage. Our approach is also not according to any formal theory but an outcome of experiences and observations by a member of the community.[4] Moreover, a further aim is to provide descriptive data that may inform comparative work. Therefore, our references are Tarok-centric on purpose.

2 Symbols at birth

2.1 Placenta and umbilical cord burial site

The birth of a child in the Tarok society is an occasion for much joy even though it is not celebrated. It carries with it a sense of responsibility that the family and society are expected to fulfill. As soon as a child is born, the *agurum* 'placenta' is evacuated, the *agúl*[5] 'umbilical cord' is cut and both are put in a pot and buried.

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[2] Yergum and its variant of Yergam is a derogatory reference to the Tarok people.

[3] Repudiating these generalizations at this point will be a diversion from the topic of this paper.

[4] I have been a participant observatory and member of the Tarok community for over 65 years.

[5] Tones are marked in the fashion: ´ for high, mid unmarked and ` for low as found in Longtau (1993).

The observance of this custom brings good luck. It is also a symbol that brings about corporeal connection to mother earth. This symbolism is to reinforce the love of maternal uncles and aunts. For a girl, the burial is done at the *ǹsìm-ǹzhí* 'backyard' of her mother's quarters which is made up of a group of huts. For a boy the afterbirth and cord are buried at *anung-abwanǵ* 'frontage', an open space leading to a fort like compound. This custom makes the baby a *bona fide* member of a family.

Apart from that meaning of the symbol, the pot marks the spot where contact can be made with her physical being by a medicine man in an event of sickness. That is the case when she cannot be physically present. The spiritual equivalence of this is the marking of burial sites in the same manner with pots. Libations can be poured at these sites throughout the life of the individual even in death as the herbalist would dictate.

The symbolism of the burial site of a baby boy is more prominent than that of a girl. It is a reference point in the life of a lad. He is taught that his progress in life is tied to an arrow that will be found at that site if his umbilical cord were to be exhumed. The arrow is expected from his maternal uncles. This symbolism is to reinforce the love of uncles and aunts on the mother side. An arrow is a symbolism for self-defense, security and a survivalist instinct for the defense of the land. The actual physical arrows and quiver of the man later in life are returned to his maternal uncles.

2.2 Earlobes straw

About eight days or so after birth, the ear lobe of a baby girl is pierced with a symbolic meaning apart from marking her as a girl.

A thread is fixed and the hole is treated with mahogany oil. After the proper healing of the wound, the thread is replaced with a broom straw (*ìgìsàr*). This symbol reminds her that one day the straw will be replaced by a more permanent wooden ear piece (*akúnchwáng*) at marriage. To many, marriage is expected to be the dream and pride of every Tarok girl.

2.3 Leather strip and leaf dresses

In those days of no dresses, her tiny body would be decorated with a strip of leather called *mpata* which also serves as a reminder that one day at puberty she would graduate to wearing leaves (*azang*) to cover only her buttocks. Only a married woman is permitted to wear fresh leaves to cover both her buttocks and frontal private parts. This preserve of married women was called *azang-apyàl* 'private parts' leaves'. In the case of a girl, its absence marked her as unmarried. The leather strip remained with the girl till she would start receiving courtship gifts from prospective suitors. After the nuptial night she becomes qualified to start wearing the frontal leaf 'dress' to mark that transition.

2.4 Courting/marriage symbols/metaphors

The occasion and place for courting and marriage in traditional Tarok society varies from area to area. However, the ultimate decision of who a girl will marry is her exclusive preserve. The process are playouts of a series of dramas that will be enacted by a legion of participants. Galam (1999: 13-25) is a useful outline:

> One very interesting aspect of the Tarok culture as opposed to what obtains in most other

African traditions [sic] is the way a young lady chooses her life partner […]. Factors that play major roles in the selection of a life partner by a young girl in the Tarok society include the right of the girl to make a decision on her own, peer and parental influences.

We shall look at the symbols and metaphors connected with her right to choose a husband.

2.4.1 Inter-village group dance

If her choice is at the inter-village communal dance called *ǹkwòk*, it is a straightforward matter. Young men from one village will arrange the formal dance for the purpose of finding potential wives from another village. Dance steps, dexterity, mannerism and costumes of the male dancer are the determining factors of who a girl will marry. A good dancer can have more than one girl falling in love with him. During the dance, girls of the hosting village would stand aside to observe how the young men are performing. The dance ground is called *aginting*. The girls will join in one by one in front of the young man each has chosen as a potential suitor. She will remove parts of his costumes and drapes them, or his stick or dancing tail and so on. This is symbolic of her choice of a husband. At the close of the outing, the young men will go round to the homes of the girl or girls under the pretext of retrieving parts of their costumes, sticks and so on. This symbolic gesture marks the start of a relationship that may end up in marriage. The choice by the girl will be respected by her parents. However, if investigations by her parents will reveal any adverse findings on the young man and his family, she would only be advised against marrying the man but the final decision rests with her.

2.4.2 Straw game

Relationship between a girl and boy can be started through a straw game. Boys from the same village or elsewhere would have been observing a girl reaching puberty and becoming a damsel who is matured enough for marriage. They would observe the kind of chores and responsibilities the mother has been delegating to her to execute. A young man who wants to start a relationship with such a girl would have been making advances and proposals to her. He may meet her returning from the stream carrying a pitcher. He would metaphorically say to her that he likes her beautiful pitcher. She would simply smile and go her way. Another young man may see her on a different occasion and say he likes her bangles, ear-straw, firewood load etc.

The news will be filtering out in the community about the proposals being made to the girl. In order not to allow potential suitors from other villages to snatch her away from them, the young men would hold an informal meeting and spy on her. Once they knew her movements, they would signal each other and would line up in wait for her. Each will hold a straw and stretch it out for her to grab as she passes by. If she doesn't fancy any of them, she will just pass without making any choice. The young man whose straw is picked would later follow her to the house. The acceptance of the straw marks the beginning of a relationship that may culminate into marriage. This choice is entirely the decision of the girl. This symbolic straw is called *avivik*.

2.4.3 Gifts after outing by the living dead called oRim

The living dead are the departed ancestors that continue to interact with the living descendants. Every cropping season, these entities observe a festival called *ikaka* 'festivals of ancestors'. They go round villages in a given region where their relatives live. They distribute blessings and goodwill to such loved ones. When they enter a house where a girl who has attained the age of marriage, she would be requested by the ancestors for her to inform them about which of the young men of the village she would like to marry. If she was not in a relationship, they would prod her to make a choice from among the young men in the village or neighbouring villages. She is expected to comply and not to disappoint them. The Tarok people believe that the ancestors care much about the welfare of their descendants.

A day after this matchmaking, the young man or his parents are expected to take gifts as trinkets, traditional beauty lotions and so on to the girl and her parents. The gifts are symbolic that the wishes of the ancestors have been honoured. If a girl should suggest the names of more than one man, she would be guided by her mother to make up her mind. In that way, gifts will be received from just one man. However, the potential suitor who is rejected will still provide a token to show that he is not hurt.

The above scenario can play out with girls and boys as young as six to nine years. In this case the major players are the mothers of the children. The gifts are tokens or symbols of pledges and commitments. For this age bracket, food items as beniseed, traditional cakes, meat etc. are the main gifts to prove that the family of the boy is capable of taking care of their poten-

tial wife. A formal declaration is made by the family of the young man that they are in-laws at the appropriate time. This is called *ǹjing-nggyá* 'pledge to own up to courtship obligations'.

2.4.4 Symbolic engagement and in-lawship gifts of nggyá and igwáȓ

Courtship is a phase that suitors bring gifts upon gifts to a girl. Such are kept away by the mother of the girl until after a formal engagement. A suitor that was not finally selected by the girl may demand for a refund of all the gifts *iyə́m-nggyà* 'things for courtship', showered on the girl. A wise mother should store the gifts for likely refunds but a sensible potential in-law would take over the responsibility of all the refunds. So in the end the girl will always have surplus gifts.

The formal engagement gift that will permit a young man to meet up the obligations to in-laws is a symbolic gift called *atiɓa* 'tobacco'. This may be the literal chewing tobacco or roasted chicken. It is a symbol that has to do with hearing from the mouth of a girl who she wants to marry. The 'tobacco' seals a covenant between two families. Once the tobacco has been accepted from the hand of a suitor and symbolically chewed, she is expected not to bring another man to the parents as a suitor.

After the formal engagement, the young man and young men of his age group are supposed to work on the farm for about three consecutive cropping seasons. A symbolic crop that is cultivated every year is the *izhin* 'beniseed'. It is not only a critical practice in shifting cultivation but a symbol of fertility among the Tarok.

A further symbol in Tarok marriages is the *adǐr-abwà* 'bride price hoe'. The bridal hoe was a currency. The young man gives a set of 20-50

pieces each to the girl and uncle. It shows that the in-law will be able to take care of the girl. On the day she would elope with the young man to become a wife, she will drop her set of hoes in the courtship room. Once her absence is noticed, the mother would check that room to confirm her suspicion. That is in itself a symbolism.

2.4.5 Symbolic appeasement of family guardian spirits – iyɔ́m-báɍ

The adjoining walls of the Tarok house called *abar* are guarded by spirits. When a young man elopes with the girl, the security of the fortress is said to be breached. The young man would pay a fine of grains called *iyɔ́m-bár* for brewing beer to appease the guardian spirits. If not, calamity would befall the family and the girl may become barren.

2.4.6 Symbolic announcement of marriage through gift of a chicken – ìrugù

Early in the morning after the nuptial night, an emissary of the bridegroom will be sent with a slaughtered chicken, *ìrugu*, to his in-laws to formally inform them that their daughter is not missing. This is a symbolic wellbeing gift.

2.4.7 Symbolic homecoming of the bride – ntur-ùchaɍ

Two weeks after the marriage festivities, the bride goes back to her parents in the company of her husband accompanied by a thank you gift called *ntur-ùchaɍ* 'public revelation of the bride'. Hitherto she has been in seclusion. The gift is a slaughtered goat. From this point on the couple can freely have sexual intercourse and have children.

2.4.8 Symbolic significance of ntìmchir ceremonies

A married woman would stay with the parents for as long as the husband has not fulfilled all the marriage requirements called *igwar*. The children given birth to will belong to the parents of the girl on behalf of the maternal uncles. So, the earlier he completes the *igwar*, the cheaper it will be for him to redeem the children.

However, a mutual agreement can be struck by the couple for the wife to move to her matrimonial home before *igwar* may be completed. The movement is called *ntìmchir* (derived from *nìip achir* 'setting up the hearth'). In the ceremony two symbolic meals are prepared by the bride *uchaɍdəp*.

In her first evening in her matrimonial home, she will prepare a tasteless meal called *akɨri-adəlkɛ̀n* (tasteless draw soup) for her husband, in-laws and neighbours. This symbolically marks the last time they would eat such a tasteless meal as long as she remains in the family. The next day she will spend the whole day preparing delicious dishes *akɨri nggòl* (delicious soup) to entertain her husband, in-laws and neighbours. This is to symbolically announce to them that as long as she remains in the house, the meals will be delicious.

2.4.9 Symbolic significance of the courting room – ìjini

The Tarok houses have a courting-hut called *ìjini* in the quarters of each wife. This is where the girl would meet privately with a suitor. The door is an empty space and it faces the room of the mother. The floor has only *ndàkal̀* 'a mat' for the man to sit on. There is also a short stool

ìtok in the room for the girl to sit. This kind of architecture promotes high moral standards. The stool is the most symbolic of the scanty furnishings in the courting room. It is a weapon of defence she is free to use should the man be tempted to have carnal knowledge of her. Sexual relationship before marriage is a taboo. Therefore, the figure of speech that announces the death of an elder as him lying in the courting room is apt. The suitor must exercise self-control as a corpse that has no feelings.

2.4.10 Gifts of children to a father –ǹná-ikùr

Authority over the control of children and all the benefits children can bring to a family is the exclusive preserve of the maternal uncles of the children and not their father. However, if a father desires to redeem his male children he will negotiate that with the maternal uncles. Payment is made in goats to redeem the children. This applies only to male children. However, a token and show of love for harmonious relationship with in-laws is through a symbolic gesture on the part of the representative of the maternal uncles. He is expected to give a relief to the father not to pay a ransom for one male children and not to collect the bride price on one female. This custom is called *nná-ikuṛ* 'giving out sorghum'. This symbol is to bless the in-law with sorghum which the Tarok take as the means of sustenance.

2.5 Babysitter

Babysitting amongst the Tarok is both physical and symbolic. A young wife who has formally moved into her matrimonial home in the process called *ǹtím-achír* 'setting up the hearth

stone' is usually accompanied by a young girl. She is called a babysitter (*ùyèn ùgà ǹkpán ùyèn*), who will take care of the children of her sister. It is a phase in the life of a girl which is the bedrock for her informal education. Dashe (1999: 39-40) is a summary:

A stage in child training and upbringing is between 8 and 12 months. Her assistance as a babysitter is employed in helping her mother in teaching the baby how to sit, crawl and walk. This is to allow the mother to attend to other chores. In training a child, it is not only the parents of a child who are involved, but the entire family and the entire community. Female children are taught by their mothers how to do women's work, while the male are taught by their fathers how to do men's work. Boys are taught activities as building, thatching, hunting and farming.

A female child's training starts at the age of two as children play together and learn what their parents do, e.g. cooking, fetching water, keeping the house neat, carrying babies on their backs, etc. At the age of five the girl is expected to be able to fetch water from the stream. From the age of 10 years the girl is expected to know how make to fire to prepare food for the little ones at home in the daytime when the parents when parents are out for farm work.

At this stage, she can start going out to look for cornstalk and firewood on her own. She can grind guinea corn in quantities commensurate to her age. She is also engaged in pounding and grinding corn for preparation of gruel for family consumption. It is her duty to give young people warm first thing in the morning to brush up. The girl will sweep the kitchen

and the outside. She will wash the hearth pots to shine as if they have been polished with oil. She takes utensils like dirty calabashes to the river or the washing place. They are properly dried on the wooden dish rack. It is wrong in Tarok land for people to be served food or drink in dirty or wet utensils. She lights fire for preparation between 4-6 pm. A late dinner is not is a disgrace to a woman.

Apart from the virtues of informal training, a babysitter from the maternal home of a young wife is a psychological support to her because she has someone from 'home' to relate with in a new environment. The girl will not feel lonely because as they participate in the early morning chores, her sister would celebrate their relatives in songs and historical narratives. Invariably the babysitter is revered as a diplomat of a sort.

3 Conclusion

The above discussion is far from being a treatise on Tarok marriage system. The symbols and metaphors reveal that the language encodes a rich way of life including customs and taboos. The traditional way of life is still practised by the Tarok people who occupy the hill enclaves of the homeland. Weddings in the churches cannot be done until all the traditional requirements have been carried out.

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04

Türkischer Kaffee. Ein geschichtsträchtiges Getränk

04

Türkischer Kaffee. Ein geschichtsträchtiges Getränk

Konca Manav

„Mmmmhhhhh! Hier riecht es nach Kaffee-eeee" ruft das dreijährige Kind, indem es seinen Kopf in den Nacken wirft und den Duft des frisch gerösteten Kaffees einatmet. „Ohhhhh! Kaffeeeeeee!", bemerkt das kleine Kind noch einmal an und bleibt vor der großen Kaffeeröstmaschine stehen. „Ja, es duftet nach Kaffee", bestätigt die Mutter und lächelt ihre kleine Tochter an, die zu ihrer Mutter hoch-sieht und ihr bejahend zunickt. „Weißt du, wir haben noch wenig türkischen Kaffee zuhause. Ich denke, wir sollten auch ein wenig von dem frisch gemahlenem Kaffeepulver kaufen", sagt die Mutter und teilt dem hinter der Verkaufs-theke stehenden Kaffeeverkäufer die Menge an gemahlenem Kaffeepulver, die sie kaufen möchte, mit. Der Duft des Kaffees scheint für das dreijährige Kind faszinierend zu sein, dass es seiner Mutter nochmals ihre Wahrnehmung mit den Worten „Ohhhhh! Es riecht nach Kaffeee" mitteilt. Dabei legt das kleine Kind wiederholt seinen Kopf in den Nacken und atmet den Duft des Kaffees tief ein.

Diese Begebenheit, welche sich vor sehr langer Zeit ereignete, erlebte ich mit, denn bei dem dreijährigen Kind handelte es sich um meine Schwester, die mittlerweile als erwachsener Mensch eine Kaffeeliebhaberin ist. Mittlerweile wird dieses Ereignis als Anekdote im Familienkreis gerne erzählt,

insbesondere dann, wenn hin und wieder türkischer Kaffee gekocht wird. Dabei lässt sich beim Erzählen dieser Anekdote immerwährend ein Schmunzeln sowie ein Lächeln bei den Zuhörer*innen, zu denen außer Familienangehörige manchmal auch Menschen aus dem Freundes- beziehungsweise Bekanntenkreis gehören, entlocken.

In einer schnelllebigen Welt, in der die Ess- sowie Trinkgewohnheiten der in verschiedenen Kulturen lebenden Menschen zweifellos unter dem Einfluss der unaufhaltsamen Globalisierung stehen, ist der türkische Kaffee ein geschätzter Bestandteil der türkischen Ess- sowie Trinkkulturen. Ich schreibe über den türkischen Kaffee als in Deutschland lebende Tochter aus der Türkei eingewanderter Eltern. Mein Blick auf die Geschwindigkeit des Wandels ist wahrscheinlich ein anderer als der von Menschen, die aus einer anderen Position heraus schreiben.

Der türkische Kaffee ist in der Türkei wie auch in Deutschland lebenden Familien sowie Menschen mit türkischer Migrationsgeschichte und durch diese in Deutschland existierenden türkischen Gemeinden allgegenwärtig. Die Allgegenwärtigkeit spiegelt sich im alltäglichen Leben in den zwischenmenschlichen Interaktionen und Beziehungen wider, so dass diese alltägliche Allgegenwärtigkeit des türkischen Kaffees die Frage aufwirft, inwiefern der türkische Kaffee in zwischenmenschlichen Beziehungen in der türkischen Kultur seinen Einfluss ausübt, und wodurch sich dieser Einfluss in zwischenmenschlichen Beziehungen, die auf kommunikativer Ebene stattfinden, bemerkbar macht.

Um sich mit diesen Fragen auseinandersetzen zu können, soll zunächst über historische Grundlagen berichtet werden, etwa

darüber, welche urspüngliche Herkunft und Bedeutung das Wort „Kaffee" aufweist. Danach wird aufgezeigt, durch wen sich der Kaffee zu einem Getränk etablierte. Hierbei wird auch die historische Ausbreitung des Kaffees näher beleuchtet, wobei dem Osmanischen Reich und seinen diplomatischen Gesandten, den Beobachtungen und Wahrnehmungen von Europäer*innen, die sie nach ihren Reisen ins Osmanische Reich als Berichte verfasst haben, eine besondere Rolle zukommt. Darüber hinaus wird geklärt, wie der türkische Kaffee zu seiner Bezeichnung kam und welche signifikanten gesellschafts- und kulturspezifischen Werte der türkische Kaffee in der türkischen Gesamtgesellschaft in der Türkei kennzeichnet. Hierfür gilt es anhand von zwei Sprichwörtern zu verdeutlichen, inwiefern der türkische Kaffee

zur Pflege und zur Stärkung von zwischenmenschlichen Beziehungen beiträgt. Neben den türkischen Sprichwörtern existieren jedoch auch Ressentiments in anderen Ländern gegenüber dem türkischen Kaffee auf sprachlicher Ebene, die am Beispiel von Großbritannien und Griechenland, dargelegt werden. Mit Bezug auf diese beiden Länder wird erörtert, warum das eine Land religiös geprägte Identitätschiffrierungen auf sprachlicher Ebene gegen den türkischen Kaffee ergriffen hat, und das andere Land wiederum aus nationalistisch-politischem Grund gegen den türkischen Kaffee auf sprachlicher Ebene agierte.

Ich möchte schließlich mit einem Anleitungsbeispiel für die Zubereitung des türkischen Kaffees einen kleinen Einblick in die Besonderheiten, die es bei der Zubereitung des türkischen Kaffees zu beachten gilt, geben. Anekdoten aus Gesprächen über Kaffee und Erinnerungen an Begegnungen veranschaulichen wiederum, wie ein Mitglied der älteren Generation versucht, der jüngeren Generation die Kunstfertigkeit des Kaffeekochens in der Zubereitung des türkischen Kaffees zu vermitteln, welche Beziehungen zwischen Kaffee und Emotionen bestehen, wie Erinnerung Bedeutung gewinnt. Diese Geschichten verdeutlichen oft auch, wie die ältere Generation sich in der Verantwortung fühlt, an die jüngere Generation eine kulturell- und gesellschaftsrelevante Tradition, die im Jahr 2013 von der UNESCO in die „Repräsentative Liste des immateriellen Kulturerbes der Menschheit"[1] aufgenommen wurde, aktiv handelnd weiterzugeben.

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[1] Siehe hierzu: https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/turkish-coffee-culture-and-tradition-00645

Kaffee – ein weltweit bekanntes und geschichtsträchtiges Getränk des Alltags

Im alltäglichen Leben begegnen sich Menschen in unterschiedlichen Situationen, sei es im privaten oder beruflichen Bereich. Es ist nicht auszuschließen, dass sich in einigen dieser Zusammenkünfte die sich begegnenden Menschen für ein gemeinsames Essen und/oder Trinken aussprechen. Dabei bevorzugt mancher Mensch ein bestimmtes Getränk, und zwar den Kaffee, ein weltweit beliebtes und geschichtsträchtiges Getränk. Eine nähere Beschäftigung mit diesem Getränk erfordert zunächst eine skizzenhafte Auslegung der urspünglichen Herkunft und Bedeutung des Begriffs „Kaffee", die im nachfolgenden Abschnitt kurz vorgenommen wird.

Die ursprüngliche Herkunft und die Bedeutung des Wortes „Kaffee"

Über die Herkunft des Begriffs „Kaffee" weiß der Duden (2021), dass dieser Begriff vom arabischen Wort *qahwa[h]* stammt. Überdies weist der Duden (2021) darauf hin, dass der türkische Begriff für das Wort „Kaffee" – nämlich *kahve* – sich aus dem arabischen Wort *qahwa[h]* herleitet.

Der Islamwissenschaftler Peter Heine merkt an, dass der Ursprung des deutschen Begriffs „Kaffee" zwar einerseits im arabischen Begriff *qahwa* liegt. Gleichzeitig sagt Heine (2017: 122) aber auch, dass in der Vergangenheit das Wort *qahwa* in der arabischen Sprache ebenso ein Wort unter 150 verschiedenen Wörtern gewesen ist, das den Begriff „Wein" bezeichnend zum Nutzen kam. Bevor Kaffee also selbst bekannt wurde, war das Wort *qahwa* längst ein gebräuchliches Wort (Hattox 1998: 18).

Hattox (1985: 18f.) führt außerdem an, dass die arabische Wurzel *q-h-w-w/y*, von welcher das Wort *qahwa* sich ableitet, dazu dient, etwas zu beschreiben, was als abstoßend erscheinen oder das Verlangen nach etwas verringern soll. Für ein besseres Verständnis gibt Hattox als Argument an, dass es sich – gemäß den mittelalterlichen arabischen Lexikographien – bei dem Wort *qahwa* ursprünglich deshalb um Wein handelte, da die Vermutung vertreten wurde, dass der Wein den Menschen vom Essen abhalten beziehungsweise seinen Appetit nach Essbarem entziehen würde. Die Anwendung dieses Begriffs auf den Kaffee scheint auf eine bewusste Assoziation hinzudeuten, nämlich: so wie der Wein das Verlangen nach Essen tilgt, so beseitigt der Kaffee das Verlangen nach Schlaf.

Der Zeitpunkt der Entdeckung des Kaffees lässt sich zwar nicht eindeutig feststellen, aber eine ziemliche Sicherheit vermag darin

zu bestehen, dass die Herkunft des Kaffees auf Äthiopien beziehungsweise auf das äthiopische Hochland zurückzuführen ist. Es wird unter anderem die Vermutung aufgestellt, dass der Kaffee aus der Provinz Kaffa, die sich im Südwesten von Äthiopien befindet, stammt und seinen Namen über diesen Provinznamen erhalten haben könnte (Ferré 1991: 17 zit. nach Scherzinger 2005: 13). Demgegenüber schreibt Heise (1996: 9), dass einerseits die Provinz Kaffa in Äthiopien als der historische Ursprung des Kaffees die Wissenschaft oftmals beschäftigt, jedoch die Begrifflichkeiten *qahwa* und *kahve* von der Wissenschaft eher nicht mit diesem Provinznamen in Verbindung gebracht werden.

Erst als dieses neue Getränk, welches im 16. Jahrhundert in den Gebieten des Mittleren und Nahen Ostens – von Äthiopien aus über den Jemen – sich seine Geltung verschafft, führt die Etablierung dieses neuen Getränkes zu einer Änderung im inhaltlichen Gebrauch des Wortes *qahwa*. Diese Änderung besteht darin, dass dieses Wort seitdem ausschließlich für das sich neu etablierte Getränk gebraucht wird (Heine 2017: 122).

Die Anfänge des Kaffees als Getränk

Es ist anzunehmen, dass die Araber*innen den eigentlichen Kern dieser Angelegenheit, sprich die geröstete Kaffeebohne und ihre Verwendung als aufgebrühtes Getränk – wie es in der heutigen Zeit üblich ist – entdeckten. Jedenfalls ist es den Araber*innen geschuldet, dass die Kaffeepflanzen aus Äthiopien nach Jemen im 14./15. Jahrhundert eingeführt wurden, mit der Absicht, sie in einem großen Umfang zu kultivieren und mit der Ernte zu handeln (Heise 1996: 11). Das Klima im Bergland des Jemen war dabei für den Anbau der Kaffeepflanze gut geeignet (Hattox 1985: 23).

Es wird auch vermutet, dass der Kaffee aus der äthiopischen Region Kaffa von muslimischen Pilger*innen zwischen 1470 und 1500 nach Mekka gebracht wurde (Schweiger 2009: 24; Heise 1996: 17). Es entstanden so die ersten Kaffeegärten, zunächst erst einmal in der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts, rund um Mekka herum. Der Kaffeeanbau und der Handel mit Kaffee entwickelten sich zu einem Gewinn bringenden Geschäft, so dass neben der Anzahl der an diesem Handel beteiligten Menschen auch der Profit an ihm einen kontinuierlichen Zuwachs erfuhr (Heise 1996: 19).

In den verschiedenen überlieferten Geschichten und Legenden, die über die Ursprünge des Kaffeetrinkens in diesen für den Islam zentralen Ländern berichten, herrscht in zwei Punkten allgemeine Übereinstimmung: Als erstes wird der frühe Konsum von Kaffee fast ausnahmslos auf den Jemen zurückgeführt und der zweite Punkt liegt darin, dass die meisten Geschichten den Ursprung des Kaffeetrinkens mit einem oder mehreren islamisch-mystischen Sufi-Orden, für die Kaffee schnell zu Andachtszwecken bedeutsam wurde, verbinden (Hattox 1985: 14). So berichtet Heise, dass sich durch den Einfluss des religiösen Gelehrten Muhammad Ibn Said Al-Dhabhani, der in der jemenitischen Stadt Aden um das Jahr 1450 lebte, Kaffeetrinken bei den Sufi-Ordensgemeinschaften durchsetzte. Durch Kaffeetrinken bei religiösen Zusammentreffen der Sufi-Orden wurde beabsichtigt, den Sufis zu gewährleisten, dass sie „(…) die anstrengenden nächtlichen Exerzitien, transzendental-spirituellen Übungen oder mystischen Rituale zur Vereinigung mit Gott konditionell durchstehen beziehungsweise sich danach besser wachhalten" konnten (Heise 1998: 11) . Weiterhin gibt Heise an, dass Muhammad Ibn Said Al-Dhabhani, der ebenfalls ein Mitglied eines

Sufi-Ordens war, die Sorge dafür trug, dass im Jahr 1454 Kaffeepflanzen im Jemen kultiviert wurden (Heise 1998: 12).

Diese Aussage stützt Hattox mit dem anschließenden Argument, dass sich die vorhandenen Literaturquellen zu der Verbindung, die zwischen dem Kaffee und den verschiedenen Sufi-Orden existiert, einstimmig äußern. Dabei lässt sich dieses Verhältnis nicht alleinig mit dem Jemen in Verbindung bringen. Neben den Pilger*innen und Kaufleuten füllten die Sufi-Orden eine wesentliche Rolle für die Ausbreitung des Kaffees beziehungsweise des Kaffeetrinkens aus dem Jemen über die arabische Halbinsel bis nach Ägypten sowie Syrien aus (Hattox 1985: 23f.; Acar 2007: 15). Dieser Sachverhalt lässt sich auch darauf zurückführen, dass die Mitglieder von Sufi-Orden in der Regel keine zurückgezogenen und einsiedlerischen Menschen gewesen sein müssen: Im alltäglichen Leben betrieben sie ihre Handelsgeschäfte oder gingen zu ihren Arbeitsplätzen, feilschten auf den Märkten, suchten die Bäder auf und kehrten abends nach Hause zu ihren Familien zurück. Die Einbindung der Ordensmitglieder in das Alltagsgeschehen ihrer Außenwelt war aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach einer der wichtigsten Faktoren für die Verbreitung und das Bekanntwerden des Kaffees beziehungsweise des Kaffeetrinkens im Jemen. Wäre der Sufismus[2] eine Bewegung gewesen, die die Isolation ihrer Mitglieder verlangte – wie dies beim christlichen Mönchtum oftmals durch die hohen Mauern der Klöster charakterisiert ist – wäre dadurch der Konsum von Kaffee vermutlich eine geheimnisvolle Praxis, die nur die Sufi-Orden gekannt hätten, geblieben. Dies war jedoch nicht der Fall (Hattox 1985: 26f.). Da die generellen Ordensregeln ganz und gar keine geheimnisvolle Behandlung von den Sufi-Ordensmitgliedern erfuhren, fand der wachhaltende Kaffeetrank dadurch ebenso in der restlichen jemenitischen Einwohnerschaft innerhalb einer kurzen Zeit seine Wertschätzung (Heise 1998: 12). Der Kaffee stieg in wenigen Jahrzehnten zu einem Volksgetränk im Jemen auf. Weiterhin begann er zu einem wichtigen Exportartikel zu werden, weil die Jemenit*innen den Kaffee zu den Orten, wo sie hinreisten, mit sich nahmen oder Kaffeeanlieferungen ausführen ließen (Heise 1996: 19).

Im Übrigen sei vermerkt, dass im 16. Jahrhundert die arabischen Länder wie auch die Türk*innen die Kaffeebohnen lediglich aus dem südlichen Jemen erhielten, wodurch die am Roten Meer liegende kleine Hafenstadt al-Mokha sowie Jiddah, der Vorhafen der arabischen Provinz Mekka, bald als hauptsächliche Orte für die Kaffeeausfuhr dienten. Hierfür wurden die rohen Kaffeebohnen von den Kaffeegärten, die sich an den Hängen der Berge terrassenförmig hinzogen, an die Meeresküste befördert. Eine alternative Möglichkeit der Verfrachtung war aber auch über die Landroute nach Norden gegeben, die nach Damaskus und

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[2] Der Sufismus legt als religiöse Bewegung seinen Schwerpunkt auf das mystische Streben nach Gott. Seine Anhänger*innen betrachten es als eine persönliche Suche nach Nähe, spiritueller Verschmelzung und endgültiger Einheit mit dem Göttlichen, die durch einen Zustand völliger Vergessenheit gegenüber der Außenwelt zu erreichen versucht wird. Die gemeinsamen Gottesdienste, die die Mitglieder eines Sufi-Ordens normalerweise nachts abhalten, sind oft von verschiedenen Praktiken geprägt, die eine tranceartige Konzentration auf Gott fördern sollen, um – zumindest vorübergehend – die angestrebte Vergesslichkeit gegenüber allem anderen aus der Außenwelt zu erlangen. Die Erreichung dieses Zustandes versuchen sie oftmals durch die rhythmische Wiederholung eines Namens oder Beinamens Gottes, oder auch anhand des grundlegenden muslimischen Glaubensbekenntnisses zu bewirken. Dabei verstärken bestimmte vorgeschriebene Schwingungen des Kopfes, der Hände oder des gesamten Körpers die hypnotische Wirkung der Gesänge (Hattox 1985: 24; Hattox 1985: 141).

Bagdad führte (Heise 1996: 46). Bis zum frühen 18. Jahrhundert kam fast der gesamte Kaffee, der im Nahen Osten – sowie übrigens ebenfalls in Europa – konsumiert wird, aus den Häfen des Jemen, die als Absatzmärkte für die Kaffeeanbaugebiete im Landesinneren dienten (Hattox 1985: 23). So kann zwar mit Blick auf die Verbreitung des Kaffees, die sich bis in die letzten Winkel der arabischen Welt vollzog, ohne Zweifel gesagt werden, dass dieser etwas mit sufistischen Praktiken und muslimisch-arabischer Einflussnahme zu tun hat. Allerdings kann ebenso mit Gewissheit gesagt werden, dass die Fortsetzung dieser Verbreitung auch dem Osmanischen Reich, welches nun seine Macht in diesen Gebieten entfaltete, anzuerkennen ist (Heise 1996: 17).

Die Verbreitung des Kaffees durch das Osmanische Reich

Es ist das Jahr 1517, in dem zum ersten Mal darüber berichtet wird, dass in Istanbul Kaffee konsumiert wird (Heise 1996: 19). Im gleichen Jahr wurden der Jemen, Syrien und Ägypten von Sultan Selim I.,[3] der über das Osmanische Reich herrschte, erobert. Des Weiteren gelangten die arabischen Städte Mekka und Medina unter osmanische Herrschaft. Die geographisch-räumliche Ausdehnung des Osmanischen Reiches leistete ihren Beitrag dazu, dass der Kaffee nun in allen Regionen, in denen die osmanische Regentschaft ihre Macht ausübte, bekannt wurde. Aufgrund dieses Umstandes ist es naheliegend, dass der Kaffee nicht nur die Hauptstadt des Osmanischen Reiches, nämlich Istanbul, von den arabischen Ländern aus, die von der osmanischen Herrschaft verwaltet

wurden, erreichte (Acar 2007: 15). Der Kaffee gewann auch im Sudan, in Ägypten und Syrien sowie in weiteren Ländern der arabischen Welt, aber auch in Kleinasien und Südosteuropa immer mehr an Relevanz. Die weitere Verbreitung des Kaffees geschah dann in den nördlichen und westlichen Gebieten des Osmanischen Reiches, das heißt im Balkan und in Ungarn. Hier folgten an die Orte, wo türkische Soldaten stationiert waren, und wohin Offiziere und Angestellte der osmanischen Verwaltung versandt wurden, ebenfalls die Küchenwagen mit den Kaffeebohnen nach (Heise 1996: 19).

Um das Jahr 1600 erlangte der Kaffee im ganzen Osmanischen Reich Bekanntheit. Diese wurde von Trinkgewohnheiten getragen, die aus der Gastlichkeit im privaten wie auch geschäftlichen Leben hervorgingen (Heise 1996: 19f.). Zwischen den Jahren 1550 und 1600 – aber ebenso nach diesem Zeitraum – lernten die Europäer*innen, die die verschiedenen und auch kulturell eigenständigen Orte des Osmanischen Reiches bereisten, allmählich den Kaffee als Getränk, wie auch dessen Zubereitungsweisen und die unterschiedliche Art und Weise, dieses Getränk zu servieren, kennen (Heise 1996: 20; Heise o. J.: 10). Gegen Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts überquerte die Kaffeetradition, die sich als erstes in der Kultur des arabischen Stadtlebens einen privilegierten Platz verschaffte, die Grenzen des Osmanischen Reiches und erreichte die europäischen Länder (Timur Ağıldere 2019: 15).

Die Verbreitung des Kaffees erfolgte demnach von Arabien nach Westen über das Osmanische Reich. Aufgrund dieser Tatsache wurde damals in Europa dem Kaffee die Bezeichnung „Türkentrank" verliehen. Die europäischen

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[3] Sultan Selim I. (*1470 †1520), der Sohn des Sultans Bayezid II. (*1448 †1512) ist auch unter dem Namen „Yavuz Sultan Selim I." bekannt. Sultan Selim I. herrschte über das Osmanische Reich im Zeitraum von 1512 bis 1520 (Türk Tarih Kurumu 2021).

Reisenden, die die jeweiligen Orte bereisten und den Kaffee als Getränk geschmacklich entdeckten, nahmen auf ihrer Rückreise nach Europa einige Kaffeebohnen für sich und ihren engsten Bekannten- oder Freundeskreis mit. Manche dieser europäischen Reisenden, die das Kaffeetrinken kennenlernten, erlebten das Kaffeetrinken als einen Genuss, der sie – ihrer Ansicht nach – nach diesem Getränk wahrlich „süchtig" machte (İşat 2007: 70 zit. nach Bulduk & Süren 2007: 306).

Währenddessen waren einige andere von ihnen über die Eigenschaften, die dieses Getränk besitzt, erstaunt, so dass sie beschlossen, Kaffeebohnen mit auf ihre Heimreise mitzunehmen, um sie dann später in Europa für eine wissenschaftliche Studie zu erforschen. Dagegen entdeckten andere unter ihnen mit ihrem Unternehmergeist, dass dieses als „mysteriös" wahrgenommene Getränk als Handelsware ein gewisses wirtschaftliches Potential besaß. In diesem Sinne gelang es dem Kaffee als eine Art „Türkentrank" aus unterschiedlichen Gründen und in kurzer Zeit nach Europa zu gelangen, um schlussendlich dort gleichermaßen einen festen Platz einzunehmen (İşat 2007: 70 zit. nach Bulduk & Süren 2007: 306), so dass bald darauf über den Kaffee und das Kaffeetrinken einige interessante Berichte von Europäer*innen veröffentlicht wurden.

Kurze Einblicke in einige der zum Kaffee und zum Kaffeetrinken verfassten Berichte – mit Bezugnahme zum Osmanischen Reich

Im Jahr 1807 veröffentlichte der französische Chemiker und Apotheker Antoine-Alexis Cadet-de-Vaux (*1743 †1828) eine umfassende Studie über die historische Entwicklung und die medizinischen Eigenschaften des Kaffees mit dem Titel „Dissertation Sur Le Café; Son Historique, Ses Propriétés" (Eine These über die Geschichte und Eigenschaften des Kaffees). Die Studie zeigte auf, dass zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts der Kaffee als Getränk nicht nur ein Genussmittel auf der ganzen Welt war, sondern zu einem unverzichtbaren Bedürfnis wurde. Überdies wurde berichtet, dass das Kaffeetrinken bei den Menschen längst zu einer Gewohnheit geworden war. Dabei machte Cadet-de-Vaux seine Leserschaft darauf aufmerksam, dass die ganze Welt den Kaffee über die Türk*innen kennengelernt hatte (Timur Ağıldere 2019: 15f.):

> „Während Wein, Apfel- und Birnenwein und Bier durch verschiedene alkoholische Spirituosen, die aus der Destillation von fermentierten Flüssigkeiten gewonnen werden, ersetzt werden können, kann aber der Kaffee durch nichts ersetzt werden. Als Prinzip der Mode kam der Kaffee zu uns: Ein Türke trank Kaffee, wir mussten ihn wohl zweifellos auch trinken. Der Kaffee, der zum Genussobjekt geworden ist, hat sich durch Gewohnheit als Geschmackskonvention bis in die untersten Gesellschaftsschichten verbreitet, und ist schließlich zu einem Bedürfnis, sogar zu einer gebieterischen Notwendigkeit geworden." (Cadet-de-Vaux 1807: 17 zit. nach Timur Ağıldere 2019: 16; meine Übersetzung)

Mit der Aussage von Cadet-de-Vaux, dass ein Türke Kaffee trank und demnach dies der Grund gewesen ist, dass in Frankreich das Kaffeetrinken als Mode eingeführt wurde, lässt die Vermutung aufkommen, dass es sich bei dieser Aussage um eine Anspielung auf einen bestimmten Türken handeln muss:

Der Türke, der in Frankreich vor allem in der Oberschicht der Pariser Gesellschaft den Kaffee zu einem „Moderausch" werden ließ, ist der türkische Botschafter, Müteferrika[4] Süleyman Ağa[5], der im Jahr 1669 vom Sultan Mehmed IV.[6] an den Hof von Ludwig XIV. (*1638 †1715), bekannt als der „Sonnenkönig", entsandt wurde. Der Kaffee war zwar in Frankreich seit dem Jahr 1645[7] bekannt, aber Müteferrika Süleyman Ağa[8] und seine diplomatische Gefolgschaft trugen einen großen Anteil daran, den Kaffee zu einem Objekt der Konsumkultur in Paris zu machen (Timur Ağıldere 2019: 16).

So berichtete Laurent d'Arvieux (*1635 †1702) – der einer der Übersetzer*innen am Königshof von Ludwig XIV. war, seinen diplomatischen Aufgaben nachging sowie diverse Reisen unternahm – in seinen Memoiren über seine Reisen in Länder des Mittle-

ren beziehungsweise Nahen Ostens, dass für den besagten Besuch des türkischen Botschafters die Empfangszeremonie vom französischen Außenminister, Hugues de Lionne (*1611 †1671), arrangiert wurde. Um die Macht des französischen Königreichs zu demonstrieren und nicht den Eindruck zu erwecken, dass das französische Königreich nicht fähig sei, der prächtigen Tradition der Botschafter*innen-Zeremonien des Osmanischen Reiches nachzukommen, ließ der französische Königshof die Empfangszeremonie mit einer übertriebenen Pracht stattfinden, die sogar die Zubereitung und Servierung von Kaffee miteinschloß (d´Arvieux 1735 zit. nach Timur Ağıldere 2019: 16).

Vor diesem Hintergrund sollte auf etwas Bemerkenswertes hingewiesen werden: In seinen Memoiren, in denen Laurent

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[4] Im Osmanischen Reich bezieht sich der Begriff *Müteferrika* zunächst auf eine Art mit Tätigkeiten beauftragte Klasse von Dienerschaft, die am Hof des Sultans dem Gefolge der Wesire zugehören (Afyoncu 2021). Im Übrigen handelt es sich um eine allgemeine Bezeichnung für die jeweiligen Personen, die für verschiedene Arten von Diensten im osmanischen Palast verantwortlich sind. Im Gegensatz zu anderen Bediensteten wird dieser Begriff vorzugsweise für diejenigen Personen verwendet, die aufgrund ihrer familiären Abstammung und gesellschaftlichen Position ein bestimmtes Ansehen genießen und insofern zu den auserlesenen Personen gehören. Demgemäß werden sie nicht mit einer beständigen Aufgabe beauftragt, sondern ihnen werden verschiedene Dienste am Hof des Sultans auferlegt. Zudem werden Bedienstete, die sich im Gefolge des Wesirs sowie der Generalgouverneure befinden, gleichfalls als *Müteferikka* tituliert (Afyoncu 2021).

[5] Dieser Botschafter des Osmanischen Reiches wird in den verschiedenartigen fremdsprachigen (historischen) Quellen als „Soliman Aga", „Suleiman Aga" beziehungsweise „Soleiman Agha" genannt. In den türkischsprachigen Quellen ist diese Person als „Müteferrika Süleyman Ağa" erwähnt.

[6] Sultan Mehmed IV. (*1642 †1693), war der Sohn des Sultans Ibrahim I. (*1615 †1648). Da er ein großes Interesse an der Jagd besaß, ist Sultan Mehmed IV. in der Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches unter anderem unter dem Beinamen „Avcı Mehmed" (d. h. „Mehmed, der Jäger") bekannt. Sultan Mehmed IV. herrschte über das Osmanische Reich im Zeitraum von 1648 bis 1687 (Türk Tarih Kurumu 2021).

[7] Als im Jahr 1645 die ersten Kaffeebohnen die französische Hauptstadt Paris erreichen, werden die Kaffeebohnen jedoch nicht als solche bemerkt. Stattdessen werden sie als Maulbeeren signifiziert (Heise 1996: 42).

