

A SOCIO-PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF SOME LOZI LINGUISTIC AVOIDANCE
STRATEGIES IN RELATION TO LOZI TABOO LANGUAGE

BY

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DECLARATION

I, Manyando Kayangula, declare that this dissertation represents my own work; that it has not previously been submitted by any other person for a degree at the university of Zambia or any other university and it does not incorporate any published work or material from another dissertation without being acknowledged.

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ABSTRACT

The current study examined the socio-pragmatic aspect of linguistic avoidance strategies in relation to Silozi taboo language. A socio-pragmatic study deals with communication in its socio-cultural context. Linguistic avoidance strategies refer to goal-oriented communicative behaviour where individuals keep their conversation away from words termed as taboo words. Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies are a reflection of the socio-culture life of the Lozi.

The aim of this study was to present Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies in relation to Silozi taboo language and to define their societal significance. The objectives of the study were (a) to identify and describe the types of taboo words avoided by Lozi speakers (b) to identify and describe a range of Lozi avoidance strategies in relation to taboo language (c) to establish the significance of identified Lozi linguistic avoidance strategies which are used by speakers of Silozi language. Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness (1978), Grice's cooperative principle (1975) and Stella Ting's face negotiating theory (1988) were employed. The study was framed under the qualitative approach in regard to data collection and analysis. Using purposive sampling and snowball sampling, the researcher carried out semi-structured individual interviews and focus group semi-structured interviews. Twenty-five (25) key informants were purposively sampled to elicit information for this research. And forty-three (43) were in focus groups. The focus groups were as follows: Group A (8 members), Group B (9 members), Group C (6 members), Group D (6 members), Group E (8 members). The study also employed observations (participant observations, non-participant observations, unobtrusive measures) and introspection to collect data.

The study revealed that Silozi taboo language is a reality to Silozi speakers, and in order to mitigate the effect of taboo language, the Lozi always use Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies. Therefore, Silozi speakers employ euphemisms, circumlocution, understatements, tales, name avoidance, avoidance register attributed to the Litunga, in order to eliminate the impact of face-threatening speech acts (taboo language). The study concluded that Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies are an iceberg to Silozi culture. They are a compass to Silozi way of life. They portray a socio-pragmatic function and are not haphazardly employed. Each linguistic avoidance strategy constitutes a function. The Lozi people try to maintain and negotiate face in all communication situations, and throughout their communication, politeness takes a central role.

The implication of the findings is that Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies reflect communicative competence; that is, the ability to produce and understand utterances which are not so much grammatical but, more importantly, appropriate in the context in which they are made. Therefore the study recommends that the Ministry of Education and curriculum specialists review the Silozi syllabus to include much of the stated linguistic avoidance strategies, e.g metaphors, euphemisms, proverbs and language related to the Monarch. The study also recommends that future research on linguistic avoidance could be explored using other theories.

DEDICATION

To my young sister, Mwangala Kayangula, for her unwavering support in my academic journey.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 . GENERAL

This chapter presents a description of the study. It gives a brief synopsis of the Lozi language and its people and a brief background of linguistic avoidance strategies in relation to taboo language. This is followed by the statement of the problem, aim, objectives, research questions and the significance of the study. Chapter one concludes by giving the scope of the study, limitations and the structure of the dissertation.

1.1.1 THE SILOZI LANGUAGE

Lozi is a Bantu language of the Niger-Congo language family. It is spoken by the Lozi people primarily of the Western Province of Zambia and its surrounding areas. Lisimba (2000) alludes that the Lozi language is closely related to southern Sotho (Sesotho) and Tswana (Setswana) and that the language developed from a mixture of two languages, Luyana and Kololo. The Luyana people originally migrated south from the Luba-Lunda empire in the Katanga area of the Congo River basin, either in the late 17th century or early 18th century.

The language they spoke was closely related to Luba and Lunda. They settled on the floodplains of the Upper Zambezi River in what is now western Zambia and developed a kingdom, Barotseland. The Kololo were Sotho people who used to live in what is now Lesotho. They were forced to flee from Shaka Zulu's Mfecane during the 1830's. Using tactics they had copied from the Zulu armies, the Kololo conquered the Luyana on the Zambezi floodplains and imposed their rule and language on the latter. However, by 1864, the indigenous population revolted and overthrew the Kololo. By that time, the Luyana language had been largely forgotten. The new hybrid language called Lozi or Silozi was established. Silozi is closer to Sesotho than any other neighbouring languages in Zambia. Silozi is one of the regional languages of Zambia. In the Western Province, it is becoming the lingua franca of the region used for official communication, e.g. in courts of law and other public places.

1.1.2 THE LOZI PEOPLE

The Lozi people are found in the Western Province of Zambia, inhabiting the region of Barotseland. The Lozi are a cluster of interrelated Bantu-speaking ethnic groups located along the Zambezi River in the Barotse floodplain of Western Province. The term Lozi refers to the Lozi proper and to those groups that have become subject to and assimilated by the Lozi. Dasgupta K (1986:47) explains groups that were incorporated by the Lozi: who lived in the south, like Subiya, Teka, Totela, Few, Liuwa Simaa, Muenyi, Mbowe, Imilangu, Shanjo, Simaa, Mishulundu, Mbowe, Makoma Kwangwa." In addition to being members of the Lozi-dominated Barotse Kingdom, these people share the same language as the Lozi. The political organization of the Lozi has long centred on a monarchy, whose reigning head, the paramount King, is known as the Litunga. The Litunga is regarded as semi-divine. Criticisms of a Litunga by a foreigner are treated as criticisms against the Lozi nation as a whole. Among those who are at the centre of the kingdom are royalty (Linabi and Bana ba Malena), composed of all those who could trace their descent from a king bilaterally within four to five generations. Husbands of princesses and commoners related to royalty are also of high status. Below them are the commoners.

The Lozi are not an individualistic society but theirs is a collectivistic culture. This is reflected in Hultstede (1991) and Triandis' (1995) research, which indicates that individualism is a cultural pattern that is found in most northern and western regions of Europe and in North America. On the other hand, collectivism is a cultural pattern that is common in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Central and South America and the Pacific. In defining collective cultures, Ting-Toomey (1998) argues that in a collective culture, the face of the group is more important than any individual face in that group. A core dimension of cultural variability is that people identify with a larger group that is responsible for providing care in exchange for group loyalty, thus acting from a we-identity rather than I-identity found in individualistic cultures.

1.1.3 . BACKGROUND TO AVOIDANCE STRATEGIES IN RELATION TO TABOO LANGUAGE.

In every society, there are topics which are considered to be inappropriate if mentioned on public occasions. Such topics are regarded as taboo, and should not be mentioned in the public domain. Taboo words are those that are to be avoided because they are deemed unfit for normal linguistic usage and, by community consensus, are banned in everyday language in the public domain. Allan and Burridge (2006:40) define the phrase 'taboo language' as "language that is a breach of etiquette because it contains what are called 'dirty words'". Taboo terms are the most emotionally evocative of all language expressions. What is considered includes words related to sex, sex organs, various illnesses, including AIDS, and death.

Topics and their associated language that are termed as taboo are: (1) Bodies and their effluvia (sweat, snot, faeces, menstrual fluid), (2) Sexual organs and acts of sex, masturbation and defecation, (3) Diseases, death, killing, (4) Naming, addressing, touching and viewing sacred persons and sacred objects, (5) Personal names, and names of in-laws may be tabooed in certain cultures.