[8] Chanda (2007: 87) postuliert, dass der türkische Botschafter Müteferrika Süleyman Ağa der diplomatische Gesandte des außergewöhnlichen Kaffees wird. Laut einem späteren englischen Bericht ruft der Kaffee, die Anmut und die „Exotik" des türkischen Botschafters eine Begeisterung bei den Pariser*innen hervor (Chanda 2007: 87). Hierzu schildert Crawford (1852: 51f.) in seinem Bericht „History of Coffee" die besondere Atmosphäre, die die Pariser*innen bei einem Besuch beim türkischen Botschafter wahrnehmen, indem sich vor allem die französischen Damen – auswegslos – faszinieren lassen zu scheinen, mit diesen Worten: „If a Frenchman, in a similar case, to please the ladies, had presented to them his black and bitter liquor, he would be rendered for ever ridiculous. But the beverage was served by a Turk – a gallant Turk – and this was sufficient to give it inestimable value. Besides, before the palate could judge, the eyes were seduced by the display of elegance and neatness which accompanied it, – by those brilliant porcelain cups into which it was poured, – by napkins with gold fringes on which it was served to the ladies; add to this the furniture, the dresses, and the foreign customs, the strangeness of addressing the host through an interpreter, – being seated on the ground on tiles, &c., and you will allow that there was more than enough to turn the heads of French women."(Crawford 1852: 51f.)

d´Arvieux (1735: 146-149) als Übersetzer agierend das Zusammentreffen zwischen den beiden Diplomat*innen schildert, und die Rede des französischen Außenministers Hugues de Lionne gegenüber dem türkischen Botschafter Müteferrika Süleyman Ağa sowie dessen Rückantwort wortgetreu wiedergibt, macht d´Arvieux (1735: 149f.) zugleich darauf aufmerksam, dass letztendlich den beiden Diplomat*innen, die in ein Gespräch kommen, und den weiteren Gesprächsteilnehmenden – neben dem Kaffee – unter anderem Sorbet sowie schließlich Parfüm dargereicht wird.

Das zusätzliche Darbieten von Sorbet und Parfüm scheint einen Hinweis darauf zu geben, dass der französische Königshof über bestimmte Traditionen, die in der damaligen Zeit in der Ess- und Trinkkultur des Osmanischen Reiches ihre Beachtung finden, eine gewisse Kenntnis besessen haben muss. Die Darstellung von d´Arvieux lässt es zu, die Annahme aufzustellen, dass ein solches Wissen beispielsweise von Reiseberichten, die von Diplomat*innen, Reisenden, Handeltreibenden, Wissenschaftler*innen und Forscher*innen etc. verfasst wurden, stammen können.

Wenn es um die Frage geht, welche unter den Reiseberichten, die den Alltag im Osmanischen Reich beschreiben, als eine der sichersten historischen Quellen angesehen werden kann, lässt sich der im Jahr 1560 verfasste Reisebericht mit dem Titel „De la République des Turcs" (Über die Republik der Türk*innen) von Guillaume Postel (*1510 †1581), der einer der prominentesten Orientalist*innen und Reisenden aus dem Zeitalter der Renaissance war, nennen (Arıkan 1984: 68-72 zit. nach Timur Ağıldere 2019: 18). Im Jahr 1535 kam Postel erstmals im Gefolge von Jean de la Forest (†1537), oder ebenfalls als Jean de La Forêt bekannt, der als erster Botschafter Frankreichs im Osmanischen Reich gilt, nach Istanbul (Arıkan 1984: 69 zit. nach Timur Ağıldere 2019: 18).

So setzt Postel (1560: 16f.) mit seinem Reisebericht die französische Leserschaft über die Ess- und Trinkkultur der Türk*innen in Kenntnis. Dabei schenkt er bemerkenswerterweise dem Kaffee keine Beachtung. Seine Aufmerksamkeit sowie die seiner Leser*innen richtet er eher auf die als türkische Getränke geltenden Fruchtsäfte, die aus der Pflaumen-, Trauben-, Feigen-, Birnen- oder Pfirsichfrucht zubereitet werden. Hierbei verweist Postel auf das Sorbet[9], welches auf Türkisch şerbet heißt, hin, das aus dem Fruchtmark der saisonalen Fruchtsäfte angerührt und – im Sommer eisgekühlt sowie mit Rosenwasser[10] aromatisiert – den Gästen angeboten wurde (Postel 1560: 16f. zit. nach Timur Ağıldere 2019: 18).

Dass nach dem Kaffeetrinken von der/dem Gastgeber*in den Gästen auch Parfüm dargereicht wird, scheint den europäischen Eliten

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[9] Heine (2017: 129) gibt an, dass das Wort „Sorbet" auf den arabischen Begriff „shariba" zurückzuführen ist, der im Deutschen „trinken" bedeutet. Anfangs handelte es sich bei diesem Getränk um ein frucht- oder zuckerhaltiges Getränk, das mit Schnee gekühlt wurde. Um das gekühlte Getränk außerdem noch in den heißen Sommertagen offerieren zu können, beanspruchte die Beschaffung des zur Kühlung eingesetzten Schnees oder gegebenenfalls auch des Eises eine erhebliche Mühe an Organisation und Finanzausgaben (Heine 2017: 129). In Istanbul erfreut sich das Getränk, das am Hof des osmanischen Sultans als şerbet bekannt wurde, an großer Beliebtheit. Ab Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts lernten schließlich die aus Europa kommenden und in Istanbul lebenden Diplomat*innen und Geschäfts- und Handeltreibenden dieses Getränk kennen. Diejenigen unter ihnen, die aus Venedig stammten, sorgen dafür, dass das Getränk in Italien als sorbetto populär wird. Als dann im 17. Jahrhundert das sorbetto Frankreich erreicht, wird in Paris das Getränk sorbet genannt, wo es „mit der sich ständig verbessernden Kältetechnik (…) zu dem leichten, halbgefrorenen Wassereis mit Früchten" (Heine 2017: 129) entwickelt wurde.

[10] Im Originaltext von Guillaume Postel ist die Rede von eau rose damasquine, dem Rosenwasser, das aus Damaszener-Rosen hergestellt wird.

aus dem höfischen Leben im Osmanischen Reich ebenso bekannt gewesen zu sein. Als eine dieser Europäer*innen kann die englische Schriftstellerin Mary Wortley Montagu (*1689 †1762) gezählt werden. Während ihres Aufenthaltes in Istanbul berichtete sie in Form von Reisebriefen über ihre diversen Beobachtungen und Wahrnehmungen aus verschiedenen Bereichen, zu denen auch zeremoniell-rituelle Handlungen in der Ess- und Trinkkultur der Türk*innen gehörten. Diese inhaltlich aufschlussreich berichtenden Reisebriefe sind in den historischen Literaturquellen unter dem Namen „Turkish Embassy Letters" bekannt.

In einem ihrer Reisebriefe erzählt Mary Wortley Montagu – die im Übrigen die Ehefrau des englischen Botschafters und Diplomaten, Sir Edward Wortley Montagu (*1678 †1761) war –, dass sie von der Gattin des Großwesirs zum Essen eingeladen wurde, die Wert darauf legte, vor dem gemeinsamen Mahl mit Lady Mary eine freundliche sowie höfliche Konversation zu führen (Montagu 1909: 121-123; Faroqhi 1995: 243). Zu dieser Zusammenkunft wurde Lady Mary noch von zwei Damen begleitet, indem eine dieser Damen für Lady Mary als Dolmetscherin wirkte (Montagu 1909: 122; Faroqhi 1995: 243), weil Lady Mary zu dieser Zeit in der türkischen Sprache noch keine ausreichenden Kenntnisse besaß, die ihr eine selbstständige Verständigung hätten ermöglichen können (Faroqhi 1995: 243).

Es wurden bei diesem Besuch – zum Abschluss der gemeinsamen Mahlzeit – die Gäste mit Kaffee und Parfüms bedient. Dabei wurden Lady Marys Haare, Kleider sowie ihr Taschentuch von zwei vor ihr knienden Sklav*innen parfümiert (Montagu 1909: 123; Faroqhi 1995: 243). Es kann vermutet werden, dass Lady Mary von ihrer Dometscherin ver-

mittelt wurde, dass diese Handlung eine Höflichkeit von besonderer Art beziehungsweise ein hohes Zeichen des Respekts war (Montagu 1909: 123; Faroqhi 1995: 243), der der Ehefrau eines hochrangigen ausländischen Diplomaten entgegenzubringen war.

Vor allem die Europäer*innen, die insbesondere durch diplomatische Beziehungen mit dem Osmanischen Reich die rituellen und zeremoniellen Handlungen kennenlernten, die Türk*innen in ihrem alltäglichen Leben praktizierten, konnten in Erfahrung bringen, in welcher Form hochrangige Personen aus dem Osmanischen Reich, die wiederum nach Europa entsandt wurden, Höflichkeit und Respekt zu bekunden war. Die Bedienung von Kaffee, Sorbet und Parfüm weist somit darauf hin, dass der oben genannte französische Außenminister im Namen des französischen Königreichs gegenüber dem Osmanischen Reich sowie seinem Gesandten, Müteferrika Süleyman Ağa, den notwendigen Respekt und die Wertschätzung entgegenbringt, indem dem türkischen Gesandten zu verstehen gegeben wird, dass rituelle und zeremonielle Besonderheiten, die beim Empfang von hochrangigen beziehungsweise diplomatischen Gästen im Osmanischen Reich gepflegt wurden, dem französischen Königshof bewusst waren.

Bekanntwerden des Kaffees in Europa durch die sogenannte „Türkenbelagerung" von Wien

An anderer Stelle ist zu lesen, dass, obwohl die Europäer*innen im 16. Jahrhundert auf den Genuss von Kaffee kamen, indem sie aus privaten, geschäftlichen oder/und diplomatischen Gründen in die arabischen Regionen gelangten, die schrittweise unter die Herrschaft des Osmanischen Reiches gerieten (North

2003: 195), der Kaffee im 17. Jahrhundert in erster Linie eher von Wien aus seinen Weg in das übrige Europa fand. Dass Wien besonders erwähnt wird, liegt wohlmöglich darin begründet, dass in dieser Stadt zum Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts die Kaffeehäuser populär zu werden begannen und sich weiter durchsetzten. Der Grund für diese Entwicklung hängt von der folgenden legendären Geschichte ab, die viel erzählt wird (North 2003: 197):

Im Verlauf der zweiten militärischen Umstellung von Wien, die seitens des Osmanischen Reiches im Jahr 1683 stattfand, soll den Einwohner*innen von Wien das türkische Kaffeelager mit seinem gesamten Inhalt zugefallen sein (North 2003: 197). Auf diesem Weg scheinen Europa und seine Einwohner*innen die Bekanntschaft mit dem Kaffee erst mit der militärischen Niederlage des Osmanischen Reiches in Wien gemacht zu haben (Bulduk & Süren 2007: 306). Dabei befanden sich Gürsoy zufolge unter den Dingen, die die osmanische Armee bei ihrem militärischen Abzug auf dem Schlachtfeld zurücklassen musste, angeblich etwa 500 Säcke mit Kaffeebohnen. Zu dieser Zeit wussten die Wiener*innen aber nicht, was Kaffee ist. Daraufhin stellte ein Hauptmann die Behauptung auf, dass es sich hierbei um Kamelfutter handle, und es wurde der Entschluss gefasst, den gesamten Kaffee in die Donau zu schütten (Gürsoy 2005: 41 zit. nach Bulduk & Süren 2007: 306). Weiterhin sagt Gürsoy, dass angeblich unter ihnen allen ein Pole namens Kolschitzky[11] zu wissen schien, um was es sich bei dem vermuteten Kamelfutter in den Säcken in Wirklichkeit handelte (Gürsoy 2005: 41 zit. nach Bulduk & Süren 2007: 306). Später eröffnete Kolschitzky[12] ein Kaffeehaus in Wien. Zunächst mochten die Wiener*innen den Kaffee wegen seines bitteren Geschmacks nicht, und außerdem empfanden

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[11] Den Angaben des österreichischen Kaffeekontors Kolschitzky in Wien zufolge kam Franz Georg Kolschitzky (*1640 †1694) im Jahr 1656 nach Wien und ließ sich hier erst im Jahr 1681 dauerhaft nieder. Da Kolschitzky nicht nur Sprachkenntnisse in der polnischen Sprache vorweisen konnte, sondern ebenso des Türkischen, Deutschen und Rumänischen, übte er Dolmetschertätigkeiten aus, die ihm besonders in der zweiten militärischen Umstellung Wiens durch die osmanische Armee zugutekamen (Kaffeekontor Kolschitzky 2021).

[12] Aus manchen Literaturquellen ist die Information zu entnehmen, dass im Jahr 1683 das erste Kaffeehaus in Wien mit dem Namen „Zur blauen Flasche" von Franz Georg Kolschitzky eröffnet wurde. Im Gegensatz dazu offenbaren die Archive andere Hinweise zum Eröffnungsjahr des Kaffeehauses. Hierin wird das Jahr 1686 genannt, in dem Kolschitzky das Privileg für den Kaffeeausschank schriftlich ausgestellt wird. Dadurch ist zwar der Beweis, dass Kolschitzky seinen Kaffeebetrieb im Jahr 1683 aufnimmt, nicht gegeben, aber etwas Gegenteiliges liegt genauso nicht vor. Unabhängig davon lässt sich Franz Georg Kolschitzky in die Reihe der Gründungsväter der Kaffeekultur in Wien einordnen (Kaffeekontor Kolschitzky 2021). Dagegen schreibt Heise (1996: 44), dass im Jahr 1683 zwar die Eröffnung des ersten Wiener Kaffeehauses stattfand. Aber schon fast 20 Jahre vorher tranken neben den Aristokrat*innen Wiens auch Wiener*innen aus anderen Kreisen der Gesellschaft Kaffee. Die Ursache für die Vorliebe, die die Wiener*innen für das Kaffeetrinken entwickelten, lässt sich wohl auf den mehrmonatigen Aufenthalt des türkischen Großbotschafters Kara Mehmed Paşa (*1634/1635 †1684) in Wien zurückführen, der im Jahr 1665 sein Lager mit einer Gefolgschaft von 300 Personen und einem großen Inventar, zu dem auch der Kaffee gehörte, einrichtete. Der Aufenthalt des türkischen Großbotschafters in Wien, der von 1665 bis 1666 dauerte, ist darauf zurückzuführen, dass für die Bekräftigung eines Friedensvertrags zwischen dem österreichischen Kaiser Leopold I. (*1640 †1705) und des Sultans des Osmanischen Reiches, Sultan Mehmed IV. (*1642 †1693), jeweils am Hof der Gegenpartei die Einrichtung von Großbotschaften beschlossen wurde. So staunten die Wiener*innen über die Pracht und den Pomp der türkischen Gesandtschaft und besuchten zahlreich das Lager der türkischen Großbotschaft. Infolgedessen liegt die Vermutung nahe, dass hierbei die meisten Wiener*innen den in der damaligen Zeit bezeichneten „Türkentrank" selbst getrunken haben könnten. Ab dem Jahr 1665 weisen die Wiener Quellen schließlich mehrmals wiederholt auf die Beliebtheit des Kaffeetrinkens in privaten Gesellschaftskreisen hin. Dieser Tatbestand ändert sich auch dann nicht, nachdem der türkische Großbotschafter Kara Mehmed Paşa im März des Jahres 1666 nach Istanbul zurückkehrte (Heise 1996: 44).

sie die Farbe des Kaffees wenig ansprechend. Allerdings gewann der Geschmack von Kaffee an Beliebtheit und der Kaffeekonsum stieg an, vor allem ab dem Zeitpunkt, als zufällig Zuckerwürfel in die eine oder andere Kaffeetasse fielen (Gürsoy 2005: 41 zit. nach Bulduk & Süren 2007: 306).

Apropos Kaffeetasse:

Meine Mutter erzählte mir einmal, dass ich mich schon als vierjähriges Kind für kleine Mokkatassen mitsamt ihren Untertassen interessierte. Meine Neugierde an diesen Objekten äußerte sich unter anderem darin, dass ich eines Tages beschloss, das komplette Kaffeeset, welches heute noch aus sechs weißen Mokkatassen sowie sechs weißen Untertassen besteht und im Wohnzimmerschrank aufbewahrt wird, zu spülen. In meiner Neugierde unterstützte mich meine Mutter, indem sie mir

half, das Kaffeeset in die Küche zu tragen. Danach wurde das Spülbecken mit lauwarmem Wasser gefüllt. Anschließend wurden noch ein bis zwei Tropfen Spülmittel dem Wasser hinzugefügt. Nun ließ meine Mutter zuerst nur eine Mokkatasse und eine Untertasse in das Wasser hineingleiten. Danach schob sie einen Küchenstuhl dicht an das Spülbecken, hob mich auf den Stuhl und krempelte noch meine Ärmel hoch. Und jetzt konnte es für mich losgehen! Allerdings rutschte mir in meinem Eifer die Untertasse aus meinen kleinen Händen an den Rand des Spülbeckens, so dass an zwei Stellen des Untertassenrandes kleine Stücke vom Porzellan absplitterten.

Bis heute wird auch diese leicht angebrochene Untertasse verwendet, wenn wir daheim türkischen Kaffee zubereiten. Dabei möchte meine Mutter zu der jeweiligen Mokkatasse immer diese Untertasse benutzen, weil für sie dieses Objekt einen besonderen Erinnerungswert besitzt, der darin besteht, dass ich anhand dieses Kaffeesets bereits als kleines Kind – ungeahnt – die ersten Schritte in die geschichtsträchtige „Welt" des türkischen Kaffees unternahm.

Der türkische Kaffee und die Gastfreundschaft der Türk*innen

Im Jahr 1517 brachte der Gouverneur des Jemen, Özdemir Paşa (†1561), den von ihm bewunderten Kaffee nach Istanbul. Dank der von den Türk*innen erfundenen Zubereitungsmethode wurde der Kaffee in einer Kaffeekanne, die seitlich einen länglichen Stiel besitzt und auf Türkisch *cezve* heißt, gekocht und erhielt so den Namen *Türk kahvesi* (‚türkischer Kaffee') (Ulusoy 2011: 161).

An dieser Stelle soll vermerkt sein, dass damals der Kaffee in der Hauptstadt des Osmanischen Reiches in erster Linie in den osmanischen Palästen des Sultans sowie von Adligen getrunken wurde. Während der Gästebewirtung wurde darauf achtgegeben, dass neben dem Kaffee, Süßigkeiten und Sorbets serviert wurden (Gürsoy 2005: 32 zit. nach Bulduk & Süren 2007: 304). Es konnte in dieser Zeit zunächst zwar nur ein sehr enger Kreis von Menschen den Geschmack von Kaffee ausprobieren, da aber der Kaffee den Platz eines Getränkes einnahm, welches die für die osmanischen Muslim*innen verbotenen alkoholhaltigen Getränke ersetzte, wurde der Kaffee in kurzer Zeit auch außerhalb der Palastmauern in großem Umfang konsumiert (Gürsoy 2005: 28 zit. nach Bulduk & Süren 2007: 304). Der Kaffee, der im Sultanspalast großen Anklang fand und seinen eigenen Platz in der Palastküche eroberte, verschaffte sich vom Sultanspalast aus seinen Zutritt in die kleinen palastartigen Domizile und Villen der gesellschaftlichen Oberschicht sowie anschließend in die Häuser der Menschen aus weiteren Gesellschaftsschichten. Innerhalb einer kurzen Zeitspanne entwickelte sich der Kaffee zu einem unverzichtbaren und leidenschaftlichen Genuss der

in Istanbul lebenden und ansässigen Menschen, so dass „Kaffee (…) im Laufe der Zeit zu einem festen Bestandteil des gesellschaftlichen Lebens geworden ist." (T.C. Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı 2006: 1 zit. nach Ulusoy 2011: 161; meine Übersetzung).

In diesem Zusammenhang sei der französische Orientalist und Reisende Antoine Galland (*1646 †1715), der mit seiner erstmaligen Übersetzung der „Erzählungen aus Tausendundeiner Nacht" Berühmtheit erlangte, erwähnt (Timur Ağıldere 2019: 22). Während des Zeitraums von 1672 bis 1675 hielt sich Antoine Galland in Istanbul auf und verfasste eines der umfassendsten Werke zur osmanischen Kaffee- und Kaffeehaustradition im 17. Jahrhundert mit dem Titel „De l'origine et du progrez du Café" (Über die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Kaffees). Im Ursprung handelt es sich bei diesem Werk um einen langen Brief, den Antoine Galland an seinen Freund, Chassebras de Cramaille, am 25. Dezember 1696 schrieb. Im Jahr 1699 wurde dieser Brief in Caen, einer Stadt in Frankreich, als Buch vom Verlag Jean Cavelier veröffentlicht, das alsbald auf großes Interesse stieß. Dieses Werk, das in späteren Erzählungen von diversen Reisenden aus westlich-europäischen Ländern als Quelle für Kaffee- und Kaffeehausbeschreibungen diente, ist in zwei inhaltlichen Teilen aufgebaut. Während der erste Teil einen Aufschluss über die Herkunft des Kaffees, seine medizinischen Eigenschaften und seine geographische Verbreitung in den islamischen Weltregionen gibt, beschäftigt sich der zweite Teil mit der historischen Entwicklung der Kaffeekultur in Istanbul. Daneben erzählt Galland von seinen persönlichen Beobachtungen ausgehend ausführlich über die Kaffeetradition im Alltag des Istanbuls des 17. Jahrhunderts (Timur Ağıldere

2019: 22). So beschreibt Galland seinem Freund, Chassebras de Cramaille, den Kaffee, der sich in den 1670er Jahren für die aus unterschiedlichen Ethnien, Religionen und Völkern stammenden Einwohner*innen von Istanbul zu einem gemeinsamen Konsumgut behauptete, mit folgenden Worten (Timur Ağıldere 2019: 23):

> „In Istanbul, von den Reichsten bis zu den Ärmsten, vom Türken bis zum Griechen, vom Armenier bis zum Juden, gibt es weder ein Haus noch eine Familie, die nicht mindestens zweimal am Tag Kaffee trinkt; einen Kaffee direkt nach dem Frühstück und einen weiteren Kaffee am Nachmittag. (...) Zusätzlich zu zwei Tassen Kaffee, die regelmäßig über den Tag verteilt getrunken werden, ist es üblich, mit Freunden und guten Bekannten, die zu Besuch sind, Kaffee zu trinken. (...) Da die Ablehnung des angebotenen Kaffees als große Ungehörigkeit gilt [aber in derselben Weise auch eine Unhöflichkeit wäre, keinen Kaffee anzubieten – K.M.], führt dieser Brauch manchmal dazu, dass bis zu zwanzig Tassen Kaffee am Tag getrunken werden können." (Galland 1699: 62f. zit. nach Timur Ağıldere 2019: 23; meine Übersetzung)

Es ist hervorzuheben, dass dies nicht nur für Istanbul zutrifft, sondern ebenfalls für viele verschiedene Regionen des Osmanischen Reiches. Oft sind dabei die Äußerungen wie „Bitte trinken Sie eine Tasse von unserem Kaffee!" oder „Möchten Sie eine Tasse von unserem Kaffee probieren?", die als ein Ausdruck von entbehrungsreicher und gastfreundschaftlicher Bescheidenheit zu deuten sind, eine Vorgehensweise, den Mitmenschen zu einer Tasse Kaffee einzuladen und ihn dazu zu bewegen, die höfliche Einladung anzunehmen.

Rücksichtsvolle und einfühlsame Gäste, die aus Höflichkeit der/dem Gastgeber*in gegenüber die Einladung nicht ablehnen und einen kurzen Besuch abhalten, kommt die/der Gastgeber*in – bei einer Andeutung des Gasts, dass sie/er nun gehen möchte – mit der Äußerung „Aber meine geehrte Dame/mein geehrter Herr, die Kaffeetasse ist nicht einmal kalt! Und Sie möchten schon gehen?" höflich und wohlwollend entgegen (Ayvazoğlu 2011: 74).

Dabei ist die Rücksichtnahme und Einfühlsamkeit eines Gasts, der indirekt der/dem Gastgeber*in gegenüber erkennen lassen möchte, dass sie/er die Gastfreundschaft zu schätzen weiß, indem sie/er einen kurzen Besuch abhält, dahingehend zu deuten, dass der Gast versucht, den Eindruck bei der/dem Gastgeber*in zu vermeiden, nicht als unhöflich zu gelten. Der Gast möchte nicht den Eindruck erwecken, dass die Gastfreundschaft ausgenutzt und überbeansprucht wird. Desgleichen verhält sich die/der Gastgeber*in ebenso höflich, weil sie/er dem Gast den Eindruck vermitteln möchte, dass der Gast auch dann willkommen ist, sollte der Besuch eine etwas längere Zeit in Anspruch nehmen. In diesem Sinne erfüllt der Hinweis der Gastgeber*in / des Gastgebers, dass die Kaffeetasse noch nicht einmal kalt sei, seine Aufgabe darin, anzudeuten, dass der Gast nicht als störend empfunden wird. Es geht eher darum, auf der Basis von gemeinsamen Gesprächen eine angenehme und schöne Zeit miteinander zu verbringen.

Die Einladung zu einem gemeinsamen Kaffeetrinken von Seiten der Gastgeber*in/des Gastgebers vermittelt, dass der Gastfreundschaft, die den Gästen entgegengebracht wird, und dadurch ebenso den Gästen selbst ein hoher Wert gezollt wird. Die/der Gastgeber*in, die sich gastfreundschaftlich gegenüber sei-

nen Mitmenschen verhält, trägt dazu bei, dass sie/er einen guten Eindruck bei den Gästen hinterlässt, und dadurch das eigene Ansehen bei ihnen positiv beeinflusst. Die Gäste zeigen ihre Dankbarkeit gegenüber der ihnen entgegengebrachten Gastfreundschaft wiederum darin, dass sie weder den ihnen angebotenen Kaffee ablehnen, noch zu lange als Gäste verweilen. Dieses einfühlsame und rücksichtsvolle Verhalten der Gäste soll bei der/dem Gastgeber*in positiv in Erinnerung bleiben und einen guten Eindruck machen, die für eventuell zukünftig nachfolgende Zusammenkünfte und für die Weiterentwicklung der zwischenmenschlichen Beziehungen grundlegend sein können. Es wird von beiden Seiten darauf geachtet, dass gegenseitig kein unhöfliches Verhalten gezeigt wird.

Dieser Deutungsversuch soll veranschaulichen wie zwischenmenschliche Beziehungen auf gastfreundschaftlicher und höflicher Basis langsam aufgebaut werden, und mit der Zeit – bei einer weiteren Tasse türkischem Kaffee – gestärkt werden können, da bei den Menschen untereinander eine positive und wertschätzende Behandlung, positve Erinnerungen an diesen Mitmenschen hervorrufen können. Dass der türkische Kaffee einen hohen Beitrag zur Pflege und zur Stärkung von zwischenmenschlichen Beziehungen leistet, ist in der türkischen Sprache mit Sprichwörtern belegt. Auf zwei solcher Sprichwörter wird im nächsten Abschnitt näher eingegangen.

Zwei türkische Sprichwörter bezüglich des türkischen Kaffees

Das berühmte türkische Sprichwort *Bir fincan kahvenin kırk yıl hatırı vardır* (Bulduk & Süren 2007: 308), das sinngemäß ‚Aus einer Tasse

Kaffee kann eine Freundschaft entstehen, die vierzig Jahre hält' bedeutet, mag vorerst zwar als ein übertriebener Ausdruck der Dankbarkeit seitens des Gasts gegenüber der Gastfreundschaft der Gastgeberin/des Gastgebers angesehen werden. Aber dieses Sprichwort hebt genauso die herausragende Stellung des türkischen Kaffees beim Willkommenheißen von Mitmenschen als Gäste hervor (Ayvazoğlu 2011: 74). Um sich mit diesem Sprichwort inhaltlich näher auseinanderzusetzen, wird auf Yağbasan & Ustakara (2008: 234) verwiesen, denen zufolge der türkische Kaffee den Gesprächen, die in der türkischen Gesellschaft geführt werden, die spezielle „Würze" verleiht. Dieser Aspekt trifft nicht nur auf Gespräche, die zwischen den Menschen in Kaffeehäusern stattfinden, zu, sondern gleichsam für alle [gast]freundschaftlichen Gespräche und Beziehungen (Yağbasan & Ustakara 2008: 234 zit. nach Ulusoy 2011: 161). Unterhaltungen, die ohne Kaffee und/oder Tee stattfinden, lassen sich daher als unvollständige und halbherzige Gespräche betrachten. Die gastfreundliche, „gewürzte" Art von Gesprächen kann jedoch einen hochgradigen Einfluss auf den Fortbestand von zwischenmenschlichen Beziehungen ausüben. Dieser Einfluss macht sich in der türkischen Kultur dadurch bemerkbar, dass sinngemäß eine Tasse Kaffee, die einmal während eines gemeinsamen Gespräches mit einem Menschen getrunken wird, sogar dazu führen kann, dass hieraus eventuell eine Freundschaft mit einer Lebensdauer von Jahrzehnten erwächst.

Hingegen kann die wortwörtliche Übersetzung des türkischen Sprichwortes *Bir fincan kahvenin kırk yıl hatırı vardır* in die deutsche Sprache mit dem Wortlaut ‚Eine Tasse Kaffee birgt vierzig Jahre Erinnerung in sich' bei

dem einen oder anderen Menschen, dem der Kontext und die Denk- und Handlungsmuster der Sprecher*innen nicht vertraut sind, ein befremdliches und irritierendes Gefühl auslösen. Ich habe mit meinen türkischsprachigen Eltern darüber diskutiert, und ihnen war dabei wichtig, dass

- wenn sich beispielsweise (zwei) Menschen gegenseitig – freundschaftlich – besuchen und die/der Gastgeber*in für diesen Besuch türkischen Kaffee zubereitet sowie ihn dem Gast/den Gästen serviert, dies vorerst bedeutet, dass die/der Gastgeber*in sich die Zeit nimmt und die Mühe macht, den Gast/die Gäste gebührend willkommen zu heißen. Das Willkommenheißen bedeutet unter anderem, dass dem Gast/den Gästen Respekt entgegengebracht und der Besuch von der/dem Gastgeber*in wertgeschätzt wird.

- sich gleichzeitig der Respekt und die Wertschätzung des willkommen geheißenen Gasts gegenüber der/dem Gastgeber*in zunächst dadurch kenntlich macht, dass der mit Bedacht und Mühe zubereitete türkische Kaffee oftmals gemeinsam – mit Genuss – getrunken wird. Dabei wird das gemeinsame Kaffeetrinken durch freundliche sowie auch herzliche Gespräche begleitet.

- eine gastfreundschaftliche und menschliche Behandlung positive Gefühle und eine positive Erinnerung bei einem Menschen aufrufen kann, der zu Gast bei einem Mitmenschen war, der ihn respektvoll und wertschätzend willkommen geheißen hat. Eine solche

Erinnerung kann wiederum eine Lebensdauer aufweisen, die wohlmöglich „vierzig" Jahre oder sogar noch länger – beispielsweise bis an das Lebensende eines Menschen – andauern kann. Die Gespräche, die bei einer solchen Zusammenkunft geführt werden, nehmen dabei für eine eventuelle zukünftige Fortsetzung der zwischenmenschlichen Beziehung einen ausschlaggebenden Platz ein.

Aksoy (1988: 196) formuliert dies mit den Worten:

> „Wenn Ihnen jemand einen kleinen Gefallen oder eine Wohltat getan hat, wie zum Beispiel die Zubereitung und das Servieren einer Tasse Kaffee, oder sogar eine Freundschaft mit Ihnen aufgebaut hat, sollten Sie das nicht vergessen; Sie sollten diese Person [dafür – K.M.] immer respektieren." (Aksoy 1988: 196; meine Übersetzung)

Die Verhaltensweise des Menschen, der seinem Mitmenschen eine Wohltat oder einen Gefallen getan hat – sei es nur die Zubereitung und die Servierung einer Tasse türkischen Kaffees, sollte als erinnerungswürdig und nennenswert beachtet werden, da dieser Mensch für seinen Mitmenschen die Zeit nimmt, um sich ihm gegenüber respektvoll zuzuwenden.

Wie der türkische Kaffee eine erhebliche Auswirkung auf das tägliche Leben ausübt, und hierbei seine tiefen Spuren hinterlässt, lässt ebenfalls ein weiteres, sehr bekanntes türkisches Sprichwort, das aus der türkischen Kaffeekultur stammt, viel näher verdeutlichen (İşat 2007: 71 zit. nach Bulduk & Süren 2007: 308). Es handelt sich um das Sprichwort *Gönül*

ne kahve ister ne kahvehane, gönül ahbap[13] ister kahve bahane beziehungsweise *Gönül ne kahve ister ne kahvehane/Gönül sohbet ister kahve bahane* (Bulduk & Süren 2007: 308; Ulusoy 2011: 163), das – wörtlich in die deutsche Sprache übersetzt – „Das Herz wünscht sich weder einen Kaffee, noch ein Kaffeehaus; das Herz wünscht sich eine/n Freund/in /ein Gespräch; der Kaffee ist [hierfür – K.M.] nur der Vorwand." (Ayvazoğlu 2011: 25; meine Übersetzung) bedeutet.

Das Sprichwort bringt zum Ausdruck, dass es für einen Menschen notwendig und ein Bedürfnis ist, dass er das Gespräch mit seinen Mitmenschen sucht, damit er seine Gefühle und Gedanken mit seinem Umfeld austauschen kann, um sich seelisch zu entlasten und sich innerlich zu beruhigen. Deshalb kann ein Gespräch mit einem/einer Freund*in dem Menschen helfen, beispielsweise gegen den Kummer, das Leid, die Trauer und allen anderen Sorgen, die die Seele, bedrücken und wohlmöglich obendrein erdrücken, Abhilfe zu schaffen. Die freundschaftlichen und herzlichen Beziehungen, in denen die Gedanken und Gefühle kommuniziert werden, verhelfen der Seele des Menschen, die in der Redewendung mit dem „Herz" des Menschen assoziiert wird, bestimmte Sorgen etwas leichter zu ertragen.

Um Missverständnisse zu vermeiden, sei gesagt, dass die Gespräche sich nicht einzig und allein auf sorgenvolle Gefühle und Gedanken beziehen müssen. Gleichfalls kann eine Unterhaltung mit Freund*innen oder engen Bekannt-schaften, die sich vermutlich schrittweise zu Freundschaften entwickeln können, eine Gelegenheit sein, um sich miteinander über etwas Positives aus dem eigenen Leben, wie zum Beispiel das erfolgreiche Bestehen einer Prüfung, eine seit längerer Zeit geplante Reise etc. zu unterhalten. Der Mensch sucht das Gespräch mit seinen Mitmenschen, in deren Gegenwart er sich wohlfühlt. Um sich mit diesen Mitmenschen für ein Gespräch zu treffen und dabei eine angenehme Zeit miteinander zu verbringen, kann in diesem Kontext betrachtet die Einladung zu einer Tasse türkischem Kaffee genauso als Vorwand gelten.

Während solcher Gespräche ist das gemeinsame Kaffeetrinken auch eine Nebensache, das heißt eher ein Vorwand, um sich mit der/dem jeweiligen Freund*in zu verabreden. Der Ort, wo sich diese Menschen begegnen, um ein Gespräch zu führen, ist ebenso irrelevant. Deshalb ist es nicht unbedingt notwendig, dass eine Verabredung in einem Kaffeehaus stattfindet. Dies wünscht sich die Seele des Menschen nicht so sehr wie eher die Unterhaltung mit seinen Mitmenschen.

Ressentiments gegen den türkischen Kaffee auf sprachlicher Ebene

Kaffee ist also nicht nur als ein Getränk zu betrachten, sondern eher als ein symbolischer Wert der täglichen gesellschaftlichen Aktivitäten. Dabei kann das alleinige Trinken einer Tasse Kaffee als eine persönliche Zeremonie betrachtet werden, wohingegen sich

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[13] In diesem Sprichwort wird das türkische Wort *ahbap* manchmal auch mit dem türkischen Wort *dost* ersetzt. Beide Wörter besitzen in diesem Sprichwort die Bedeutung des deutschen Wortes ‚Freund*in'. Die Begriffe *ahbap* beziehungsweise *dost* können aber ebenso durch das türkische Wort *sohbet*, das auf Deutsch übersetzt ‚Gespräch' oder ‚Unterhaltung' bedeutet, ausgetauscht werden. Die inhaltliche Aussage dieses Sprichwortes erfährt durch die Ersetzung des jeweiligen Wortes keine Änderung. Aus dem inhaltlichen Kontext des Sprichwortes betrachtend sind die Begriffe ‚Freund*in', ‚Gespräch' oder ‚Unterhaltung' als Assoziation zu verstehen: Der Mensch sucht die Gesellschaft seines Mitmenschen.

ein gemeinsames Kaffeetrinken mit den Mitmenschen als eine gesellschaftliche Zeremonie einordnen lässt (Giddens & Sutton 2004: 39 zit. nach Özgen, Ergun & Kaymaz 2019: 625f.).

Ungeachtet dessen ist zu bedenken, dass sich jedoch in anderen Ländern auch Ressentiments gebenüber dem türkischen Kaffee auf sprachlicher Ebene bemerkbar machten, indem gegen die Etablierung der türkischen Kaffeekultur und die Verbreitung des türkischen Kaffees agiert wurde. In der nachfolgenden Passage wird am Beispiel von Großbritannien und Griechenland versucht, zu veranschaulichen, um welche sprachlichen Ressentiments es sich hierbei handelte.

Ressentiments in Großbritannien gegen den türkischen Kaffee auf religiös-sprachlicher Ebene

Als der Kaffee durch die Türk*innen seine Bekanntheit in der Welt zu erlangen beginnt, wird das einerseits „exotisch" fazinierende Getränk andererseits mit dem Konzept des sogenannten diskriminierenden „Türkentums" identifiziert. In Teilen Europas wird dabei mittels religiös geprägter sprachlicher Strategien die Verbreitung der türkischen Kultur, etwa die Ess- und Trinkkultur der Türk*innen und die damit einhergehenden Gewohnheiten, zu verhindern (Özgen, Ergun & Kaymaz 2019: 625) sowie die dadurch vermutete „Gefahr", die von den Türk*innen auszugehen scheint, abzuwenden versucht. Hierzu schreibt Çaksu (2019: 374), dass lange bevor der Kaffee im 20. Jahrhundert auf nationalistische Haltungen trifft, der türkische Kaffee in Europa allgemein als das Getränk des „Anderen" galt und deshalb auf eine Form christlicher Opposition traf.

Als der Kaffee in das christliche Europa gelangte, begegnete er anfangs einer großen Skepsis, da er als Getränk der muslimischen „Ungläubigen" galt, mit denen Christ*innen seit Jahrhunderten im Krieg standen. Dementsprechend wurde dieses dunkle, „exotische" Getränk vor allem als „Teufelstrank" oder „Satanstrank" beschrieben. Zum Beispiel erscheint der Ausdruck „Satanstrank" (*satanick tipple*) in der ersten Zeile des Gedichtes „A Satyr against Coffee", das in Großbritannien um das Jahr 1674 verfasst wurde. Anhand solcher Bezeichnungen ist es nie einfach gewesen, den Kaffee in die britische Trinkkultur zu integrieren. Die Brit*innen begegneten der neuen türkischen Trinkgewohnheit überhaupt nicht mit Sympathie, weil zu dieser Zeit die Größe und die Stärke des Osmanischen Reiches vor allem durch ihre Streitkräfte als ‚Werkzeug der Kräfte des Anti-Christen' angesehen wurden (Cowan 2005: 6 zit. nach Çaksu 2019: 374).

Die Identifizierung des Kaffees mit dem Islam und vor allem mit den Türk*innen hielt in den meisten Gebieten Europas für die damalige Zeit sehr lange an. Als Beispiel kann nochmals Großbritannien genannt werden, da sowohl der türkische Kaffee als auch die Übersetzung des Korans im gleichen Zeitabschnitt nach Großbritannien gelangten (Çaksu 2019: 374). Diesbezüglich sei erwähnt, dass wahrscheinlich das erste Kaffeehaus Englands im Jahr 1650 in Oxford und das erste Kaffeehaus in London im Jahr 1652 eröffnet wurden. Die als die älteste bekannte Übersetzung des Korans auf Englisch wurde im Jahr 1649 von dem englischen Theologen und Hofprediger des englischen Königs Charles I. (*1600 †1649), Alexander Ross (*1590 †1654), angefertigt. Diese Übersetzung mit dem Titel „The Alcoran of Mahomet" (Mohammeds Koran) ist eigentlich eine Übersetzung der fran-

zösischen Übersetzung, die vom französischen Orientalisten André Du Ryer, Sieur de la Garde-Malezair (*1580 † 1660 oder 1672) mit dem Titel „L'Alcoran de Mahomet" (Mohammeds Koran) im Jahr 1647 verfasst wurde. In dem Sinne rief die ungefähr gleichzeitige Einführung des Kaffees, der als ein „muslimisches" Getränk wahrgenommen wird, und die Übersetzung des Korans in Großbritannien die Wahrnehmung hervor, dass eine Bedrohung des Landes durch eine Islamisierung und des „Türkentums" bevorstand (Çaksu 2019: 374f.). Die Angst vor diesem neuen Getränk schien die Menschen in dem Maße ergriffen zu haben, dass die Behauptung vertreten wird, dass diejenigen, die Kaffee tranken, sich zu Türk*innen und Muslim*innen verwandeln würden (Sheridan 2004: 25 zit. nach Özgen, Ergun & Kaymaz 2019: 625). Dabei wurde geglaubt, dass der Kaffee die christliche Seele ebenso veränderte wie den christlichen Körper, so dass diejenigen, die ihn tränken, wie Türk*innen und Maur*innen aussehen würden (Shahani 2020: 100).

Unter all diesen Umständen stellt sich die Frage, wie der Kaffee letztendlich trotzdem doch als „tugendhaft" akzeptiert wurde. So wurde nach geraumer Zeit die Erkenntnis gewonnen, dass – im Gegensatz zum Alkohol – der Kaffee den Geist für neue Ideen und Inspirationen öffnete und gleichzeitig den Körper stimulierte, indem er den Menschen wach hält. Auch wurde bemerkt, dass der Alkohol den Menschen schläfrig und lethargisch machte. Der ständige Alkoholkonsum brachte die Gefahr von Gewalt unter den Menschen mit sich, wohingegen der Kaffeekonsum seinen Beitrag zu einem scharfen Verstand und einer spannenden intellektuellen Debatte

unter den Menschen, die sich zu einer Tasse Kaffee in den Kaffeehäusern oder zuhause trafen, leistete. Alles in allem machte der Kaffee die Menschen nicht betrunken, sondern eher nüchterner und lebendiger (Çaksu 2019: 376), sowie fernerhin noch geselliger.

Während der Kaffee in Großbritannien die Akzeptanz der britischen Gesellschaft gewann, wurde die Akzeptanz von der Übernahme von einigen türkischen Symbolen begleitet. Dies zeigte sich darin, dass beispielsweise manche Kaffeehausbetreiber*innen – als Werbezweck und zur Gewinnung von Kund*innen – anfingen, Turbane zu tragen (MacLean & Matar 2011: 221 zit. nach Çaksu 2019: 376). Überdies wurden viele Kaffeehäuser in London und Oxford mit entsprechenden Namen wie *Turk´s Head* (der Kopf des Türken) und *Sultan's Head* (der Kopf des Sultans) versehen oder sie wurden nach einigen berühmten osmanischen Sultanen benannt (Cowan 2005: 115 zit. nach Çaksu 2019: 376). Des Weiteren wiesen die Schilder der Kaffeehäuser meistens bestimmte Symbole auf, die – neben dem Türken mit Turban, dem sogenannten „Türken-Kopf"[14] – eine gewöhnliche Kaffeekanne (türkisch: *kahve ibriği* oder *kahve güğümü*) oder eine Kaffeekanne mit einem länglichen Stiel an der Seite (türkisch: *cezve*), darstellten. Noch heute tragen in Großbritannien einige Cafés, Restaurants, Bars und Clubs den Namen *Turk's Head* (Çaksu 2019: 377).

In seinem Werk „The Social Life of Coffee" stellt Brian Cowan fest, dass in der damaligen Zeit mindestens siebenunddreißig Kaffeehäuser in London den Namen *Turk´s Head* trugen und viele von ihnen als Symbol einen Türken mit Turban als Erkennungszeichen

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[14] Nach einem Hinweis von Çaksu (2019: 377) handelte es sich bei dem sogenannten „Türken-Kopf" um einen aus einem Seil gemachten Knoten in Form eines Turbans. Dieser Seilknoten wird deshalb so genannt, weil er einem Turban ähnelt.

über ihre Eingänge und als ihr Gewerbeschild verwendeten (Cowan 2005: 115 zit. nach Shahani 2020: 97). Diese Präsentation „exotischer" Kulturen für kommerzielle Zwecke stellt für Cowan eine frühe Version dessen dar, was er als „Konsument*innen-Orientalismus" bezeichnet (Cowan 2005: 116 zit. nach Shahani 2020: 97). Matar (1998: 115) argumentiert, dass damals diese Symbole auch dazu dienen sollten, von den Ängsten, die im Zusammenhang mit den gefürchteten Osman*innen, das heißt Türk*innen, standen, abzulenken. „Indem sie Kaffee mit der Büste von Murad[15] in Verbindung brachten, dessen Grausamkeit berüchtigt war", schreibt Matar, „versuchten die Engländer, ihre Angst vor den Türken zu zähmen – eine Angst, die nicht nur durch die militärische Gefahr der Muslime erzeugt wurde, sondern auch durch das, was für viele Kaffeegegner als die muslimische kulturelle Durchdringung des englischen Gesellschaftslebens erschien" (Matar 1998: 116; meine Übersetzung).

Ressentiments in Griechenland gegen den türkischen Kaffee auf nationalistisch-sprachlicher Ebene

Neben religiösen Ressentiments existierten unter anderem politisch motivierte Gründe, die dazu führten, dass der türkische Kaffee mit einer national geprägten Bezeichnung umbenannt wurde. In seiner Schrift „Bir siyasî içecek olarak Türk kahvesi" (Türkischer Kaffee als politisches Getränk) nimmt Çaksu (2019: 377) beispielsweise auf Griechenland Bezug, wo sich aufgrund des Zypern-Konflikts eine hasserfüllte Abscheu gegenüber den Türk*innen entwickelte, die dazu verleitete, dass schließ-

lich der türkische Kaffee aus nationalistischem Grund eine Umbenennung erfuhr.

Doch vorerst stellt sich die Frage, welche Haltung die orthodoxe christliche Elite auf dem Balkan gegenüber dem Kaffee einnahm. Fotić zufolge „gibt es keinen Hinweis darauf, dass die höchste Hierarchie jemals den Gebrauch von Kaffee (…) offiziell verurteilt hätte. Im Gegenteil, die Quellen legen nahe, dass die christlichen Eliten das neue Getränk unverzüglich nach dem Vorbild der osmanischen Eliten angenommen haben." (Fotić 2011: 94 zit. nach Çaksu 2019: 377f.; meine Übersetzung). Mit Blick auf Griechenland schreibt Çaksu (2019: 378), dass die Situation in diesem Land nicht anders gewesen ist. Hier wurde der türkische Kaffee bis zum Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts als «traditioneller Kaffee» bezeichnet, das heißt es handelt sich um den türkischen Kaffee, der nach einer traditionellen Zubereitungsmethode gekocht wird.

Çaksu (2019: 378) nimmt es als wahrscheinlich an, dass hauptsächlich der Zypernkonflikt und die militärischen Auseinandersetzungen im Jahr 1974 dazu beitrugen, dass letztendlich in Griechenland aus dem *Turkiko* beziehungsweise *toúrkikos kafés* (‚türkischer Kaffee'), der *Eleniko*, das heißt der *ellinikós kafés* (‚griechischer Kaffee'), wurde. Das ist auch unter der Mehrheit der Griech*innen die vorherrschende Meinung. Wie aber kam diese Bezeichnungsänderung zustande?

Dazu berichtet Çaksu, dass vor allem eine Medienkampagne eines Kaffeeunternehmens zur Bezeichnungsänderung führte. Nach der türkischen Intervention in Zypern im Jahr 1974 startete der griechische Kaffeekonzern *Bravo* mit dem Slogan *Emeis ton leme Elliniko* (‚Wir nen-

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[15] Hier handelt es sich um Sultan Murad IV. (*1612 †1640). Er war der Sohn des Sultans Ahmed I. (*1590 †1617). Sultan Murad IV. herrschte über das Osmanische Reich im Zeitraum von 1623 bis 1640 (Türk Tarih Kurumu 2021).

nen es Griechisch') eine große Kampagne, die erfolgreich den „griechischen" Kaffee zu einem Identitätssymbol kreiirte. Infolgedessen wird der türkische Kaffee zum „griechischen" Kaffee erklärt, und für manche Griech*innen lässt die Anwendung des einen oder anderen dieser Namen oft Patriot*innen von Landesverräter*innen unterscheiden (Çaksu 2019: 378). Diese Umbennenung beschreibt Karakatsanis als Teil des Prozesses der „Zerstörung der bestehenden symbolischen Beziehungen zum Türk[isch]en" (Karakatsanis 2014: 11 zit. nach Çaksu 2019: 378; meine Übersetzung). Dabei sieht Karakatsanis die Einzigartigkeit in einer solchen Umbenennung darin gegeben, dass „durch den Gebrauch einer etablierten, neutralen Sprache ein schneller und unerwartet effektiver Übergang zu einer aktiven, bewussten, prozessualen und damit politisch neuen ‚Benennung' bewirkt wird" (Karakatsanis 2014: 29 zit. nach Çaksu 2019: 378; meine Übersetzung). Allerdings macht Çaksu (2019: 378) auch darauf aufmerksam, dass beispielsweise das von Ilias Petropoulos im Jahr 1979 veröffentlichte Werk mit dem Titel „O Tourkikos Kafes en Elladi" (Türkischer Kaffee in Griechenland) nachweise, dass die griechische Bezeichnungsänderung des türkischen Kaffees vor dem Jahr 1979 überhaupt nicht von allen Griech*innen angenommen wurde. In diesem Buch untersucht Petropoulos (1979) nämlich bestimmte Sachverhalte, die mit dem türkischen Kaffee im Zusammenhang stehen und das Kaffeetrinken begleitend mitbestimmen, wie zum Beispiel:

> „Türkische Kaffeekultur, Kaffeehäuser, Kaffeehaustypen und damit verbundene Lebensstile, leidenschaftliche Kaffeetrinkende, Kundenprofile; die Kategorien, Rituale und Stile in Bezug auf das Kaffeekochen und -trinken, Ausrüstung und Zubehör für Kaffeehäuser, (…) Wasserpfeifen, *lokum*[16] sowie das Brettspiel ´Backgammon`" (Çaksu 2019: 378; meine Übersetzung)

Petropoulos (1995) argumentiert, dass fast alle griechischen Begriffe, die mit dem Kaffee und dem Kaffeehaus im Zusammenhang stehen, türkischen Ursprungs sind. Des Weiteren ist er der Ansicht, dass aufgrund von nationalistischen und chauvinistischen Neigungen der türkische Kaffee nicht nur als „griechischer Kaffee", sondern damals sogar manchmal als „byzantinischer Kaffee" betitelt wird, da die Bezeichnung „türkischer Kaffee" von den Rassist*innen und Chauvinist*innen in Griechenlands Hauptstadt Athen als störend empfunden wird (Çaksu 2019: 378). Dies kommentiert Petropoulos (1995: 72) ironisch: „Ich habe niemals verstanden, um was für einen Kaffee es sich beim griechischen Kaffee handelt. Dabei verstehe ich jedoch sehr gut, welche Faschisten sich durch Kampagnen wie ‚Wir nennen es griechischen Kaffee' zufriedengestellt fühlen." (Petropoulos 1995: 72 zit. nach Çaksu 2019: 378; meine Übersetzung). Petropoulos berichtet außerdem, dass nach der Veröffentlichung seines Buches innerhalb der griechischen Leserschaft eine positive Atmosphäre bezüglich des türkischen Kaffees und den alten Kaffeehäusern in Griechenland geherrscht habe (Çaksu 2019: 378). Çaksu sieht hier das Interessante darin gegeben, dass Petropoulos eigentlich mit seinem Werk „nicht den Kaffee

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[16] *Lokum* ist eine türkische Süßigkeit, die auch als „Turkish Delight" bekannt ist. Diese Süßigkeiten, die in kleine Würfel geschnitten und mit feinem pudrigem Zucker ummantelt sind, sind – nach Gewicht in verschiedene Schachteln verpackt – auch in Deutschland in gut sortierten türkischen Lebensmittelläden erhältlich.

und die Kaffeehäuser, sondern den Rassismus der modernen Griechen" (Petropoulos 1995: 85 zit. nach Çaksu 2019: 378; meine Übersetzung) zu erklären suchte.

Es sei abschließend hierzu vermerkt, dass es mit Bezug auf den Kaffee, der in Griechenland oder in der Türkei zubereitet und getrunken wird, keinen Bedarf an Streitigkeiten zu geben braucht (Çaksu 2019: 379). Denn wie die griechische Journalistin Despina Trivolis (2013) anmerkt: „Greek coffee is exactly the same as Turkish coffee (…) The process and preparation (…) are identical to the Turkish way."

Die Zubereitung des türkischen Kaffees

„Originally (…) Turkish coffee – roasted, ground and brewed slowly on low heat – can be considered the first *slow* coffee in the contemporary sense" berichten Özgen, Ergun & Kaymaz (2019: 624). Es kann sogar gesagt werden, dass der türkische Kaffee – neben dem äthiopischen Kaffee – der am meisten

ritualisierte Kaffee ist. Das langsame Kochen in der Kaffeekanne (türkisch: *cezve*), das Aufschäumen und die weitere Zubereitung des Kaffees nach dem Aufteilen des Schaums in die Kaffeetassen (türkisch (Singularform & Pluralform): *kahve fincanı/kahve fincanları*) sind die Elemente, die dem türkischen Kaffee seinen Geschmack verleihen (İşat, 2007: 72 zit. nach Bulduk & Süren 2007: 307).

Aufgrund der zeitaufwändigen Zubereitungsmethode hinterlässt der türkische Kaffee für eine lange Zeit seinen Geschmack am Gaumen der Kaffeetrinkerin/des Kaffeetrinkers. Im Vergleich zu anderen Kaffeespezialitäten ist der Geschmack des türkischen Kaffees weicher, aromatischer und intensiver. Neben dem einzigartigen Aroma tragen auch der Kaffeesatz (türkisch: *kahve telvesi*) und der bei der Zubereitung auf der Oberfläche des Kaffees entstehende Kaffeeschaum (türkisch: *kahve köpüğü*) dazu bei, dass sich der türkische Kaffee aus den anderen Kaffeespezialitäten hervorhebt (T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı 2013).

Die Kaffeezubereitung erfordert detaillierte Vorgehensweisen. Zunächst werden frisch geröstete Qualitätskaffeebohnen – je nach Wunsch – entweder in einem Mörser oder in einer Kaffeemühle zu sehr feinem Kaffeepulver zerstoßen beziehungsweise gemahlen (T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı 2013). Nebenbei bemerkt: Das sehr fein zerstoßene beziehungsweise gemahlene Kaffeepulver ermöglicht es, dass sich während des Kaffeekochens der maximale Geschmack des türkischen Kaffees entfalten kann (Moldvaer 2015: 39).

Um aber diese Vorarbeit zu umgehen, ist zu empfehlen, ein bereits sehr fein gemahlenes und qualitativ hochwertiges Kaffeepulver zu verwenden, welches in Kaffeebeuteln und/oder -dosen abgepackt auch in Deutschland in

gut sortierten türkischen Lebensmittelläden erhältlich ist. Neben dem jeweiligen Markennamen und/oder dem Namen der jeweiligen (türkischen) Kaffeerösterei weisen die Verpackungen zusätzlich die Aufschrift *Türk kahvesi* (,türkischer Kaffee') auf.

Nach der alten Zubereitungsart wird der Kaffee circa 15-20 Minuten lang in einem offenen, schwelenden Holzkohle-Feuer gekocht. Dabei wird die Kaffeekanne häufig ins Feuer sanft hineingeschoben und sanft herausgezogen. Unabhängig davon auf welcher Hitzequelle der türkische Kaffee zubereitet wird – ein türkischer Kaffee ohne Schaum ist undenkbar (T.C. Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı 2006: 18) und für leidenschaftliche Kaffeetrinker*innen unannehmbar. Damit der türkische Kaffee mit einer Schaumschicht gelingt, bedarf es an Geschicklichkeit und praktischer Übung, die sich aus der nachfolgenden detaillierteren Anleitung für die Zubereitung des türkischen Kaffees erahnen lassen.

Ein Anleitungsbeispiel

Zu Beginn sollte noch gesagt sein, dass im ehemaligen Osmanischen Reich der türkische Kaffee in der Regel ungesüßt getrunken wurde. Stattdessen wurde üblicherweise vor oder nach dem Kaffee etwas Süßes gegessen oder getrunken. Als Dessert gab es Getränke wie *şerbet*, aber auch Marmelade, diverse Süßigkeiten oder *lokum* (T.C. Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı 2006: 18). Im Übrigen schreibt Galland (1699: 73f.), dass die Türk*innen den Kaffee nicht nur sehr heiß, sondern einen starken Kaffee trinken. Galland (1699: 73f.) berichtet weiter, dass diese Art von Kaffee von den Türk*innen als *ağır kahve*[17] (,schwerer/starker Kaffee') bezeichnet wird, und dass die Türk*innen nicht versuchen, die Bitterkeit des Kaffees mit Zucker aufzulösen. Es sind eher die in Istanbul lebenden Christ*innen sowie später weitere Europäer*innen, die nach Istanbul kommen, die den türkischen Kaffee gesüßt zu trinken bevorzugen.

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[17] *ağır kahve* bedeutet wortwörtlich ,schwerer Kaffee'. Allerdings ist sinngemäß ein ,starker Kaffee' gemeint.

Es sieht so aus, dass die Türk*innen im Laufe der Zeit durch das bloße Ausprobieren doch noch auf den Geschmack von gesüßtem Kaffee gekommen sind, da mittlerweile der türkische Kaffee – je nach Wunsch – mit einer entsprechenden Zuckermenge zubereitet wird.

Da ich gerade vom gesüßten türkischen Kaffee spreche:

Mein Großvater mütterlicherseits war ein leidenschaftlicher Kaffeetrinker. Im Türkischen wird übrigens ein/e leidenschaftliche Kaffeetrinker*in als „kahve tiryakisi" bezeichnet, das heißt, es handelt sich hierbei um eine Person, die „süchtig" nach beziehungsweise „versessen" auf Kaffee ist. Wie dem auch sei … Dass mein Großvater täglich – entweder nach dem Frühstück oder nach dem Mittagessen – eine Tasse „orta şekerli Türk kahvesi" (‚mittel gesüßter türkischer Kaffee') trank, war für ihn keine „Versessenheit" und/oder „Sucht", sondern ein unentbehrliches Alltagsritual.

Ich kann mich erinnern, wie ich als zehnjähriges Kind meine Großmutter in die Küche begleitete, um ihr zuzusehen, wie sie türkischen Kaffee für meinen Großvater zubereitet. Dabei habe ich sie bewundert, wie sie diesbezüglich mit Bedacht und Ruhe sowie Geduld vorging. Auch kann ich mich daran erinnern, dass während der Kaffeezubereitung eine Stille in der Küche zu vernehmen war, die nur noch durch das Geräusch unterbrochen wurde, wenn meine Großmutter zwischendurch mit dem Teelöffel langsam den Kaffee in der Kaffeekanne umrührte. Nichts, aber auch gar nichts, konnte meine Großmutter aus der Ruhe bringen. Sie war tiefenentspannt. Und als der Augenblick eintrat, in dem meine Großmutter den Kaffee in die kleine cremefarbene Mokkatasse, die – im Vergleich zu den üblichen kleinen Mokkatassen – keinen Henkel besaß, einschenkte, trat ich noch näher an den

Herd heran, weil jetzt der Moment eintrat, indem ich den Duft des türkischen Kaffees intensiver wahrnahm. Schließlich stellte meine Großmutter die gefüllte Kaffeetasse auf ein kleines Tablett. Danach füllte sie noch ein kleines Glas mit Wasser und stellte es ebenfalls auf das kleine Tablett. Zwar wusste ich damals als Kind nicht, warum zum türkischen Kaffee auch noch ein Glas Wasser gereicht wird. Aber eine Sache war für mir klar: Alles sah auf dem kleinen Tablett so schön aus, und es duftete nach Kaffee.

Wenn ich heutzutage in der Türkei oder auch in Deutschland kleine Mokkatassen, die keinen Henkel haben, sehe, erinnere ich mich nicht nur an die cremefarbene Mokkatasse, aus der mein Großvater genüsslich türkischen Kaffee trank – deren Untertasse übrigens ebenso cremefarben war – sondern auch an die zwei kleinen Gläser, die benutzt wurden, um neben dem türkischen Kaffee ein Glas Wasser zu servieren.

Nach dem Tod meiner Großeltern sind diese kostbaren Erb- und Erinnerungsstücke leider innerhalb meiner Verwandtschaft mütterlicherseits spurlos verschwunden und unauffindbar geblieben. So ist für mich die Erinnerung an meinen Großvater als leidenschaftlicher Kaffeetrinker und an meine Großmutter, die meisterhaft türkischen Kaffee kochte, aber auch an die schönen Momente, die ich mit ihr während der Zubereitung des türkischen Kaffees in ihrer Küche erlebte, übriggeblieben.

Sofern also der türkische Kaffee – je nach Belieben – mit Zucker (türkisch: şeker) gekocht werden soll, werden folgende Angaben von meiner Mutter als Vorschlag unterbreitet:

a. *şekersiz* beziehungsweise *sade* (‚ohne Zucker' beziehungsweise ‚pur') → pro Tasse 1 gehäufter Teelöffel Kaffeepulver

b. *az şekerli* (,wenig gesüßt') → pro Tasse 1 gehäufter Teelöffel Kaffeepulver und ¼ Teelöffel Zucker oder einen halben Würfel Zucker

c. *orta şekerli* (,mittel gesüßt') → pro Tasse 1 gehäufter Teelöffel Kaffeepulver und einen halben Teelöffel Zucker oder einen Zuckerwürfel

d. *şekerli* (,süß') → pro Tasse 1 gehäufter Teelöffel Kaffeepulver und ein Teelöffel Zucker oder ein bis zwei Zuckerwürfel

Außerdem ist zu beachten, dass je langsamer der türkische Kaffee gebrüht und zum leichten Kochen gebracht wird, er desto mehr Geschmack entfaltet und desto besser schmeckt. Dieser wichtige Hinweis ist aus der folgenden Anleitung für die Zubereitung des türkischen Kaffees indirekt entnehmbar:

1. Zunächst sollte entsprechend der zuzubereitenden Kaffeemenge die geeignete Kaffeekanne ausgewählt werden.

2. Des Weiteren sollte – je nach Wunsch des Gasts – die Zuckermenge des Kaffees abgestimmt sein.

3. In die Kaffeekanne werden so viele Tassen kaltes Wasser eingegeben, wie Tassen Kaffee zubereitet werden sollen, sowie auch Zucker, falls der Kaffee zuckerhaltig sein soll.

4. Je nach Tassenanzahl wird ausreichend Kaffee eingefüllt. In der Regel wird ein gehäufter Teelöffel Kaffeepulver pro Tasse gemessen.

5. Die Zutaten werden in der Kaffeekanne durch langsames Umrühren miteinander vermischt. Danach wird die Kaffeekanne auf den Herd, der auf mittlerer Hitze eingestellt ist, gestellt, oder in ein langsam brennendes Holzkohle-Feuer eingeführt.

6. Dabei wird der Kaffee ein- bis zweimal sanft und langsam verrührt, und bis zum ersten leichten Aufschäumen erhitzt.

7. Nach dem ersten Aufkochen beziehungsweise Aufschäumen des Kaffees wird abgewartet, und zwar bis sich der Kaffee gesetzt hat. Damit der Kaffee nicht überkocht, wird er gegebenenfalls vom Herd beziehungsweise Feuer genommen.

8. Sobald sich der Kaffee auf den Boden der Kaffeekanne abgesetzt hat, wird er ein- bis zweimal mit einem Teelöffel sanft und langsam umgerührt. Danach wird der Kaffee wieder auf den Herd, der dieses Mal auf niedrige Hitze eingestellt ist, gestellt beziehungsweise in das langsam brennende Holzkohle-Feuer eingeführt.

9. Nach dem zweiten Aufkochen, indem der Kaffee wieder leicht aufschäumt, wird darauf geachtet, dass der Kaffee wieder nicht zu viel kocht. Schließlich wird der Kaffee vom Herd beziehungsweise Feuer genommen.

10. Der Schaum wird sanft mit einem Teelöffel aus der Kaffeekanne entnommen und in die kleinen Tassen verteilt.

11. Die Kaffeekanne wird wieder auf den Herd gestellt beziehungsweise ins Feuer eingeführt, und der Kaffee wird einige Sekunden erneut leicht aufgekocht.

12. Nach dem letzten Aufkochen wird der restliche Kaffee langsam in die kleinen Tassen eingeschenkt.

13. Bevor der Kaffee serviert wird, muss er einige Sekunden ruhen, damit sich der Kaffeesatz am Tassenboden absetzt, so dass anschließend der türkische Kaffee bis zum Kaffeesatz langsam abgetrunken werden kann. (T.C. Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı 2006: 18; Moldvaer 2015: 137; Kurukahveci Mehmet Efendi 2018a)

Wie es im ehemaligen Osmanischen Reich der Fall war, werden ebenso heute noch ein bis zwei Stücke *lokum* dazugereicht. Aber dies ist eher als etwas Optionales zu betrachten.

Allerdings ist nicht zu vergessen, dass zum türkischen Kaffee – obligatorisch – ein Glas Wasser serviert wird. Und warum wird so etwas gemacht? Meine Mutter gibt diesbezüglich folgende Erklärung: Das Wasser, das idealerweise vor dem türkischen Kaffee ein wenig getrunken werden sollte, verhilft dazu, den Geschmack im Mund zu neutralisieren. Die Geschmacksneutralisierung im Mund trägt dazu bei, dass der Geschmack des türkischen Kaffees besser wahrgenommen werden kann.

Eine Tasse Kaffee anzunehmen ist eine Quelle des Stolzes für die Person, die sie dem Gast zubereitet und anbietet. Dies wird in den Äußerungen wie beispielsweise *kahvesi içilir* (‚ihren/seinen Kaffee kann man trinken') und *bir kahveni içerim* (‚Ich würde eine Tasse von deinem Kaffee trinken.') verdeutlicht (Kurukahveci Mehmet Efendi 2018b). Wer also diese spezielle Kunstfertigkeit des Kaffeekochens beherrscht, scheint etwas von den höheren Weihen der Gastfreundschaft empfangen zu haben. Um die Kunstfertigkeit der Kaffeezubereitung zu bewahren, fühlen sich die älteren Generationen in der Verantwortung, diese Tradition an die jüngeren Generationen, die sie durch Teilnahme, Beobachtung und Praktizierung erlernen, zu vererben. Denn der kulturspezifische Wert des türkischen Kaffees hat einen unverzichtbaren Platz in der türkischen Gesellschaft und kann in der ganzen

Komplexität der Praxis und Ritualisierung nur dadurch erhalten werden, indem Wissen von der älteren Generation an die zukünftige, jüngere Generation weitergegeben wird (Bulduk & Süren 2007: 308). Vor diesem Hintergrund soll mittels einer kurzen Geschichte, die sich auf eine wahre Begebenheit bezieht, veranschaulicht werden, wie ein Mitglied der älteren Generation anhand des eigenen Agierens versucht, Mitgliedern der jüngeren Generation die Zubereitung des türkischen Kaffees zu vermitteln. Dabei beruht die Rekonstruktion der wahren Begebenheit auf meinen Erinnerungen wie auch denen meiner Mutter.

Tante Nuriye und der übergekochte türkische Kaffee

Wenn meine Schwester und ich in die Türkei zu unseren Eltern nachreisen, dann besteht unsere Mutter darauf, dass wir zusammen auch Tante Nuriye[18] (türkisch: *Nuriye teyze*), die mittlerweile über achtzig Jahre alt ist, besuchen müssen. Bei den Telefonaten, die meine Schwester und ich mit unseren Eltern führen, erzählt unsere Mutter, dass Tante Nuriye sie oftmals fragen würde, wie es uns als Schwestern ergehen würde. Unsere Mutter teilt ihr dann unter anderem mit, dass wir sie besuchen werden, sobald wir in der Türkei sind. Damit unsere Mutter nicht in Verlegenheit kommt, und sie ihr Gesicht gegenüber Tante Nuriye wahren kann, gehört deshalb ein Besuch bei ihr zu unserem „Pflichtprogramm".

Da Tante Nuriye eine sehr führsorgliche Gastgeberin ist, bestand sie bei einem unserer Besuche darauf, dass sie für uns türkischen Kaffee (türkisch: *Türk kahvesi*) kocht. Obwohl wir versuchten, sie zu überzeugen, dass sie sich

keine Umstände zu machen braucht, konnten wir sie von diesem Wunsch nicht abbringen. Tante Nuriye wollte uns in ihrem Haus mit dieser Geste willkommen heißen und sie teilte uns mit, dass dies ihr innigster Wunsch sei: „*Lütfen, gönlümü kırmayın!*" (‚Bitte bricht mir nicht das Herz!'), sagte sie mit einem Lächeln.

Tante Nuriye ist davon überzeugt, dass insbesondere jede türkische Frau dieses – wie sie es immer nennt – „Handwerk" beherrschen muss. Damit wir dieses „Handwerk" insbesondere von ihr lernen, bat sie meine Schwester und mich explizit darum, sie in ihre Küche zu begleiten. Meine Schwester und ich haben Tante Nuriye nicht gesagt, dass wir bereits von unserer Mutter, aber auch von unserer Großmutter müttlicherseits gelernt haben, wie der türkische Kaffee zubereitet wird. Und eigentlich wusste Tante Nuriye aus ehemaligen Gesprächen, dass wir dieses „Handwerk" schon gut beherrschen. Aber bei diesem Besuch erschien es uns, als ob Tante Nuriye sich für uns sehr verantwortlich fühlte. Für meine Schwester und für mich galten nun das Gebot der Höflichkeit des Gasts gegenüber der Gastgeberin zu befolgen sowie die Gastfreundschaft wertzuschätzen, und den Wunsch der Gastgeberin – ohne Widerspruch – zu respektieren. Also folgten meine Schwester und ich dem Wunsch von Tante Nuriye und begaben uns gemeinsam in ihre Küche, wo jedoch etwas Unvorhersehbares geschah:

Beim Zubereiten des türkischen Kaffees, der in der *cezve* zubereitet wird, kochte der Kaffee nämlich über. Tante Nuriye teilte uns mit, dass ihr so ein Missgeschick noch nie widerfahren sei. „*Sanırım artık bu „zanaat"ta o kadar iyi değilim*" (‚Ich glaube, ich beherrsche dieses „Handwerk" nicht mehr so gut'), setzte sie fort

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[18] Aus datenschutzrechtlichen Gründen wurde der Vorname dieser Person geändert.

und lächelte dabei verlegen. Für einen kurzen Augenblick wurde es still in der Küche. Meine Schwester und ich sahen uns irritiert und traurig an, so dass unsere Mutter, die uns ebenfalls in die Küche gefolgt war, aufmunternd zu Tante Nuriye sagte: *„Neden öyle söylüyorsun? Senin Türk kahven hep lezzetli oluyor."* (‚Warum sagst du so etwas? Dein zubereiteter türkischer Kaffee schmeckt immer köstlich.'). Tante Nuriye lächelte unsere Mutter zu und antwortete: *„Sağ ol, evlâdım! Öyle ama, değil mi? Lezzetli benim Türk kahvem!"* (‚Ich danke dir, mein Kind! Das ist aber nun wahr; nicht wahr? Der von mir zubereitete türkische Kaffee schmeckt köstlich!') Diese Aussage bestätigten wir Tante Nuriye mit einem Zunicken und sagten einstimmig und lächelnd: *„Tabii öyle!"* (‚Natürlich ist das so!').

Um Tante Nuriye zu verdeutlichen, dass meine Schwester und ich ihren Wunsch, der darin bestand, uns etwas Traditionelles zu vermitteln, verstanden haben, und dass ihre gutgemeinte und liebevolle Absicht sowie Gastfreundschaft von uns respektiert und wertgeschätzt wird, versuchten meine Schwester und ich mit folgender Vorgehensweise, unsere Wertschätzung, den gebührenden Respekt und unsere Danksagung gegenüber Tante Nuriye verständlich zu machen: Meine Schwester und ich erzählten ihr, dass viele Menschen dieses „Handwerk" mittlerweile mithilfe des Internets erlernen würden. Wir sahen uns mit Tante Nuriye einige „YouTube"-Videos auf unseren Mobiltelefonen an. Tante Nuriye war teilweise über den Inhalt dieser Videos fasziniert und entsetzt zugleich, indem sie der Meinung war, dass die Menschen viele Traditionen, zu denen unter anderem das Zubereiten des türkischen Kaffees gehört, in Vergessenheit geraten lassen würden, so dass

bedauerlicherweise solche Videos im Internet zur Verfügung gestellt werden müssten, damit sich die Menschen das Traditionelle wieder aneignen können.

Umso erstaunter war sie als Gastgeberin, als meine Schwester und ich ihr anboten, den türkischen Kaffee für uns alle zuzubereiten – natürlich unter aufmerksamer „Aufsicht" von Tante Nuriye und unserer Mutter. Zunächst wollte Tante Nuriye sich nicht von uns bedienen lassen. *„Bu olmaz! Ne de olsa, sizler benim Almanya'dan gelen misafirlerimsiniz."* (‚Das geht nicht! Immerhin seid ihr doch meine Gäste aus Deutschland.'), sagte sie zu uns. Trotz allem ließ sie sich überzeugen und nahm unser Angebot mit großer Freude darüber, dass unsere Familie diese alte Tradition, die tief in der türkischen Kultur verankert ist, weiterpflegt, dankend an.

Schließlich konnte jede von uns – mit jeweils einer Tasse türkischem Kaffee – auf der Terrasse von Tante Nuriyes Haus – mit dem Blick auf das Meer – die gemeinsame und gemütliche Atmosphäre genießen.

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05

Ndebele kinship terminology and
the ethnopragmatics of gender

05

Ndebele kinship terminology and the ethnopragmatics of gender

Sambulo Ndlovu

Ndebele is not a grammatical gender language. It does not use grammatical agreements for sex differentiation of nouns in grammatical constructions. The noun system differentiates animacy, singular and plural, and other semantic categories through noun classes. However, at lexical level the language has masculine, feminine and neuter lexis. The gender is expressed through grammatically gendered noun stems and through affixation. The Ndebele culture has been described as based on a patriarchal social structure and the distribution of lexical gender within the language is reflective of the cultural gender expectations. This paper describes Ndebele kinship terms

in the context of gender and further argues that the terminology actively or passively does gender. The kinship terms were collected through intuition, observations, interviews and document analysis and they were analysed through the lenses of hegemonic masculinities and othering theories to establish the operation of gender within the system. The analysis establishes that the kinship terms are distributed across the classes of masculine, feminine and neuter. There are gender specific terms and others that are derivatives. The derivation affixes are predominantly feminine affixes used on neuter or masculine stems to derive feminine terminology. This is reflective

of the patriarchal system as there is subtly inference to the fact that feminine terms can be derived from masculine ones through affixation not the other way round. The terms are first analysed linguistically to describe them, and later engaged discursively on how they propound gendered perceptions.

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Humans, just like other animal species, have biological and social connections. These connections create commonalities based on birth and social interests. Such commonalities between animals and within their groups give rise to the concept of kinship. Unlike other animals, humans have the ability to organise these commonalities using language and culture. Human aggregates organise their kinship around the concepts of birth, marriage and social interests (Fox 1983), while sex and age are used to distinguish and label kinship types (Knight 2008). Such organisation wades into the discourses of power and hierarchisation. The patrilineal and matrilineal structures in kinship systems affect the language used to name kin in communities. The Ndebele, who are the focus of this study, are an Nguni linguo-cultural group in Zimbabwe with strong historical, linguistic and cultural links to the Zulu of South Africa (Ndlovu 2021). Ndebele culture is patriarchal (Ndlovu 2021) and the kinship system is patrilineal (Radcliffe-Brown & Forde 2015), this prompts an interest into how the Ndebele language treats gender. While there are several studies on language and gender, and Ndebele language and gender in particular, not much has been done to investigate how Ndebele kinship terms encode gender.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the gender implications of the patrilineal system on Ndebele kinship terminology. Doing gender is to understand it as a routine accomplishment embedded in everyday interaction (West and Zimmerman 1987). The encoding of gender and its treatment in kinship terminology is in this paper treated as doing gender. It is based on Pilcher's (2017) idea of how names do gender by contributing to gender identities, difference and inequalities. In this paper this idea is applied on kinship terminology. The paper seeks to answer the question as to how femininity is treated or created in the conception of Ndebele kinship terminology and how gendered hierarchisation and distinctions are applied to structure both male and female kin. The paper highlights the key features of the Ndebele kinship system and moves on to demonstrate how these features, which are generally patriarchal and patrilineal, help create gendered kinship terminology. The study is an ethnopragmatic study of Ndebele kinship terms as these can only be understood when studied in the context of the culture that produces them. Goddard (2004: 1211) uses the term ethnopragmatics to refer to 'explanations of speech practices which begin with culture-internal ideas, i.e., with the shared values, norms, priorities, and assumptions of the speakers, rather than with any presumed universals of pragmatics'. Kinship terminologies are culture-specific discourse practices and the patriarchal nature of Ndebele culture influences the gendered structure in their kinship terminology.

Kinship

The concept of kinship cannot be defined univocally in both general and domain specific environments. While in a more general sense kinship may denote affinity between entities

based on shared characteristics, in the domain of biological science, for example, genetic relatedness is perceived as kinship. Both these ideas on kinship apply in the general anthropological understanding and application of kinship. While there is no unilateral definition of kinship in anthropology, the general understanding is that when we set-out to study kinship, we study how humans engage each other within the basics of – reproduction, siblingship, parenthood, and socialisation etc (Fox 1983). While anthropology emphasises blood and marriage kinship, sociology extends kinship to social connections outside of blood and marriage relations (Allan 2021; Schneider 1984). The environments that necessitate kinship in humans are similar to those of other animals except that humans have the ability to categorise and name their biological and social connectedness (Fox 1983). Kinship systems are important social structuring as they determine identity and belonging, and the obligations people have to each other. Kinship terminologies discussed in this paper are linguistic manifestations of the intricate sociocultural expectations within kinship systems.

According to Crossman (2019) kinship is the most universal of human relations and is based on connections brought about through birth, marriage, and adoption. He further states that in sociology, kinship is broadened to include people outside the family or descent unit. Haraway (2015) concurs by extending the concept of kinship or kind beyond ancestry or genealogy through her idea of "making-kin". These distinctions give rise to the three types of kinship which are consanguineal that is based on blood relations, affinal that is based on marriage, and social that is based on closeness due to shared social groups or activities

(Schneider 1984). Kinship is first organised into levels of closeness. These levels are primary, secondary and tertiary kinship (Ulanska, Kuzmanovska, Kirova, & Ivanova 2021). These levels operate within consanguineal and affinal kinship types. Primary consanguineal kinship includes the relations of father, mother, son, daughter, sister, and brother, while primary affinal kinship is between husband and wife. Relations that are only primary to Ego's primary kin but not primary to Ego are at Ego's secondary kinship level. When this net is widened, it results in the tertiary level relationships. These levels apply to all human aggregates including the Ndebele. Ndebele kinship also includes "making-kin" (Haraway 2015), here, people who are not connected genetically or affinally are made kin. However, in Ndebele these people are subsumed into the genetic categories without any distinction such as for example, step child. Kinship systems use sex and age to further categorise relatives (Lancaster 1971). Such distinctions wade into gender as male and female kin are named differently in the majority of the cases. The broadness of the kin-net differs according to what different cultures emphasise. Western and North American cultures emphasise the nuclear family over distant kin (Lowes 2020). The terms, father, mother, son, daughter, brother, sister form the basic family in this system. All distant kin are bifurcated into uncle/aunt and cousin categories depending on their generation. Also, they do not make a distinction between paternal and maternal relatives; this is a bilateral principle of descent. The Ndebele system is the opposite as it caters for distant kin and is patrilineal. Kinship systems become heavily gendered because they are organised to trace lineage and inheritance.

Ndebele kinship

The Ndebele are found in Zimbabwe and they belong to the Nguni group. The Ndebele culture has been described as patriarchal (Sayi 2017). According to Johnson (2007: 29) 'patriarchy's defining elements are its male-dominated, male-identified, and male-centred character'. Such social structuring forms the basis for a gendered kinship terminology. Their kinship system is similar in most general features to the other African cultures (Morgan 187; Van Warmelo 1931). Describing African kinship systems, Radcliffe-Brown and Forde (2015) state that most de-emphasise the nuclear family and are patrilineal. It is common in African kin systems to use a single term for two or more types of relatives, for example, father may refer to all primary, secondary and tertiary relatives of one's father within his generation (Prinsloo and Bosch 2012). The treatment of cross cousins usually marks the difference within Southern African cultures (De Beer, Costello and Maree 1994). In Ndebele and other Nguni cultures, cross cousin marriage is not allowed. Kuper (1979) describes the Nguni kinship system as patrilineal, tracing descent and inheritance from the father's line. The classification and descriptions used in patrilineal systems give rise to kinship hierarchisation. Ndebele kinship is tied to caste and nationhood (Hughes 1956) hence; it encodes certain power relations such as gender. The deployment of sex in the categorisation and description of Ndebele kinship terminology culminates in these terms doing gender. The gendered nature of Ndebele kinship terms become part of the discourse on language and gender.

Language and gender

This paper is inspired by the Whorfian view of language as a mirror of social reality (Hartono, Suparto and Hassan 2021). Language expresses a culture and it mirrors norms and values within that particular culture. Kinship terminology are one case of verbalising culture. Language can be a window into the gendered practices in society as it can do gender. Crowley (2013) alludes to a history of how language has been used for purposes of exclusion along the boundaries of class and gender in the United Kingdom. He further states that language is used to create and validate social formations. According to Smith, Rosenstein, Nikolov, and Chaney (2019) language embodies gender stereotypes and biases that reinforce existing gender hierarchies that subordinate women. Lewis and Lupyan (2020) concur and further state that gender stereotypes in society are reflected in the language. Patriarchal social structure supports and is in turn supported by gendered language. Johnson (2007) demonstrates the nexus between language and patriarchy in English. He avers that female terms are prone to pejoration which is an indictment on the gendered nature of language. Just like other aspects of language, the classification and description of kinship mirrors the categories and hierarchies within family and clan structures.

Other cultural and language aspects that are closely related to kinship terminology are naming conventions and systems. Pilcher (2017) demonstrates that names and naming in societies go beyond their referential functions to "doing gender". Ngubane (2013) affirms that in Zulu culture, the desired child is male and the naming system confirms this. He further

opines that in Zulu culture, female names are usually derivatives from male names. Ngubane argues that for example, the Zulu name *Sipho* "Gift" is a male name but if the child turns out to be female the name is prefixed with the feminine prefix no- deriving the female name *Nosipho* "mother of gift". This observation is important in this analysis because the main thesis is also that most female Ndebele kinship terms are derivatives. This situation serves to authenticate male terms as basic. Ndlovu (2022) also notes that Ndebele language reflects masculine domination as women terms are usually the passive forms of active male terms. For example, men are the ones who actively marry women in Ndebele heterosexual marriage (*bayathatha* "they take") while women are the passive objects of the act of marriage (*bayathathwa* "they are taken"). These inequalities, he argues, are extended to the naming system whereby males are named using active verbs and women using the passive forms. Stone and King (2018) explore the nexus between kinship and gender and they conclude that family structures influence gender roles in different cultures. Gingrich, Heiss and Kommer (2021) also link kinship terminology to gender asymmetries in their study of Yemen societies. In this paper I also argue that kinship terms just like lexis and names betray the asymmetries of status and power along gender lines in society.

Theoretical framework

This paper engages with the theory of hegemonic masculinity. While the theory of hegemonic masculinity has been revised extensively to cater for the treatment of subordinate men and women, this paper engages the theory as it relates to gender hierarchy (Mensah 2021).

The theory is engaged at its basic definition as a practice that legitimises the domination of women by men in society (Connell 1995). The theory is engaged at the level of this tenet to analyse the operation of gender in Ndebele kinship terminology. Hegemonic masculinity derives from Marxist theories of cultural hegemony whereby one social class exerts power and influence over others, creating a hierarchy (Morrell, Jewkes, Lindegger, & Hamlall 2013). Connell (1995) advises that hegemonic masculinity is the configuration of gender practice to create and legitimise patriarchy. While hegemonic masculinity is always constructed in relation to various subordinated masculinities, the subalternity of women is primal (Messerschmidt 2019). The central concern of hegemonic masculinity is that images of femininity are subordinated. Cultural beliefs and practices (including kinship systems) are manipulated to condition women to consent to their domination (Smith 2010).

According to Scott-Samuel (2009) the cycle of hegemonic masculinity involves patriarchal society, gendered socialisation, and power inequalities. Hegemonic masculinity is political, cultural and economic leadership based on the subordination of othered groups such as women (Morrell, Jewkes, Lindegger, & Hamlall 2013). Scott-Samuel (2009: 159) avers that 'hegemonic masculinity is the form of masculinity which is culturally and politically dominant at a particular time and place'. Hegemonic masculinities incorporate cultural dynamics that help men to maintain a stranglehold on the leading and dominant position in society.

Language is structured to reflect ideas on power and gender in a society. Language as a discursive practice can be used to maintain dominance or to facilitate transformation. Lan-

guage is packaged and used by both the dominant male and subordinate female groups to reinforce perceived male domination (Lears 1985). According to Clyne (1994: 3) 'cultural values constitute "hidden" meanings underlying discourse structures'. The structure of some masculine, feminine, and neuter Ndebele kinship terms betray hegemonic masculinity. Ndebele kinship terminology operate within a patriarchal and patrilineal society and they help create and maintain the patriarchies. Hegemonic masculinity is important and useful for the understanding of gender relations in a society. Kinship terminologies are constructed on generation and gender to create hierarchies of kinship. This is justification for the engagement of hegemonic masculinity as an analytical tool in this paper.

Research methodology

The study is an ethnopragmatic approach to kinship terminology systems. Goddard (2004: 1211) contends that 'active metaphorising is a culture-specific speech practice which demands explication within an ethnopragmatic perspective'. Kinship systems are rooted in cultural practice and can only be understood within a culture through an ethnopragmatic approach within qualitative research. According to Denzin (1995) qualitative research strives to understand real-world processes as narrated by those who have experienced these processes. The research employs qualitative research methodology, which, according to Hennink, Hutter, and Bailey (2020) offers rich descriptive reports of the individuals' perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, views and feelings as well as the meanings and interpretations given to events and experiences.

The research made use of participant and nonparticipant observations and semi-structured interviews. These tools allow for quick understanding in participants and interviewees (Denzin 1995). The interviews had several fixed questions on consanguineal and affinal kinship terminology at the three levels of primary, secondary and tertiary kinship. Intuitive knowledge was one of the tools used to collect data as the researcher belongs to the culture under study. Document analysis was also used as sources for some terminology and their meanings. A total of 18 consanguineal and 23 affinal terms were collected. These were analysed thematically along the gender dimensions of masculine, feminine and neuter.

Findings and analysis

All Ndebele kinship terms that were gathered are here presented and ordered thematically according to consanguineal and affinal kinship. The terms are also presented and analysed according to gender. The descriptors *omdala/omncane* "older/younger" are used to differentiate kin of the same type and generation according to age.

Masculine Ndebele kinship terms

In Ndebele, kin men are referenced by twelve terms, five consanguineal and seven affinal ones. The term *baba* is used for the father and grand father and all their male siblings on both the consanguineal and affinal sides. The descriptors, *omkhulu* "big", *omncane* "younger", *omdala* "older", and *-zala* "in law" are used to specify the type of father. The other categories are son, brother, brother-in-law, and uncle. The kinship terms and their translations are tabulated in table 1.