When speakers want to say something that may impose on hearers, they must attempt to avoid threatening the hearer's face while saving their own face. Brown and Levinson (1978) call speech acts that are threatening "face-threatening acts" (FTA). Therefore, being direct, using taboo

language which the society perceives as dirty is considered a face-threatening act. Brown and Levinson (1987:59–60) argue that every member of a society has ‘face’ which is defined as one’s public self-image. When the speaker decides to commit an act which potentially causes the hearer to lose face, the speaker tends to use a politeness strategy in order to minimize the risk. Therefore, linguistic avoidance strategies act as a politeness device to counter any impending face-threatening act. Linguistic avoidance strategies are goal-oriented communicative behaviour whereby individuals strategically try to keep a conversation away from certain words which are considered taboo. Instead, individuals use substitute strategies which are not offensive. According to Brown and Levinson (1978), individuals attempt to maintain a positive and negative face when communicating with others and, therefore, they are concerned with politeness. In certain situations, avoiding certain terms is necessary in communication among different interlocutors in order not to break communication. Linguistic avoidance guides speakers to say what should be said and avoid what must not be said. It leads speakers to be appropriate; say what they have to say at an appropriate time, in an appropriate place how to say it.

Interlocutors desire to be pleasant to each other. They have “face” which they consciously project, try to protect and preserve. Therefore, linguistic avoidance strategies act as a politeness device to any impending face-threatening act. Linguistic avoidance strategies cushion the impact which undesirable language (taboo) could have on the hearers. In short, linguistic avoidance is linked to the politeness theory (Leech, 1983). It is a response to a stimulus that may be threatening to the listener in a speech event.

Halliday (1978) asserts that language does not consist of sentences but interactional discourse. This is reflected in linguistic avoidance strategies,

which are bound up with culture in multiple and complex ways. People exchange meanings in socially and culturally defined situations, which reflect their feelings, attitudes, expectations and judgements.

Lozi culture puts restrictions on direct communication in matters of sex, sexual organs and diseases such as AIDS, because such direct communication is considered taboo. Silozi communicative competence entails not only knowing the language but also using it appropriately. Lyons (1970) says that the ability to use a language correctly in a given situation is as central a part of linguistic competence as the ability to produce grammatically well-formed sentences. Lozi linguistic avoidance strategies are a reflection of their culture. Linguistic avoidance strategies are closely related to Lozi people's way of life; they, therefore, subject their language to censoring in order to be more considerate to the listeners. Linguistic avoidance strategies add value to the people's culture.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Linguistic avoidance strategies are, as stated above, a reflection of the culture of a society. People exchange meaning in socially and culturally appropriate ways. Linguistic avoidance phenomena are universal. Cross-cultural studies have been done on avoidance strategies in relation to taboo language: Obeng (1996) examined the pragmatic significance of proverbs among the Akan of Ghana in the context of advice-giving; Lee (2011) carried out a study of metaphors as a conceptual linguistic strategy in three Austronesian languages - Kalavan, Paiwan and Seediq; Farghal (1995) studied circumlocution in Arabic as an avoidance strategy; Kagudu (2012) studied slang in reference to how the Shona-speaking people of Zimbabwe refer to death; Raum (1973), Reader (1966), Mitchell (2015), and Humphrey (1978) investigated linguistic taboos in relation to avoidance language specifically practised by women. However, in Zambia, few studies have been undertaken on avoidance

strategies in relation to taboo language. Mwanambuyu (2009) investigated euphemism as an avoidance strategy in reference to taboo language, Musangu (2014) investigated the ethnopragmatics of the Lunda palace language of Mwansabombwe in relation to linguistic avoidance and politeness. A knowledge gap with regard to linguistic avoidance strategies in relation to taboo language exists in that previous studies had always focused on a single linguistic avoidance strategy and took the analysis from that level. As a result, this study undertakes to apply Stella Ting's face negotiation theory, Grice's cooperative principle and Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness to Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies. The study is an attempt at investigating the linguistic avoidance strategies the lozi employ in the event of taboo language, and the significance of such identified Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies.

1.3.0 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

1.3.I AIM OF THE STUDY

To establish the Lozi linguistic avoidance strategies in relation to Silozi taboo language.

1.4 OBJECTIVES

The following are the study's objectives:

- (a) To identify and describe the types of taboo words avoided by Silozi speakers.
- (b) To identify and describe a range of Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies in relation to taboo language.
- (c) To establish the significance of the identified Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies.

1.5 .RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The study sought to answer the following main research questions:

Among the Silozi speaking people;

- (a) (i) What is taboo language in Lozi?
 - (ii) What are the categories of taboo language?