Table 1: Masculine Ndebele kinship terminology

Consanguineal

Ndebele masculine terminology	Gloss and description
Baba-mkhulu father-big *(omdala/ omncane)*	"Big father"- grandfather-both grandfathers (siblings and cross/parallel cousins -older/younger)
Baba (omdala/ omncane)	Father- (siblings and cross/parallel cousins -older/younger)
Ndoda-na man-small	Son- (including sons to parents' same sex siblings and cross/parallel cousins)
Mnewethu/bhudi	Brother- (including male parallel cousins)
Ma-lume mother-male	Uncle- (mother's brother and all her male cross/parallel cousins)

Affinal

Ndebele masculine terminology	Gloss and description
Baba-mkhulu-zala father-big-in-law *(omdala/ omncane)*	Grandfather-in- law- (and all his male siblings and cross/parallel cousins -older/younger)
Baba-zala father-in-law *(omdala/ omncane)*	Father-in-law- (and all his male siblings and cross/parallel cousins -older/younger)
Seka-sebele father of-sebele *(omdala/ omncane)*	Grandfather to Ego's daughter/son in law (-older/younger)
Mkhwe-nyana in-law-son *(omdala/ omncane)*	Son in law- (and all his male siblings and cross/parallel cousins -older/younger)
Mkhwe-nye-thu in-law-son-sibling	Brother-in-law- (Ego's sister's husband and all his male siblings and cross/parallel cousins)
Mfumbesi	Brother-in-law- (Ego's wife's sister's husband and all his male siblings and cross/parallel cousins)
Ma-lume mother-male	Uncle- (mother in law's brother and all her male cross cousins)

Masculine terms are used for father, brother, son, and uncle. While Kuper (1979: 375) has argued that in the Nguni kinship system, 'only parents' same-sex siblings are normally distinguished as "older" or "younger"', this data shows that this also applies to grand parents. The grandfather is a big father and the suffix -*zala* is used to derive grandfather in law and father-in-law. Son corresponds to son in law and brother corresponds to brother-in-law. However, there are two types of brothers-in-law, the one married to one's sister and the other married to a sister to one's wife. The uncle is always the brother or cousin to one's mother. The brothers to both paternal and maternal grandfathers are referred to using the same term for grand father. All the kinship terms but *malume* are masculine and are not derived from feminine terms. The term *malume* for the maternal uncle is linked to the feminine

term for mother *ma(ma)*. The term means 'male mother'. The term *bhudi* for brother is a borrowing from Afrikaans *boet* which also means brother. This borrowing has gained currency and is popularly used than the Ndebele term *mnewethu*.

Feminine Ndebele kinship terms

Ndebele kins women have sixteen different terms, six for consanguineal and ten for affinal kinship. Unlike the masculine terms, there are different terms for mother and grandmother. However, the female siblings to the mother, grandmother, grandaunt and their in-law counterparts are also differentiated using the descriptors older, younger, and in law. Other categories are sister, daughter, and aunt as demonstrated in Table 2.

Table 2: Feminine Ndebele kinship terminology

Consanguineal

Ndebele feminine terminology	Gloss and description
Gogo (omdala/ omncane)	Grandmother both grandmothers (and all their female siblings and cross/parallel cousins -older/younger)
Baba-mkhulu-kazi father-big-female *(omdala/omncane)*	Grandaunt sisters to both grandfathers (and all their female siblings and cross/parallel cousins -older/younger)
Mama (omdala/ omncane)	Mother (and all her female siblings and cross/parallel cousins -older/younger)
Ndoda-kazi man-female	Daughter (female child and all her female cross/parallel cousins)
Dade-wethu /sisi sister-sibling	Sister (Ego's older female sibling and all older female parallel cousins)

| *Baba-kazi*
father-female | "Female father"- paternal aunt (father's sister and all his female cross/parallel cousins) |

Affinal

Ndebele feminine terminology	**Gloss and description**
Gogo-zala grandmother-in-law *(omdala/omncane)*	Grandmother in law both grandmothers in law (and all their female siblings and cross/parallel cousins -older/younger)
Baba-mkhulu-kazi-zala father-big-female-in-law *(omdala/omncane)*	Grandaunt in law both sisters to grandfathers in law (and all their female siblings and cross/parallel cousins -older/younger)
Naka-sebele mother of-sebele *(omdala/omncane)*	Grandmother to Ego's daughter/son in law (-older/younger)
Mama-zala mother-in-law *(omdala/omncane)*	Mother-in-law (and all her female siblings and female cross/parallel cousins-older/younger)
Malokazana (omdala/ omncane)	Daughter in law (and all her female siblings and female cross/parallel cousins-older/younger)
Dade-wethu sister-sibling	Sister-in-law Ego's brother's wife
Baba-kazi father-female	Female father paternal aunt in law- (father in law's sister and all his female cross/parallel cousins)
Nyanewethu	Sister-in-law women married to one man or those married to brothers
Ma-lume-kazi mother-male-female	Female uncle wife to Ego's maternal uncle and all wives to Ego's mother's male cross/parallel cousins
Mlamu	Younger sister to Ego's wife

In the feminine categories, feminine terms are used for grandmother, mother, sister, sister-in-law, and daughter in law. The terms for daughter, paternal aunt, grandaunt and the maternal uncle's wife are derived from masculine terms. The English/Afrikaans borrowing *sisi* for sister has also gained currency as a Ndebele kinship term.

Neuter Ndebele kinship terms

There are thirteen neuter Ndebele kinship terms in the data, seven that are basic consanguineal and six that are affinal. The great grand parents, nephews and nieces, siblings, cousins, spouses, and parents whose children are married have neuter kin terms. The term *sbali* is also used by a man for both male and female siblings to the wife. Table 3 gives the neuter Ndebele kin terms and their translations.

Table 3: Neuter/common Ndebele kinship terminology

Consanguineal

Ndebele masculine terminology	Gloss and description
Khokho (omdala/omncane)	Great grandparents (both grandparents and all their siblings and cross/parallel cousins -older/younger)
Mzali	Parent (from the verb *zala* to give birth)
Mntw-ana person-small	Child (for a man, his children include his wife)
Mnawami	Younger sibling (including parallel cousins)
Mfo-wethu brother-sibling	Brother- sibling (including parallel cousins)
Mzukulu	Nephew/niece (also includes grandchildren)
Mzawami	Cousin (cross cousin only)

Affinal

Ndebele masculine terminology	Gloss and description
Mkami	Spouse
Mne-wethu/bhudi brother-sibling	Brother (Ego's brother and brother's wife)
Mkhwe-nyana in-law-son	Son in law- (where Ego is son in law the term is also used for Ego's female siblings, cross and parallel cousins)
Sbali	Sibling-in-law- siblings to Ego's wife
Mkhongi	Marriage go-between
Sebele (omdala/omncane)	Ego's parents to his wife's parents-older/younger

While the rest of the terms are neuter, the terms *mfowethu*, *mkhwenyana*, *mnewethu*, and *sbali* have masculine inferences in their meaning or usage. *Mfowethu* "brother" is a masculine term used as neuter to refer to both male and female siblings. The term *mkhwenyana* "son in law" is the masculine opposite of the feminine *malukazana* "daughter in law". However, the term is also used in its neuter sense to cover female siblings, cross and parallel cousins to the son in law. *Sbali* "sibling-in-law" is a recently developed term used bidirectionally by a brother-in-law and both male and female siblings to his wife. Suffice to note that this does not apply to a sister-in-law and siblings to her husband.

Discussion

The Ndebele kinship terminology does gender, and the patriarchal system in the Ndebele culture can be read in the kinship terminology. Some of the terms betray the gendered social structure. The morphology of some of the terms shows some masculine biases and some masculine terms are used as default neuter. Only the term *malume* for maternal uncle is a feminine derivative, however, it too, has patriarchal undertones from what the discussants said. Suffice to note that in this discussion and analysis, siblings in Ndebele include parallel cousins, and in the case of the generation of parents and grand parents, it includes the cross cousins too. The gendered implications in some Ndebele kinship terminology are discussed below.

The gendered morphology of some Ndebele kinship terms

Some of the terms in the data are a result of morphological derivations. While the descriptors big, older, and younger are used to differentiate some Ndebele kin of the same generation, the affixes *-lume*, *-kazi*, and *-zala* are used to derive masculine, feminine and in law terms respectively. This section discusses the gendered affixes *-kazi* and *-lume* and the terminology they derive.

The majority of gendered terminology are those that derive feminine terms from basic masculine terms. This trend is confirmed by Kuper (1979) who states that in Nguni, the basic term *-baba* may take the feminine suffix *-kazi*. Four terms in the data display this type of gendered morphology and these are *babakazi* "female father", *malumekazi* "female uncle", *babamkhulukazi* "female grandfather", and *ndodakazi* "female son". The term *baba* "father" is masculine but the female siblings to Ego's father are also identified as his fathers albeit, female ones. The descriptor *-omkhulu* "big" is used to derive the term *babamkhulu* for grandfather from the basic term *baba*, and it too, takes the suffix *-kazi* to derive female grandfathers. While this trend may appear to assign fatherhood to females, which is prestigious in a patrilineal and patriarchal society, the fact that there are no basic feminine terms for these categories is in itself doing patriarchy. In these cases, the basic terms are masculine and femininity is derived from "basic" masculinity.

It has been noted elsewhere that Ndebele and other Nguni cultures prefer boy children to girl ones (Ndlovu 2021, Ngubane 2013) and this trend is confirmed by the kinship terms for children. As Ngubane (2013) has noted that some names for girls are derived from boy names using various morphological strategies, the suffix *-kazi* is also used to derive the Ndebele word for daughter *ndodakazi* from the term *ndodana* "son". The derivation path is as follows:

ndoda "man" + *-ana* "diminutive suffix" =*ndod(a) ana* "small man/son" + *-kazi* "feminine suffix" = *ndoda(na)kazi* "female son/daughter".

The term *ndodakazi* suggests (according to Ngubane 2013) that the desired child is a boy but if it turns out to be a girl, then an affix is used. This has been identified in Nguni personal names whereby girls are named using affixation on boy names because the desired children, generally are boys (Ndlovu 2022, Ngubane 2013). The affixation creates secondary children in daughters with sons being the primary or basic children. In affinal kinship, the term for the maternal uncle's wife *malumekazi* follows the same derivation path. *Malume* is a masculine designation for the mother's male siblings but their wives do not have a basic kin term. They are identified only as female uncles through affixation by the feminine suffix *-kazi*. While the term *malume* is practically masculine, it is morphologically a masculine term derived from a feminine one and it is the only such derivation in Ndebele. The derivation of feminine terms from masculine ones is an example of hegemonic masculinity whereby images of femininity are subordinated.

Malume, the arguably masculine derivative

In Ndebele, the kin term for the maternal uncle *malume* is built on a feminine basic term for mother *mama* and the masculine suffix *-lume*. This is a deviation from the common practice of deriving feminine terms from masculine ones using the suffix *-kazi*. Anthropological linguists looking at Nguni have also confirmed this derivation. Kuper (1979) asserts that *mama* may also take the masculine suffix *-lume*, yielding the term *-malume*. Doke and Vilakazi

(1948) concur and translate the term *malume* literally to "male mother". While Ndebele uses the term *-ndoda* for man, the term *-lume* is cognate to various Bantu terms for man such as *-nlume*, *-rume*, this attests the term *-lume* as the original or older term for man in Ndebele. The derivation schema for *malume* is:

ma(ma) "mother" + *lume* "masculine suffix" = *malume* "male mother".

Such a derivational path is in agreement with social practice as the maternal uncles are treated like mothers not fathers by their nephews and nieces. The social distance between child and father is generally wider than between child and mother in Ndebele and nephews and nieces enjoy the mother-child social closeness with their maternal uncles. Interview data shows that the maternal uncle in Ndebele is devoid of the father features such as the seriousness and being aloof from their children. The uncle is very close to his nieces and nephews. While *malume* derives a masculine term from a feminine one, *malume* in Ndebele culture is a reduced masculinity devoid of the typical father stereotypes. Nephews and nieces have a joking relationship with their *malumes* and these are the men to whom they can share their problems as to a mother. It would appear that the derivation path is actually:

ma- "feminine prefix" + *lume* "noun stem (man)" = *malume* "female man".

Such schema derives the term by prefixing the feminine *ma-* prefix to the masculine stem *-lume*. This way, the masculinities inherent in manhood are weakened by diluting them

with the "weaker" femininity prefix. The term also bolsters and reflects hegemonic masculinities despite the fact that it is built on femininity.

Masculine as default neuter

Hegemonic masculinities are also done through neuter kinship terms in Ndebele. Masculine terminology is in some cases designated as the default neuter. Suffice to state that feminine terms are not used as default neuter, it is always the masculine terms used in this way. Basic masculine terms such as *mfowethu*, *mnewethu/bhudi*, *mkhwenyana*, and *sbali* have been extended to include female kin. This way, these masculine terms become default neuter as they also reference female kin.

The terms for brother and sister are *mnewethu/mfowethu* and *dadewethu* respectively. Kuper (1979) identifies the basic terms for brother and sister as *-fo* and *-dade* respectively. These, he further argues, may be augmented by the additional terms *-mna* and *-mne*. As early as (1871), Morgan observed that in the Nguni kinship system *umfo* is used for brother and the use is convenient as it caters for both older and younger brother. This convenience is now extended to sisters whereby *mfowethu* now includes one's female siblings too. The designation of the masculine term *mfowethu* as default neuter establishes key siblings to be brothers and the term can only be extended to include females. The term *mfowethu*, which caters for both younger and older brothers, is not preferred in cases where honour is desired. Instead, the honorific *mnewethu/bhudi* are used for elder brother. These too are used as default neuter. A brother's wife is also called a brother. It would appear that there is no need to call the

wife using a different term from your brother, her husband. The wife is called a brother without assigning the attendant patriarchal privileges that come with being a man.

Other masculine terms that designate default neuter are the terms for son in law and brother-in-law. It emerges that the term *mkhwenyana*, which is Ndebele for son in law, is also used for female siblings, cross and parallel cousins to the son in law. Suffice it to note that male siblings to a daughter in law are not called *malukazana* "daughter in law" but they are elevated a generation up and are called father-in-law or *sebele*. *Sebele* designates parents to Ego's child in law. Male siblings to a daughter in law are elevated to the generation of her parents yet, female siblings to a son in law are not elevated.

Instead, the term for son in law is extended to include them as a default neuter.

Interview data established that the term *sbali* for brother-in-law derives from the Nguni verb *bala* "count". It is said that the term was originally used for a son in law who has paid *lobola* "bride price". Only after *ukubala imali ya-malobolo* "counting the *lobola* money" to the in laws can the siblings to the sister who has been married call the brother-in-law *sbali*. This term is now gender neutral in the sense that the brother-in-law also calls both male and female siblings to his wife *sbali*. While *sbali* is now gender neutral, it is worth noting that it is only used by the brother-in-law not by the sister-in-law. The designation of masculine terms as default neuter does gender in that it prioritises masculine kin and feminine kin are incorporated. Another neuter term that demonstrates Ndebele hegemonic masculinities is *-mntwana* "child". When a man talks of his children, he includes his wife too. The word

for children *abantwana* is also used in Ndebele to refer to women or females as *abesintwana*.

Conclusion

The Ndebele kinship system, just like the culture, is patrilineal and patriarchal. There are two distinct types of kinship terms consanguineal and affinal terms. In both categories, the kinship terms are gendered, there are masculine, feminine and gender-neutral terms. The kinship terms exhibit tendencies of hegemonic masculinities as they show some male biases. Some female kinship terms are derived from basic masculine terms by affixing the feminine suffix *-kazi* to male terms. Such derivations establish a feminine image that is subordinated to masculinities and patriarchy. There is only one term *malume* that derives a masculine term from a feminine one. However, this too displays some gendered preferences for masculinity as the feminine term weakens the masculinities in *malume*. Hegemonic masculinities are also entrenched in Ndebele kinship terminology through the designation of male terms as default neuter terms. Basic masculine terms are extended to include some female kin categories. However, not a single female basic term is extended to include male kin in the same kin category. This confirms the male privileges in Ndebele culture and how male is the dominant and desired gender. The kinship terms confirm the subordinate position of women and also, that men are the basic kin while women are only included in some masculine terms.

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06

On exploitative, egocentric stuff that people do in order to design exoticizing languages that obviously bear no trace of anyone's respect for colonized and marginalized ways of speaking

06

On exploitative, egocentric stuff that people do in order to design exoticizing languages that obviously bear no trace of anyone's respect for colonized and marginalized ways of speaking

Anne Storch

It is always good to have a title for a paper that makes clear what it is about. In the wide and fascinating field of invented languages this is not always the case, which more often than not might have the unfortunate effect of many linguists being unaware of relevant publications they would have otherwise loved to read. Two of the most misleading titles that come to my mind here are Umberto Eco's *La ricerca della lingua perfetta nella cultura europea* ('The search

for the perfect language in European culture'; 1994) and Clemens J. Setz' *Die Bienen und das Unsichtbare* ('The bees and the invisible'; 2020). Setz' book is not at all about bees, and Eco misses a perfect language when he sees one, just on one of the last pages of the book. However, both books are about the invention of languages, offering rich and original analyses of the structures and intellectual history of numerous artificial languages of the Global

West, often using a hospitable anecdotal approach. Furthermore, Setz' book is a literary masterpiece for which the author was awarded the prestigious Georg Büchner prize.

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In his study of the European search for a perfect language, Umberto Eco first sets out to discuss philosophical languages, which were created or designed in order to achieve or enhance a congruency between sound and world, make the very origin of language and mankind transparent again, and to create a semiotic system on that basis that then could be understood universally. These languages were intellectual tasks, complicated games, but in early modernity also became expressions of ideologies of linguistic superiority and thus part of the epiphenomena of nationalism and imperialism (Bonfiglio 2010). Eco also mentions that philosophical languages continued to be of interest well after the end of scholastic traditions and also after the age of enlightenment. Rasta Talk (Schrenk 2015) is one of them, a language practice originating in Jamaica in the twentieth-century that is based on the philosophical thought that semiotic opacity and a mismatch between sound and meaning results in imbalanced and harmful relationships among people as well as between them and their natural and cosmic environment. However, Eco, concentrating on European and not Caribbean languages, demonstrates that other goals than spiritual well-being had been in the focus there at the same time, namely an almost totalitarian communicative transparency, very much in opposition to the spiritual fulfilment Rasta Talk is supposed to offer. Another example of the resistance against this form of control through transparency is the role advocated for language in Glissant's Antillaisian thought and his defense of the right to opacity. Eco presents Solresol, a language based on the European musical scale and invented by François Soudre in 1827, as one the examples for these continued attempts to create transparent universal codes, always based on Eurocentric perspectives. The languages designed for communication in outer space are another. Here, Eco mentions Lincos (designed by Hans A. Freudenthal in 1960) which was aimed at making even extraterrestrials grasp the content of messages sent to them by (European) humans. Artificial intelligence is yet one more of his examples for the various aprioristic philosophical languages that since then have been created in order to make communication efficient and controllable.

But then Eco also discusses constructed international auxiliary languages spoken in the colonial world. It is important mentioning just where they were spoken – a colonial world –, because looking at Volapük and Esperanto in the way they are presented and discussed by Eco, the salient European features of these languages become obvious on yet another level. While morphology, word order and lexicon are those of European languages such as German and Latin, there are some features, for example of the phonology, that are particularly revealing in how they reflect Eurocentric imperial gazes. Johann Martin Schleyer, a German pastor and linguist, invented Volapük in 1879, in order to create a language that could be used all over the world. And in this world, it was important to make sure in a patronizing fashion, Eco writes, that there was no /r/ in the language, as otherwise the Chinese could not understand. And so, Schleyer's language, Eco argues, bases on word games played with the lexicon of German, French, Latin and few

other European languages, ironically making the resulting vocabulary hard to recognize for basically all learners, and alien to anybody speaking non-European languages. Exclusion of the larger part of the world's population is part of this world language game.

Morever, Volapük recreates, in a strange, inversive way and aimed at users that belong to a different social class, that what was already there at the time: Namely a constructed language spoken in Germany and other parts of Europe by a large number of people. This pre-existing international auxiliary language has been called Rotwelsch, and other such ways of speaking are known as Manisch or Jenisch. These languages, too, are based on the creative manipulation of German words, as well as on the creation of a lexicon that includes material from other languages – not Latin, but Hebrew, Romani and Jiddish. However, as Martin Puchner (2021) demonstrates in his deep dive into the history of Rotwelsch and the marginalization of any traveling, mobile, open, dynamic group of people in Germany, this was a language that was despised by the bourgeois and educated, persecuted by the nazis and ostracized later on. And Schleyer's Volapük belonged to precisely the social realm where Rotwelsch was rejected and its speakers were (and continue to be) marginalized and criminalized.

Like Rotwelsch, Volapük had been mostly used in Germany and some other parts of Europe, being a language that transcended the same geographical boundaries as Rotwelsch, Jenisch and Manisch. But the latter were considered to belong to the street, while the former clearly was something for the realm inside, such as the interiors of middle-class institutions of learning. Fittingly, Schleyer's family was

well-established, and continued to be so; his grand great-nephew Hanns Martin Schleyer had been president of the employers' association in Germany, when he was murdered by the RAF in 1977, in the German Autumn (e.g. Fassbinder et al. 1978). It might seem a bit forced, but yet: are the missing /r/ in Volapük and the ignorant perspective on practices such as Rotwelsch, Manisch and Jenisch, from which one could have learned how something like a created auxiliary language works, not an interesting correlation? The claim to create a language that will be shared across the world and that yet is so German, so upper middle-class, so Eurocentric that it remained a project that was mostly used among a community of European academics and people connected to colonial administration, is closely connected to colonial and neo-colonial subjugation, of many forms, in many ways, and with violent consequences.

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Eco mentions that the late nineteenth and early twentieth century have been exceptionally rich in such constructed auxiliary languages. The German translation of his book, which I have been using, phrases this as follows:

> Zu Beginn des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts kommt es zu einer imposanten Entwicklung des Kommunikations- und Transportwesens: Nun werde es möglich sein, meinten Couturat und Leau (1903), die Reise um die Welt in vierzig Tagen zu machen (es ist kaum dreißig Jahre her seit Jules Vernes prophetischen achtzig Tagen!), während Telephon und drahtlose Telegraphie im Handumdrehen Paris mit London und Turin mit Berlin verbinden. Die Leichtigkeit der Kommunikation hat eine entsprechende Zunahme an Wirtschafts-

beziehungen zur Folge, der europäische Markt dehnt sich weltweit aus, die großen Nationen besitzen Kolonien bis zu den Antipoden, und ihre Politik wird global. (Eco 1994: 322)

At the beginning of the twentieth century, there is an imposing development of communication and transportation: now it will be possible, said Couturat and Leau (1903), to make the trip around the world in forty days (it is hardly thirty years since Jules Verne's prophetic eighty days!), while telephones and wireless telegraphy connect Paris to London and Turin to Berlin in the blink of an eye. The ease of communication results in a corresponding increase in economic relations, the European market expands worldwide, the great nations own colonies up to the antipodes, and their politics become global.[1]

Europe's search for a perfect language, Eco argues, was now guided by the need for a means of communication that served the needs of colonialism and globalization, as well as an interest of nationalists in the non-English-speaking parts of Europe to implement an international auxiliary language other than English. The many invented languages of the time changed in the way in which they were constructed: They are not purely aprioristic philosophical languages, as they use lexical roots from natural languages, but rather aposterioric languages which integrate these roots into a system of previously designed

morphological patterns. In a way, these languages resemble some of the invented languages that have been created in the colonized parts of the world, as a reaction to the colonial experience. A well-known example is Shuu Mum, a language invented by Sultan Ibrahim Mbouombouo Njoya of Bamum in the city of Foumban, under Germany's colonial rule in Cameroon. Sultan Njoya was able to establish considerable agency in defining his own role in the encounter, claiming that Bamum and Germany had much in common and could learn from one another. One aspect of such an exchange concerned the royal court: Not only did the Sultan replace the old palace with a large Prussian brick building, he also created a completely new language to be spoken in this environment.

Shuu Mum, the language he invented, was based on a lexicon mostly taken from German, French and English (as it was the case in the European constructed languages of the period in which Eco is interested) as well as on Bamum. These words were then manipulated,

Figure 1: Royal brick palace (Wikipedia commons)

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[1] My translation, based on www.DeepL.com/Translator (free version).

modified, altered according to a set of rules that seem to have been created on the basis of the comparison of the European languages with the Benue-Congo languages spoken in the Bamum kingdom. In other words, the shape of the language was not created on the basis of an interest in grammatical structure (as in the European Latin tradition of linguistics), but on the basis of mimetic practice.

What a wonderful principle in the invention of a language. It could be awful, too. Nico Nassenstein (2020) describes the same strategy at play in the creation of Mock-Chinese in Kinshasa, about a century later. What we get to see are the distorted images of the Other's Other.

Back in Foumban, back in time, Sultan Njoya would invite Europeans to the palace and elicit interesting lexical material in order to create a database for his constructed language. One of his informants was Anna Rein-Wuhrmann, a missionary who today is mostly remembered for her photographical work on Bamum. In some of her letters, Rein-Wuhrmann later remembered how the Sultan's linguistic work was done. Idelette Dugast (1950), using these documents, describes how Rein-Wuhrmann, who had come to Bamum in 1911 as a member of the Basle mission, contributed to the creation of Shuu Mum: by the time she was introduced to the Sultan, he had begun to develop a secret language, which also had its own secret script, and she was called to the palace often to provide the Sultan with what he called "beautiful words" – lexemes that seemed to have been experienced as being particularly characteristic for the Germans. The elicited forms were sometimes integrated into the secret language just as they were received, e.g., *rɔskɔnik* 'great king', *ɔrnu* 'order', *liŋs* 'left', *komstu* 'do you come', etc., while others underwent an interesting inversion. Short forms used in Bamum became long words, words with few consonants received more of them, mimicking long compounds and consonant clusters that are characteristic of German, but not for Bamum and other Grassfields languages. Examples include Bamum *ŋga-faʔ* → Shuu Mum *ispinklan-lasan* 'servant', Bamum *tashi* → Shuu Mum *wabua-span* 'yours', Bamum *kɔsɛ* → Shuu Mum *muksuru-ruran* 'and, with', Bamum *ru* → Shuu Mum *waidan* 'force', as well as the (Swiss-) German name *Anna Wuhrmann* → Shuu Mum *Lasisvenère Pistenawaskopus*.

The language (which had been reserved for communication at the royal court), like many of the constructed languages of the time, eventually fell out of use. But the script continued to be used, and still is today, in everyday-life contexts, as heritage practice as well as in acts of political resistance.

The script, as the language, bears deep connections to colonial entanglements. Konrad Tuchscherer (2007) suggests that the inspiration for the script comes from Vai-speaking traders sailing down the West African coast and using a script that had emerged through trans-Atlantic interactions with Cherokee people, in the context of the Atlantic trade network, involving slave trade, exploitative plantation economy and settler colonialism. Yet, it is the deep South (Maxwell-Gibb forthcoming), an open, diverse space, and the intellectual hospitality of the Sultan and his court who transcended the horrors of colonialism and created a form of expression that retains the power to connect.

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In the discussion of why so many of Europe's constructed international auxiliary languages

have fallen out of use relatively quickly after their invention, mostly due to overcomplicated manipulation strategies, but also because of the paternalistic power relations their founders had with the respective communities of users, Eco makes an incorrect connection:

> Zudem operieren die gemischten Sprachen, wenn sie Komposita bilden, mit begrifflichen Zusammenballungen, die eher an die Primitivität und Regressivität des Pidgin erinnern. Werden im Pidgin-Englisch die Dampfschiffe, je nachdem, ob sie Raddampfer sind oder Schraubenantrieb haben, als *outside-walkee-can-see* und *inside-walkee-no-can-see* bezeichnet, so heißt im Volapük die Juwelierhandlung *nobastonacan*, was ein Kompositum aus "Stein", "Handlung" und "Adel" darstellt. (Eco 1994: 326)

> Moreover, when the mixed languages form composites, they operate with conceptual conglomerations that are more reminiscent of the primitivity and regressivity of pidgin. When in Pidgin English steamships are called *outside-walkee-can-see* and *inside-walkee-no-can-see*, depending on whether they are paddle steamers or screw-driven, in Volapük the jewelry store is called *nobastonacan*, which is a compound of "stone," "store," and "nobility."[2]

It has been a long time since steamers were the type of object to which examples for linguistic structures would refer. It does not seem to be the case though here that the discussion of languages referred to as "pidgin" has left the spirit of the times of the olden steamers behind. In spite of this: If there is any super-modern language that has emerged from a context of "an imposing development of communication and transportation", where different communicative influences are brought together, coexisting in an open, hospitable way of speaking, that could be called a "perfect language", then it is a member of the many so-called "Pidgin" languages. There is hardly any way of speaking that is as successful globally (Faraclas 2020, Faraclas & Delgado 2021), as poetic and efficient at the same time, and as modern and dynamic as "Pidgins". Sadly, even though languages such as Naija emerged as widely spoken auxiliary languages at about the same time (Storch 2018) as the constructed international auxiliary languages invented by armchair Europeans, Eco misses them out completely. Which also might tell something about the social positionality and identity concepts of linguists, especially in the Global West.

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Almost three decades later, Clemens J. Setz turns the gaze to more contemporary means of travel. If I have not overlooked them, his book does not contain any steamers. Setz begins his journey into the wide field of constructed languages with a conversation he shared with the poet Mustafa Ahmed Jama, who uses a wheelchair and communicates with the help of Blissymbolics, a constructed language that enables more and more people to connect and communicate with their social environments, across any possible border. Suffering from cerebral palsy after birth, Jama and his family left Somalia and came to Sweden, where he still lives, in order to seek medical treatment for him. In a long and difficult process, Jama

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[2] My translation, based on www.DeepL.com/Translator (free version).

learnt to communicate through Blissymbolics, and as a poet, he mostly writes using this language.

Setz is interested in those stories about constructed languages that make conceivable how these communicative practices help to overcome personal crisis, transcend various kinds of boundaries, make their users achieve agency, freedom from suppression and visibility in marginalizing settings. His tale of constructed languages is full of anecdotes telling of deeply felt humanism, offering a glimpse into what hospitable linguistics might be like. There are the stories of Charles Bliss whose Blissymbols was valued only late in its inventor's life, of the resistance of the users of constructed languages during fascism and their struggle against any other totalitarian regime, of the melancholy in lonely Volapük poetry, and of all the subversive and creative linguistic in(ter)ventions that helped to create utopias. He makes a wonderful observation about Esperanto: that only because it remained incomplete after Zamenhof's death, and was not designed and constructed up to a state of perfection, it could be used as a language that really connected people. Multilingual people using repertoires that consist of minority languages (and not just a bunch of standardized national languages) will be able to relate.

The book is also about more contemporary conlangs, constructed languages that are mostly shared on internet platforms, and often are used only among small communities of fantasy movie fans, gamers and cosplayers. Setz is open to all that, but his interest in all these languages is driven by something deeper than just curiosity or playfulness.

This is a fascinating journey for the reader, too. The snippets from his diary of 2015 that form part of the book (Setz 2020: 127-144) already make it clear that something is not at all in order with the author, over there in Vienna. And then, a few pages later:

> In der Linguistik gibt es die sogenannte Sapir-Whorf-Hypothese, die eine direkte Kausalität zwischen einer gesprochenen Sprache und bestimmten Denkkonzepten annimmt. In ihrer starken Form, *eine gewisse Sprache bestimmt bzw. schafft gewisse Denkkonzepte im Kopf des Sprechers*, gilt sie inzwischen als weitgehend widerlegt, aber ihre schwache Form scheint eine alltägliche Wahrheit darzustellen: Bestimmte Sprachen *fördern* oder *vereinfachen* bestimmte Konzepte. So zum Beispiel das Denken in Himmelsrichtungen. (Setz 2020: 149)

> In linguistics there is the so-called Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, which assumes a direct causality between a spoken language and certain thinking concepts. In its strong form, *a certain language determines or creates certain thinking concepts in the mind of the speaker*, it is now considered largely disproved, but its weak form seems to represent an everyday truth: Certain languages *promote* or *simplify* certain concepts. For example, thinking in terms of cardinal directions.[3]

And then, after ten more pages:

> Jetzt habe ich mich gut abgelenkt von der entsetzlichen Krise, in der ich 2015 steckte. Mir ist der Mensch, der ich damals war, zwar nicht peinlicher als der Mensch, der ich heute bin,

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[3] My translation, based on www.DeepL.com/Translator (free version). Emphasis as in the original text.

aber dennoch war ich in diesem Sommer sehr nahe daran, irgendeine unheilbare Dummheit zu begehen. Meine These wäre, dass sich Menschen in solchen Krisen, in selbst verursachten Höllen, besonders danach sehnen, die Sapir-Whorf-Hypothese wäre 100% wahr und durch einen Neustart der Sprache ließe sich auch die Wirklichkeit neu starten in ein glorreiches Zeitalter vor dem Sündenfall. Vielleicht hantiere ich einfach in meinem Kopf mit den falschen Wörtern. Gäbe es die richtigen, ich würde mich in einen guten Menschen verwandeln. (Setz 2020: 159)

Now I have given myself a good distraction from the horrible crisis I was in in 2015. I am no more embarrassed by the person I was then than the person I am now, but nevertheless I came very close to committing some incurable stupidity that summer. My thesis would be that people in such crises, in self-inflicted hells, especially long for the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis to be 100% true, and by rebooting language, reality could also be rebooted into a glorious age before the Fall. Perhaps I am simply handling the wrong words in my head. If there were the right ones, I would change into a good person.[4]

The perfect language here is the one that does not just enable people to interact across the many boundaries they experience in a colonized and globalized world, but one that actually unmakes this world and replaces it with something better, perhaps with a more primordial reality. And even though Setz writes about the many mundane and obvious connections between experienced despair and the use of constructed languages in order to overcome any possible crisis, he is also concerned with the magical and utterly utopian meanings of conlangs. If we only find the right words, reality will change.

The idea seems attractive. Reboot and leave all the guilt and ruination behind. Setz develops his thoughts about the possibility of such a utopia as he explores the constructed language Láadan. This is a language invented by the American linguist and science fiction writer Suzette Haden Elgin in 1982 in order to test the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. Haden Elgin assumed that most languages of the Global West are not well suited to express the views of women, but rather reflect the hegemony of men. The underlying binary between men and women already makes me suspicious, because isn't this just a trap. Setz also isn't fond of it, but he is probably more patient with language inventors than me, his reader.

Láadan has been designed as a language that (unlike the European natural languages, or say, more precisely, English) is gynocentric, suitable for the expression of women's views. But how could this be achieved? Using an approach that bases on the assumption of binary oppositions such as male : female, Haden Elgin has a clearcut answer to this: Láadan is just made to look – look, not sound, as this is all about writing, grammars, dictionaries, novels – like a non-Western language. And the opposite of Western languages is a language that has Southern features: Tone, a consonant system that looks like a mixture of Western Nilotic and *Pama-Nyungan, no gender, agglutinative morphology, VSO word order, and so on. It is as stereotypical as it is plunder. Plundering

languages of the tropics, of the colonized world, but so what. If we only knew the right words, we would change into good people.

Setz seems to like the idea of creating a science fiction language that can serve as an example of how marginalized people could express themselves better. But he too is critical about binary oppositions. But while he remains skeptical about Haden Elgin's idea about women being more emotional, an idea that saliently resonates in the grammatical structure of Láadan, he is at least intrigued by the lexicon of the language:

> Der Bereich, in dem Láadan unübertrefflich brillant ist, ist der der Neologismen. Diese stellen für mich eine der übernehmenswertesten Eigenschaften dieser Sprache dar. Im Grunde sind sie, würde man sie als Liste publizieren, ein großer, luzider Roman über das Leben, vor allem jenes von Frauen, zu allen Zeiten. (Setz 2020: 154)

> The area in which Láadan is unsurpassably brilliant is that of neologisms. For me, these are one of the most endearing features of the language. Basically, if they were published as a list, they would be a great lucid novel about life, especially women's life, at all times.[5]

What follows is a list of Láadan lexemes with explanations of their meaning and sometimes also their construction principles. Much of what is presented is simply considered worth mentioning and original because German has no equivalent ("für die sich aus den Bausteinen des Deutschen kaum ein eigenes Wort bilden lässt", Setz 2020: 158). Yet the pejorative connotations added to lexemes such as "holiday" and "guest" (in the sense of "they can be a burden to women"), as well as expressions of complex emotional states, intentions, physical conditions and so on are not all that unattainable in many natural languages other than German. Such meanings and concepts are expressed through particular noun classes, ideophones, discourse markers, and so forth, in languages all around the world.

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The observation that original and interesting concepts are expressed in remarkable ways through Láadan and other constructed languages that Setz explores in his book is not followed suit by the crucial question: Why? He, like most other people writing about those languages (e.g. Adams 2011, Okrent 2009, Peterson 2015) does not ask that question. As if the weird complex structures of those languages are already enough to write about. But yet: Why have the creators of these languages, specifically those in the late twentieth and twenty-first century, designed them as languages that resemble non-European, non-Western, and preferably tropical or central Asian languages?

In his pathbreaking work, Nicholas Faraclas (2012, Faraclas & Delgado 2021) has embedded linguistic analysis in the careful investigation of the social and political history of the languages under research. And he employed a perspective that enabled him to obtain a deep understanding of the subversive agency and power of marginalized and subaltern people. To look at languages as being the results of their colonial histories, but also, and equally so, of the ability of their speakers to be rene-

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[5] My translation, based on www.DeepL.com/Translator (free version).

gades and maroons against the exploitative and plundering colonial and neo-colonial orders imposed on them very much helps to change our perspective. Yet, as Setz helps us to understand, the search for the perfect language, the one that does help to reboot the world, still bases on another view of the world, one that I find depicted in mid-century images, where the world's order is maintained in pictures that look as being drawn for children. The languages from which conlang creators such as Haden Elgin take structural features as well as semantic patterns are seen as languages that just sit where they have "always" sat, and no social and political history ever left a stain on them.

So maybe the question of why these languages are designed in the way they are needs to be replied by saying, because this is how Indigenous languages and the colonized world still need to be constructed in the Global West. In the constructed South, being seen as a static world, which is always the world of the Others (Fabian 2002 [1983]), the languages of the Indigenes can serve as data mines for whatever is going to be created. And in these fantasies, aren't the non-European languages and speakers reliable, not changing into something contemporary, not complaining, not giving us a bad conscience? We are saved, as women, as people in crisis, as people facing global meltdown, by the static, exotic languages of all those who remain in their "traditional" realities, always ready to give us unpolluted and healing words. What kind of twist has happened here: clad in their science fiction costumes, conlangs turn into utopian inversions of Europe, through erasure of violent colonial history as well as of the powerful agency of colonized people.

Figure 2: Africa in good order (photo by author, Knechtsteden monastery 2019)

And why is this so problematic? I think because it not only constructs non-Western languages as static and "traditional" through creating stereotyped images of them, but also because it bases on the assumption that non-European languages are resources for data mining, just as the colonized world is full of resources that can be exploited: Coltan, oil, gas, coffee. Modern slavery sustains the "imposing development of communication and transportation" of our time, so why even care if anyone's language is exploited as well, for the sake of rebooting the planet. This is problematic because it is violent in the way it negates

and silences contemporary people and because it is plunder uninterested in anything else but just personal wellbeing.

<p align="center">***</p>

It seems as if Setz had just used the last few opportunities to grasp the few instances of humanity and hospitality that remained. What I myself find in the numerous websites where conlangs are created, presented and discussed, is a spectacle of exotism and orientalism. At the same time this spectacle mimics linguistic practice and genres. The invented languages presented bear invented names, and oftentimes they also have invented endonyms, are spoken by a particular number of speakers, on an invented planet or continent, or in the Atlantic or in Northern Korea. Some languages have already become extinct, and then the time span in which the given language was once spoken is mentioned (5000 BC – 1000 BC, or from -2500 to +2500 using their calendar). What follows is a summary of the structural features of the language. It is striking that so many extraterrestrials and inhabitants of the Atlantic speak split-ergative languages.

My visit to Conlang.fandom.com included the attempt to create my own language, which is easy, as one just operates a drop-down menu, picking features, a bit like creating a personal profile on a casual dating site (Nassenstein & Storch 2020). I also visited an already created language, Shinsali.[6] Shinsali is not split-ergative, but nominative-accusative. It is spoken by 150.000 people in the Shinsali Confederacy, an island nation in the Atlantic. This is about all we get to know, and I think if anyone wants to obtain a fuller picture, they might need to watch a fantasy film.

Shinsali is an agglutinative-polysynthetic language and hasn't got tone. Its verbal system is slightly more complex than that of many of the Benue-Congo languages which I know, and this is the reason why I am picking it as an example for what it is made to look like. There are various aspect, mood and deictal affixes that are added to the verb stem, as well as deictal and object shape suffixes. The aspect markers may serve as an example of the intended complexity here:

	Affix	Meaning
Imperfective	$\varnothing$	ongoing nature
Perfective	*no*	viewed as a simple whole
Progressive	*la*	viewed as ongoing and evo/lving
Stative	*ju*	viewed as ongoing but not evolving
Momentaneous	*ro*	takes place at one point in time
Inceptive	*sanu*	beginning of a new action
Inochiative	*lhe*	begininng of a new state

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[6] https://conlang.fandom.com/wiki/Shinsali

Terminative	*wu*	end of an action/state
Repetitive	*gi*	the action is repeated
Conative	*ta*	attempted action
Defective	*my*	the action almost happened
Intentional	*najo*	the action was intentional
Accidental	*a*	the action was an accident
Imminent	*teja*	the action will happen for sure

Table 1: Shinsali aspect affixes

The *la* for the progressive is somehow nice, as it resembles TAM markers of relatable meaning in some Benue-Congo languages. Like the whole structure does. How the affixes are combined and finite verb forms are constructed is exemplified, like for almost all the other conlangs on the site, in a translation of the first paragraph of the declaration of the human rights.

But other than in the real world, human rights are pointless here. The Shinsali Confederacy remains frozen in fantasy time. It remains unreal, meant to be used only to speak to ourselves. Everything turns into a fantasy here, also the languages out there that serve as data mines, so why should we care about human rights? Maybe because it feels better if

they are acknowledged on Shinsali too; Indigenous language flair and human rights as part of the feelgood epistemes in linguistics and elsewhere.

And while I look at all the tables and summaries on the website, I am reminded of a game that was occasionally played when I was still a student, studying African linguistics. Sometimes, our small group of students who attended language classes in Hausa, Ewe, Fulfulde and Swahili found that what we learned there was so exciting that we just couldn't stop. And taking off from the verbal extensions of Fulfulde, we would invent more and more of them, and more tenses and aspects, more numbers in the pronominal system. And for all of these invented features of invented languages (which never lived longer than just for that moment) were based on some Latin words that came in handy: there were insultatives, paucalitives, inhibitives, symmetricalitives – just because Latin was still the metalanguage of linguistics, and our understanding of grammar still based on the analysis of its structure. But didn't we also base our invented languages on mimetic practice, more precisely on the mimesis of linguistics itself?

And "Pidgin"? We never played games that created any. We mimicked tables of morphemes, not life.

It is, in the light of these anecdotes, intriguing that those languages that so decidedly emerged as a consequence of modernity, which has its dark beginnings in the trans-Atlantic trade networks, plantation economies and the forced mobilities of large numbers of people and objects, are almost always missing in the conlang games. What conlangs such as Láadan and Shinsali seem to need are morphological complexity, very particular consonant systems,

strange writing systems and so on. That the languages that are part and parcel of modernity are hardly ever taken as models for the creation of exotic, extraterrestrial codes might also have something to do with the ancient, secret flair of linguistics' tables of morphemes, which are turned into a commodity fetish here. Maybe this is the crack in the wall through which we can still pass: just not buy it.

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07

"We died for this country!": verbal and practice talk among liberation war veterans in Zimbabwe

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Obert Bernard Mlambo

This article explores the world of the veterans of Zimbabwe's War of Independence, constructed in the rhetoric and language of valour, in which the veteran portrays her/himself through speech. The paper specifically focuses on the mouth of the veteran and the words they speak of themselves and their heroic world. I examine how a war veteran's masculinity is affirmed through speeches and fantasy in the construction of an ideologically charged masculinity in Zimbabwean politics. While the veterans portray themselves as champions of their world attained through

expropriation, they are simultaneously not immune to failure in getting what was promised during the war by their generals. They are not immune to suffering. Because of their disappointment, veterans have become not only violent and apprehensive, but also creative in their quest for rewards and recognition in society. They therefore deploy a rhetoric of hostility against their generals and against those they perceive as enemies. What words do their mouths utter? I thus explore how a veteran's mouth and that of his general, both of whom have taken part in discourses

of masculinity, which in turn have served as a weapon of expropriation, are used.

Zimbabwe is a small, landlocked Southern African country with a population of approximately 16 million located between the Zambezi River and the Limpopo River (Masiiwa and Chipungu 2004). The borders of the country go back to the former British colony of Southern Rhodesia and today shares borders with South Africa, Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana and Namibia (Mlambo 2018: 167). The recent history of Zimbabwe is entangled with the colonial legacy mainly related to unequitable distribution of land. Expropriation or farm invasions were referred to by liberation war veterans in the native Shona language using the terms *hondo yeminda/Chimurenga* (war for land), or *jambanja* (smash-and-grab) (Scarnecchia 2006: 234). I stress the combative character of the veterans by observing that they are on an unceasing war with society. They are furious and intemperate in the way they demand recognition and respect from society.

The word *Chimurenga,* which liberation war veterans use frequently, refers to wars fought against colonial occupation, and its use connects the liberation struggle of the 1970s and the land occupations of the 2000s with the 1896/7 Shona – Ndebele uprising against the British South Africa Company (BSAC), known as the First *Chimurenga* (Mlambo 2022). The First *Chimurenga* (also known as the Shona-Ndebele rebellions) were fought to reclaim the land from the colonialists. The liberation war was thus an important historical event for the ex-liberation war fighters. The indigenous people lost these wars and the land remained in the hands of the colonizers.

The liberation war (1960s-1979) was fought to restore land and human dignity to indigenous Zimbabweans. After independence in 1980, the colonial imbalance of the distribution of land ownership persisted, as the government of Zimbabwe had gone soft on the issue of land redistribution (Mlambo 2022). This triggered violent acts of expropriation of white-owned farms and even farms belonging to fellow blacks by veterans of the Liberation War. This historical legacy provides an essential explanation for the thinking and the disposition to violent behavior and expropriation among liberation war veterans.

I also take note of the fact that not all war veterans took part in the expropriation of land. Liberation War veterans were not a homogenous group in their thinking about land expropriation (cf. Sadomba 2011: 16). Although in this movement the war veterans expropriated land in collaboration with other actors (landless rural peasants and some rural and urban working class), this article focuses its lens on liberation war veterans, to shine a light on cultural perspectives on violence in Zimbabwe. This approach also allows for highlighting how war veterans' discourses on land reclamation had a powerful effect upon how they lived through their body (cf. Mlambo 2022). This article thus examines the knowledge, behavior, practices and attitudes of war veterans in Zimbabwe's political landscape, as can be seen through their linguistic activities.

"We died for this country!"

The utterance "We died for this country" was testimony to the great sacrifices made by liberation fighters during the war. Death here does not mean the end of life per se, but the level of sacrifice, which was very deep. It is a stark reminder to Zimbabweans that no one can come close to their acts of valour and sacrifice, which

include, but are not limited to, leaving families and school and enduring the horror of seeing their fellow comrades dying on the battlefield. The utterance also justified the war veterans' unquestionable access and entitlement to land, gratuities, seats in Senate and in Parliament and the status of national or provincial heroes/heroines after death.

In their struggle against neo-colonialism and the government's lack of commitment to attend to the issues of redistribution in the economy, the war veterans used to say "*Nyika ino hatisati taitora*" (This country, we have not yet taken it). By this statement, the war veterans meant that Zimbabwe had not yet achieved economic independence, as long as the land redistribution program was not fairly and equitably concluded. To this they added the slogan: "The land is the economy and the economy is the land.". Such slogans were chanted at political mobilization meetings, protests and even in ordinary conversations. (For more of these slogans, see Mugabe 2001). This utterance underscores the predominance of the land reform program regardless of whether it destroyed life or the economy. They thought such destruction was a phase that would pass. Their thinking was influenced by the fact that in an agrarian economy, possession of land may seem more important than whether the economy is working or not. They used this kind of thinking to justify the violent land reform that they were championing.

The land reform program had serious repercussions on the economy in Zimbabwe, as it affected productivity on the farms. It interrupted cultivation and displaced thousands of farm workers. It also caused severe food shortages, so that the land expropriations (characterized by violence and looting) that were supposed to solve rural poverty and hunger actually worsened the crisis (Logan 2007). In fact, the reform process triggered a rise in food handouts as opposed to food production. This resulted in the collapse of industries, a rise in unemployment and the depreciation of the value of the Zimbabwean dollar. Many Zimbabweans left the country to seek employment opportunities, and some went as far as to the United Kingdom. The war veterans responded, both in ordinary conversations and at political meetings, to such dynamics by coining a sarcastic statement: "*Endai ku Britain ikoko mundogeza misana yechembere*" (Go to Britain, there to wash the backs of old people). By this statement, the veterans were sending the message that they themselves had decided to stay on the land even when the economic conditions were difficult, as they noticed the impatient younger generation wanting immediate benefits, such as jobs in old people's homes in Britain. Regardless of how noble working in social care institutions in the United Kingdom could be, the statement implies that working in old people's homes was necessarily a very dirty job, which those who did not want to work on the land rushed to perform. The war veterans were therefore sarcastically comparing owning land and getting a salary for performing insignificant chores in the country of Zimbabwe's former colonizers.

The ordinary person was not to be dismissed by such arrogant utterances! Memory Chirere captured some of the sentiments of the ordinary person expressed in attitudinal and factual utterances, as they responded to the veteran's sarcastic invective:

Unotora farm yemurungu usina kana badza, unoti ucharima nei? Mauraya the breadbasket of Southern Africa! (You grab a whiteman's [sic] farm when

you do not have even a hoe. So how will you till the land? You have destroyed the breadbasket of Southern Africa!); *Purazi ndinoridii ini zvangu, I am a professional ane basa rake!* (Why do I need a farm? I am a contented professional?); *Ko nyika yose zvayave maruzevha nhaimiwe!* (How alarming that the land reform has villagised the whole country!) (Chirere 2015: 107).

Language and actions of guerrilla veterans: a description

In speaking of '"veterans", I focus on adult guerrilla soldiers who share a more or less similar ideology of the liberation war. The identities of liberation war veterans are grounded in the anti-colonial struggle of the 1960s-70s which culminated in the country's independence in 1980, and was the work of men and women from various political organizations in the country (Mlambo and Gwekwerere 2019). These men and women are the very typical examples of war heroes and heroines – the embodiments of the liberation struggle.

I must state at once that the veterans had a somewhat elaborate practical and verbal approach to describe their actions and practices i.e. practical activity and linguistic activity. The practices of war veterans controlled and provided the model for the more elaborated system of verbal representations. For example, the liberation war veterans dubbed the land expropriation movement *kutora ivhu* (taking [back] land), or the Third *Chimurenga*, as the expropriations became ideologically linked to a narrative of continuous struggle for decolonization since the 1890s (Mlambo 2018). Memory Chirere captured one very palpable utterance by guerrilla veterans who came to Bindura to expropriate farms outside Bindura town. One of

their key statement was, "*Tauya kuzotora dhaga,*" an utterance that came across as a physical action, as it had the image of grabbing something with one's bare hands, taking it to some other place where it rightfully belonged (Chirere 2015: 108). *Dhaga* and *ivhu* are quite different. The former is mortar, the builder's paste mixture of cement, pit sand and water, while the latter refers to the farmlands that were being expropriated from white farmers. In Chirere (2015)'s interpretation, it was as if the veterans were desperately looking for building mortar, and that whatever they had been building was in danger of not being completed because of the shortage. This was in a way true. Because of the acute overcrowding, farming space had visibly run out in the nearby Tribal Trust Lands exactly in the fashion of the running out of building mortar (ibid.).

The war veterans supplied the vocabulary with which songs were composed during the decade of violent land expropriations (1998-2008). A song sung during the decade of expropriations of white-owned farms typically demonstrates the point. In the song Zimbabwe is depicted as equivalent to the soil. The song goes thus: "*Ivhu iri ramunoona machinda, ndiro rinonzi Zimbabwe!*" (This soil you see, gentlemen, that is what is called Zimbabwe!). In addition to this, war veterans refer to themselves as *vana vevhu* (sons of the soil). Interviews conducted by this author (Mlambo 2014) revealed a common statement from liberation war veterans, attesting to their gratitude to Mugabe for giving them land: "*Mugabe wakandipa munda ini*" (Mugabe gave me a piece of land). This statement may not mean much to someone unfamiliar with the intimate spiritual connection to land that many black Zimbabweans feel. I am mindful of the fact that not every Zimbabwean received land. What I strive to demonstrate is

that in Zimbabwean traditional religion, there exists an inseparable relationship between religion, land and the people (Mlambo 2022: 54). In the traditional past, the land was intimately associated with the history of the chiefdom, with the ruling chief and with ancestral spirits who live in it, something which has not radically changed in Zimbabwe (Shoko 2006: 5; cf. McClymont and Mlambo 2016).

In framing the verbal practices of Zimbabwe's liberation war veterans, I draw upon what Coplan (1994: 8–10) has termed *auriture* (musical verbal genres, poetic songs, as the most accessible and potentially revealing of the varied forms that people create to express and describe their experiences). Contextually, I study war veterans' speeches, slogans, chants etc., in a Hymesian approach, emphasizing verbal practice, verbal art and speech events. Thus, I also strive to show the connection between speech and social relations, to demonstrate the function of linguistic anthropology in performativity (Hymes 1975).

My tentative definition of practice stems from the social sciences, which identify the activities involved in practice as those of persons; thus, practices are arrays of human activity (Schatzki 2006: 11). To speak of practices, as cultural theorist Michel Foucault (1976, 1980) observes, allows us also to depict language as discursive activity (ibid. 10). Foucault (cited in Schatzki 2006: 11) described how the constitution of present-day activity centrally consists in the fashioning of bodies (e.g., their aptitudes) within disciplinary practices. Drawing on this conception, I attend to the words with which veterans described their actions, to suggest their capabilities and validating their activities. More specifically I attend to their self-description as athletic, energetic, powerful, dangerous,

triumphant, invincible etc. In describing themselves as athletic, they have given each other nicknames such as "*Mujambajecha*" (Swift Feet), "*Munzvengabara*" (Bullet Dodger), "*Musvetu*" (One who can jump), "*Masikiri*" (Skilled). Veterans also had nicknames that pointed to their energetic and powerful disposition, such as "*Masimba*" (Strength), "*Hambura*" (Stout Man). To depict how dangerous they were in the face of colonialists, a person might use the name "*Mabhunumuchapera*" (White men, you shall perish), or "*Gandanga*" (Brutal Person). The last-mentioned term was used in some of the songs sung by the veterans during and after the liberation war. For example, one song said, "*Gandanga haridye derere mukoma, rinorutsa*!" (A brutal person does not eat okra, brother, it makes him vomit!). This drew attention to the rough and violent guerrilla-veteran whose means of survival during and after the war was through expropriation of people's fields and livestock. The war veteran did not brook opposition to his demands during and after the war. They did not like to explain themselves to anybody. Their voice was in their guns – a violent rather than a reasoning disposition (cf. Mlambo 2022: 65).

These ex-liberation war fighters saw themselves as *magamba* (heroes). The chants and slogans also portray them as ever young and energetic – *vanamukoma* (elder brothers). It must be noted that most of the guerrilla fighters who went to war were either teenagers or in their early twenties. The names they gave themselves show that many veterans considered themselves as big guys; it demonstrates an element of seniority, while also serving as a way of connecting with families/masses and communities.

The appellation *vanamukoma* also helps us to understand the logic of their group actions – an

element of homosociality. In conformity with the basic nature of homosociality, veterans in Zimbabwe refer each other as fellow comrades (in Shona, *Makomuredhi (*plural*), Komuredhi (*singular*)*) (Mlambo 2022: 115). The word "comrade" was used to refer to a fellow fighter in the liberation struggle, and the same appellation is used among veterans after independence. All the epitaphs of the veterans of the liberation struggle buried at the national burial place, called the National Heroes' Acre, bear the title "Cde", for Comrade (See Chung 2006). The use of the word "comrade" expresses a deep history of comradeship among war veterans, who have suffered together during the liberation war. As Mlambo (2022: 115) notes:

> In spite of differences during the liberation war, they shared the same anti-colonial stance and regarded 'imperialism and everything perceived to represent it' as the ultimate enemy. The guerrilla veterans had strong bonds, captured in the powerful Shona expression, '*komuredhi ishamwari yeropa*' (a comrade is a blood friend) – an expression that speaks of the redemptive power of blood in nationalist discourses. Whatever differences they may have had with their general were minimized on the basis that they shared the same commitment towards fighting for the fatherland.

The concept of homosociality also helps us to understand liberation war veterans as a society of men, whose existence and way of operation was built on the logic of the dominant masculinities of a society of war veterans. How do we account for their coordinated understanding, as well as coordinated action, and verbal communications, which presume coordinated understanding (see Barnes 1995, 2000)? This is answered by the principle rule of collectivism (Barnes 1995). Veteran language expressed the idea of a community or society of men bound by values of war. As defined by Cohen, the word "community" would seem to imply two related suggestions: that the members of a group of people have something in common with each other, and that this distinguishes them in a significant way from the members of other putative groups. "Community" thus seems to imply simultaneously both similarity and difference. The word thus expresses a relational idea: the opposition of one community to others or to other social entities (Cohen 1985: 12). This definition clarifies the ways in which liberation war veterans viewed themselves.

We may also note the veterans' modes of conversational self-reference, an expression of their group identity, which often operated in ways that undermined the weak in society while serving the self-interested goals of the strong. For example, the veterans used to mobilize communities against white capital by singing such songs as: "*Zvinhu zvese ndezva Mbuya Nehanda*" (All things in Zimbabwe belong to Grandmother Nehanda – an ancestral figure broadly representative of indigenous ancestors). The song was meant to inspire a sense of oneness and unity in the fight against neo-colonialism and the continued occupation of farmland by a white minority long after independence. In this sense, the war veterans were portraying themselves as on a mission of pursuing the common rights and common interests of black people – a strong belief of Zimbabwe as a commonwealth of the African masses. A quasi-Marxist ideology adopted through interaction, during and after the liberation war, between the Chinese Communist Party and the ruling Zimbabwe

African National Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) also imposed the terms in which issues of colonialism, race, and land were perceived and tackled in the post-colonial Zimbabwean state (Mlambo: forthcoming).

Thus, Zimbabwe emerged from the liberation struggle in 1980 with such a philosophy. Everything, including farmland, belonged to the majority of Zimbabweans. This is the reason why the veterans chanted slogans like, *"Pamberi nekugutsa ruzhinji!"* (Forward with the satisfying of the multitude!) and, *"Ivhu kuvanhu!"* (Land for the people!), and, *"Ivhu inhaka yedu tose vatema!"* (The land is the inheritance of all of us as blacks!) (Mlambo, McClymont and Zvoma 2017). It must be noted that land redistribution occurred in Zimbabwe as part of the liberation war. Most importantly, a revolutionary decolonization process also took part in the area of education. For example, between 2019 and 2021, under the aegis of the strategy of "Education 5.0", a large-scale reorganization of the University curriculum in Zimbabwean universities was undertaken, one of whose motivations was that whereas previously education had been organized according to Western priorities, now it was to be organized according to more indigenous priorities (Mlambo and McClymont: forthcoming). In these processes, cultural factors stood out in terms of how property was understood.

However, the speech of the war veteran contains what might be called a latent masculinity of looting. Behind the ideology that "All things belong to Grandmother Nehanda" lies an idea that "All things belong to us". Veterans, according to their own logic, deserve their loot on multiple grounds, which are to be found in their history, religion, culture and ideology. One might argue that because all things (e.g. the land) belonged to a common grand ancestor, they where inherited and thus not looted.[1] However, this was not true in every sense as land and property was being expropriated even from fellow blacks by war veterans. The logic of a masculinity of looting, so to speak, restores equilibrium and upholds the order of nature, whereby war veterans as the real men of valour have earned their loot (Mlambo 2022). Zimbabwean society after independence manifested rampant corruption, violence, hatred and divided families. Politicians were bent on building their personal empires at the expense of the common wealth, and the war veteran has abetted the politician by keeping the politician in a position of power, and by fighting white capital for the benefit of the politician as opposed to the poor masses.

Any talk of the unity of the liberation war veterans should be qualified. While they claimed membership in the ruling political party ZANU-PF which they supported, there were rules that governed their membership. For example, they would warn each other that, "*ZANU haikwani muhomwe memunhu*" (ZANU does not fit in an individual's pocket) or "*ZANU inopisa semoto; ukaiisa muhomwe inokupisa*" (ZANU is hot like a fire; if you put it in your pocket, it burns you). This statement was used as a way of warning fellow party colleagues that a simple mistake could cause their fellow colleagues to punish an errant member severely. Similarly, there was another statement: "*ZANU isinjonjo; itamba wakachenjera*" (ZANU is a *sinjonjo* dance; dance it carefully). This was said to make sure party cadres main-

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tained discipline by toeing the party line, and to make sure everyone looked over their shoulders to see if they were in tune with the dictates of the party to other people's satisfaction. This utterance is very close in meaning to another which goes thus: *"ZANU ibere; unofanira kuramba wakaritasva; ukadonha pariri rinokudya."* (ZANU is a hyena; you must be skilful when you ride it; if you fall off it, it eats you).

Ideology and the centrality of gendered language in a veteran's identity

Among veterans, gender as a fundamental part of identity formation was crucial to the politics of the guild, and to the construction of difference between veterans and non-veterans. This allows for our understanding of the effeminacy ascribed to politicians and citizens of the opposition, who were perceived as hostile to war veterans' political goals. As a result, they were cast as "weak"/*mbwende*, "sell-outs"/ *vatengesi* and "unpatriotic citizens"/ *nhunzvatunzva*. The label "sell-out" was also sometimes used to refer to Mugabe, their former leader during the Liberation War. It may be suggested that Mugabe's dethronement by some liberation war veterans was to some degree motivated by perceived effeminate tendencies, since he was accused of having hatched a plan to have his wife Grace to succeed him (Mlambo 2022: 117). Some Zimbabwean guerrilla veterans blamed Grace Mugabe for Mugabe's loss of masculinity, a factor that led the veterans to unite to unseat their former commander (ibid.).

This rhetoric of effeminacy justified the moral superiority of the veteran. Thus, the reign of the liberation war political party called ZANU-PF since 1980 was justified on the grounds of moral superiority, and masculinity discourses were intricately implicated in all of these justifications. Anti-colonial sentiment in Zimbabwe was premised on the formation of desired notions of masculinity and spirituality, in the process of the formation of the ruling party ideology, wherein hierarchies and patriarchies sought to be maintained on both material and spiritual grounds. Thus, some kind of segregation was imposed on opposition politicians, whose identity was now to be defined in opposition to those men and women outside of the ruling party ideology. For example, in their public speeches, Zimbabwean war veterans used epithets such as *mbwende* (cowards), and *zvimbwasungata* (sell-outs) etc. which ridiculed as effeminate and weak those who did not fight to own land, while glorifying as manly and strong those who expropriated land from white people. Effeminacy was therefore differentially and negatively defined in relation to the masculine norm in the veterans' discourses on the prize of war, which was the land.

To understand the logic of liberation war veterans' language of boastful bravado and violent behaviour, I use the concept of ideology, drawing upon Giddens' (1979) theory of ideology to provide a critique of domination. The term "ideology" calls to mind habitus and hegemony, and also assumes the everyday relations of subordination and domination embedded in culture – the kind of domination that can be reflected with considerable power in seemingly innocuous circumstances (Alter 1992: 21). For a veteran, combat life and all it entails (e.g. a disposition to violence) involves an ideology (Mlambo 20222). At the locus of this ideology is the identity of the veteran – what it means, among other things, to be strong, heroic, masterful.

This view is similar to Steven Barnett's detailed and flexible model for understanding how persons act in terms of their ideological stance (in Alter 1992: 21). In my case, I go further to examine how war veterans speak according to their ideological stance. To illustrate my Zimbabwean context of war veterans' appropriation and deployment of song and chants, I frame my analysis in terms more or less similar to David Coplan's (2006) study of the appropriation of praise poetry by proud young Basotho initiates, to express and celebrate. their manhood in cattle-raiding and war, and by the young Basotho migrant workers who risked hardship and death in South Africa so that his family, community and country might survive. An ideology is a powerful cultural system, an immutable paradigm for interpreting meaning and guiding action (Geertz 1973).

In conceptualizing liberation war veterans' masculinities in Zimbabwe, I develop my argument around the feature of how Zimbabwe was organized as a patriarchal society. Thus, I attend to patriarchy as denoting the prerogatives of male privilege and power, in which actions and language of claims for land and other rewards by war veterans functioned as the loci and producers of cultural meanings that were themselves linked with ideologies of gender (Mlambo 2022: 6).

An oratorical masculinity was the masculinity through which veterans exploited the naturalized language of gender to describe and evaluate themselves, and through which the visible and verbal signs of masculinity become both evidence and a source of power (Mlambo 2022). Through speech and careful posturing and control of body, gestures and voice, the veterans were able to perform combat-related masculinities and to forcefully communicate the need for land and other material rewards (ibid.).

Performative Violence

Zimbabwe's Liberation War veterans gloried in physical heroism. Honour was not only a recognized but also a desired phenomenon, as indicated by frequent reference thereto in the speeches and actions of fighters. The assembling, marching and dancing of war veterans (clad in boots and fatigues) in the streets, clearly manifested masculine, beefy, aggressive, husky and athletic qualities, as they displayed great leaping, like wild impalas, stamped their feet, and vigorously moved their bodies; these motions all had martial and muscular connotations. Veterans perceived their *mbiri yechigandanga* (glory of brutality) as an area of superiority to the white farmers, and society at large. This attitude was made palpable by a song which they performed at their meetings and political rallies. The song includes the following words: "*Mbiri yechigandanga ndoyi mbiri yatinayo; mbiri yechigandanga ndiyo mbiri yatinayo!*" (The glory of brutality is the glory that we possess; the glory of brutality is the glory that we possess!). Many similar songs were performed, to threaten people with beatings. Another such song had the following words: "*Chenjera chenjera, vanamukoma vanorova, chenjera, chenjera, vanorova nematanda, chenjera chenjera!*" (Beware, beware, the big brothers will beat you; beware, beware, they will beat you with clubs; beware, beware!). The logic and meaning in the songs was directed at people whom they labelled as *mhandu* (enemies), and *vatengesi* (sell-outs), who were shamed as cowards. The context of the violent environment of expropriation was such that it brought to the surface the political contestations between war veterans and opposing groups of people such as farm

workers, groups of people belonging opposition political parties, and white farmers, who did not support the expropriation of white-owned farmland.

There is need to comment on the fact that liberation war veterans in Zimbabwe have advanced in age. Most of them are now old men and women. Women veterans would dance while wearing big boots, colloquially known in the Shona language as *bhutsu mutandarikwa* (the long shoes) (Mlambo 2022: 59). This shoe has a long history of association with violence from the days of Rhodesian police officers to the era of the liberation war. Guerrilla fighters during the independence war, both male and female, used the 'long shoes' to kick sell-outs, but on account of advanced age after independence, paraphernalia and military fatigues were in use in street protests and with the aim of intimidating masses, to get them to comply with their demands.

However, the words they have spoken about their valorous deeds have created images of youthful men and women, still capable of fighting. As Mlambo (2022: 139) has argued: "The symbolic importance attributed to some veterans, whose old bodies do not themselves announce anymore, are visually indicated somewhere and somehow. Things work in such a way that power is displaced from the old faces and old bodies themselves to various martial paraphernalia – guns, knobkerries, machetes, axes or clothes whose color or form attract the eye to the site of martial power and potency." Power was also displaced from the aged faces and bodies of veterans through speeches in which they exaggerated their physical abilities, especially through militant songs which portrayed the veterans as "*vanamukoma vanorova*", literally, "elder brothers who beat", that is, who can mete out corporal punishment to errant ci-

vilians. This is reminiscent of a similar usage of rhetoric by Emmerson Mnangagwa (president of Zimbabwe, and patron of the liberation war veterans, at the time of writing), in which he appealed to the patriarchate – posing as a father figure meting out punishment on errant citizens. On several occasions, the war veterans challenged the younger generation of citizens, indicating that even if they were to take back Zimbabwe to colonialism by voting the veterans' preferred government out of power, the war veterans were still capable of liberating the country again. In their understanding, opposition political parties in Zimbabwe were puppets of Western governments bent on a regime change agenda.

In addition to the above, I pay attention to the rhetoric of language and culture as appropriated by liberation war veterans' leaders in verbal practice (cf. Strecker and Tyler 2012). I demonstrate how war veterans' leaders through rhetoric articulate cultural ideas and ideals, addressing society, while expressing particular ways of thought and action. Authoritatively, Mnangagwa, a war veteran himself and president of Zimbabwe (at the time of writing), deployed verbal rhetoric presenting himself, in the process, as a strict disciplinarian who does not hesitate "*[k]urova vane misikahwa neshamhu ine munyu*", to chastise the disobedient with a sjambok soaked in brine solution (Chitando and Mlambo: forthcoming). In his eyes, wayward citizens bent on committing violence and acts of civil disobedience that undermine national peace and security are warned to be wary of "*shamhu ine munyu*" (a sjambok soaked in brine solution).

The *shamhu ine munyu* rhetoric portrayed Mnangagwa as a no-nonsense disciplinarian who would not accept lawlessness in the

country and its economic environment. On the other hand, grim and severe as the *shamhu ine munyu* sounds, the fact that he uses a whip lessens the severity of the amount of force on the citizen, so that whenever he places his hand on his people's neck, putting them at his mercy, his actions might be viewed as acceptable and understandable, the actions of a stern patriarch who has only the intention to discipline errant citizens and not to brutalize them (Chitando and Mlambo: forthcoming). In a sense, Mnangagwa sought to establish a morally upright country and political order through a conventional punitive moralism. The disobedient would be whipped into line by the president's *shamhu ine munyu.* (Chitando and Mlambo: forthcoming).

As Chitando and Mlambo (forthcoming) would argue: "In his endeavor to create an atmosphere of fear and respect for the war veteran's desired *status quo,* liberation war veterans exhibited a tough attitude in the process of adhering to performance "rules" through artistic rhetoric. In a way, the war veterans creatively inflicted the tyranny of art on civilians. This was buttressed by their trademark slogans *"Pasi nemhandu*!" (Down with enemies!) *"Pasi nenhunzvatunzva*!" (Down with social miscreants!) and *"Pasi nevatengesi*!" (Down with sell-outs!) which they used in apparent reference to political competitors. As a result of this rhetoric of violence, the war veterans constructed an authority which helped them to be perceived as strongmen."

There is also a sense in which, through speeches, leaders of the liberation war veterans invested emotional and mental energy in their fellow ex-soldiers. Speaking on global platforms, the aspect of veteran of the liberation war loomed large in Mugabe (former Prime Minister of Zimbabwe 1980-87, and Executive President 1987-2017) as his speeches were characterized by a militant and combative language. Such statements as, "Zimbabwe shall never be a colony again", and "We defeated this monster of colonialism, bring it and we will defeat it again", and "Zimbabwe is not a British colony", and "Blair keep your England, and let me keep my Zimbabwe", punctuated his speeches at United Nations Assembly Meetings. Additionally, the massing of guerrilla veterans in public spaces – in the city of Harare, for example – functioned as a force materializing the power and personal agendas of the veterans as expressed in the speeches of war veterans' leaders to their forces (Mlambo 2022). Such speeches also served to summon and/or encourage combat-related masculinities, providing the war veterans with an opportunity for generating fresh militant masculinity to brutalize their victims and to get what they wanted (Chitando and Tarusarira, cited in Mlambo 2022).

Mythology of masculinity

I must hasten to point out that in a Zimbabwe liberation war veteran's world, the image of the archetypal man – a land-owning war veteran, powerful and heroic – has not only been framed or built up by the iteration of particular slogans and songs, but has also been framed in, and mediated through, myths. The appropriation of myths in the construction of masculinities allows for an exegesis of the mechanics and mythology of masculinity (Foucault 1984: 88). Myths are tools through which people think – templates for conceptual thought about power and domination. They are interpretive templates which provide a framework for making sense of cultural experiences. Mythology in this particular case is the universe within which

war veterans found a language to express their anxieties about power and invincibility in society. The mythical worldview has reference points in tradition and everyday life, but excites wonder and reverence, in the process, helping us to understand how heroism became their world.

My argument is that Zimbabwe's liberation war veterans cast themselves in a particular light. Their various regimens, in conjunction with certain symbolic structures in each case had the effect of building larger-than-life images of men who could fight to get whatever they wanted. It must be noted that most African fighters of colonialism believed in spiritual powers, which they thought could protect them from harm when facing bullets in battle. This spiritual aspect of being was a strong belief among many precolonial African armies – something which led to many deaths of African warriors in wars against the colonial forces (Mlambo 2022: 54). Most believed themselves to possess some spiritual power. As a result, they confronted the gun in the belief that the bullet was harmless. Guerrillas who ventured on to the battlefield resorted to local diviners and spirit mediums to protect them in combat or to guarantee the success of an attack (Mlambo 2022: 203 n.32 see also Seibert 2003; Gewald 2003).

Zimbabwe veterans are also mythically constructed as giant figures of the Rhodesian civil war, who defeated colonialism. They told stories during the war of how they were supposedly perceived as possessing superhuman powers, which could make them disappear or turn into cattle or stones during combat encounters with Rhodesian soldiers – leading in most cases (as the stories purport) to the shooting of cattle by Rhodesian forces, who were made to believe that the guerrilla soldiers had changed into cattle miraculously. It must be emphasized that the Rhodesians did not actually believe that cattle were literally transformed Africans. The veterans told these stories that the whites believed cattle were Africans, but the Rhodesians did not believe literally that African witchcraft worked. There might have been cases where Rhodesian soldiers shot at people's cattle in retaliation for failing to capture guerrilla soldiers, or where they saw something moving in the darkness and thought it was a man, and so they shot it, but it was actually a cow.

The veterans' sense of invincibility during the liberation war was inspired by the oracles of a great and heroic ancestor called Nehanda, who prophesied that her bones would rise to fight colonialism. This was interpreted to imply that the guerrilla soldiers were the incarnation of Nehanda's heroic ghost/spirit. Nehanda and Chaminuka are spirit mediums that inspired the first *Chimurenga* war that occurred in 1896/7 against the BSAC (British South Africa Company) in pre-colonial Zimbabwe. The spirit mediums of *Mbuya* (Grandmother) Nehanda, and *Sekuru* (Grandfather) Chaminuka and Kaguvi led the uprising.

The language of Zimbabwean war veterans in most cases was militaristic, as indicated by the higher frequency of imperatives, violent language and military vocabulary. It was in this process that the war veterans displayed a masculine superiority of speech when dealing with civilians. What is more, war veterans used, as well as responded to, the language of "can't" and "must". In line with this argument, in such situations, this exhibited the character of rule-following which demands ostensive training. Ostensive training is ultimately training in a blind response to assertions (Berns 2006).

Veterans sometimes spoke as though their demands were to be obeyed without question; for example, they might say "Land *tichangoitora chete muchida musingadi*" (Land, we will just take it whether you like it or not), or *"Hamufi makaitonga nyika ino, vatengesi"* (You will never rule this country, sell-outs) or *"2008 VaMugabe muOffice"* (Mr. Mugabe in Office 2008.)

Another popular utterance among war veterans expressed their commitment to Mugabe's leadership: *"VaMugabe chete chete"* (Mr. Mugabe only.) By this, they meant that in all their actions, they strictly adhered to Mugabe's leadership for guidance and thought. It is a very compact statement. *"Chete chete"* is a repetitive statement whose equivalent is the word "only". It was a message to everybody in the party and those who might have been nursing rebellious thoughts. *"Chete chete"* meant it was sinful and illegal to think about a leader other than Mugabe. Even one's life was less important if they dared to challenge Mugabe. War veterans venerated Mugabe's leadership to the extent of composing a song which exhorted Zimbabweans to take time to reflect on Mugabe's excellent leadership, according to the war veterans' criterion of evaluating their leader's performance in leadership. In a certain song, the words: *"Nyatsoteerera unzwe kutonga"* (Listen well, that you may hear how to lead) require some attention. The words imply that if people were to listen, they might *hear* the overriding presence of the war veterans' dear leader. The words imply that it was possible to *listen to* (not just *see*) Mugabe's manner of leading. *"MuOffice muna Bob"* (In the office there is Bob (Mugabe)) was another utterance common with war veterans, which was meant to remind Zimbabweans that Mugabe was in

charge. The veterans deployed these sayings as methods for sanctioning and modifying people's dispositions to keep them in line, so as to enable the veterans themselves to do what they wanted.

Conclusion

The verbal utterances exchanged between Zimbabwe's Liberation War veterans and civilians in quotidian conversations about land expropriation are rich texts which can be made use of in order to reflect upon perspectives involving culture, land, power and politics in a post-colonial setting. The utterances analyzed in this article also demonstrate various ways in which language can be used creatively as a weapon of invective, ridicule and violence in the politics of resource distribution. Such utterances have also created powerful images relating to the struggles and contestations between generations in an agrarian economy, entangled with competing ideologies, namely capitalism, African revolutionary ideals informed by Chinese Marxism, and African traditional ways of perceiving land ownership issues.

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08

Artefacts, modernity and identity — global connections in the language and interactions of African youth

08

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Ellen Hurst-Harosh

Introduction

Large cities in Africa can be characterized as multilingual cities, in common with cities globally, perhaps even more so due to speakers' broad repertoires. In Africa urban citizens are also commonly highly multilingual, speaking official languages – often colonial European languages such as English, French and Portuguese; alongside African languages, both heritage and lingua francas. African national borders encompass many language commu-

nities, which meet in the cities through internal and regional migrations. As an example, South Africa has 11 official languages including the colonial languages English and Afrikaans, regional official African languages (Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu), minority languages such as Khoekhoegowab, and immigrant languages such as Ndebele and Shona from neighbouring Zimbabwe.

Urban citizens will often know English, some Afrikaans and two or more African lan-

guages, some of which are mutually intelligible. A similar picture emerges elsewhere in the continent, in the large urban centres of highly multilingual countries such as Nairobi in Kenya, Kinshasa in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Lagos in Nigeria and Dar es Salaam in Tanzania.

Into this mix we can also add the linguistic effects of increasing penetration and accessibility of technologies. Across Africa there has been a huge uptake in mobile technology and smart phones, not just low tech but increasingly allowing access to the internet from people's homes and hands (Deumert 2014). We should also take into consideration the importance of the youth demographic in Africa — almost 60% of Africa's population is under the age of 25, making Africa the world's youngest continent. The political context meanwhile involves a relatively recent history of colonialism and rapid social changes following independence in many African countries – a process which has not always been easy, and colonialism and its aftereffects (including neocolonialism) have left a legacy of high inequality, poverty, social unrest and various manifestations of violence.

The resulting new African 'modernisms' in urban centres are cultural configurations very different from historical representations of Africa. The concept of modernity must also be problematised – decolonial theorists (e.g. Mignolo 2011) argue that modernity is a Western/European construct, and that other parts of the world are judged against European modernity; Coloniality is their term for the institutionalisation and universalisation of European modernity, while there are actually multiple modernities in play. The Eurocentric conception of modernity that arose from the enlightenment is of a 'teleological' (purposeful) transition from the traditional to the modern, from the local to the global and from the rural to the urban, but this path of so-called development is not inevitable and it invokes a very particular European epistemology.

Language practices in African cities, and particularly amongst youth, are manifesting in ways that are reflective both of local contexts and modernities, dynamics and realities, and international/global forces and modernities. This article considers some of the practices happening in urban spaces in South Africa amongst youthful multilingual peer groups. It describes the ways that the global interfaces with the local and shapes the ways that youth express African modernities through group and individual identity, linguistic, para- and extra-linguistic practices. It furthermore considers some extra-linguistic aspects of peer group interaction – the use of cultural artefacts and objects, namely brands, cell phones and music — as pragmatic features in communication.

Framing the research

African youth language has become an important field of research over the past years as a result of some of the factors described above, for example rapidly changing language practices in urban centres, the large youth population in the continent and the influence of technological change. Youthful language practices from Africa are described in volumes such as Nassenstein and Hollington (2015), Hurst-Harosh and Kanana (2018), Schmied and Oloruntoba-Oju (2019) and Mesthrie, Hurst-Harosh and Brookes (2021), reflecting the development of a field of studies commonly referred to as African Youth Language studies. The field is broad, covering a wide geographical and theoretical/empirical range, from formal linguistic

studies of morphosyntax to anthropological descriptions of speaker communities. Recently, Hurst-Harosh and Nassenstein (2022) have argued that pragmatic approaches to youth language research would be productive in a variety of ways, enabling deeper understanding of the contexts of the language practices of youth in African languages as well as adding to pragmatics theory itself by testing and refining existing approaches against African multilingual contexts.

Some common threads have emerged within the youth language field both in Africa and in studies of youth language globally. One such thread is that researchers looking at the language practices of youth often point to their connections to identity – that youth use language to express individual and shared identity. Some studies from Africa looking at identity include Brookes' (2014, 2021) work which looked at social levels (classifying speakers in terms of social identities) in Vosloorus, Johannesburg, while Bembe (2013) looked at social identities and style categorisations in Kwathema, Johannesburg. In both cases, they describe social classifications within (youth) communities such as *amajimbos*, *abomrapper* 'rappers', *pexers*, *pantsulas*, *softies*, and *clevas*. These types of classifications must be seen as stereotypes – in real life divisions aren't so neat and people shift (and style-shift linguistically) between categories depending on who they are with, where they are, the topic of conversation and so on. Agha (1998: 151) argues "Our idea that the people we meet have typifiable social identities, that they are members of certain 'social kinds,' is a very leaky notion. Everyone potentially has many identities, and most people seem able to move readily among them." It is also unlikely that people would cat-

egorise themselves under one of the more negative social identities, such as a *softie* or *cheese boy* (Brookes 2014), although they may be classified as such by some of the wider community.

Brookes applied an "indexical theory of style" (Brookes 2021: 66) to explain the relation between social category and language, namely "where linguistic choices index attitudes, stances and identities in the service of social distinction in local social situations" (Brookes 2021: 68). Indexicality is the phenomenon of a *sign* pointing to (or *indexing*) some object in the context in which it occurs. Signs can be referential or nonreferential. Linguistic signs may derive nonreferential meaning from indexicality (Silverstein 2003), for example when features of a speaker's register indexically signal their social class. Ultimately, specific linguistic forms can become associated with particular social types.

Agha (1998) argues that language and style are pragmatic phenomena that can index "Metapragmatic stereotypes":

> Our ideas about the identities of others tend to emerge when particular phenomena are objects of reflection, e.g., what people wear, what they do, and what they do with speech. Phenomena such as these – namely, characteristics of actors and their actions – are quintessentially pragmatic phenomena. Since our ideas about the identities of others are ideas about pragmatic phenomena, they are in principle metapragmatic constructs. In particular, such ideas are metapragmatic stereotypes about pragmatic phenomena. (Agha 1998: 151)

In the large urban spaces that are the subject of this article, there are various 'township lyf' iconographies, behaviours and styles which are

employed by young people to index identities and affiliations such as the rappers, *pantsulas*, and *cleva/clevers* — meaning 'streetwise guy' — described by the researchers above (see also Hurst-Harosh & Kanana 2022). Metapragmatic stereotypes are held by people about these identities, and assumptions (positive and/or negative) may be made about people whose style or speech indexes these kinds of streetwise identities.

In an understanding of identity (or perhaps identification as a better working concept) we must also accommodate agency or individual/personal identity – identity is both socially framed or structured, and individually negotiated. Individual identity involves agency, the youthful constructions / negotiations / identifications of the self. Meanwhile social identity involves structure, class, race, nationalisms, local and global cultural and social styles. While the latter constrains the former, there are ambiguities and challenges to social identities in the practices of individuals.

Cultural artefacts and objects such as those referred to in the analysis for this chapter – including material technologies, music, clothes etc. – are part of the iconography which may simultaneously reference social identity, global and social styles, but also personal agency and identifications.

Theoretical framing

In terms of theoretical framing, I emphasise in the analysis below the pragmatics of cultural artefacts and material objects in youth language. Pragmatics can be understood to refer to how non-linguistic features of language use contribute to the communication of meaning (Dant 2007: 16). According to Dant

[People communicate with artefacts] through sight, touch and sometimes other senses, using their whole body to both make sense of and to make use of the things around them. This is not achieved through instinctual behaviour or even simple learnt behaviour but through the complex cultural acquisition of the meanings of objects that is characteristic of a particular formation of material civilization. (Dant 2007: 15)

He furthermore suggests that "The communication process between humans and objects is 'pragmatic' in the sense that meaning is contingent on the current situation that continually unfolds in the course of the interaction with the object" (Dant 2007: 15). In the analysis below, the interaction with cultural artefacts and objects is therefore seen as part of a communicative practice within peer groups, part of a consensual practice amongst youth wherein familiar, culturally and socially relevant artefacts are part of the ways that youth relate to one another and build community.

I focus on both brands and music as cultural artefacts, and mobile phones as objects, and I analyse the way youth interact with them in the data. Brands can be seen as cultural artefacts — often arising from or linked to particular global or local social identities. Cell phones are material artefacts that have received a great deal of research interest across a wide range of fields in terms of the way we as human beings interact with them, including in our pragmatic choices (see for example the *Handbook of Pragmatics of CMC* edited by Herring, Stein and Virtanen 2013).

In terms of music, I describe it here as a cultural artefact. This description seeks to recognize it both as an artefact produced by people (Miani 2015), and as a cultural practice.

In the analysis I focus on the ways that brands, music and cell phones were communicated and interacted with by the participants through body language, touch, sight, hearing and how they featured or reflected in talk. While there is a large body of work on extra - and para-linguistic features of language, few analyses have considered the pragmatics of artefacts or objects in everyday talk. In terms of mobile phones, the emphasis has been on the pragmatics of the communication modes employed through social media, messaging etc., rather than on the cell phone itself as a pragmatic object in communicative contexts.

Regarding the pragmatics of cultural artefacts, one study by Shankar (2004) investigated how songs and dialogue from Bollywood films were incorporated into everyday speech in diasporic South Asian-American communities in the USA. Shankar highlighted the ways that these practices impacted on negotiations of style and identity by providing "narrative frameworks, prescripted dialogue and socially recognizable registers and varieties of affect through which [the participants] enact their own dynamics of humor, flirting, conflict, and other types of talk" (Shankar 2004: 317). Similarly, Spitulnik (1997) shows how Zambians incorporate verbal styles from radio shows into their speech practices. There are some crossovers in what follows with the idea of "engaging with songs and lyrics [to] create a media-based community" (Shankar 2004: 332).

Data collection & self-reflexivity

Empirical examples ('naturalistic' recordings) of how youth use language in local contexts in South Africa come from a database of video recordings of youth language practices. The data was collected as part of two projects – 'Tsotsitaal: the national picture'; and 'African Youth Languages – a comparative analysis'. The projects both emphasized video recordings in order to gather interaction data that was reproducible and also included gesture, body language, clothes and other features of extra- and para-linguistic practices associated with stylects.

The transcripts below come from Gugulethu in Cape Town, and KwaMashu in Durban. In Gugulethu the peer group consisted of three close friends including the Research Assistant, and then a larger group of township[1] residents at locations they visited during the recording – notably a local corner shop (*spaza* shop). The group in KwaMashu consisted of 4 to 5 close friends, and a fluctuating group of local residents who could be heard in the background and sometimes joined in the interactions. The data was collected by research assistants — young African men who were students, but also part of the community of practice, or peripheral to it. The research assistants were an undergraduate from the University of Cape Town and an Honours student from University of Kwa-Zulu Natal, both in their 20s at the time of data collection.

My status as a white middle-aged English woman meant that my presence during recordings or trying to capture such recordings would have changed the performance, and the intention was to gather naturalistic data where possible in order to describe youth language in context. It is worth noting that this makes my status in relation to the data am-

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[1] The term township is commonly used to refer to underdeveloped urban and peri-urban residential areas that during apartheid were reserved as separate areas for people classified as black.

biguous as I have only observed it through the recordings, which are audio and visual documents of earlier interactions. The status of the research assistants and participants is also ambiguous, as they were present and/or produced the data but were (usually) not involved in the analysis. One exception is that I have co-published elsewhere on the data with the RA from UKZN (Hurst and Buthelezi 2013). All the participants willingly shared their linguistic practices in accordance with ethics requirements. I have tried to fairly and positively reflect on and advocate for youth linguistic practices in my publications based on this and other data but acknowledge my limitations in interpreting in-group communication and dynamics. I have included the RAs in the acknowledgements for this article, I have attributed elsewhere to the speakers, and I further discuss methodological issues relating to youth language data collection in a separate publication (Hurst-Harosh and Mensah 2021).

Analysis: Brands, global style

The first part of the analysis set demonstrates the context and shows how global styles and metapragmatic stereotypes are drawn on in individual style and identity. Figure 1 and the video it was taken from was recorded by a University of Cape Town student who stayed in one of the big townships outside Cape Town – Gugulethu on the Cape Flats – when he was out and about in the township with his group of friends, who like hip hop and write and perform rap themselves.

Note the Converse cap and Adidas t-shirt in the image – international brands have status in this context, some more than others. Adidas for example is presently well regarded amongst the youth constituency in South Africa to the extent that it has been relexicalized in the local

Figure 1. Video still from Cape Town database, Gugulethu 2014, copyright with the author

youth language because of its popularity – it is commonly referred to as *ndida* which is a 'xhosa-lised' version of Adidas.