- (b) (i) What are linguistic avoidance strategies?
 - (ii) What are some of the linguistic avoidance strategies used by Silozi speakers when discussing taboo topics?

- (c) What is the significance of the identified Silozi Linguistic avoidance strategies which are used by speakers of Silozi language?

1.6. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The significance of this study lies in the fact that it will highlight linguistic avoidance strategies among the Silozi speakers. The study will benefit the linguists with information that may not have been aware of with regard to Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies. This study will help the community of Mongu to understand their traditions better and evidently to appreciate their traditions and customs.

The study will enable the Silozi speakers who will read this project before and after its publication to use Silozi avoidance strategies correctly. It may also be useful to the non-Silozi speakers, particularly those who wish to know Silozi culture, because language is intertwined with culture.

As the study uses politeness theory, it would be of benefit to a person who may wish to do studies of Silozi avoidance strategies using other theories. The study will be valuable as reference material for scholars interested in this field. To the best of the researcher's knowledge, no objective in-depth study has been undertaken on Silozi avoidance strategies as a whole. Even if similar research has been done on the same

language, avoidance strategies in relation to taboo language are fluid and culture-based, and because culture is dynamic, there is justification for such research even when there is earlier research on Silozi language avoidance strategies in relation to taboo language.

1.7 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.7.1 BROWN AND LEVINSON'S POLITENESS THEORY

Brown and Levinson (1978) studied the complex relationship between politeness and language. They conducted their research in three different languages and cultures: English, Tamil (a Dravidian language) and Tzeital. Their politeness model is founded on the notions of “face” offered by Goffman (1955) and “Conversational logic” proposed by Grice. According to Goffman (1955), face is the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself or herself.

Like Goffman (1955), Brown and Levinson (1987) argue that every member of a society has “face”, which is defined as one’s public self-image. When a speaker decides to commit an act which potentially causes a hearer to lose face, the speaker tends to use a politeness strategy in order to minimize the risk. Brown and Levinson’s theory comprises three basic notions: “face”, face-threatening acts and politeness strategies.

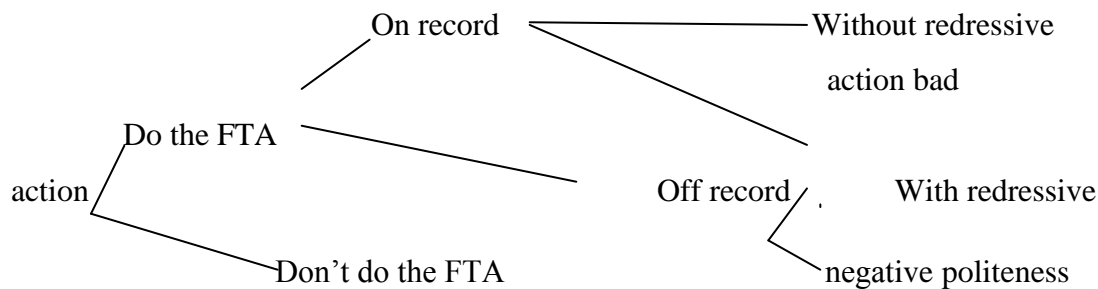
According to Brown and Levinson (1978), many speech acts are intrinsically threatening to “face”, in that they do not support the “face” wants of the speaker(s) and / or those of the hearers.

Brown and Levinson defined face-threatening acts (FTAs) according to two basic parameters: (1) whose “face” is being threatened (the speaker’s or the hearer’s). Acts that threaten a hearer’s positive “face” include those in which a speaker demonstrates that he/she does not approve of the hearer’s positive face or self-image (e.g. mention of taboo topics), and acts that threaten the hearer’s negative face include instances in which the addressee is pressured to accept or reflect a future act of the speaker. From the foregoing, it can be concluded that there is need to eliminate face-threatening acts, lest it

be misconstrued as verbal assault or imposition on the hearers. Avoidance strategies are linked to face-threatening acts by maintaining face.