The group identify as rappers – some of the gestures are also international and linked to hip hop and rap performances in the USA. In figure 2, the gesturer appears to be recalling a classic east coast hip hop hand gesture with index finger and little finger extended and middle fingers crossed.

The group perform lyrics in both English and *vernac* – the township vernacular, a mix of isiXhosa and township slang which includes resources from the youth stylect commonly referred to as Tsotsitaal, involving relexicalization, metaphor, gesture and other extra-and para-linguistic resources (Mesthrie, Hurst-Harosh & Brookes 2021). Vernac is used in the music genre Spaza, a South African style of hip-hop music that originated in Gugulethu around the turn of the century. The style is named after spaza shops, the informal corner stores on the Cape flats, which often become hotspots for street-based socialisation practices such as gambling, gossiping and street rap performances.

The group demonstrate some of their rap in the recording, with lyrics and language which are English-influenced, reflecting a strong affect from hip hop from the USA.

Figure 2. Video still from Cape Town database, Gugulethu 2014, copyright with the author

Example 1

P2:   *Nazo ezase kas'lam zingena nges'gezo xa kukho ezo **iscreen** sam koqeq'amageza qha senditsho. **Music's in my head**, zindicingisa xa kubekwa inkuni phamb'ukwam zindibasela phezikwe**beat** madala ndikiller zonke eziMc zi**weak** **with all my dual proverbs, freestyling with this now***

'And those from my hood come in easily, there are those on my screen that are crazy. Music's in my head, I think when wood is placed in front of me, I'll burn the old beat on it and kill all the weak MCs with all my dual proverbs, freestyling with this now.'

In this passage (which is broadly rather than accurately translated due to the metaphors and poetic content which makes translation difficult) the rapper switches to English in several places, as well as referring to 'MC's, 'freestyling' and 'beats', all terminology present in international rap.

We can see in these images and texts the ways that international metapragmatic stereotypes are indexed and drawn on in local contexts. They are blended with local linguistic and musical practice via language and gesture, along with some cultural artefacts/ brands that are indexically meaningful in this context of use.

Analysis: Interaction with cell phones

The second part of the analysis focuses on the presence and manipulation of, and interaction with, objects in peer group interactions

amongst a group of young men in KwaMashu, a township near Durban. This group were recorded taking part in small peer group gatherings, and were a group of friends who shared common interests and enjoyed hanging out together in the evenings, often whilst smoking and drinking, chatting about their acquaintances and relating stories about things that had happened to them and people they knew. The group regularly interacted with various physical material objects and artefacts, and often played music during their gatherings. The gatherings took place in various locations, including at their houses, at an outdoor gym, and in a sports field at night.

The group interacted with cell phones regularly during the recordings. They used their cell phones for various purposes – playing music, using the phone torch to see, sending messages, and sometimes taking calls (see figures 3 and 4).

One of the transcripts from this group featured one of the participants trying to fix an issue with his phone. It was slightly difficult from the transcripts to tell what the issue was, but it seemed that he was trying to change his profile picture on a local chat app called mxit. This led into an extended interaction with the rest of the group, and with one friend in particular who was trying to help him with the issue. Throughout the transcript they are using a stylect sometimes referred to as isiTsotsi, an isiZulu-based Tsotsitaal style used in the region.

Example 2

P3:   *Zithini? Letha ng'fojele.*

         'What's wrong? Bring it let me see.'

Figure 3: P4 holding his phone with his friend P2 behind him. Video still from Durban database, Kwamashu 2012, copyright with the author.

P4:   *Yima ke vele vele le shamkain ilokhunjile? Iyafana na le enye? Oh hawu manje z'thini yavele ya phuma kanjalo.*

         'Wait, wait so has this thing thingied? It's the same as the other one? Oh now what's wrong it just exited.'

P3:   *Shayisisa ngfojele*

         'Bring it lemme see.'

P4:   *Isivele yaphuma kanjalo kade siy – siy dwadile. Angazi zishaphi.*

         'It just exited like that. We did it, now I don't know what's happening.'

P2:   *Uneskhwankhwalala*

         'You have bad luck.'

P1:   *Yizo lezo ndoda.*

         'That's right man.'

P2:   *Yingakho ngingas'shayi ngok'dwadla, uneskhwankhwalala*

         'That's why I don't like doing this, you have bad luck.'

P4:   *Iskhwankhwalala. Heh my man.*

         'Bad luck hey my man.'

129

P2:   *Umfana waseButterworth…*

       'The guy from Butterworth…'

P4:   *Hai listen here you sny, lalela la you sny*

       'No listen here you idiot, listen here
       you idiot.'

Here P4 is struggling to change something
on his phone, which it seems is the profile
picture on social media app mxit. He says 'it
just exited' meaning it closed without con-
firming that the settings were changed, which
confuses him – 'we did it, now I don't know
what's happening'. Also in this excerpt the
other friends who are not directly involved in
using the phone or trying to change the app
settings, begin to make humorous comments
about the interaction – they say that the phone
owner P4 has 'bad luck', presumably with tech-
nology, and then imply that it's because he is
from Butterworth – a rural town in the Eastern
Cape of South Africa, in contrast to the urban
township in Kwa-Zulu Natal where they stay.
P3 then takes over the phone and tries to assist
his friend as seen in figure 4.

   In figure 4, P3 is holding P4's phone, and
has his own phone balanced on his shoe, which
he's using as a light as he rolls a cigarette. He
thinks he has got to the root of the issue, but he
doesn't solve the problem and the phone owner
P4 retrieves it and continues battling with it.

Figure 4: P3 phone use. Video still from Durban database,
Kwamashu 2012, copyright with the author.

Example 3

P4:   *Kanti zishaphi ngalshamkayn? Ang'sa-
       fundeli ke naying'duzula, Hai ke inth-
       loso yam aksi u-chattel bhekha manje
       seng'phendulana nabantu la*

       'But like what is wrong with this thing.
       I don't know what's happening, it's con-
       fusing me. My desire is not to chat, look
       now I have to be answering people.'

At this point in the discussion speaker P4 finds
himself drawn into chats with people on the
app, presumably because they can see he is
online on the app and they are contacting him.
So he's getting drawn into the function of the
app as social media, while he is trying to achieve
something else regarding setting the app up. At
the same time he refers to the phone or app as
an actor – 'it's confusing me' – in a sense giving
the technology agency to act upon him. Mean-
while, P3 is checking his own phone – perhaps
he's received a message or is checking his own
settings to try to assist his friend. A couple of
minutes later, P4 asks his friend P3 what to do
again, and his friend tells him he'll do it for him
as seen in Example 4. Then in Example 5 they
start to work together on the different aspects of
the tech that they are each more familiar with.

Example 4

P4:   *Ngigeythe la kanjani, ngenzeni ngiphume
       kumxit straight?*

       'How must I exit here, should I exit
       mxit straight?'

P3:   *Aw'geytha ngiyakmarshisela nje ndoda.*

       'Exit and I'll do it for you man.'

Example 5

P3: Ndoda ngishayisana nakho nge**filing system** yakho ndoda ewumfethu.

'Man I'm running into your filing system man bro.'

P4: *Eh my man ngik'tshelile nje ukuth'uy-dala kanjani? Ngena lapho ku**memory card** uyabona leyonto.*

'My man, should I just tell you how you do it? Just enter into the memory card, you see that thing.'

P3: *Ngikangakho.*

'I'm there.'

P4: *Sewukangakho? Marshela ku **camera folder**, haibo, ku **camera**. Kubhaliwe lapho kuleyo **file** leyo ye **memory card**. Mase ungenile ku**My Photos**, ungene ku **Camera** kuno 1 lapho, uvele uthi kuyo kuno shamkhayn le **file** ke engayqondi ukuthi ibhal'ukuthini inama-**number** amaningi.*

'You're there? Go to the camera folder, no, to camera. It's written there in that file, the one for the memory card.. When you're in My Photos go into camera and there's a 1 there and then enter there and there's a thingy in the file, I don't know what's written there it just has a lot of numbers.'

P3: *Camera? Hai.*

'Camera? No.'

P4: *Ethi ngik'dalele ngayo mfethu.*

'Let me do it for you bro.'

P3: *Ng'dalele. Aw'dale kube kdala ngishay isene, nesosha.*

'Do it for me. Do it, I would have run into it a while ago soldier.'

P4: *Nayising duzula ke name, oho nayi isi yenza. Uyaybona ke, nayi la ku**camera**, yabo? Ethi ngi enterishe, seng'phakathi ke.*

'Now it's even confusing me, oh now it's coming along. You see it now, it's here under camera, you see? Let me enter I'm in now.'

Here, P3 is attempting to help him but still doesn't manage it. He says he is 'running into your filing system' which he is presumably not familiar with, in terms of finding the relevant profile picture file. Then P4 instructs him how to navigate the filing system. But eventually he takes the phone back and does it himself. They swap one further time and P3 assists again and returns it. At this point it seems like P3 has fixed the technical issue of changing the picture, and P4 finds the correct file.

Between the two, in the course of the above exchange, they therefore figure out how to interact with the tech to resolve the issue. Meanwhile the other friends make meta-comments on the interaction between the phone owner and his technology, in terms of his bad luck and lack of technological savvy. The phone and apps, and the filing/operating system becomes not entirely passive in the interaction – it is active in 'confusing' speaker P4, so in a way it is an actor in the conversation. And the filing system

is something that P3 'runs into', therefore blocking him from resolving the issue. Note as well that many of the terms used for the technology are English, highlighted in bold in Example 5 above.

Importantly, the tech becomes an event that a friend assists with and working together the two friends are able to resolve the issue. The commonality of the tech, the cell phone itself, the app, the filing system, all the parts of the technology, are therefore something that are investigated and resolved or problem-solved locally.

In between this whole interaction the group is also chatting about other things – about girls, smoking, about a trip they're planning to a rural area, about a friend of theirs who is supposed to be coming, and an imaginary scenario involving the police. So the interaction with the material object is a part of the wider communicative event taking place, a part of the interaction and socialisation between the group members.

Analysis: Interaction with music

The next set of interactions with cultural artefacts involve interactions with music that take place during the peer group interactions. Many of the recordings involve music playing in the background, often as background noise

Figure 5: P2 and P3, P2 is wearing a set of headphones round his neck. Video still from Durban database, Kwamashu 2012, copyright with the author.

or ambient sound, but in various ways this background breaks through into the conversations and becomes something that the friends comment on, interact with, sing along to, or reflect upon. Two group members are also seen wearing headphones, although it's not entirely clear where the music is coming from, it may be played via a cell phone.

Example 6

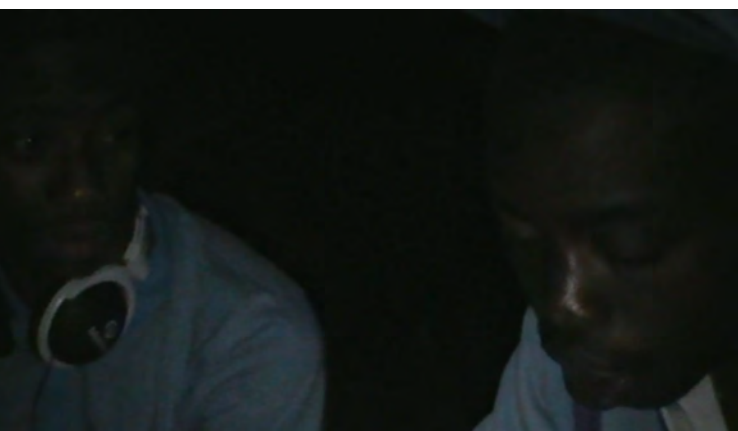Song (in background behind talk):
> Let's dance in style, let's dance for a while
> Heaven can wait we're only watching the skies
> Hoping for the best, but expecting the worst,
> Are you gonna drop the

P4:   *bomb or not?*
        Let us die young or let us live forever

Song: We don't have the power but we never say never
        Sitting in a sandpit, life is a short trip
        The music's for the sad man
        Forever young
        I want to be forever young
        Do you really want to live forever?

P4:   *Forever, and ever*

In example 6, Speaker P4 is involved in an ongoing conversation with his friends, but also completes the lyrics at various key points in a song as it plays in the background. The song is a house remix of a song from the 1980s by Alphaville called 'Forever Young'. As the song begins to build towards the chorus, he first completes the line 'Are you gonna drop the

bomb on us', then leads into the second verse with 'Let us die young or let us live forever'. Finally, he completes the chorus which asks 'Do you really want to live forever' with the response, 'Forever, and ever'.

The lyrics resonate with the realities of the group as young men, and the catchy tune and appealing lyrics lead P4 to join in, in this way the song becomes woven into the conversation that the group is having through the speech of P4. These speakers are bi/multilingual – English is the second language in the province of Kwa-Zulu Natal, behind isiZulu which these men speak as their first language. The lyrics are notably in English while the majority of the conversation is in isiZulu.

There are a number of similar examples from the different participants throughout the data recordings. They often join in with the riffs or choruses. Different music in the background also sometimes seems to change the tone of the conversation – a more lively song may spark a more lively conversation, while a quiet song with lyrics may lead to silence or quiet talk.

Example 7

P1:   *Hhayi ilempahla! Hhayi le ngoma mfethu, hhayi! Ngigcwele, ngigcwele!*

'No [shaking head in time with the music and exclaiming] this song! No [exclaiming again] this song man, hhayi [exclaiming]! I'm into it, I'm into it!'

P2:   *Ngazile ukuthi izodlala lengoma!*

'I knew that this song would play!'

In this example, the song is appreciated as we see from the reception by speaker P1 who says that he is into it. He expresses how much he likes the song by shaking his head and exclaiming '*hayi* / 'No!', a negation which implies positive reception of the song. P2 then agrees with the evaluation by indicating he was expecting, or perhaps anticipating, the song.

In the next example the participant also signals an appreciation of the music that is being played. He refers to the DJ, presumably another of the participants, and compliments him that he 'knows his songs', referring to Gqom music, which is a music genre from Durban in Kwa-Zulu Natal, where this group lives.

Example 8

P1:   *Awu DJ, dlala DJ, yazi leziyngoma zakho. Sengathi ngiyazishaya ngazo, ngiyazi shayo ngazo. Uphethe elinye igqom, ngigcwele! Ungadlala mfethu, uyakwazi ukuyibamba intsimbi? Heh?*

'Awu [exclaiming] DJ, dlala DJ, you know your songs [bobbing head]. I think I am into them, I am into them. You have another type of gqom [music], I am into it! Would you play man, do you know how to play steel? Heh?'

As the evening progresses the participants seem to get more into the music and increasingly start nodding their heads and singing along. The type of music they are listening to determines the interaction to an extent. Music that is more straightforwardly dance/house music and has repetitive beats is responded to with nodding and head shaking, while some

songs break through into anthem — like lyrics to which the participants sing along, such as in Example 6.

The participants also interact with various international artists, for example in example 9 with a song by Bob Marley, a global international artist. The music is cut off in the middle of a song by Marley, and in the silence, P1 completes the lyrics by adding the chorus line. Marley's work has a connection to Rastafarianism, and some of the participants in these recordings referred to one of their members as a Rasta. So the music also links to cultural or social identities in some way, although Marley is also widely known and appreciated beyond Rastafari culture/religion.

Example 9

Song: [No Woman No Cry playing in back ground behind talking]
        I remember when-a we used to sit
        In the government yard in Trenchtown
        And then Georgie would make the fire lights. I seh
        A log wood burning through the night…
        [Music stops]

P1:   *No woman no cry*

Elsewhere the friends refer to other specific artists, both local and international, that they like and would like to listen to. Sometimes they request a song by a specific artist, or sometimes they discuss them in response to the song that is already playing. In the examples below, the participants evaluate a local artist who is likely to win an upcoming music award; one participant requests a song by Wale, an American Rap artist, and they

have a discussion about Tupac, reprising the international conspiracy theory that he never actually died.

Example 10

P1:   *Yonke indawo kudlalwa lengoma.*

        'Everywhere you go, they are playing this song.'

P2:   *Hhayi uyayithatha iaward losisi. Plus ngigcewele mina. Yabona nje mfethu kuma SAMA Awards, uma enomineythiwe, gcwala.*

        'No [in agreement] she is taking the award [music award such as the South African Music Awards, SAMA] this lady. Plus I really like her. You see man, at the SAMA Awards, if she is nominated, you will be into it.'

        [Participants continue singing along to the song]

Example 11

P2:   *Umphethe uWale?*

        'Do you have a Wale song?'

Example 12

P1:   *Tupac bitch, Tupac bitch*

        [Speaker getting encouraged by the song playing]

P2: *Nizwile ukuthi u Tupac akafile? Nizwile?*

'Did you hear that Tupac is not dead? Did you hear?'

P4: *Ufile wabuye wavuka, angaphinde afe futhi*

'He died and came alive again; he can die again'

In this way, artists, both local and international, are weaved into the conversation and become a shared interest. The friends influence each other in what they enjoy and also in what they do not like. In this way they build their friendship community and individual and group identities, in dialogue with global and local cultural practices.

As we have seen, breaks in conversation are filled with background music, so the music becomes a participant or actor in the conversation. Speakers 'talk to' the music by singing along, signalling pleasure or appreciation. As the participants engage with the music and the language of the lyrics by moving or singing, they are engaging in a cultural practice. The singers themselves also become part of the interaction by being explicitly referred to – both local and international stars. The friends therefore grow a common portfolio of songs and artists they appreciate and share, and which indexically signals local and global social identifications. The lyrics also at times interact directly with the lived realities of the group – as in the case of 'forever young' and other songs which have resonances for the group.

Conclusions

The analysis above has considered examples of practices happening in the urban spaces of Africa amongst youthful multilingual peer groups. It has described the ways that global influences and local practices coincide in local contexts. It is clear that these interactional spaces are firmly connected to local contexts, but at the same time they are intersected by global flows, both material and cultural (Kanana & Hurst-Harosh 2020). This rich blend of resources allows youth to express South African modernities, group and individual identities in their linguistic, extra- and para-linguistic practices.

The article has considered extralinguistic features of peer group interaction – indexicality, and the use of objects and cultural artefacts, namely cell phones, music and brands, as pragmatic features of talk. The inclusion of objects and cultural artefacts in the analysis adds an additional layer to the description of talk in context. The analysis shows that youth draw on international metapragmatic stereotypes alongside global brands in their identity affiliations; that they interact with and manipulate global tech in local contexts; and that objects and cultural artefacts such as material technology and music become part of communicative events, even 'actors', in peer group settings. Examining extra linguistic features of youth talk can therefore tell us a great deal about the ways that youth create community and friendship within peer groups. As such the article has demonstrated how pragmatic approaches considering the broader context and extra-linguistic features of a communicative event can contribute to our understanding of youth practices.

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09

Ohùn – Yorùbá anti-'archy' youth attitude and expressions

09

Ohùn – Yorùbá anti-'archy' youth attitude and expressions

Augustine Agwuele[1]

The dichotomy between *ègbón* (senior) and *ábúrò* (junior) transcends mere denotation, it is implicational and consequential. It manifests every form of '*-archy*' involved in domination and power differentials: patriarchy, matriarchy, or even pawnship, indeed, the dynamics of dependency and domination play out within it. The evolving attempt to subvert this specific cultural pattern of oppression by Yorùbá youths/juniors involves resistant attitudes and insubordinate forms of expression that are here termed ohùn. In this article, I describe how ohùn is deployed to wrestle away, flip geronto-cratic domination or at least lessen its specific impositions on an individual. I also conjecture at the force driving this cultural manifestation.

This paper is organized as follows. First, drawing from Oyèwùmí (1997) I present *in situ* the reality of 'seniority' in everyday life and show it as the basis, and Yorùbás' major principle, of societal organization. Then, I describe its workings across institutions, and how its various impositions, including obligations, become intensified diachronically by different social institutions and conclude by illustrating *ohùn*, a popular expressive device deployed to

[1] Professor of linguistics, Department of Anthropology, Texas State University. Email: aa21@txstate.edu.

resist dominations due to seniority. The following Yorùbá adage sets the tone:

O_{you} ní$_{have}$ àbúrò $_{junior}$, o_{you} ni$_{said}$ o_{you} kò$_{no}$ ní$_{have}$ ẹrú$_{slave}$. Iṣẹ́$_{duty}$ wo$_{which}$ l'o$_{did\ you}$ ran$_{assign}$ ẹrú$_{slave}$ ti$_{that}$ àbúrò $_{junior}$ o$_{not}$ jẹ$_{perform}$?

'How could you have a younger sibling and claim not to have a slave. What duties can a slave perform that you cannot require from a junior?'

The confederated group of peoples, denoted as Yorùbá, which is both the name of the people and their language, is hierarchically organized, secularly, religiously, and especially familiarly, the center of the patter and prattle of everyday life. Despite changes, 'segregated' hierarchy persists and intensifies in some areas.

In the Yorùbá spiritual realm, as passed down by the elders, the creator God (Ọlọ́run) is supremely at the apex, followed, in descending order, by the deities and, then humans who are above animals. The cosmos is equally separated into hierarchical levels viz heavens, in-between, and earth, respectively the abodes of Ọlọ́run, deities, and humans. In the socio-political sphere the rulers are preeminent, followed by their chiefs/elites, regular citizens, and slaves. Within the family, the head is automatically the husband (ọkọ), then the wife (ìyàwó), and the children successively. The hierarchical setup in each of these realms is based on order of existence (*age*). Olódùmarè, the creator god, preceded all others in existence, hence older, and is senior to the deities, fashioned by Olódùmarè to assist in the theocratic governance of the created. The ruler/s in Yorùbá land is/are often the founder/s of the kingdom over which they exercise rulership. Preceding

others to the new space accords them seniority. Birth into such a patrilineal clan confers certain status and rights including eligibility to its hereditary positions to the exclusion of others. The husband, ọkọ, and his family host or receive wives marrying into their already existing patrilineal household. As such, every member of the household (ọmọ-ílé) at the time the wife joins the family, preceded her, and thus, are senior to her (Peel 2002: 139). In each of these 'naturalized' instances (social ascendancy to seniority is described later below), there is a cascading of seniority with attending deference, as a function of age (Schwab 1958), the workings of which evince the negatives of 'patriarchy'.

Yorùbá and 'patriarchy'

Every now and then, a scholar demonstrates the importance of re-examining canonized concepts, urging the reevaluation of their historical premises before universalizing a localized issue. Oyèwùmí (1997), in challenging the utility of western conceptualization of 'gender', argued convincingly that Yorùbá traditionally did not operate 'gender'. In disavowing gender stereotypes, Oyèwùmí showed that western dichotomized men and women and female and male is not about how the so-called women achieve the good life, but about how they obtain those benefits synonymous with the so-called men, overlooking the fact that there are certain inclinations to which nature, by virtue of sex, has predisposed each. And this is despite the obvious fact of human-to-human injustice, narcissism, and historically created social institutions that structure separations, divisions, and foster inequity. While "gender is seen as the process

by which individuals who are born into biological categories of male or female become the social categories of men and women through the acquisition of locally defined attributes of masculinity and femininity" (Kabeer 1991: 11), it is not organically the normality of all societies, and even where found, it manifests in lockstep with other values or tendencies that became intensified under western influences. Butler (1990: 48) uses the phrase "a colonizing epistemology" to explain that which inhibits from understanding "different configurations of domination". Kolawole (1997: 24) proposed "womanism" to capture the cooperative nature of the men and women thereby recognizing them as partners rather than foes (also Ogunyemi 1996: 116).

Essentially, the message of Oyèwùmí is that a society's perception, perhaps unlike an academic theory, is often of a limited scope and is deployed at the cost of numerous other reasonable possibilities, beclouding other vast areas of experiences for which other cultural perceptions provide much needed humility and balance. This observation is demonstrated by the dichotomy between 'gender' and 'seniority' which provide explanatory principle of inequity, domination, and access, for one, between males and females, and the other between 'seniors' and 'juniors' regardless of biology.

'Gender' like 'race' is obsessively wielded in American language use. While both are social inventions, they are nevertheless imbued with biological indubitability. Oyèwùmí's (1997) highly influential critique of western patriarchal order instigated growing challenges from non-western societies to the acceptance of e.g., 'race and gender' as given, and their projection as the main organizing principles of social life within which humans are hierarchized (Agwuele 2016). Oyèwùmí's underscored the "epistemological shift occasioned by the Western gender categories on Yorùbá discourse" (Oyèwùmí 1997: ix), she challenges the existence of an essential universal category 'woman' supposedly characterized by the social uniformity of its' members, shared social interest, or social position, and forcefully rejects western epistemology that ties social bodies to biology. This western naturalization of socially constructed obvious phenotypical differences ('race' and 'gender'), and the life chances and social status that are contingent on them, she argued, were not attested in Yorùbá traditional life prior to their encounter with the West. As non-gendered society, kinship categories, roles, duties, status, and positions remained fluid, uncorrelated with biological organs (sex), and the sexes were unranked one relative to the other.

It is within the framework of western dichotomized sex and gender differences that the ideology of patriarchy and matriarchy emerges and festers as a principle of interaction between them and as a mode of societal organization for some. Being not complementary, i.e., the sexes and genders are antagonistic; they are stratified in the socio-political and economic spheres. Both categories, the prism through which the westerners view and construct themselves as to what it means to be a man or woman (Bonvillian 2007), Oyèwùmí argued, appear essentialized. This culturally imposed dichotic perspective is continuously mirrored in scholarship, thus, male, and female gender roles are cross-culturally divided into public and private spheres, consigning women role to the private and men to the public (Rosaldo 1974). Even linguistically, there is women's language (Lakoff 1972); and presumably men engage in report talk, while
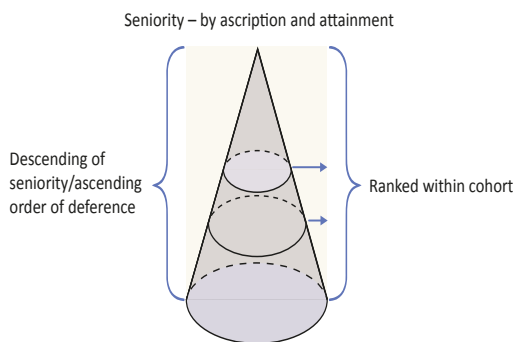
women do rapport talk (Tannen 1990). Socially constrained, boys are said to drop their /g/ more than girls (Fischer 1958), and apparently, women lead language change (Labov 1990). The 'priority of [visible] sexual difference' (Coetze & Halseman) is at the heart of the tension at the intersection of gender with socio-political and economic access on which the idea of patriarchy is rooted. Thus 'women' are oppressed by 'men' due to biology, just as 'blacks' are oppressed by 'whites' due to their skin color (Spelman 1989: 129). And Yorùbá 'seniors' oppress their 'juniors' by virtue of order of birth.

Yorùbá seniority

'Senior' and 'junior', unpalatable English equivalences of a Yorùbá percepts, tell us something about the mindset of the people, power structure, and social dynamics that configure their social experience, everyday life, and chances. In line with Mohanty (1991), we cannot but reflect on the historical, material, and ideological power structures that influence the life and status of Yorùbá 'juniors' so as not to falsely claim that this 'ideological culture' around which the social system of 'seniority' is built mainly serves and upholds 'patriarchy'. There is also a host of interactions between social characteristics, despite scholars treating them as independent of one another to explain their effects. Crenshaw (1989) coined the term intersectionality to capture the idea of interaction between social categories. A look at quotidian Yorùbá life surrounding 'seniority' provides a deeper understanding of how their traditional institutions interacted with imposed western ideologies along with past colonial institutions to entrench and farther the domination, and systemic oppression of 'juniors'.

Basis of Yorùbá seniority

Seniority results from chronological age, order of birth, or by 'first on the scene' logic. Long before Oyèwùmí, Hopkins (1969) in his Report on the Yorùbá mentioned the honor due to males and females based on seniority. Bascom (1942, 1955) observed that individual relationship was dependent upon seniority, wealth, personal qualities among others, and between lineages, individual relationships are dependent on the relative rank of the lineage. Other scholars of Yorùbá life and society, such as Johnson (1929), Ajisafe (1924), Agwuele (2009) have also described and exemplified the centrality of seniority in everyday situations.

Seniority – by ascription and attainment

Descending of seniority/ascending order of deference

Ranked within cohort

Seniority can be by ascription or achievement. First-on-the-scene logic confers seniority, except for twins. The first of the twins to emerge is Taiwo and the second of the twins is Kehinde. The etymology of these names captures Yorùbá world sense which accords seniority to Kehinde, who is presumed to have sent the younger ahead to 'test out the world'. If the world is pleasant, Taiwo's vagitus, which medically signals vitality and ability to breathe extrauterine, is considered a message to inform Kehinde, still in the womb, that all is well and as such may proceed to the world. Kehinde is

'the one that comes last but assumes seniority', and in accordance with that senior position, sends the junior, Taiwo (forerunner), on errand. The names of subsequent children born after the twins are predetermined, e.g., Idowu, Alaba etc., these names equate birth-order and affirm their positions in the hierarchy, the precariousness of which is retained in popular imagination by the saying, 'Idowu is not the slave of the twins, it is only order of birth that subserves one to the other' (Ìdòwú kii ṣe ẹrú ibeji, nṣe ni wọn bi wọn lera wọn).

Residential structure and seniority

Yorùbá traditional dwellings consisted of a series of patrilocal residences known as agbolé (compounds). Each constituting compound was made up of members of patrilineal sib and their spouses; in some cases, tenants are the third groups. Life within the compound, the primary unit for social and political interaction (Johnson 1929), and the center of religious activities, and each person's access are dependent on their position, and obligations, both of which confer influence and determine behavior. It is within this residential structure, that aims to ensure the production and reproduction of the material conditions of their existence (Afọnja 1999), that seniority is primarily experienced, and children are socialized to cognize it, accept it, and live it out. The social and cultural structures necessary for the achievement of the compound's goal are collectively guarded.

The population of the compound contributes to the influence and reach of its members. In an agrarian setup, this correlated with wealth. Members depended on the collective for access to land and titles, and to fulfill different rites such as marriage. Right from the onset of the marriage rite, the families are involved, be it in vetting the spouses, through to voicing of acceptance by the bride (ìsíhùn) to honoring the in-laws (idá´na) and to the payment of bride-wealth. The post marital patrilocal residence belongs to the husband's family. The family provides land for farming to the husband, who in turn provides the wife with the initial capital to start up her own business, assuring that both are economically viable and independent (Ajisafe, 1924: 57-58, Ellis 1894: 182ff). When the union produces offspring, naming ceremony, the official introduction of the child to the family and lineage, occurring a week after birth, is conducted by the most senior in the compound.

Such intricate interdependence between the individual and the collective pervades every aspect of the life of Yorùbá people. Seniority is invaluable to the workings of this highly stratified and formalized nation that depends on "a rigidly prescribed series of common and reciprocal rights, duties, privileges and forbearance between members or groups of members in virtually every aspect of social life" (Schwab 1955: 354). Kinship and kin group are the basis for livelihoods, identity construction and gaining social meanings and significance, and central to it is seniority.

Achieving seniority in the larger society

Looking beyond the household into the larger community, gerontocracy holds sway and scalar analogous to the compound is found either due to age, status, wealth, or personal achievements. When western styled education, government, paid employment, and lifestyle emerged, the existing interdependence and social structure adapted farther apotheosizing

seniority. As the rural and traditional migrated to the cities, their values and ethos migrated too. The transformation to commercial capitalism altered the mode of subsistence, and informed new values, but did little to stymie the hold of established cultural values that are foundational to kinship practices and social relations within which seniority thrives. Urban Yorùbá cities turns out to be "an economic unit, within which each individual is dependent on his neighbors for goods and services which he cannot provide for himself" (Bascom 1958: 191).

Traditionally, Yorùbá pre-pubescent children moved easily between family members to receive strict upbringing or engaged in apprenticeship (Owomoyelás 1994: 85). This practice continues. Before he became king, Prince Lamidi Adeyemi of Oyo Kingdom, was sent to Ìṣéyìn to learn Quar'an, then to Egbaland, and finally to reside with a Christian school principal in Lagos to obtain formal education, despite being a Muslim. This was not an isolated case. With the rapid growth of urban cities such as Lagos under colonization, many people, who fluxed into it for economic reasons, especially, following the 1920s economic crash that wrecked the demand for cocoa and other cash crops were variously integrated. "…many newcomers had kin in Lagos with whom they lived and on whom they depended for assistance. Others counted on the support and protection of big men from their hometowns who were already established in the community. Strangers who had no contacts at all in Lagos became clients of an important person. Their patrons would perform many of the functions of kin for them…" (Mann 1977: 30) thereby exerting the 'filial' obedience underlying 'seniority' along with its hierarchies and inequities that dwell on coteries of deference, obligations, and less

talked about, dominance, and control, despite the fronted solidarity and supportive aids. Once the relationship of 'senior' vs. 'junior' is established within the larger society, the 'junior' is practically beholden to the 'senior' in perpetuity except if the junior can successfully wrestle 'seniority' away from seniors.

Differently, high achieving individuals automatically acquire 'seniority' over those of lesser achievements. For instance, during a conference on Africa at the University of Texas at Austin, a female vice chancellor of a private university in Nigeria was given an award by the convener. As she stepped to the podium to receive the plaque, her entourage perhaps, and other Yorùbá participants from Nigeria, broke into a song of honor: "*Mama o, mama o, mama o, Ọlọ́run da mama si fun wa.*" (Mother, mother, mother, God save our mother.) She was not the oldest of the Yorùbá attendees, however, by virtue of her being vice Chancellor of a university and now a recipient of a plaque in America, she automatically outranks all her Yorùbá cohort who consequently acknowledged her as mother. She would now receive the deference due to a 'senior' and a 'mother', and in return she is to nurture her subordinates as her children.

Owning wealth, especially ostentations of material possessions, is a strong marker of high status and superiority (*àjùlọ*). Those who through personal exertion acquire wealth and accumulate visibly impressive resources obtain status, titles, and invariably political positions, making them seniors and peddlers of influence within the society. As noted by Mann (1977) "Prestige was not necessarily based on criteria that traditionally determined status in Yorùbá society-hereditary title, age, or excellence in trade, war, or cults – although these might have been important". Mann in her 1977

dissertation, also produced historical examples of people who have risen from very humble backgrounds to achieve seniority within the society. For instance, "Dosunmús predecessor, Oshodi Tapa, a former slave from Nupe, built up a power base as a wealthy trader and war leader and became the strongest man in the town, even though he was an Abagbon" (22). "Ali Balogun, a wealthy merchant began as a slave of the Akintoye family, and T.B. Aluko, a colonial servant, was descended from Buko akawa Oroge…." (171). This lesson has not been lost on all juniors. One does not necessarily have to have a great pedigree to achieve seniority, and one does not have to tow the traditional wait-your-turn path either, one can jump to the head of the line, usurp seniority, and be accorded deference and consequently wield privileges over previous seniors just like the cited figures and late contemporary example like Chief MKO Abiola. He overcame childhood poverty to become ITT Africa Chairman, and a very successful businessman. On the account of which he became the only man to have simultaneously held the title of military General of Ibadan nation (*Basọrun*) and the Generalissimo (*Ara-ọnakakanfo*) of Yorùbá land.

Seniority – stick and carrot: A system of appellation

Kini a nfi agba sẹ ju kaa fi rẹ ọmọde jẹ?

'What use is seniority if not to oppress the junior?'

As an area of cultural emphasis, the institution of seniority is linguistically coded. The two major terms of reference for siblings are 'older sibling' (*ẹgbọ́n*) and junior sibling (*àbúrò*).

This is accompanied by a deferential term of address. Even in western styled high school, everyone above one's grade is addressed prefixing 'senior', or 'brother', or 'sister' to their first name; this is a replication of the traditional practice of not being on a first-name basis with a senior. As noted by Mesthrie et al (2009: 312). "Pronouns, names, titles, and address forms are particularly clear and well-defined subsystems of language that reveal asymmetries of power or solidarity between individuals (and the institutions they might represent). But they are not atypical of the way language is generally intertwined with social and social inequality." The senior is spoken to in the plural, while the senior, who calls the junior by their first name, speaks to them familiarly. Consequential is that the senior enjoys an elevated status, they are quasi boss, they give orders that stick. They are not talked back at and direct eye contact, considered insolence in some cases, is avoided. To violate such established social etiquette, either by enveloping the tone with a sneer, or by direct name usage often denotes a simmering anger or grievances that can no longer be contained. Within a household, parents check insolence with the rhetorical question 'is that your senior that you are addressing in that manner?' (*sẹ ẹ̀ gbọ́ n ẹ̀ lo n'ba sọrọ bẹ'yẹn*). Friends police one another, for instance, a young person who dares speak in parables or proverbs to an older person without the customary post-deferential apology (*tooto sẹ bi owe o*), will earn the rebuke of hearers with the remark: 'you dare speak in proverbs before an elder?' Every infraction is immediately checked. Bystanders, parents, friends, all immediately first ask 'what did you just say?' to offer the person the chance to retract their utterance, just in case it was a slip of tongue.

This constellation obtains variously across every social institution, including those created by western missionary, commercial and colonial systems, the very harbinger of ranks and inequity. Private and public subjugation become conflated with institutional domination and abuse. Complicity produces its own advantages, the system is bolstered, entrenched, and continues unchallenged except by those locked out. "The body as a subject of culture rather than an object as articulated by Csordas (1990) enables us to consider that humans are always embedded within and thus impacted by both interpersonal and structural situational contexts" (see Nelson 2021). Both individual preponderances and institutional structures collectively impact the positionality and life chances of the junior. For instance, given the scalar and hierarchical social arrangement of persons, the Yorùbá society didactically employs orature to taut orderliness and the virtue of 'awaiting' one's seniority. It becomes ontologically tethered to the nation's philosophical outlook of *ìwà* (character) that guides a person on earth and whose fruit is patience. Await the unfurling of your destiny; 'don't retrieve by force that which is beyond your reach' (*ohun ti ọwọ mi o to, maa fi gọngọ fa*), and 'rush to a good life and you will shorten your life, slowly enjoy life and you will enjoy it for long' became (*tete jaye ko maa ba j'aiye pè, ma tete jaiye ki o ba le j'aiye pẹ*) arcane pithy sayings.

The trope, delayed gratification, or the famed themed indigenous cultural practices, that is used to sustain the narrative and working of seniority are embedded into the fabrics of the nation's every institution. The ascendancy principle is equally biologically encased, presuming inevitable growth into the position of 'senior' barring early death, considered abomination except of course, the silent, irrational workings of predestination. Seeing through such pedagogy and enculturation to subserviency, the junior began to redefine allegiance, asserting self-agency, and acting out of own volitions. Resistance comes in two fashions: belligerence (*agídí*) and grit, both manifest linguistically (*ohùn*), behaviorally, and through unbridled quest for money. The struggle to overcome seniority plays out in obtaining means to scale the ladder of seniority in non-biological ways.

Westernization, cultural institutions, and seniority

Ranging from the traditional, to the urban and cosmopolitan, the lineage continues, and the bond of filiality that devolved from household togetherness is rarely weakened even with the anonymity of city-lifestyle, neither does anomie result despite emancipation from the strong and domineering kinship customary to their traditional residential unit, the lineage.

Missionary ideals, Victorian values and colonial paternalism instituted a culture of dependency the scale of which was previously unexperienced. Despite some significant changes to the institution of marriage, it was not negatively altered, neither was its values undermined. Marriage became monogamous, the relationship between male and female and their roles in the union was pushed to approximate Victorian values which expected husbands to be sole providers and wives the home-keeper; husbands are to be seen and heard in the public while wives acted as moral exemplar guardians of the family's and societies' moral values (see Mann 1977). Exploring Yorùbá elites, Mann (1980) reported a widow who explained the situation thus, "Our fathers

and husbands did not want us to work. They sent us to school to learn cake baking, needlework, French and drawing so we could be 'housewives.' All we were expected to do was marry and take care of our husband's home" (213). "The idea that a woman was to be a burden on her husband had no existence in the mind of the African [Yorùbá]... until he came in contact with [Western] civilization... Let him who has money make his wife a queen" (220). Transiting a wife, a previously economically independent partner in the marriage, into a dependent housewife furthered the subjugation of middle-class wives. She does not earn her own keep but depends on the husband to supply all their monetary and material needs while she takes care of the home, the children, and attends to the needs of the husband when he returns. Impoverished, disenfranchised, marginalized, and subordinated created group of 'women' that now experience the daily indignities borne of years of exploitation at the hands of colonialism and the created group of 'men', starkly segregate them in terms of wealth inequity.

The created classes (women and men) and the reinforcing nomenclatures became the main proxy for institutionalized hierarchy with attending patriarchal imperatives. These nomenclatures, bereft of their cultural meanings, assume indigenous sensibility, reflecting cultural perceptions. Over seasons, the bequeathed European words have meshed with other ingredients into gourmet sauce for swallowing foreign ideals. Yorùbá and English users of the words gender, patriarchy, and identity, speak pass each other. There is an explicit link between the manufacturing and institutionalization of patriarchy and the ways that marginalization and treatment of the group women

is perceived and explained. That the discourse 'patriarchy' now pervades the society is consistent with its ontology, yet the shape, specific manifestation and how locales address it is unique.

During colonialism and intensified proselytization of Yorùbá people, citizens' rights were not only differentiated as a function of assimilation policy, but they also largely widened the gulf between the preferred group relative to the excluded. Subservience and loyalty to western institutions were rewarded with salaried positions. Chiefly exploited in this cultural value is the inveterate belief that deference to 'seniority' is foundational to social order, and it invariably promoted educated elites. Due to Yorùbá culture of politeness, and their entrenched social distance that rests on 'seniority', and avoidance of name-calling, titles emerged, and were added as epithet that highlights achievements. Engineer, Barrister, Constable, Secretary, and the ubiquitous, *ọga* (boss) became badges of superiority that are now used as honorifics or polite terms of address to index status and garner deference. Anyone without either a traditional or western styled title is a junior, inferior.

The elites that emerged during colonization were on the average younger than the traditional elderly elites, who depended on 'natural seniority'. Common to the new elites was their embodiment of western and Yorùbá values – i.e., education, western outlook, and preeminence position within the community combined with religious and secular values. The outward manifestation of this wealth in terms of lifestyle and material possessions cemented their higher status within the community. These two have continued; to many, 'seniority' is having an international connection (including trav-

eling outside of the continent, consuming imported goods) and being locally prominent. Name recognition is important (*ọmọ tani? Or tani ẹ?* – "whose child? Who are you?" – are rhetorical put-downs wielded to claim seniority). The route to it was education for some, for others, it was commerce, talent, and bravery. Unfortunately, those occupying administrative positions as ministers, governors, legislators, and government functionaries consider these entities as their personal fiefdoms and a mark of success. They are courted mostly not so much for their personality as for the social and economic influence that they, through the personal use of their offices, can exert and, in this regard, they become seniors. The consolidation of resources in the hands of the family traditionally and now in the hands of newly minted elites farther disempowered the 'juniors', especially the youth, and intensified their dependency and fostered their oppression.

Also, during the missionary-colonial era, when only few Africans had western education, those who were not literate often approached the literate ones on a personal basis (kinship), to mediate their interactions with government institution. These then orally instruct and guide them to navigate state apparatuses. This reliance on people and trust in verbal messages continues. Yorùbá people still would trust what is told to them rather than seek direct information from official sources despite being literate. The term, 'connection' remains an indelible social, economic, and political capital that is implicated in the patron-client culture of the Yorùbá. Thus, social obligations are intertwined with economic interest to further 'seniority'. Quite importantly, to the extent that one can meet people's needs, ease, or ensure their access to institutional op-

portunities, and protect them, one assumes 'seniority', commands allegiance, and receives honorific terms of address.

To be patronized as a 'senior' is the quest of most 'juniors' who are not necessarily vested in creating equity as much as they covet the vaunted status of 'senior', the vicarious authority that devolves from dependency, and deference. Through 'seniority' there is an enormous influence with outsiders and unbridled power over kin. The possible abuse due to this dependence engenders resentment which motivates towards the search for wealth to not only obtain own freedom, but to extract 'revenge' by outcompeting them, i.e., 'out-senioring' the seniors. Hence the popular phrase of positivity, *wọn á gbà*: they will submit.

Seniority and obligations

"Yorùbá social identity was, and is, fundamentally relational, changing, and situational, with seniority the most crucial determinant of ranking" (Oyèwùmí 1997: xiii). There are cadres of seniority, there are school seniors, street seniors, family seniors, office seniors, and societal seniors etc. Each has prestige and exerts influence within their realms. Common to seniority is the redistribution of personal resources as a means of accumulating power, an indelible component of prominence among Yorùbá people. This 'buying' of influence has been explicated variously under patron-client relationship or clientelism (Omobowale 2008; Omobowale & Olutayo 2010). Consider the introduction of commercial public transport. Should a 'senior' happen to find a junior in the same commercial vehicle, the senior is obligated to pay the fare of the junior to retain respect and allegiance. To not do so without

offering any apology or excuse is to lose face. 'Face' (Brown & Levinson 1978) is an essential component of Yorùbá sociation.

To lose face is to earn the worst and most dreaded insult that can be handed to a 'senior' or an elder *àgbàyà*, 'useless old senior'. Farther, some first-born children have been known to sacrifice their own education to take up the burden of sponsoring their 'junior' siblings through school. The setup in its essence obliges the senior to nurture and guide the 'juniors' to success even at their own personal expense, and when successful, the juniors' success becomes collective success, and the junior, in turn, recompenses by providing for the extended family. Where this reciprocity breaks down with the junior in a servile relationship, dissent results. Despite my focus, it is important to say that Yorùbá seniority system is not all abuse, there are certain checks in it to ensure societal cohesion. It is the failure of the checks that invariably pushes the juniors to resistance.

As noted by Oyèwùmí (2005) and Agwuele (2009) among others, seniority is not all privileges in everyday life; it comes with enormous responsibilities. There are two aspects to it: moral and material responsibilities. Seniors are expected to be fair and just in all their dealings. When altercations occur between two juniors, inculcated in the junior is a belief that the senior will adjudicate fairly; thus, there is rarely a challenge to their ruling. Juniors attribute a great deal of wisdom and foresightedness to the seniors. The seniors, in their respective spheres are expected to be proper (*àgbà gidi* 'true and real') seniors. They are expected to embody the virtues and values valorized by society and to demonstrate them before receiving requisite deference and respect. However, once the debilitating feeling that injustice rather than jus-

tice is meted out, when a moral judge becomes amoral, a fair arbiter is now corrupt, and the protector turns oppressor, resentment wells and aggressive impulse takes hold of the junior, an outrage with 'seniority' ensues, and with it invariably drives the junior to seek means to avoid the unfairness. The world of difference, palpably measurable and without bridge, safe conquering it, hardens.

Ohùn – attitude and retort

Despite the misapprehensions of Ward (1937), he correctly noted that Yorùbá people strive for and attach great importance to status. According to him, "every Yorùbá boy want to become a big man. Sooner or later in life." "A 'small boy' is looked down upon". Quite importantly, he observed two Ikale-Yorùbá people quarreling and how quickly the argument descended to personalities: who are you by the way? (p. 29). This rhetorical question is about establishing '*àjùlọ*', seniority. It is about proclaiming one to outrank the other in quantifiable ways. This 1937 observation persists and intensifies in contemporary Yorùbá and Nigerian life, where 'I will show you who I am' is a weapon of violence. It could mean using connection to influential people (seniors), or personal access, wealth, and privilege (seniority) to buy justice and inflict pain on others including blocking a foe from getting their due, indeed, a violent exercise of power. Another catch phrase is, 'we are not in the same set' (we areneither in the same cohorts nor occupy same social rank) and then there is the rhetorical question, 'you and who are mates?'. 'Am I your mate'?

Having endured subordination in the historical past and having invested loyalty in the

intervening colonial and post-colonial period without earning the benefits that each epoch promised, the 'junior' not only designs ways of resisting 'seniority' but also to exploit avenues of empowerment. Rather than the future, the immediate takes greater position, rather than the collective, narcissist individualism results, and rather than thread the well-tested and established route of 'await-your-turn, faster alternate route are toed'. The body as a subject of culture rather than an object as articulated by Csordas (1990) enables us to consider that humans are always embedded within and thus impacted by both interpersonal and structural situational contexts (cf. Nelson 2021). Individual preponderances and institutional structures work hand in hand to impact the positionality and life chances of the junior. Thus, the hierarchical scalar society didactically employs orature to taut orderliness and instill the virtue of 'awaiting' one's seniority turn, thereby ontologically tethering it into the nation's philosophical outlook of *ìwà* (character), the way of being, whose quality is patience. Pithily, they say: 'await the unfurling of your destiny'; 'don't retrieve by force that which is beyond your reach' (*ohun ti ọwọ mi o to, maa fi gọngọ fa*), and 'hurry to a pleasurable life and you shorten your life, slowly enjoy life and you will enjoy it long' (*tete jaye ko maa ba j'aiye pè, ma tete jaiye ki o ba le j'aiye pẹ*). The trope, delayed gratification, is thusly embedded into the fabrics of the nation's every institution, premised on the presumption that the 'junior' will inevitably grow to become 'senior' barring early death, considered abomination except of course, the silent, irrational workings of predestination intervene. Seeing through such pedagogy and enculturation to subserviency, the juniors assert self-agency, and act out of their own volitions. Their resis-

tance comes in two fashions: belligerence (*agídí*) and grit, both manifest linguistically (*ohùn*), behaviorally, and through inordinate quest for money, the very means to scale the ladder of seniority non-biologically.

The linguistic device, ohùn, is an attack on prevailing social code, it subverts normative values and indexes defiance and irreverence, a fierce resistance to 'seniority'. *Ohùn* is tone (the psychological perception of pitch; and tenor-valuation with respect to sonority and pleasantness), it is voice (manner vocalization specific to a person), and attitude (Don't speak to me like that; 's/he sounds angry, happy, sad, or moody). Talking back to any senior is already socially impugned by Yorùbá, talking back intently, rudely and with a raised voice is enregistered as *'omo-igboro'*, a tout or person of the street, without a home, and hence mannerless, unruly, and undisciplined, just as one would expect of 'feral' children.

Devices and strategies

Ohùn functionally manipulates Yorùbá language and is parasitic on its norms and communication devices. It does not have its own syntax, rather it exhibits as Storch (2011: 19) noted for secret languages, specialized vocabulary, specific pronouns, verbal forms, and metaphors, among others deployed for self-assertion and express an emancipated non-subservient personality. As a communicative device, *ohùn* is a stylect (Hurst 2008), including 'lect' i.e., slang words connected to a specific style, that is, a form of gesture, dressing, and other cultural manifestations. Invoked as an overt symbolic weapon of resistance, *ohùn*, a meaning making device, indexes among others hostility towards the hearer. This ideological restive posture, that marks defiance

and resolve, functions in the form of 'iconization' (Irvine & Gal 2000) where communities construct a shared take on themselves, others, and on the difference between them.

Honorific register is commonly used to mark boundaries between the 'seniors' and 'juniors' writ large. For Yorùbá, this comes in the form of name avoidance and the use of plural pronouns to address or reference the 'seniors'. Plural pronouns index not only seniority by age, status, or position, it is also the polite and respectful form that encode formality. In its usage, hierarchy, distance, and power relations are embodied and reflected. Formality lexicon as already suggested is inbuilt into the Yorùbá syntax. For there to be a shift in style suggests a shift also in formality. Variously attested, the use of' **his/her** mother/father' (*mama/baba* **ẹ** (3rd person sing.))" in place of '**my** mother/father' (*mama/baba* **mi** (1st person sing) exemplifies the distancing of self from parental authority. This usage may have originally expressed endearment, when a partner hails the other as e.g., '*iyawo/ọkọ ẹ*'; (spouse of the main guy) within the practice of praise-singing. Furthermore, the style shifts occurs in maintaining reverential appellation with familiar pronouns, e.g., *Olori ma worry* instead of *Olori e ma worry* (boss, don't worry).

Ohùn draws simultaneously from traditional Yorùbá and western phrases, imageries, and popular cultural manifestations with an admixture of codes for efficacy. Sometimes, the metaphorical reference is to football players' skill to outmaneuver opponents (Maradona, Ronaldo,) or strength, like Roger 'Miller' to overrun oppositions like 'caterpillar' trucks. Users employ alliterations and plays on words, i.e., a junior could reject the threat of a senior by likening themselves to

fire, and the senior to candle, thus assuming the ability of fire to melt wax (*igara candle ni iwaju lighter*). This banter is akin to playing the dozen (Abrahams 1962). Other times social items are used as a simile. A young woman, for instance, was forced to put down a persistent suitor by describing herself as a *container* too heavy for his *bajaj.* Bajaj is not a common term in Yorùbá land for tricycles, her choice shows her to be informed (*já si*). As such, portraying the suitor as lightweight who cannot bear the cost of dating her. A young boy tired of his older sibling bossing him around retorted and dissed the senior saying: *Ẹgbọn ẹ ko isạn silẹ, ẹ wa sọra yin di Van Damme.* 'Senior, relax, stop flexing your muscles, as if you were Van Damme (the popular body builder-actor)'.

To obtain its efficacious bite, *ohùn* thrives on quick and sharp retorts when contesting supremacy. As already mentioned, there is often an instant resort to personality disputations in any quarrel, with the ubiquitous rhetorical phrase, 'who are you': *ta ni ẹ*. The quick retort of the junior under duress is often *'se wọn n'fi oju yin gba owo ni bank ni?'* 'Is your likeness/face legal tender' or 'is your likeness on 1000 Naira bill? (*Sẹ iwọ ni wọn ya si ori 1000 Naira?*). Essentially, saying, if you are not as recognizable as the currency, then you are unimpressive.

Humor is yet another linguistic strategy of *ohùn* that is used to veil resentment, just as speaking in antonym is *ohùn's* subterfuge for aggression. The humor employed in *ohùn* does not just belittle the experience of its oppression, it resists it actively. Shopping the traditional culture of praise singing, juniors pour encomiums on the seniors, hailing their achievements and generosity and then declare allegiance; all the while indirectly using some linguistic variables that

index certain social categories to convey new social relations and construct nuanced social meanings (Eckert 2003). This approach is premised on the culture of jests, foolery, and comic performances traditionally employed to veil strong criticism of powerful people without incurring social sanctions. On the one hand, traditional performers appear as jesters, and on the other they are astute social critics. Every Yorùbá individual has a praise name in addition to their given names. Other praise names are added in the course of life to reflect achievements and personality traits. A violent person may be hailed as *aja bi iji* ('destructive like the tornado'), *aseyi o wu bi Eledumare* ('selfwilled like God'); juniors creatively exploit this existing tradition of eulogy and epithet to pass commentary. Surreptitiously, the line between praise and insolence is blurred and a transition to aggressive stance occurs. Conversely, belligerent juniors also self-praise to stand their ground and assert the self, such as saying: *'emi akekaka ki ọlọrọ ọlọrọ. Ti ọlọrọ ba ọlọrọ, kini ọlọrọ yio se'*; I who rails loudly to the hearing of the concerned. For if the concerned hears what would they do? Within humor, *ohùn* users reappropriates established orature practices to construct new expressions to mark defiance and express critical persona.

As already suggested, *ohùn* is a stylect – i.e., attitude and language that shops from the notoriety associated with motor park touts and their thuggery. Juniors in resistant mode exploit the imagery associated with this milieu to signal 'negative face'. Selective use of traditional Yorùbá linguistic devices and orature allows the junior to bring the 'street' to restive situations, for instance:

O 'ngba lori mi gaan
'There is madness in my head'

Ma wo ti suit ti wọ, igboro ni mi.
'Forget the suit, I am street'

Maa change ẹ fun yin
'I will soon transform [to street] for you'

Ohùn merges street persona, attitude, and speech patterns to a forceful weapon of resistance. If one cannot call the shots then faking a specific status or identity – i.e., packaging, becomes an option. This is like the way a product is packaged to seduce and entice buyers. It is a make belief. For instance, hyping one's financial background by dressing to impress, even if on borrowed wardrobe, is part of 'packaging'. Using expensive gadgets, name dropping, being generous to obtain hangers-on that then sing one's praise and being savvy in using social media to present a glamorous life, now termed, slaying, sometimes grant the junior access and benefits that effectively define them as smart (achieved status), and those conned as *òtè*, 'fools'.

Little would the forces of globalization, if it could, have predicted that its many artefacts would provide such powerful means to escape, and acquire Yorùbá seniority, providing resources for signaling assorted negative faces across different spheres of seniority. While not thugs, the ruggedness of the street supplies the variables that afford individuals the resources for rejecting impositions and for forcefully signaling resistance to subserviency or oppression. *Ohùn* is at the core of the ever-lucrative Yorùbá popular hip-pop and rap music. It provides the artistes the much-needed spondulicks that have catapulted many juniors to senior.

Social attitude and ideology

The ideological process, á la Althusser (1971), that works in various institutions, views the individual as a subject; one who is active and at the same time subjected. The Yorùbá seniority system operates Althusser's (1971) ideology which 'interpellates' juniors into subjected or 'subject' positions. Individuals he suggests, accepts, and operates this preexisting and unquestioned ideology as reality and subsequently, it is rarely violated. This ideology is especially influential in the private domain; pervading the family, community, and through collective education, enjoins itself as civility and core ideal of Yorùbá sociation (*asuwada* and *omoluabi* á la Akiwowo 1986). This Yorùbá 'cultural system' (Geertz 1975), which places great premium on ascendancy of power, is at the crux of their social organization, and it pervades all intercourses. Its mechanism of control can include violence, but more effectively, it is in the form of discipline that is not overtly corporal. This structure, in the fashion of a social fact, appear natural, and common-sensical, thus making its fundamental assumptions unquestionable until the unquantifiable power, respect, and admiration that fortune bequeaths emboldens the junior to resist the inherent await-your-turn moral.

While Epicurus may have included fame and wealth in those desires that are neither natural nor necessary, the Yorùbá seniors consider them an accoutrement of seniority. Seniority comes in many ways e.g., economic, political, social, religious, but ultimately boils down to 'money'. *Owó gba àgbà* ('money usurps seniority'). For without it, the different ways to elitism or seniority lack strong coercive force, and this fact is not lost on all juniors. The ju-

niors aspire to get a lot of it, for only then will others 'submit' (*wón á gba*, i.e., 'they will submit') and with it comes the ability to maximally co-opt others to own bidding. While they, the juniors, may seem well prepared for the frustrations of their position due to their socialization, the accompanying panoply of pernicious emotions ceaselessly aggravated by unending subservience inevitably generate rebelliousness that seeks not just escape but a reversal of estates. *Ohùn* is therefore an extreme expression of belligerence that surpasses every other when under the yoke of seniority. Better, however, is escaping oppression via personal achievement which then elevates one above the existing seniors.

Power, per Max Weber (1947), is the fundamental concept underlying relations of inequality. For a society that is hierarchically rigid, with strict social distance between speaker and addressee, and relative power of one over the other, and degree of imposition associated with the interaction (see Brown and Levinson 1987: 15, 74–80), talking back, and talking back with sass, insolence, and attitude is a major social infraction. *Ohùn* thus constitutes an egregious and irreparable break in social order.

Conclusion

Effectively formed in the past and still active in the cultural process, not only and often not at all as an element of the past, but as an effective element of the present (Williams 1977: 122), seniority is a 'residual' culture. This socio-economic differentiation embodied in seniority, like patriarchy, provides a concept of theorizing oppression (Beechy 1979: 66) and dominance within the Yorùbá nation. Inequity comes in

various guises, naming them as understood by their experiencers is the onset of finding a solution to them within the sphere of their multifarious influences. Of course, any discourse of subordination, inequity, discrimination, and marginalization of any kind must reflect the interrelated axes of other social categories, since they are mutually reinforcing phenomena that in turn shape complex social, economic, and political inequalities. Nevertheless, the discussion was narrowly focused on seniority and how juniors exploit a form of expression and attitude to subvert seniority while actively seeking the means to become senior.

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10

Language secrecy and concealment
in Chamacoco (Zamucoan)

10

Language secrecy and concealment in Chamacoco (Zamucoan)[1]

Luca Ciucci

1 Introduction

This study addresses language secrecy and concealment in Chamacoco, with particular reference to the so-called Ebitoso dialect, spoken by the vast majority of Chamacoco people. Secrecy and concealment involving Chamacoco manifest themselves into four aspects: (i) the secrecy of the Chamacoco Indigenous religion, which resulted in linguistic taboos, mostly concerning myths and ritual songs; (ii) the concealment of the Chamacoco language, a strategy adopted when speakers want to hide their Indigenous identity; (iii) the use of Chamacoco as a secret language, in other contexts; (iv) the emergence of a secret register in Chamacoco, as a reaction to the Hispanization of the language, which makes some expressions potentially understandable to Spanish speakers.

After introducing Chamacoco and its family (§1.1), Section 2 deals with language secrecy in the traditional Chamacoco culture.[2]

[2] By "traditional", I refer here to the Chamacoco culture before 1956, when the Chamacoco abandoned their initiation ceremony and their Indigenous religion (Blazer 2010: 53), cf. Section 2.

The speakers of the Ebitoso dialect have been in contact with Western people for a long time, abandoning many aspects of their traditional culture, including the secrecy related to their religion. Nowadays, language is the main component of the Ebitoso speakers' identity. Unfortunately, discrimination towards Indigenous people often obliges Chamacoco speakers outside their communities to conceal their language (§3). The situation is different when the speakers are in their traditional territory (in the Alto Paraguay Department, Paraguay), where they do not need to hide their ethnic identity. Here Chamacoco is used as a secret language not understood by the rest of Paraguayan society (§4). In more than one century of contact, the Ebitoso dialect has borrowed many elements from Spanish (Ciucci 2021a). This has made some information potentially accessible to outsiders so that, to maintain language secrecy, the Ebitoso dialect has developed a secret register, whose strategies are dealt with in Section 5. Section 6 offers some conclusions.

1.1 The Chamacoco language

Chamacoco is spoken by about 2,000 people in the department of Alto Paraguay in Paraguay. It belongs to the Zamucoan family along with †Old Zamuco and Ayoreo. Old Zamuco was spoken in the 18th century in the Jesuit mission of *San Ignacio de Zamucos*, one of the Jesuit missions of Chiquitos (Chomé 1958; Ciucci 2018). Ayoreo

has about 4,500 speakers in northern Paraguay and southeastern Bolivia. It stems from one or more sister languages of Old Zamuco. Ayoreo people had their first stable contacts with Western culture in 1947. Contact has played a crucial role in the evolution of the Chamacoco language and culture. The Chamacoco religion, for instance, is fairly different from that of other Chaco groups, including the Ayoreo (Cordeu 1989-1992), possibly due to the influence of Jê populations (Cordeu 1997). Other peoples, such as the Chiquitano (Sušnik 1969), the Guaraní (Ciucci & Bertinetto 2015) and the Kadiwéu (Guaycuryan) (Ciucci 2014, 2020) also influenced the Chamacoco language and culture.

The Chamacoco call themselves *Ɨshɨro* 'the people, the Indigenous' (on this ethnonym, see Richard 2011; Ciucci 2021b) and their language *Ɨshɨr(o) ahwoso*, literally 'the words of the Chamacoco'. The Chamacoco are now divided into two groups, each speaking a separate dialect: Ebitoso (*Ɨbɨtoso* in Chamacoco) and Tomaraho.[3] In this paper, I use the term Chamacoco to refer only to the Ebitoso people, with whom I have done my fieldwork. Although the two groups used to be culturally very similar, the Ebitoso have abandoned many of their traditions, which are still preserved among the Tomaraho, who have lived for a longer period in isolation from Western society (on the Tomaraho, see Sequera 2006 and Escobar 2007). In this study, I use the orthographic transcription generally adopted for the Ebitoso dialect of Chamacoco.[4] It was established by Ulrich &

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[3] For reasons of simplicity, I have used here the orthography *Ebitoso*, as done by Sušnik in her seminal studies (1957, 1969). However the Ebitoso are properly called *Ɨbɨtoso* in their own language. The same word is transcribed *Ybytoso* according to the orthography used in Sequera (2006).

[4] The Chamacoco orthography reflects the phonology of the language. Chamacoco has six short vowels /a e i o u ɨ/ <a e i o u ɨ> and as many long vowels /a: e: i: o: u: ɨ:/ <aa ee ii oo uu ɨɨ>. Vowel nasalization (a suprasegmental feature) is indicated by < ˜ >. The consonants /p t k b d ts s h m n w l/ are represented by identical letters. The following phonology-orthography correspondences apply for the other consonants: /tɕ/ = <ch> (<c> word-finally), /ʐ/ = <rz>, /ɕ/ = <sh>, /x/ = <j>, /m̥/ = <hm>, /n̥/ = <hn>, /r/ (usually [ɾ]) = <r>, /r̥ / [ɾ̥] = <rh>, /j/ = <y>, /j̊/ = <hy>, /w̥/ = <hw>, /l̥/ = <hl>. The sequence /rtɕ/, realized as [ɾ̥ː] in intervocalic context, is rendered with <rrz>. Ulrich & Ulrich (1989) transcribed word-initial /ts/ as <s>, I prefer to always use <ts>, in order to avoid ambiguity with word-initial /s/.

Ulrich (1989) along with the Chamacoco leaders at that time. A different orthography is used for the Tomaraho dialect (Sequera 2006). For an analysis of Chamacoco orthography, see Ciucci (2016: 42-44, 57-65).

2 Secrecy in traditional Chamacoco culture

Despite some attempts at cultural resurgence in recent years (see Escobar 2007), the Ebitoso have abandoned their traditional culture. This process was described by Sušnik (1969). In Chamacoco society, there was an initiation period during which young men were introduced to adult life. The initiand was also exposed to religious secrets and told myths that had to remain unknown to children and women. The culminating event was the feast of the *Ahnapsĩro*, mythical beings who were impersonated by the men of the community. Women could only watch some moments of the ceremony, and they were supposed to believe that the *Ahnapsĩro* were real. Women were killed if they were too curious, and the same punishment applied to men who revealed their hidden knowledge to them (Alarcón y Cañedo & Pittini 1924: 40). Chamacoco mythology explains this. Indeed, according to the myth, the *Ahnapsĩro* were killed by the men of the tribe. For this reason, the goddess *Eshnuwĩrta*, the mother of the *Ahnapsĩro*, ordered the men to impersonate the *Ahnaps*ĩro in their rituals. When women discovered that their men pretended to be the *Ahnaps*ĩro, the goddess ordered them to kill all women and children. Then, new women were created, unaware of what had happened before (Sušnik 1957: 7-32; Cordeu 1997). According to Sušnik (1969: 14-17), the Tomaraho were despised by the Ebitoso,

because they did not observe the ceremonial secrecy.

This situation determined some linguistic taboos: for instance, men could not pronounce the name of their goddess, *Eshnuwĩrta*, in front of a woman because her name was taboo for women, so the goddess was simply referred to as *tɨmcharrza* 'woman' (Sušnik 1957: 18). Myths existed in a reduced version for the whole community and a complete version for initiated men: one can see an example in Sušnik (1957: 29-32). Sušnik (1957: 6) reports that women were reluctant to tell myths about *Ahnaps*ĩro, even in the version they were allowed to know, because they thought that telling myths was something only men could do.

The celebration of the initiation ritual, also called *Ahnaps*ĩro ritual (Sušnik 1957), was abandoned in 1956 (Blaser 2010: 72-74). After that year, myths could be told in their complete form (Cordeu 2006). However, owing to the profound cultural change that has taken place in the meantime, a study on secrecy in traditional Chamacoco (Ebitoso) society has to be based mainly on the available bibliographical sources (such as Cordeu 1989-1992) rather than on fieldwork. My informants remember stories of women and even children being killed because they wanted to or gave the impression that they tried to access prohibited knowledge. According to them, people simply disappeared: they were killed and their bodies were never found. Only the military leader knew who had actually committed the murder, but the tribe was told that the missing people had been killed by *Pawchata*, the Tarantula, a mythical being. They used to say *Pawchata shuu*, lit. 'the Tarantula kills/killed'. An informant told me that her mother was curious, so her grandfather worried about her. According to them, not only was the name of

the goddess *Eshnuwĩrta* taboo for women, but also the word *Ahnapsĩro*, as well as the names of the single *Ahnapsĩro*, such as *Pohichuwo* and *Nehmurc*. It is difficult to evaluate the reliability of my informants as far as the traditional culture is concerned since they were born at a time when the Indigenous religion was being abandoned to embrace Christianity. The ethnographers mentioned above, who worked with older generations of Chamacoco, provide more detailed information on the initiation rites and mythology.

Ritual songs are also covered by secrecy. The older or late-middle-aged Chamacoco speakers may still have learned ritual songs when they were children (and possibly even later). However, the people who know such songs are reluctant to sing them because they refer to aspects of their abandoned Indigenous religion. They were also deterred from singing shamanic songs by Christian missionaries. Ritual songs were performed for some magic effect and often involved the continuous repetition of a formula revealed to a shaman in dreams, as in (1).

(1)   *Tok-õya*   *ow-ta*   *l-a-ta*
      1s-accompany   stream-FS.AF   3-mother-FS.AF

      l-ote=he   *ehe-t*
      3-play=PREP   3.inside-MS.AF

      'I accompany the mother of the stream, she plays inside (the stream).'

      (Barras 2014, track 1)

Although the songs were known to many people, they belonged to a shaman, whose family was allowed to sing them and transmit them to the younger generation, but no person outside the family could sing them without permission. Apart from their literal meaning, the songs had another hidden meaning which had to remain secret and was only known to the shaman, who revealed it to a chosen family member of the next generation. The formula in (1) comes from Barras (2014, track 1), a collection of traditional Chamacoco shamanic songs. This compilation allows for the rediscovery of material otherwise difficult or impossible to document.[5]

The cultural assimilation of the Chamacoco by Paraguayan society has reshaped language secrecy. In place of the secrecy linked to the Chamacoco Indigenous religion, the language itself is kept hidden depending on the context (§3-4). At the same time, the speakers have developed a secret register not to be understood by the other Paraguayans, who may identify some lexical items borrowed from Spanish (§5). This information emerged spontaneously during the various periods of fieldwork I undertook on Chamacoco since 2009, often in conversations after the proper fieldwork sessions dedicated to transcribing texts. During my fieldwork in 2017 and 2019, I asked the speakers to confirm or retell stories and anecdotes that I had heard in the previous years but which I had considered more part of the friendly social relationships established during fieldwork than the focus of my linguistic analysis. The following sections summarize the contents of

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[5] The recording of these songs was useful for research, but it would not be allowed in the traditional Chamacoco culture: some informants indeed complained that some of the songs belonged to their family and could not be sung by other people without asking for permission. In addition, they did not recognize the song in track 9 of Barras (2014) as a Chamacoco song. It is possibly a Guaná (Enlhet-Enenlhet) song.

many conversations I had over the years. To protect the speakers' anonymity, I will not give any personal detail about the informants.

3 Concealing the language and the Indigenous identity

The first aspect of secrecy in present-day Chamacoco society has to do with the discrimination suffered by Chamacoco speakers in Paraguayan society. The fact itself that they can speak Chamacoco must be kept secret, because the language exposes them to potential discrimination. In Paraguay, 95% of the population is of mixed Spanish and Native American descent (CIA 2022). The people who identified themselves as Indigenous totaled 117,150 people in 2012, representing about 1.82% of a Paraguayan population of 6,435,218 in the same year (DGEEC 2014: 48-49). The rights of the Indigenous people are recognized in the Paraguayan Constitution of 1992 (Articles 62-67). Despite this, there is a persistent attitude of racism and discrimination towards the Indigenous minority in Paraguayan society (UNGA 2015). At the same time, the vast majority of Paraguayans who do not recognize themselves as Indigenous descend from Indigenous people and speak Guaraní, an Indigenous language, along with Spanish.

Discrimination and marginalization are serious problems faced every day by all Indigenous people, and the Chamacoco are no exception. Unlike other Indigenous populations who have been isolated from Western people for a long time and still live in separated communities, the Chamacoco have been in contact with Paraguayan society at least since the last decade of the 19th century. The first contact with Chamacoco was made in 1885 with the foundation of Puerto Pacheco (now Bahía Negra in Paraguay), a settlement on the Paraguay river (Boggiani 1894: 27), and the first traveler who reported contact with them was Luigi Balzan in 1892 (López Beltrán 2008: 257).

The Chamacoco not only underwent the cultural influence by the outsiders, but many of them partly descend from non-Chamacoco. This is also because many Chamacoco families used to sell their young daughters to men living in the nearby area (Ciucci 2013: 173).[6] Since these forced marriages were contracted when women were not mature enough to make decisions about their own life, the couples often split after some years and the women returned to their community with the children born in the meantime. The women were then free to marry a Chamacoco man. Consequently, it is not rare to meet elderly Chamacoco with a non-Chamacoco biological father; past visitors also have left descendants in the community (cf., for instance, Fajkusová 2006). To this, one should add the past contacts of the Chamacoco with surrounding Indigenous populations, such as the Kadiwéu (see Boggiani 1894: 47-49; Oberg 1949).[7] While the cultural influence of neighboring populations was mentioned in §1.1, language contact has produced interesting cases of morphological borrowing, even involving typologically rare features (Ciucci 2014, 2020), thus making Chamacoco the most innovative language of its small family (see Ciucci & Bertinetto 2015, 2017).

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[6] The practice of selling children to foreigners was relatively common and continued for longer.

[7] The available literature mentions the fact that the Chamacoco were often taken as prisoners by the Kadiwéu and incorporated in their group. Chamacoco, owing to the loss suffered by the Kadiwéu, also used to take prisoners from militarily weaker groups (see Boggiani 1894: 22). This illustrates the type of contact that happened between different populations in the area.

The Chamacoco language is now de facto the main (if not the only) link with their Indigenous origin and cultural tradition. Being Indigenous, for them, means having their own language. Since language identifies them as Chamacoco Indigenous and makes them "different" from the rest of the Paraguayan population, it must be kept secret and inaccessible to all other Paraguayans. The Chamacoco generally shift to Spanish in the presence of other Paraguayans. This is possible, because, except for some very older people, all Chamacoco are bilingual in Spanish-Chamacoco. In (2), the speaker warns a companion that a non-Chamacoco is coming, implying that they have to shift from Chamacoco to Spanish.

(2) ¡Obi!   Yee   Baa-ch
     Watch.out!   now   Paraguayan-ms.af
     t-irẽt
     3-come

     'Watch out! The Paraguayan is coming.'

This also has more extreme consequences: in many cases, owing to racism against Indigenous, some Chamacoco feel ashamed of their origin and usually keep their Indigenous identity hidden from people they meet in their everyday life, including their non-Chamacoco friends. This often implies pretending not to know Chamacoco friends or relatives who could be recognized as Indigenous by non-Indigenous Paraguayan people. Here language plays an important role, because one of the main risks in meeting people from their community is being addressed in Chamacoco or that someone could hear them talking in Chamacoco, which could have a disruptive social impact. My informants told me several anecdotes about relatives or acquaintances who pretended not to know them in order not to be considered Indigenous.

Although there are mixed marriages with the non-Chamacoco, it may be challenging for a Chamacoco partner to tell the other that they are Indigenous and feel free to speak their language. In extreme cases, the Indigenous identity is never revealed, even after marriage. The Indigenous partner may cut off all contacts with their relatives and community so they can no longer be identified as Indigenous.

Concealing the Indigenous identity is a phenomenon known not only to the Chamacoco. Indeed, people from other Indigenous groups, who, for whatever reasons, have abandoned their community, often hide their Indigenous origin to be fully accepted by Paraguayan society.[8]

Many Chamacoco only tell trusted people that they are Indigenous. This often happens involuntarily, for instance, when they meet their Chamacoco relatives/acquaintances and are heard to speak a different language by Paraguayan people. Since discrimination is due to prejudice, it usually does not occur among people who have known each other for a long time, but the Chamacoco are often vulnerable, because "revealing" to other people

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[8] Since many Chamacoco cannot be associated with a "typical" phenotype, when Chamacoco is heard, funny misunderstandings can arise. Some Chamacoco can be mistaken for foreign groups, so to protect themselves, they claim to be descendants of Ukrainians or Koreans, two immigrant communities traditionally present in Paraguay. Sometimes, they are even considered Americans, which is a reason for pride considering the high status enjoyed in Paraguay by Americans and the English language. One informant told me that a bus driver believed them to pretend to be Indigenous. The bus driver thought that the informant was lying and that they were a Paraguayan who pretended to be a Chamacoco, because they had just learned the language.

that someone is Indigenous can lead to social marginalization. Revealing that an acquaintance is Indigenous is something people may do, for instance, out of revenge, as an act with the purpose of harming the person involved. Owing to local discrimination, people coming from other countries may be perceived as more trustworthy. Some informants told me that for a long time only foreigners who attended the same church (but not Paraguayans) knew that they were Indigenous and that this openness had to do with the fact that they were foreigners.

Since the Chamacoco language is the main component of identity, it must be kept secret to avoid discrimination. In addition, Spanish-Chamacoco bilingualism is different from Paraguayan society's typical Spanish-Guaraní bilingualism. Spanish is the predominant language and has long been the only official language of Paraguay. It was the only language used in education until the *Ley de Lenguas 4251* of 2010, which promotes the use of Guaraní in public contexts. The Guaraní language is an essential part of Paraguayan identity. According to the 2012 census, 80.3% of Paraguayan people speak Guaraní at home. Of these, 46.3% are bilingual Spanish-Guaraní, and 34% only speak Guaraní at home (DGEEC 2016). The role of Guaraní is even stronger in rural areas around Chamacoco communities, where 62.2% of the population only speaks Guaraní at home, and 25.7% practices Spanish-Guaraní bilingualism. Although not all Chamacoco speakers can speak Guaraní, fluency in Guaraní is necessary to be accepted in Paraguayan society, particularly among low social strata, where speaking Guaraní is a feature of identification as "Paraguayan". The fact that a Paraguayan of non-European descent can speak Spanish but

not Guaraní would reveal the very Indigenous identity that many Chamacoco want to keep secret. After having left their community, an informant used to say to other Paraguayan people that they came from Bolivia to justify their lack of fluency in Guaraní. Guaraní is gaining ground in Paraguayan institutions and in education, but it will presumably never replace Spanish as the primary language of education. A risk of encouraging the use of Guaraní among non-Guaraní Indigenous people is that a wider use of Guaraní might occur at the cost of other Indigenous languages, such as Ayoreo and Chamacoco.

4 Speaking Chamacoco in the presence of the non-Chamacoco: Chamacoco as a secret language

The general attitude of most Chamacoco in Paraguayan society is to conceal their language to avoid being identified as "Indigenous" and therefore discriminated against. This radically changes when they are among people who already know that they are Chamacoco. Then Chamacoco is no longer a language to be concealed but is overtly spoken. Chamacoco is often used in everyday situations to convey a secret message. For instance, it can be used in the public domain to make decisions that must remain secret: during elections several years ago, the members of a major Chamacoco community, who generally share the same political views as their non-Chamacoco neighbors, decided to vote for an opposing party. All meetings were held in Chamacoco to avoid conflict with their traditional political allies. The final decision to support a different party from their traditional one was communicated in Chamacoco so that only the people

of the community could understand. For the Indigenous football team of the Puerto Diana community, Chamacoco is the language used during matches not to be understood by the opponents, who only speak Spanish and Guaraní. *Mutatis mutandis*, something similar happens with the national representative of Paraguay, whose players, as is known, speak Guaraní during matches, giving them the advantage of communicating in a language not understood by the other South American teams.

When Chamacoco people speak with outsiders, they can take advantage of a moment of distraction to insert short Chamacoco words into the Spanish conversation, which foreigners hardly perceive, but this can be used to convey a message to another Chamacoco speaker: *shish* 'quick', *bu* 'go!', *wichɨ* 'that/this', *yuko* 'let's go!', *takaha* 'I go', *aak* 'eat!'. Chamacoco can also be used to offend the addressee without them noticing, using expressions such as *(owa) oterc* 'your ass' or *(owa) amach* 'your anus', which are also commonly used among Chamacoco when they argue.

The secret language needs to be protected. Many Chamacoco do not want other Paraguayans, and often also foreigners, to learn their language. This is the most conspicuous component of their identity, which they do not want to share with outsiders who are often perceived as disrespectful. Another serious concern is that outsiders could use their language to ridicule them, which also applies to people known for a long time. An exception are people who want to learn the language

for a reason beyond simple curiosity, such as missionaries. I was accepted as a fieldworker because I had been introduced by the missionaries who had translated the New Testament into Chamacoco (Ulrich & Ulrich 2000). The interest of a linguist, whose goals were relatively opaque to the speakers, was seen as an antidote to the everyday discrimination suffered, as was the fact that I was a PhD student sent by his university to investigate their language. The presence of a scholar representing an institution symbolizing a high level of education, unobtainable for most Paraguayans, indicated to them that their language was a valuable asset and that it would be treated with respect.[9]

When asked by outsiders to teach them some words, many Chamacoco speakers deceive them by teaching vulgar words or expressions which make a laughing stock of the "learner", such as: *pomach* 'my anus', *tomsaha pomach* 'I enter my anus' (it is a common offense in Chamacoco), *yok totihla* 'I am mad', *yok jãr* 'I am greedy, hungry', *yok mihnɨk* 'I am ugly, bad'. In these cases, they either refuse to tell the real meaning of the words they have taught or say that these, and other similar expressions, have a positive meaning so they can continue making fun of them. An example of this situation can be seen in the following text, which is an often-told anecdote.

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[9] This is a very common situation occurring when a linguist investigates a language spoken by a discriminated minority. Ciucci's (2016) book, published in Paraguay, aimed to contribute to the social and cultural emancipation of Zamucoan peoples: the presence of a book on Zamucoan languages in a country where they are spoken, written by a foreign scholar, indicates a scientific interest at an international level, which is in sharp contrast with common discriminatory attitudes towards Indigenous people.

(3)　a.　*Boshesh-o*　　　　*o-l-ote=he=chɨ*　　　　*o-kɨhniya*　　*ich*　　　*dihip-ɨt*

　　　　child-MP　　　　　P-3-play=PREP=there　　3P-be.many　CONJ　foreigner-MS.AF

　　　　kɨnehe-t　　　　*t-aãch=ihɨ.*　　　　*Eseepɨ*　　*hn*　　*umo*　　*boshesh-o*　*ɨm:*

　　　　different-MS.AF　3-arrive=there　　DM　　　CONJ　3.see　　child-MP　V

　　　　'Many children play, and a foreigner arrives. He asks the children:'

　　　b.　*"¿Lɨke*　*ii-tɨk-ɨ-po?"*　　　　*Ts-owa*　*boshesh-t*　　*nohme-t.*　　*Esee-kɨ*　　*wɨr*

　　　　this:MS　name-MS.IF-EP-INT　3-show　child-MS.AF　one-MS.AF　DM-RETR　3P

　　　　o-mo　　*ɨre*　　　　*otsɨi:*　　　*"P-oma-ch."*　　*Esee*　　　*ts-eẽt*　　*õr*　*ɨm:*

　　　　3P-see　3S　　　　3P.QUOT　1s-anus-MS.AF　DM　　　3-imitate　3P　3.QUOT

　　　　'"What is the name of this?". He shows it to one child. They say to him, "*Pomach*" (lit. 'my anus'). He repeats:'

　　　c.　*"P-oma-ch."*　　　*Esee-kɨ*　　*hn*　　*nos*　*o-y-ana.*　　*Esee*　　　*hn*　　*uu*

　　　　1s-anus-MS.AF　　DM-RETR　CONJ　all　P-3-laugh　DM　　　CONJ　DET.MS

　　　　dihip　　　　*kɨnehe-t*　　　　*um*　　*õr:*　　*"¿Ɨnaapo*　　*anɨ-lo?"*

　　　　foreigner　different-MS.AF　3.see　3P　　why　　　2.laugh-P

　　　　'"*Pomach*". And they all laugh. The foreigner asks: "Why do you laugh?"'

　　　d.　*Esee*　　*hn*　　　　　*boshesh-o*　*o-m*　　　*ɨre*　　*otsɨi:*　　　*"Hap*　　　*e-yuhu*

　　　　DM　　CONJ　　　　child-MP　3P-see　3S　　　3P.QUOT　INTERJ　　2s-say

　　　　ese　　*ahwosh-t,*　　　*ese*　　*p-oma-ch."*　　*Esee-kɨ*　　*ich*　　*o-y-an=po.*

　　　　that.MS　2s/3.word-MS.AF　that.MS　1s-anus-MS.AF　DM-RETR　CONJ　P-3-laugh=again

　　　　'The children say to him: "You said that word, that *pomach*." They laugh again.'

e. | Esee=kɨ | hn | dihip | kinehe-t | um | õr | ɨm: |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DM=RETR | CONJ | foreigner | different-MS.AF | 3.see | 3P | 3.QUOT |

"Tak-aha	ya.	Shɨ	o-l-oter	yoo."
1s-go	now	only	P-3-make.fun.of	1S

'Finally, the foreigner says: "I go now. They only make fun of me"'.

The outsider often understands the situation, gets angry and stops asking questions, which is the desired outcome. Behind this, one can see a defensive mechanism used by the speakers to protect themselves and their language. This way of acting is consistent with the self-image of many Chamacoco. They often depict themselves as funny people with a rich inventory of jokes and amusing stories in their language.

My informants have always spontaneously talked about discrimination and how they "protect" their language from outsiders. At the same time, I noted that the same speakers who told me stories to transcribe avoided recording Chamacoco texts about this kind of anecdotes or episodes (including the funny ones), although they had been mentioning them for a long time. There may be several reasons for this: (i) the humiliations associated with constantly experiencing discrimination; (ii) these personal experiences are usually not part of the narrative schemes and (iii) are not considered worthy of being recorded in a document that could be published. At the same time, the need to address the topic of discrimination has produced comical stories that make fun of Paraguayan people who do not understand the Indigenous cultures and show unfair *a priori* discrimination. My informants did not show any reticence in telling me this kind of invented stories.

5 The Chamacoco secret register

Owing to contact with Spanish, Chamacoco now has many loanwords (Ciucci 2021a) that Paraguayan people can potentially understand. Consequently, the language has thus developed a "secret register" consisting of several strategies to overcome this problem. Owing to Chamacoco-Spanish bilingualism, it is often difficult for the scholar to distinguish between code-switching, foreign words that are not integrated into the system and proper loanwords. There are several degrees of integration of foreign words into the Chamacoco nominal paradigm. This section will show that the secret register is a force driving Spanish words toward morphological integration.

Spanish loanwords can alternate with older Chamacoco words, but the former are gaining ground and are replacing the Indigenous lexicon. However, in the secret register, a Chamacoco word is preferred. This contributes to the preservation of the original lexicon. Below are some referents for which a Spanish word alternates with an older form (4). The latter is generally a Chamacoco word, but there are exceptions. For instance, *okɨyuta / okɨyutɨt* is possibly an older adaptation of the same Spanish word *galleta*, which in Paraguay refers to a type of bread. *Nihyokot* is now the only Indigenous word for 'water', but, even though it is considered

a Chamacoco word by the speakers, it is an old borrowing from neighboring Kadiwéu, a Guaycuruan language (see Ciucci 2014: 37).

Some Paraguayans who live close to the main Chamacoco communities know some Chamacoco words, which affects the secrecy

(4) *abwela / abwelta*   (Spanish: *abuela*)   →   *dekuta / lekuta* 'grandmother'

   awɨt   (Spanish: *agua*)   →   *nihyokot* 'water'

   keyetɨt   (Spanish: *galleta*)   →   *okɨyuta / okɨyutɨt* 'simple and long-lasting type of bread'

   mananta   (Spanish: *banana*)   →   *poshɨkinta* 'banana'

   hmont / hmontɨt   (Spanish: *monte*)   →   *ormɨt* 'forest'

   tia / tiya   (Spanish: *tía*)   →   *nahnta / lateemcha* 'aunt'

of communication. For instance, *Baach* (MS. AF) 'Paraguayan' is frequently used, and the non-Chamacoco neighbors can understand it.[10] For this reason, in their secret register, the Chamacoco prefer to use the word *Kechɨnt* (MS. AF) 'Paraguayan', considered more archaic. Another old word used for 'Paraguayan', and also not understood by outsiders, is *Oshamshŭrc* (MS.AF), which is considered less archaic than *Kechɨnt*. *Baach*, *Kechɨnt* and *Oshamshŭrc* refer to the rest of Paraguayans as opposed to the Indigenous people, particularly the Chamacoco. To sum up, the Chamacoco secret register is often based on the puristic use of archaic words, which are not accessible to outsiders who may recognize Spanish loanwords or high-frequency Chamacoco words.