Although Brown and Levinson's politeness theory allows for some cultural variability, they contend that the use of politeness strategies in the management of face is universal. Four strategies (bald on record, off-record hints, positive politeness, negative politeness) can be used by speakers whose utterance involves a face-threatening act.

2.1.1 .POLITENESS STRATEGIES



(a) **BALD ON RECORD**

These are utterances “issued in the most direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way” (Bous field ,2008:61). They may be considered socially appropriate. People may not like them but accept them, e.g. commands, warning, alert, farewell, greetings, emergency.

(b) **OFF THE RECORD STRATEGY**

An ‘off-record strategy’ is a choice of words that fails to state a speaker’s intention explicitly. In this case the hearer has the potential of inferring an intended meaning. Brown and Levinson emphasise that presupposition and invited implicature are important techniques, and rhetorical questions, irony, metaphor and ellipsis can cause the hearer to make inferences. Off-record strategies, thus, rely heavily on presupposed background knowledge and the principle of relevance. In off-record strategies the speaker may convey information without being held accountable, and such strategies can be risky.

(c) **POSITIVE POLITENESS STRATEGY**

This is the desire that one is appreciated and approved by others.

(d) NEGATIVE POLITENESS STRATEGIES

Negative politeness strategies are oriented towards the hearer's negative face and emphasize the avoidance or imposition on the hearer. These strategies presume that the speaker could be imposing on the listener and there is a higher potential for awkwardness or embarrassment. Negative politeness strategies involve actions such as threatening, ordering, demanding, accusing, cursing, requesting, questioning and hedging. They are intended to avoid giving offence by showing deference.

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), the form of mitigating strategy a speaker chooses is dependent upon the distance between the speaker and the hearer, the power of the speaker over the hearer and the perceived imposition implicit in the act. In short, face-threatening acts can be estimated as follows:

$WX = D(S,H) + P(H,S) + RX$, where $D = (S,H)$, is the distance between the speaker, P refers to power (the power the interlocutor has over him or her) and RX refers to the perceived imposition.

1.7.2 GRICE'S COOPERATIVE PRINCIPLE.

Grice's theory rests on the assumption that people are intrinsically cooperative and aim to be as informative as possible in communication. Participants in a conversation obey the "cooperative principle". Grice (1975:47) says "our talk exchanges do not normally consist of a succession of disconnected remarks, and would not be rational if they did. They are, characteristically, to some degree at least, cooperative efforts and each participant recognizes in them, to some extent, a common purpose or a set of purposes, or at least a mutually accepted direction."

One of the defining features of conversation is that it is cooperative in nature. According to Grice (1975), there are four maxims included in this practice.

- (1) Maxim of Quantity – making your contribution as informative as required, do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

- (2) Maxim of Quality – do not say what you believe to be false; do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence. Be truthful.
- (3) Maxim of relevance – Be relevant
- (4) Maxim of manner – avoid obscurity of expression; avoid ambiguity. Be brief and orderly.

According to Grice (1975), it is these principles that allow the hearers to arrive at implicatures, by inferring the communicative intent of the utterance that goes beyond the conventional meaning of what the speaker says. Implicature is a technical term in the pragmatics subfield of linguistics, coined by Grice, which refers to what is suggested in an utterance, even though neither expressed nor strictly implied (that is entailed) by the utterance. Implicatures, then, are pragmatic inferences which allow us to understand a stretch of language beyond its literal meaning by taking into account the cooperative principle.

Grice's conversational implicature looks at the relation between what people say and what they actually mean in conversations. An implicature bridges the gap between what is said and what is meant.

People often convey other hidden meanings, more than literal meaning in conversations and one of the purposes is to try and avoid explicitness in language. They do this to save their "face" and that of their hearers.

1.7.3 STELLA TING-TOOMEY'S FACE NEGOTIATION THEORY (1998)

Ting-Toomey (1998) drew on the work of Goffman (1955) and Brown and Levinson (1987) to develop the face negotiation theory. This theory emphasizes three face concerns: Self-face is the concern for one's own image; other-face is the concern for another's image; and mutual-face is the concern for both parties' images and/or the "image" of the relationship. In this theory, "face" is a metaphor for self-image which originates from two Chinese conceptualizations: *lien* and *mien-tzu*. *Lien* is the internal moral face that involves integrity, debasement and honour issues. *Mien-tzu*, on the other hand, is the external social face that involves social recognition, position, authority, influence and power.