When borrowing from Spanish is necessary to fill a gap in the language, the word can undergo some changes to avoid intelligibility by Spanish speakers. Of course, one does not have to assume that this is the only reason,

but, according to Chamacoco speakers, the intention to speak a secret code definitely plays a role. For instance, Chamacoco has introduced a deontic marker, *tyenɨj*, from Spanish *tiene que* 's/he has to' (Ciucci 2016: 321-322). *Tyenɨj* is the most widely attested form, but the variants *tyenɨjɨ*, *tyeneje* and *tyenejɨ* are also found, owing to common phonetic phenomena in Chamacoco. However, sometimes I have found the unexpected forms *tenejɨ* and *teneje*. They are more distant from Spanish because they have lost the characteristic diphthong of *tiene que*. When I inquired about these forms, I was repeatedly told that *tyenɨj* or its related forms are changed into *tenejɨ* or *teneje* so that Paraguayan people do not understand them: this is thus a manipulation strategy employed in the secret register.

Another strategy involves morphological manipulation, so it is necessary to briefly address some features of nouns and adjectives. All Zamucoan languages are fusional. Nouns

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[10] *Baach* (MS.AF) '(non-Indigenous) Paraguayan' has the irregular plural *Maro* (MP.AF) (cf. Table 2).

and adjectives (here referred to as "nominals") have suffixation expressing gender (masculine or feminine) and number (singular or plural). In addition, there is a difference between a form used to express nominal predication, called predicative form, which is shorter than the others, and an argument form, used in argumental context. Finally, an indeterminate form marks an argument with an unspecified referent. The nominal system of Zamucoan is represented in Table 1. While in Chamacoco the indeterminate form is still productive, the distinction between predicative and argument form is lost in the plural (see Table 1); it is also disappearing in the singular, where the argument form tends to replace the predicative form to mark predication (Ciucci 2016).

	Old Zamuco		Ayoreo		Chamacoco	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Masculine **Predicative Form**	-Ø	-(y)o, -ño	-Ø	-(y)o, -ño	-Ø, k, -(y)ak	-(y/w)o, -(y)e, -tso, -cho, -lo, -no
Masculine **Argument Form**	-(i)tie [-re, -(d)de, -nne, -ye]	-oddoe, -onnoe [-ao, -iao, -rao]	-i,	-ode, -one	-(i)t, -(i)ch	
Masculine **Indeterminate Form**	-nic, -ric, -tic	-nigo, -rigo, -tigo	-nic, -ric, -tic	-ningo, -rigo, -ringo, -tigo	-ĩrk, -tɨk,	-tɨyo, -ĩr
Feminine **Predicative Form**	-Ø, (-e)	-(y)i, -ñi	-Ø, (-e)	-i	-Ø, -aˀ, -eˀ, -oˀ, -ɨˀ	-(y/w)e
Feminine **Argument Form**	-(i)tae [-ac]	-(i)yie, -(i)ñie [-ai]	-Ø, -(i)a, (-e)	-(i)die, -(i)nie	-(i)ta, -(i)cha	
Feminine **Indeterminate Form**	-nac, -rac, -tac	-rigui	-nac, -rac, -tac	-ningui, -rigui, -ringui, -tigui	-rã(k), -tã(k)	-ĩr

Table 1: The threefold nominal systems of Zamucoan[11]

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[11] Less frequent affixes are in square brackets. For more information on Zamucoan nominal suffixation, see Ciucci (2016) and Bertinetto et al. (2019). In previous works, such as Ciucci (2016, 2018) and Ciucci & Bertinetto (2019) the predicative and argument form were called "base form" and "full form", respectively.

The masculine singular predicative form is rare in loanwords (Ciucci 2016: 552). Such low productivity is further evidence that the distinction between predicative and argument form is disappearing. By contrast, singular argument form suffixes -*(i)t* and -*(i)ta*, for masculine and feminine, respectively, are well documented on Spanish loanwords. However, Spanish loanwords have a different degree of adaptation to Chamacoco morphology.

Leaving aside the indeterminate form, if the loanword is considered masculine, it can receive the masculine singular argument form suffix -*(i)t*, which is in contrast to the plural marked by -*o*, as in (5). This is not the only possibility because in the same paradigm there is also a morphologically non-adapted form, which can be used for both singular and plural (Ciucci 2016: 522, 538).

(5)	*latril-t* (MS.AF)	'brick'	*latril-o* (MP), *latril-a* (MS/MP)	(Spanish: *ladrillo*)
	nemes-t (MS.AF)	'table'	*nemes-o* (MP), *nemes-a* (MS/MP)	(Spanish: *mesa*)
	sil-t (MS.AF)	'chair'	*sil-o* (MP), *sil-a* (MS/MP)	(Spanish: *silla*)

In loanwords assigned to the feminine gender, the distinction between singular predicative and argument form is always maintained (6). This is because the feminine paradigm is more regular than the masculine. In the feminine, the predicative form coincides with the root,

while the argument form has the suffix -*(i)ta*. Here, one can also see morphologically non-adapted forms that are only used in the singular (6a, d); unlike masculine loanwords, their use with plural referents is not documented (Ciucci 2016: 560-561).

(6)	a.	*ishtor-ita* (FS.AF)	'history'	*ishtor / ishtor-e* (FP), *ishtorʔ* (FS.PF)	(non-adapted form: *ishtorya*; Spanish: *historia*)
	b.	*ley-ta* (FS.AF)	'law'	*ley / ley-e* (FP), *leyʔ* (FS.PF)	(Spanish: *ley*)
	c.	*myen-ta / myentɨ-ta* (FS.AF)	'wind'	*myent-e* (FP), *myent-eʔ / myent-oʔ* (FS.PF)	(Spanish: *viento*)
	d.	*mintan-ta* (FS.AF)	'window'	*mintan-e* (FP), *mintan-aʔ / mintan-eʔ* (FS.PF)	(*mintanaʔ* is also used as non-adapted form; Spanish: *ventana*)

The use of the singular argument form suffixes, particularly the feminine argument form, might be a conscious attempt by the speakers to differentiate their language from Spanish in order not to be understood. This is a relatively frequent interpretation given by the

speakers. In examples (7-8) are Spanish words in the feminine singular argument form marked by -*(i)ta*. As for (7), the speaker overtly told me that the form *empresta* 'company', from Spanish *empresa*, is preferred to *empresa* (also documented in the same context) so that

Paraguayan people cannot understand the word. For the same reason, they prefer to use *universidata* 'university' in (8) rather than the original Spanish form *universidad*.

(7) | *A-bey* | *naa* | *yok* | *empres-ta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2s-look.after | this.FS | 1s | company-FS.AF |

'Look after my company!'

(8) | *O-ch-upa* | *yoo=chɨ* | *esa* | *universida-ta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| P-3-employ | 1s=there | that.FS | university-FS.AF |

'They employ me there at that university.'

The deliberate use of the argument form to hide Spanish words seems more frequent in the feminine: the suffix *-(i)ta* is clearly perceptible but uninterpretable by Spanish speakers. By contrast, final *-t*, proper of the masculine argument form, is often an unreleased consonant, difficult to perceive for people with no language knowledge. Language secrecy also seems to be associated here with the Saussurian *esprit de clocher* ('parochialism'),[12] which preserves the linguistic tradition of a given community, in contrast to the *force d'intercourse* (Saussure 1971 [1916]), represented by the need to speak Spanish.

A particular kind of Spanish loanwords are toponyms, some of which are listed in Table 2. Some toponyms used in Chamacoco have the same pronunciation as in Paraguayan Spanish, the only difference being that the transcription in the second column is closer to Chamacoco orthography (*Asun-syón*, *Konsepsyón*).[13] Spanish compound toponyms are simplified in Chamacoco but still intelligible: Bahía Negra > *Baya*; Fuerte Olimpo > *Olimpo*; Puerto Diana > *Nyana*. The initial /n/ of *Nyana* is due to nasal harmony. Since Spanish speakers easily understand the forms reported in the second column, the toponym can undergo some alteration (third column) or be referred to by a Chamacoco expression alluding to it (fourth column).

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[12] "C'est par l'esprit de clocher qu'une communauté linguistique restreinte reste fidèle aux traditions qui se sont développées dans son sein." (Saussure 1971 IV, 1) ['It is through parochialism that a restricted linguistic community remains faithful to the traditions that have developed within it'; my translation].

[13] In order to show that the accent does not change its position, I have indicated the accent of some toponyms in the table, although no accent is indicated in Chamacoco orthography.

Spanish toponym	Standard toponym in Chamacoco	Chamacoco secret register: (i) altered forms of the word	Chamacoco secret register: (ii) expressions designating the toponym
Asunción	*Asunsyón*	*Asɨksión, Lasɨksión*	*dɨt bahlut* 'the big town, the city', *Maro dɨt bahlut* 'the big town, the city of the Paraguayans', *Kechɨno õr dɨt bahlut* 'the big town, the city of the Paraguayans'
Bahía Negra	*Baya*	-	*Kechɨno õr dɨt* 'the town of the Paraguayans', *Kechɨno õr ihyuch* 'the home of the Paraguayans', *Maro õr ihyuch* 'the home of the Paraguayans'
Concepción	*Konsepsyón*	*Kosuksión, Kosɨksión, Kosɨpsión*	*dɨt shakɨr/shakɨrc* 'the small town', *Kechɨno õr dɨt shakɨrc* 'the small town of the Paraguayans'
Fuerte Olimpo	*Olimpo*	-	*kojãch uut* 'under the hill'
Puerto Diana	*Nyana*	-	*Ɨshɨro õr ihyuch* 'the home of the Chamacoco', *eyok ihyuch* 'our home', *eyok dɨt bahlut* 'our big town'
Vallemí	*Vallemí*	*Vallemíta*	-

Table 2: Spanish toponyms in the Chamacoco secret register

Most alterations seen in the third column are merely phonological: Asunción > *Lasɨksión, Asɨksión*; Concepción > *Kosuksión, Kosɨksión, Kosɨpsión*; Puerto Diana > *Nyana*. In the case of Vallemí, the already mentioned feminine singular argument form suffix *-(i)ta* is added. According to my informants, it serves here to confuse Spanish speakers. Proper nouns are uninflectable. The fact that *-(i)ta* is used here, where there is no morphosyntactic need for it, provides evidence that in this context affixation is a manipulation strategy of the secret register (cf. Storch 2017: 309).

Finally, in order to make the referent completely opaque to foreigners, the Chamacoco use an expression that indirectly designates the place name. Such expressions are often vague, and their meaning is often clear only depending on the context. The list of expressions with their literal translation (in the fourth column) is not exhaustive: the speakers' creativity may produce many other variants. Here I have only reported those expressions heard in the field.

Asunción, the capital city of Paraguay, is the biggest city in the country, situated at the center of a metropolitan area with more than two million inhabitants. For this reason, it is referred to as *dɨt bahlut*, 'the city' par excellence, or the 'big town' (9). In Chamacoco, there is no proper term for 'city': the concept is rendered by the word *dɨt* (MS.AF) 'town, village' followed by the adjective *bahlut* (MS.AF) 'big'. Asunción is also referred to as 'the big town of the Paraguayans' (see Table 2).

(9)   *Y-uko*   *y-itɨ̃r*   *Kechɨn-o*   *õr*   *dɨ-t*   *bahlu-t*

       1PI-go   1PI-go.to   Paraguayan-MP   3P   town-MS.AF   big-MS.AF

       'We go to Asunción.' (Lit. 'We go to the big town of the Paraguayans.')

Analogous to Asunción, the biggest Chamacoco community is Puerto Diana, which can be referred to as *eyok dɨt bahlut* 'our big town, our city', also because, unlike other places hosting a Chamacoco community, the only inhabitants are Chamacoco. It is also called *eyok ihyuch* 'our home' or *Ɨshɨro õr ihyuch* 'the Chamacoco home'. Here the word *ihyuch* (3.MS.AF) 'home, house' metaphorically refers to the whole town. Close to Puerto Diana is the Paraguayan town of Bahía Negra. This place is referred to as *Kechɨno õr dɨt* 'the town of the Paraguayans', or *Kechɨno* õr *ihyuch* 'the home of the Paraguayans' (10) as opposed to Puerto Diana.

(10)   *Tsẽhe*   *tak-ɨhla*   *owa*   *t-uu*   *pɨk-aap*   *par*   *e-tɨ̃r*   *wahacha*

       VOL   1S-hire   2S   1S-do   piece-DIM.MS.PF   SUB   2S-go   there

       Mar-o   *õr*   *ihyu-ch*

       Paraguayan-MP   3P   3.home-MS.AF

       'I want to hire you for a short time (lit. I make a little bit) so that you go to Bahia Negra.' (Lit. 'To the home of the Paraguayan people.')

Fuerte Olimpo, a town that also includes a Chamacoco community, is usually called *Olimpo* in Chamacoco. The place is charac- terized by three hills, so that Fuerte Olimpo is referred to by the expression *kojãch uut* 'under the hill' (11).

(11)   *¿E-tɨ̃r*   *ɨraãpo*   *owa?*   *Tak-aha*   *t-itɨ̃r*   *wahacha*   *kojã-ch*   *uu-t*

       2S-go.to   where.INT   2S   1S-go   there   there   hill-MS.AF   3.under-MS.AF

       'Where do you go?' 'I go to Fuerte Olimpo (lit. 'under the hill').'

Finally, Concepción, an important river port for the Chaco, is often a place of transit for the Chamacoco to and from the capital city. If compared with the latter, Concepción is referred to as *dɨt shakɨr* 'the small town' since it is much smaller than Asunción.

6 Conclusions

In this paper, I have analyzed several aspects of language secrecy and concealment in Chamacoco. I have shown that contact with Western society played a role in reshaping secrecy (cf. §2 vs. §4), in language concealment (§3) and in the formation of a secret register (§5).

Indigenous Chamacoco culture involved religious secrecy (§2). The whole knowledge was only accessible to initiated men, and myths cir- culated in two different versions, the real one for initiated men and an adapted version for women and children. The association between men and origin myths is typical of many Indig- enous societies (Aikhenvald 2016: 166) and is often connected with some linguistic taboos for

175

women. It is unclear how strong the linguistic taboo among Chamacoco was, but linguistic taboos for things women are not supposed to know are well documented in Indigenous societies worldwide (Aikhenvald 2016: 169-174). Another aspect of secrecy involved the meaning of shamanic songs, which were abandoned after evangelization.

The Chamacoco have lost many aspects of their Indigenous culture to assimilate into Paraguayan society so the language remains the most important component of their present-day identity. However, being Indigenous in Paraguay means being exposed to discrimination and marginalization. For this reason, most Chamacoco try to conceal the fact that they have their own Indigenous language (§3). Chamacoco is thus a hidden language in Paraguayan society, but it turns out to be used as a secret language when the speakers are surrounded by people who already know their Indigenous identity (§4). Chamacoco has accepted many lexical borrowings from Spanish; consequently, some information could be understood by the other Paraguayans. In order to keep the language secret, the Chamacoco have developed a secret register (§5), which involves phonological and morphological manipulation, the use of periphrases and an archaic lexicon. This has contributed to preserving both the original lexicon and the nominal suffixation. Chamacoco nominals show a rare threefold system, which is collapsing. Here morphological manipulation has helped maintain the feminine singular suffix *-(i)ta*, which has partly lost its functional justification. Since language manipulation is also a tool to define and maintain identity (Storch 2011), it can also be considered a response to the cultural and linguistic changes that occurred after contact with Western society.

Abbreviations: 1, 2, 3 = first person, second person, third person; AF = argument form; CONJ = conjunction; DET = determiner; DIM = diminutive; DM = discourse marker; EP = epenthesis; FP = feminine plural; FS = feminine singular; IF = indeterminate form; INT = interrogative; INTERJ = interjection; MP = masculine plural; MS = masculine singular; P = plural; PF = predicative form; PI = plural inclusive; PREP = preposition; RETR = retrospective; QUOT = quotative; S = singular; SUB = subordinator; VOL = volitional.

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11

Away with the fairies: how old is human oral culture?

11

Away with the fairies: how old is human oral culture?

Roger Blench

The rapid pushing back of dates for early modern humans in the last decade has been quite startling. From around 90,000 BP, the frontier has moved to 300,000 BP. Humans probably left Africa by 120,000 BP, though whether this exodus was permanent is still debated. However, the evidence comes from fragmentary skeletal material. We have no evidence for the complexity of human culture in this period (or indeed for the next 250,000 years). A few years ago there was much talk among archaeologists of the beginnings of 'modernity', a slightly skewed concept in retro-

spect, a concept which tells us more about the present than the past.

While we are confined to material remains it is unlikely that much progress can be made on the social and cultural life of these early humans. But there are other types of indicator if we choose to pay attention to them, although they are not susceptible to the approaches that fill the pages of *Nature* and *Science*. But our imaginative life would be rather impoverished if this was the only measure of ideas about the human psyche. This essay is intended to suggest that oral cultures show deep connections

so specific that it is hard imagine they are co-incidence or convergence. If so, then they can provide us with important insights into the outlook of these early modern humans.

Folklore is a much-despised genre in modern academia. It is considered antiquarian, sentimental and only suitable for mining by Disney films, thus hardly a serious academic discipline. Folklore narratives tend to be local, low-circulation publications often unaccompanied by analysis and often aimed at younger readers. However, considered more carefully in comparison with synchronic ethnographic data, they points to connections hard to explain without appealing to deep time hypotheses.

An example from Northeast India illustrates this point. The Idu, a people resident in the northeast of Arunachal Pradesh on the borders of Tibet, maintain a complex eschatology, a narrative of the journey of the soul after death.[1] The fate of the soul among the Idu is not significantly affected by the life of the individual, although those murdered and who die in accidents on the mountain must spend time in another part of the underworld. The journey involves passing along a series of locations which may broadly retrace the original migrations of the Idu. Then after traversing a lightless tunnel, the soul emerges on the bank of a river. The land of the dead is on the far side, and a ferryman must be sought and paid with a coin with which the dead person is supplied. On the far side of the river, the land of the dead is similar to the world of the living, with some minor differences in food and clothing, and entirely lacking in joyful celebrations.
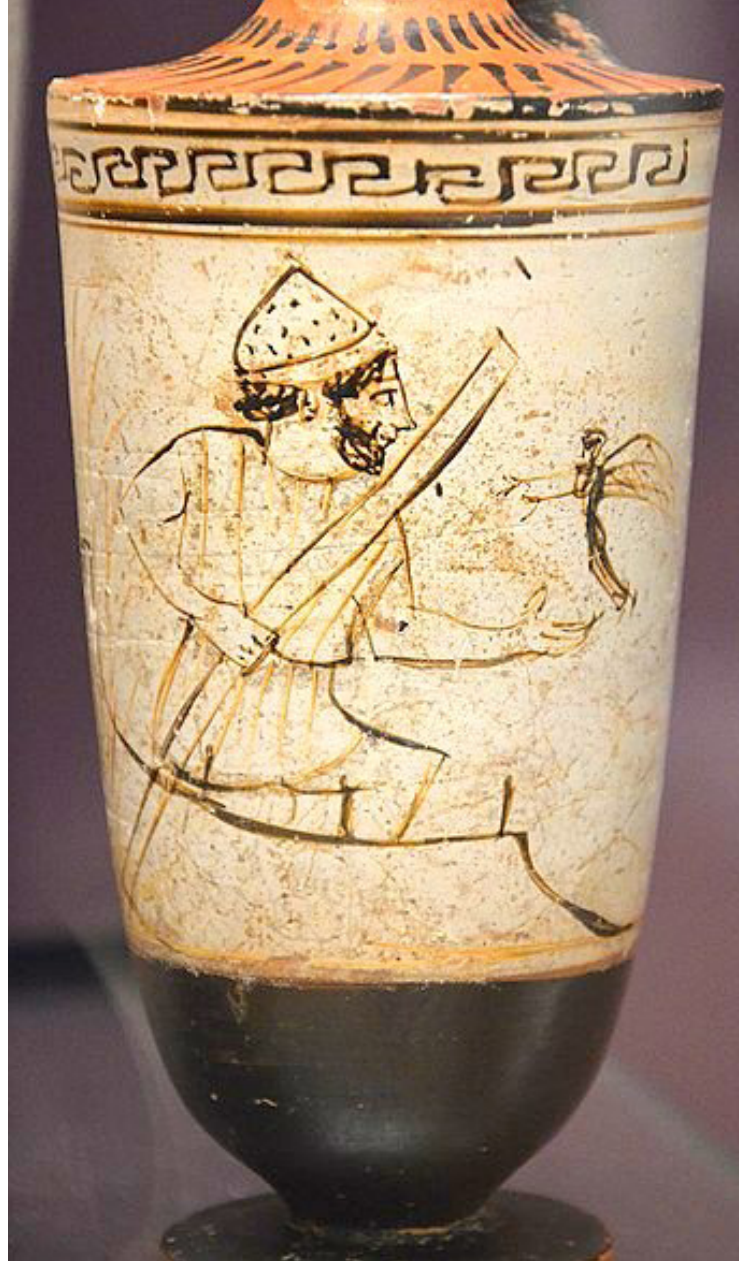

Photo 1. Charon welcomes a soul

Any classicist will recognise this narrative. Among the Ancient Greeks, the dead who have been neither particularly good or bad, arrive on the banks of the River Styx. The ferryman, Charon, accepts payment of an *obol*, a coin placed in the mouth of a corpse. Photo 1 shows

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[1] All ethnographic data in this essay are cited from fieldwork by the author, and sources presented in more detail in full-length publications.

Photo 2. The red cabbage palm in Central Australia

millennia? Evidence from Australia suggests that indeed they do. A remarkable study by Sharpe & Tunbridge (1998) documents the survival of oral traditions which describe extinct animals, characterise lands that went under the seas more than ten thousand years ago and volcanic eruptions of similar antiquity. Even more remarkably, in Central Australia a cluster of red cabbage palms (Photo 2), *Maris livistona*, was previously thought to be a relic of Gondwanaland. It is now known to be an anthropic translocation from as long ago as 30,000 years which had already been identified within oral tradition (Kondo *et al*. 2012; Blench 2018).

If so, then a way of thinking about this is that there are indeed specific oral traditions which are part of a deep fund of human culture, which go underground and only surface at dispersed points. It is particularly easy to imagine this in Eurasia, where the noise of empires and the tramp of armies has a tendency to erase the uninterrupted transmission of culture.

The presumption of this essay is that these similarities are not convergence, that human beings do not have a 'natural' tendency to come up with the same ideas. This can be quite easily tested by comparing these ideas with the stories and ethnographic narratives of other continents, notably the New World, Melanesia and Australia. The correspondences discussed here have no parallels outside the Eurasia/Africa area, which seems to point to a common origin.

Africa is linked to Europe through a quite different tradition. In Central Nigeria, one of the persistent traditions which survives into the present are the narratives of encounters with bush spirits. Among the Berom and

a vase, now in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, depicting this scene. Once across the river, the souls enter the asphodel fields, which much resemble our world except that life is colourless and without joy.

These eschatologies are obviously remarkably similar. The explanation is not obvious since there is no traceable historical connection between these two regions, and no chain of related ideas in the intervening area. Unless we invoke coincidence or convergence it is difficult to imagine they do not represent isolated survivals of extremely ancient ideas which have elsewhere disappeared. Is this possible? Do ideas and descriptions survive largely unchanged over many

Mwaghavul peoples of the Jos Plateau, people remain very fearful of these spirits, often associated with streams and ponds. They are malicious, and often wish to harm those who encounter them. For example, among the Berom, they are known as *cèng*, and look like mis-shapen humans, with the legs of animals or other transplanted body parts. The *cèng* make friends with children and persuade them to exchange limbs, so that the children become cripples. Encounters with the *cèng* can be positive, in the sense that people who meet them are given strategies to make them wealthy or help them acquire a wife. A man can appear suddenly rich, become a successful hunter or a highly productive farmer, without explanation. However, when they die, their riches or property will mysteriously vanish. Among their neighbours, the Mwaghavul, river spirits, *nyem dung*, pose similar threats. However, their capacity to offer supernatural skills to hunters or blacksmiths and to give teenage girls exceptional beauty encourages people to visit them, with the same dismal long-term consequences.

In this case, European folklore offers multiple parallels. Irish traditions are some of the best documented in this respect. The *Aos sí* (latterly fairies) are spirits which inhabit sacred places, a fairy hill, a special tree (often a hawthorn) or a particular loch or wood. Those who enter these spaces will cause the *aos sí* to retaliate. They are often spoken of indirectly, for example, as 'The Good Neighbours', 'The Fair Folk' etc. They have to be appeased with offerings, for example by gifts of milk or apples. Irish folklore is replete with *piseog*s, perhaps demeaningly known as superstitions, which describe how to treat fairies respectfully, for example not throwing water out at night without shouting a warning for the faeries to stand clear (Waters 2020). Before tasting their *poitín*, illegal distillers spill the first drop on the ground for the fairies. Another *piseog* involved the stealing of the farmer's last sheaf of the harvest, the *cailleach*, a plait of foliage attributed great power in rural areas.

According to how they are treated, the fairies can bring good luck or bad, misfortune or prosperity. But prosperity brought by fairies is always insubstantial and can disappear on a whim. A similar idea underlies *Das kalte Herz* (Heart of Stone) transcribed by Wilhelm Hauff (1827). The downtrodden glassblower Peter Marmot sells his heart to the forest spirit, Dutch Michael, in exchange for prosperity. All goes well for a time and

Photo 3. Peter Marmot and the Little Glass Man

then the prosperity suddenly vanishes.[2] Peter has to go to the forest in search of the Little Glass Man, Schatzhauser, who explains how to deceive Dutch Michael and reclaim his heart (Photo 3).

More examples could be cited, for example the contest described in the English folksong *The Twa magicians* (Child Ballad 44), where the two antagonists transform themselves into different animals in a battle to outwit one another. In Arunachal Pradesh, similar battles between shape-changing shamans are discussed as a matter of recent history and their consequences pointed out on the landscape.

The argument is that these correspondences cannot somehow have evolved recently either by diffusion or convergence, that they must draw on a common origin and must therefore be as old as the point before which these cultures were part of a single cultural inheritance. This should then be very early indeed, perhaps when the first movements out of Africa began to populate Europe, or when there was a zone of interaction which stretched between the Himalayas and Europe. This in turn argues that we must attribute a much richer culture to early modern humans than is usually envisaged by archaeology. That the users of Aterian points or the makers of Aurignacian stone tools would already have been engaging in a rich oral culture, whose roots can be detected in the present.

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[2] The British Government introduced legislation in 2018 to target riches that cannot be accounted for, the Unexplained Wealth Order (UWO). But by 2021 these seem to have been no more effective than the quest for faerie gold.

12

From Tibet to Nigeria via Hollywood: travels of Chaucer's 'Pardoner's Tale'

12

From Tibet to Nigeria via Hollywood: travels of Chaucer's 'Pardoner's Tale'

Roger Blench

The paper reports a new Nigerian version of the 'Tale of the three robbers' similar to that narrated by the Pardoner in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales. It describes the diffusion of the story, originating as a birth narrative of the Buddha in the Himalayas, spreading westward to India, Persia and thence to Western Europe, where it was recorded as a folktale in Portugal in the last century. West African versions of the story are recorded among the Fulɓe pastoralists of the Fouta Jallon, and among the Nupe and now the Kamuku of Nigeria. More surprisingly, it has also been recorded among the Sakata of the southwest DRC. Its most plausible source is the Swahili inland trade, since there is a

Swahili version which resembles the Persian versions. Its most recent re-incarnation has been the film, *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre*, 1948, starring Humphrey Bogart. The constant re-invention and reframing of the core narrative suggests an attractive meme which has been transmitted across many centuries.

The Prologue

Geoffrey Chaucer, despite being inflicted on generations of disgruntled schoolboys, and cancelled by some university departments, survives. His ability to meld high and low culture and his humour and engagement with popular culture remains worth celebrating.

Photo 1. The Pilgrims gather, Caxton printing 1483

One of his tales, 'The Pardoner's Tale', the story of three men who go seeking Death, draws on early Asian traditions. Surprisingly, though, it also turns up in Sub-Saharan Africa in widely scattered locations as well as being transmuted by Hollywood into a morality tale. The report of a previously unknown version from the Kamuku people in northwest Nigeria provides a motivation for this essay, which traces its origins in the Himalayas to its appearance in the savannas of West Africa.

The striking aspect of this story is that its core narrative remains broadly similar, with the pleasing symmetry of the three 'riotours' who all die by a twist worthy of a modern techno-thriller. However, as it passes from Buddhism to Islam to Christianity and on to African religions, it gains a variety of framing devices, which are then discarded as it is re-invented. Exactly how it has travelled remains a mystery, since it surfaces in widely scattered locations. But perhaps this is a good illustration of the deep rivers of oral tradition, which transmit ideas and narratives across centuries, and which only surface sporadically in written sources.

2. Geoffrey Chaucer

The Pardoner's Tale is one of the most popular of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, which were written between 1387 and 1400. Pilgrims heading to Canterbury meet at an inn and compete to tell tales (Photo 1). The basic story told by the Pardoner is of three 'riotours' seeking to meet with Death and kill him. An old man points to a tree whereunder lies death. Under the tree they find great wealth and initially agree to share it. However, two of them plot to kill the third and so send him to town for food. He in turn decides to poison the other two. When he returns, they kill him and then eat the poisoned food and also die. According to the Pardoner, himself a greedy

Photo 2. Title page, *Cento Novelle Antiche* 2nd Edition, Source: CC
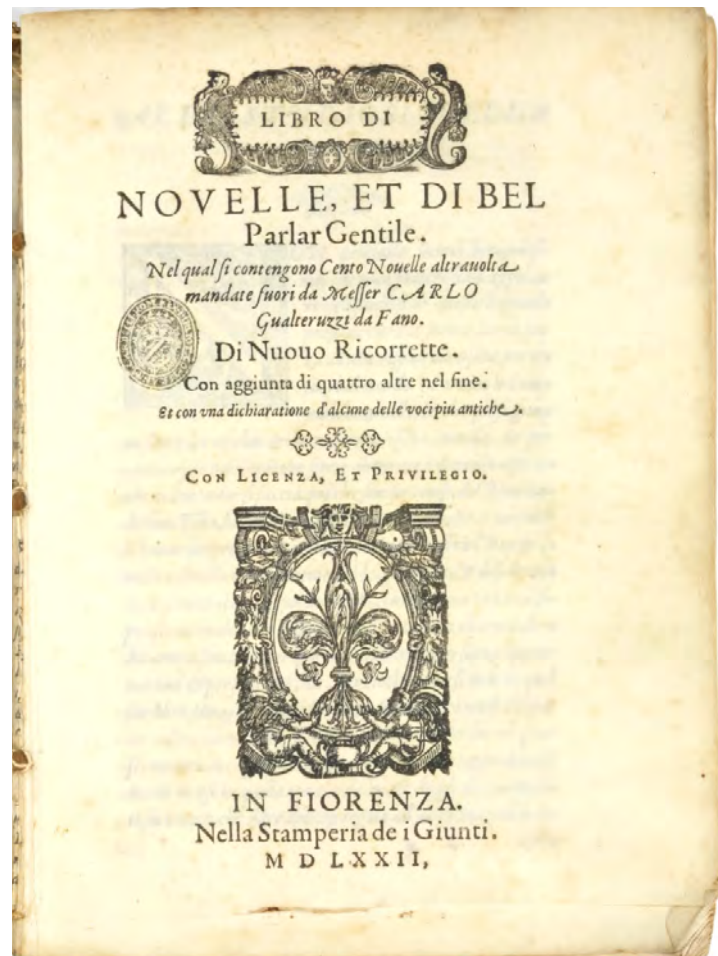
swindler, the moral of the tale is *Radix malorum est cupiditas* (Greed is the root of [all] evils).

Chaucer's source material has been much debated, but one of the earliest versions of this fable in the European tradition is in the *Cento Novelle Antiche* [The Hundred Ancient Novels] (also the *Novellino*), a collection of Italian stories and folktales which dates from the second half of the 13th century. It was only published for the first time in 1525 in Bologna by Carlo Gualteruzzi. Photo 2 shows the title page of the second edition, published in Florence in 1572. Clearly Chaucer had no access to the printed form, nor indeed to Boccaccio's Decameron, one of his other sources. Whether he had a manuscript to hand or merely drew on oral tradition is unclear.

Evidence that similar fables survive in European folk tradition comes from Portugal. Another version appears in the compilation of Portuguese stories by José Leite de Vasconcellos (1963) (Photo 3). Dias-Ferreira (1977) summarises this version and connects it with Chaucer's narrative. In this tale, Jesus plays a rather ambiguous role in luring men to their death. Walking along with St Peter, they come across a heap of gold along the path. Jesus says 'Let us leave, for here is death!'. As they go on their way, they meet two men and warn them about the gold. Needless to say, this merely attracts the men and they then poison one another according the narrative formula.

Photo 3. Title page of Leite de Vasconcellos (1963)

St Peter is confused and asks Jesus how gold could be death, so Jesus leads him to where the corpses lie and says 'Here lies death'. It is safe to say that even the Apocrypha missed out on this edifying tale.

3. African versions

3.1 Nigeria

This trail began with a story told among the Cinda people of northwest Nigeria and I am indebted to Katharine Mort for drawing my attention to it, and for sending me the original text. In this version, there are originally six brothers, but three die, inspiring the three remaining to seek death and kill him, while also looking for money. They meet a dirty old man, who asks them their mission and when they tell him, he points to a tree where death is sitting. Under the tree are three thousand pieces of money, which they decide to share equally. As they are hungry, they decide to send the junior brother into town for food. The other brothers decide to kill him and share the money. However, the junior brother buys poison and puts it in the food. When he returns, they kill him, but eating the poisoned food, they also die. The story has no moralising framework except for the statement 'See, they found death'.

A similar story was recorded among the Nupe, who live immediately south of the Kamuku by Leo Frobenius (1924: 133-134). The Nupe are today almost wholly Muslim, but they were only converted from the end of the 18th century, so it is quite possible this story was transmitted in a much earlier period.

3.2 Pastoralists from the Fouta Jallon

Another, rather similar story was recorded among the Fulɓe pastoralists in the Fouta Jallon, now in the Republic of Guinea (De Sandeval 1882). A slightly more extended version can be found in Giraudon (1924). The Fulɓe are herders who nomadise across an extended region of the Sahel from Senegambia to Lake Chad. They are today all Muslims, although the nomadic herders had a former reputation as unbelievers. In various areas, notably Nigeria and Guinea, they have settled, and form Muslim urban elites. In the Fulfulde version, there is no prologue and the robbers immediately find the treasure on the road and plan to kill one another. Murder and poisoning ensue. When the three corpses are lying on the road, an old man and son pass by. They moralise over the vanity of riches and urge the poor to keep this in mind. This is extremely similar to moralising of Jesus at the end of the Portuguese version (§2 and Dias-Ferreira 1977).

3.3 DRC/Swahili

The other surprising African record for this story is among the Sakata people of the DRC. It was first recorded by a Belgian missionary, Father Leopold Waterval, in 1975, and published in a rather obscure journal, *Mission-hurst*. The original text is in Waterval (1987) but a more accessible translation appears in Hamel & Merrill (1991). The narrator of the fable, *masapo*, was a man named Ipan from the village of Beronge and his version is resolutely modernised, including metal trunks, microbes [!] and rifles. It is framed as the answer to the question 'Why do people die?' and the lure is set intentionally by the chief, who fills a trunk

Photo 4. Lac Mai-Ndombe

Photo 5. Thangka scroll representing the *jatakas*

with desirable goods to entrap the unwary. As expected, the three men come across it and in conspiring to cheat one another, poison each other and all die.

The Sakata people have a complex history, since they are presently located in the southwest of the modern DRC, in Mai-Ndombe Province (Photo 4). However, they originate from the Bandundu area whence they were displaced. Their basic ethnography is covered in Bylin (1966) and their oral traditions in Colldén (1979) which includes another version of this story, missed by Hamel & Merrill (1991).

The origin of this story is perplexing, since the Basakata are far from possible Arabic influ-

Photo 6. Cover *No orchids for Miss Blandish*

ence which may account for the dispersion of the story elsewhere. However, as Hamel & Merrill (1991) point out, the structure is closer to the Swahili version highlighted by Werner (1911) and may somehow result from contact with the traders who once dominated the trade routes of the former Congo. This version is free from any Islamic moralising and has been adapted radically to Sakata culture, so the diffusion of the core narrative cannot be very recent.

4. High Tibet

The most likely ultimate origin of this story is one of the tales surrounding the birth of the Buddha, the Jatakas (जातक). These were first compiled from the 4th century BC onwards and have many analogues in folk narrative traditions across Eurasia. Photo 5 shows a 19th century scroll, likely painted in Thimphu, Bhutan, showing the Buddha surrounded by images of the Jatakas. The tale of the *Three Robbers and the Treasure Trove* is found in the 48th *Jataka*, the *Vedabbha Jataka*, first published by the Bishop of Colombo in 1884. A comprehensive edition in English was first published by Cowell (1895) and more recently Gaffney (2018, 2019) goes back to the original Tibetan sources.

Needless to say this version is nested within a fantastical tracery of elaboration relating to Buddhist theology which has little to do with the core of the story. In this version, the Bodhisattva is travelling with companions and they are set upon by robbers seeking ransom. The Bodhisattva is sent away to find the ransom, but in the meantime, the robbers are set upon by another more powerful gang and only two are left alive. The plot thus strongly resembles 'No orchids for Miss Blandish' where an heiress is kidnapped by criminals who are promptly

overwhelmed by a more powerful gang (Hadley Chase 1939) (Photo 6). From this point the Jataka story follows the conventional narrative with one bandit killing the other and being poisoned in turn. The moral of the story is rather unusual since the Bodhisattva scoops up the treasure left by the dead bandits and carries it away;

Tree fairies who heard the Bodhisattva speak shouted applause. He took the treasure home and spent the rest of his life giving alms and doing good deeds.

This is a curious denouement for a European moralist, since surely preventing this mayhem in the first place might have been more humane.

5. The Persian version

It is presumed the story then spread via Sanskrit into Persia, as it is also recorded in Kashmir. The Persian text first appears in the *Proverbiorum et sententiarum Persicarum centuria collecta* published in Leiden by Levin Warner (1644) apparently based on his doctoral thesis of 1642 (Photo 7). See Shurgaia (2012) for a modern summary. The core narrative is the same, but it is framed within a moral commentary by Jesus, as envisioned by the Koran. As he sees the dead bodies of the robbers, Jesus says;

> Haec est condito mundi! Videte quomodo ternos hosce tractaverit, et ipse tamen post eos in statu suo perseverit. Vae illi qui petit mandum ex mundo![1]

The story then appears in a different form in the *Kitab-i Masíbat Náma* or Book of Calamities, compiled by the Sufi philosopher Šaiḫ Farīd-ad-Dīn

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[1] This is the condition of the world! See how these three were treated, and yet he himself persisted in his own way. Woe to him who seeks power in the world!

in the 12th century, the manuscript of which is lodged in the Gotha library at the University of Erfurt. A metrical translation into German was published by Rückert (1860) and was given an English version by Clouston in 1882.

6. Humphrey Bogart makes an appearance

The Treasure of the Sierra Madre is a 1948 film written and directed by John Huston, adapted from Ben Traven's (1927) novel of the same name, set in the 1920s (Photo 8). Although there is no explicit Chaucer reference, the basic similarity of the narrative structure argues they cannot be unconnected. Two prospectors who have
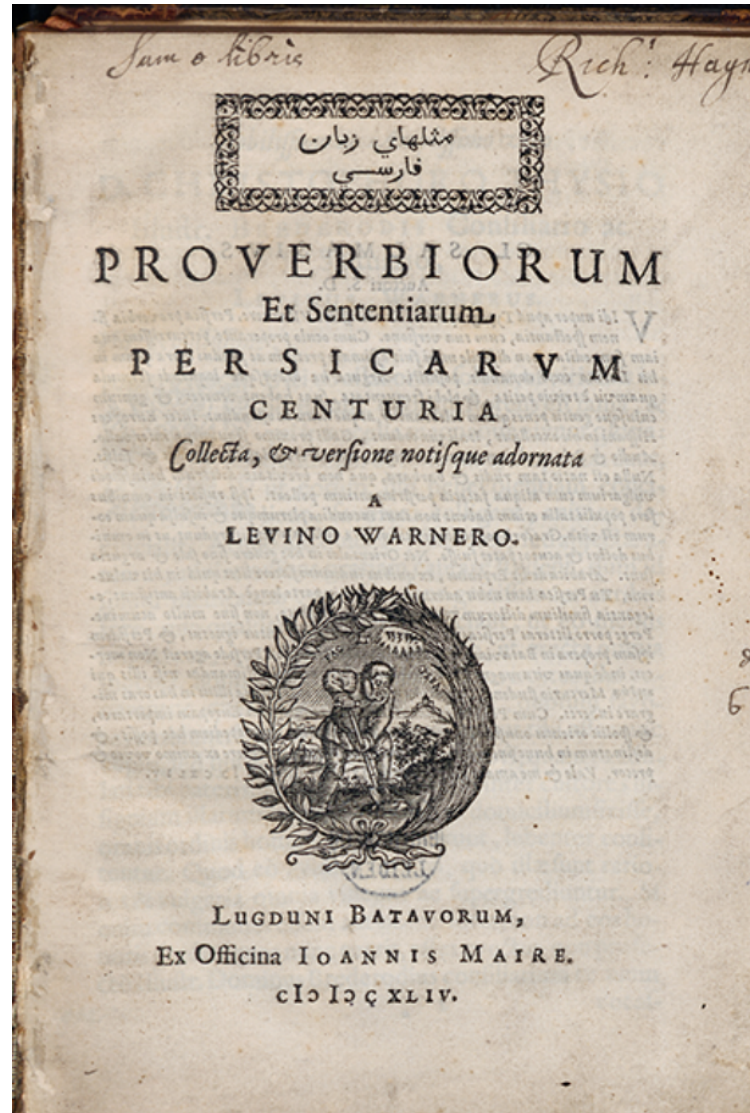
Photo 7. Title page of Warner (1644)

Photo 8. 1947 film poster for *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre*

7. How has it spread around the world?

The dispersal of this folktale is quite remarkable, even given the propensity of the genre to travel. Of course folktales do have underlying themes, which have been mapped by folklorists for more than a century. Still, the specificity of this narrative and the way its core has remained unchanged across such different cultures, argues that in modern terms it is a meme, a story that is so attractive it keeps spreading. Had social media been operative in the Himalayas in 300 BC, no doubt its global coverage would have been still more rapid.

The first part of its diffusion is relatively transparent, originating as a story around the birth of the Buddha in the Himalayas. From there it spread into mainstream Hindu culture, and was transmitted westwards via Kashmir into Persia. In turn it spread into Western Europe and was picked up in Portugal and thence to Geoffrey Chaucer's energetic pen. However, it also spread to East Africa via the Indian Ocean trade, first to the coastal culture of the Swahili and then along the inland trade routes, reaching the ears of the Sakata. The Sakata version remains perplexing, since it is so geographically remote from any possible Swahili source. It has been comprehensively adapted to its environment, and yet it is hard to see any other possibility, unless it was transmitted by an early missionary and its source forgotten.

By African standards, it is an extremely unusual story, with elements that are dissonant in comparison to more usual narratives. It is a moral tale, with a concluding element, which is distinct from the rather more standard episodic narrative. It does not include songs, common in typical folktales, and it does include elements of modernity, notably

been cheated of their pay encounter an old man who claims to have knowledge of the location of gold lodes. Luck enables them to finance a prospecting trip and the three set off into the Sierra Madre, where they do indeed find a vein missed by others. However, the gold they accumulate leads to internal divisions and treachery, when they are attacked by a more sophisticated band of robbers. Eventually Dobbs (Humphrey Bogart) is killed and the others badly injured. Moreover, the gold dust they have accumulated is mistaken for sand and allowed to blow away.

money, which was not widespread in this region of Africa until recently. Although Islam is the plausible vector of the story, it never surfaces in standard Arab folktale anthologies, and the Kamuku version includes no Islamic elements. Nonetheless, since it is also recorded among the Nupe, southern neighbours of the Kamuku, who were converted to Islam from the end of the eighteenth century, and it most plausibly spread from them. It is most likely a medieval Arab folktale which crossed the Sahara with the trading caravans. Hence it also reached the western Fulɓe, perhaps with Islamic moralising tacked on as an afterthought.

Map 1 shows a rather preliminary map outlining the possible routes of diffusion of the story of the three robbers, from its origins in the Himalayas across Eurasia and into West and Central Africa.

From Tibet to West Africa is quite a remarkable journey and reminds us that oral cultures value good narratives, and that they can spread over vast distances without the benefit of modern written culture. Even so, the present picture is full of lacunae, which suggests that it must be more widespread still and other versions remain to be recorded in different African societies.

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