Ting-Toomey's (1988) face negotiation theory and subsequent research (Cocroft and Ting-Toomey, 1994; Kurogi; 1996, 1997; Ting-Toomey, 1994, Ting Toomey or Cole, 1990) assume that people in all cultures try to maintain and negotiate face in all communication situations. The theory holds up the idea of maintaining ones' "face" according to one's culture. Language is the principal means whereby we conduct our social lives. When it is used in contexts of communication, it is bound up with culture in multiple and complex ways.

Ting-Toomey argues that negotiating face puts great emphasis on face and a collectivistic culture. People from collectivistic cultures usually avoid or integrate the conflict while more individualistic people dominate the conflict in order to maintain an independent face in the society. Another factor in negotiating face is status in the society, which generates power.

From the foregoing, it can be deduced that an important factor in influencing a person's linguistic behaviour is the culture he belongs to. From his childhood, a person lives in this perspective created by culture. The linguistic avoidance styles differ within the cultures, and through socializing, the individual tends to reflect the particular culture while negotiating a conflict.

Hofstede (1991) and Triandi (1995) indicate that individualism is a cultural pattern that is found in most northern and western regions of Europe and in North America. On the other hand, collectivism refers to a cultural pattern that is common in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Central and South America and the Pacific. From these studies, it can be deduced that the Lozi people of Western Province are a collective society, and Ting-Toomey's theory proves to be helpful in interpreting Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies.

The study employed the above elaborated theories. There is a relationship between language and society. Individuals do not make choices of language in vain. Linguistic avoidance strategies are based on the cultural values of a society. This is portrayed by the linguistic avoidance strategies below.

1.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN SENSITIVE RESEARCH

Investigating topics such as disease and sexuality may raise many ethical problems. Death, sex and other sensitive topics may evoke strong memories of lost or one's beloved ones. Ethical considerations had to do with protection of respondents. The researcher provided information about the nature of the research.

According to Mouton (2001) and Bassey (1995) , ethics in research include providing the participants with all information concerning the study. Ethics included seeking the consent of the participants. The researcher sought the informed consent of the participants before engaging them in the research, either through being part of focus group discussions or interviews. Informed consent is a mechanism for ensuring that people understand what it means to participate in a particular research so that they can decide in a conscious, deliberate way whether they want to participate or not. Letters were sent to the prospective interviewees inviting them to be part of the study. In the invitation letters, they were informed that the interviews would be recorded for the purpose of data analysis. Consent forms were attached to the invitation letters. Written forms described the research and participants signed the document to consent to participation. In other instances, oral consent was sought as some participants could not write. The participants received all the information needed for consent verbally. The researcher indicated that respondents had the right to opt out of the interviews or focus groups.

The researcher also took into consideration confidentiality and privacy of the participants. Therefore, the researcher assured the participants that data gathered would only be used for intended purposes, that is, production of the thesis. Data collected for research purposes would not be used for non-research purposes. The participants were also assured that information they gave would not be disclosed to third parties. The issue of clearance from the university ethical committee has been sought as it was, at the time of the study, compulsory for all postgraduate students doing research to pay a k250 compulsory fee for the ethics committee to look into all the graduate research .

1.9.LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Chuma et al (2007) suggest that shortcomings, impediments and hurdles faced by a researcher when conducting research may affect the validity of the study.

Limitations of this study included the fact that, since the number was too small to represent the population of Silozi speakers in Western Province, findings could not be generalized. The findings do, however, present a better overall understanding of Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies in relation to taboo language.

Another key limitation was the sensitive nature of the topic being researched. Lee (1993:3) states that “taboo topics are sensitive topics laden with emotion or which inspire feelings of awe or dread”. Most respondents seemed uncomfortable with the topic. However, this was overcome as the researcher used appropriate language in order to elicit responses from respondents.

1.10. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The study’s main focus is on the socio-pragmatic analysis of some Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies in relation to Silozi taboo language. The study identifies what taboo topics are and the avoidance strategies employed by Silozi speakers as they engage in taboo topics. The study employed Brown and Levinson’s (1987) face-negotiation theory and Grice’s cooperative principle to relate to Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies.

1.11 STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation has five chapters. Chapter One presents the introduction to the study. Chapter two gives a detailed literature review of the study in

order to relate this study to similar ones done elsewhere and hence provides a rationale for this study. Chapter three gives the detailed methodology employed in this study. Chapter four presents and discusses the findings, while chapter five presents a conclusion and recommendations of this study.

1.11 CONCLUSION

The chapter has provided the introduction to this study. It has given a background to the topic under study: Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies in relation to Silozi taboo language, a statement of the problem, the aim of the study, the significance of the study, definitions of key concepts, the scope of the study and the outline structure of the dissertation. The next chapter provides a detailed literature review of the topic under study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The present chapter provides a review of some of the available literature on avoidance strategies in relation to taboo language in order to relate this study to similar ones done elsewhere and to provide a rationale as to why this study should be carried out. Literature was purposely searched and selected on the basis of the relevance of the topic of study. The current study's concern was on the socio-pragmatic aspect of linguistic avoidance strategies in relation to Silozi taboo language. This chapter therefore gives a detailed picture of the literature review.

2.1 EUPHEMISM AS AN AVOIDANCE STRATEGY

Random House College Dictionary (1980:455) defines euphemism as “the substitution of a mild, indirect or vague expression for one thought to be offensive, harsh or blunt”. Euphemism is a mirror reflecting key themes in a society. Euphemisms reflect courtesy, kindness, politeness, “face” consideration for others. Allan and Burrridge (1991:14) offer this definition: “Euphemisms are alternatives to dispreferred expressions and are used in order to avoid possible loss of face; the dispreferred expression is distasteful or for some other reason has too many negative connotations to felicitously execute a speaker's communicative intention on a given occasion.”

Mwanambuyu (2011) carried out a study of Silozi euphemisms from a socio-pragmatic perspective. The purpose of her study was to establish the socio-pragmatic significance of Silozi euphemism. The following were the objectives of her study:-

- i. To identify Silozi euphemisms;
- ii. To categorise the identified Silozi euphemisms according to the social domains in which they are used;
- iii. To categorise the identified Silozi euphemisms according to the socio-pragmatic functions performed in the domains in which they are used; and

- iv. To establish whether or not the use of Silozi euphemisms is related to social factors such as age, gender, status and occupation.

Mwanambuyu's study examined Silozi euphemisms from a socio-pragmatic perspective within the framework of theories of socio-linguistics and pragmatics. Her study applied the speech act theory, politeness theory, face theory and conversational analysis theory. This was done in order to prove or test the theoretical position that in instances of language use in a given context, euphemisms perform functions as espoused under speech theory. Limulunga and Mongu were the principal study areas. Primary data was elicited from twenty informants who are native speakers of Silozi by interviewing them using structured interviews and most of this corpus was recorded. Observation of language use in domains such as court, church, girl seclusion, home, hospital, school, local electronic media (Oblate Radio Liseli and Lyambai) was done by check-listing, that is, ticking the Silozi euphemisms used and to establish the direction, degree and causality of such types of euphemisms.

Through careful analysis of euphemisms, the outcome of the study revealed that Silozi euphemisms occur in a wide array of relationships and age groups, although they occur more frequently among elders than among the young.

SILOZI EUPHEMISTIC TERMS

SILOZI EUPHEMISM	GLOSS	MEANING
Kuluta kusulula mezi Kutapa kwa mahutu Kushamo	To pour out water To wash the feet Wee wee	To urinate
Simbuzi Makundamo	Latrine Hiding place	Toilet

Maipato	Hiding place	
Mapunyhelo	A place of relief	
Mapunyhelo	A refuge	
Kuikonya, kulobalana	To step on one another To eat each other To have sex Commit a mistake	Sexual intercourse
Nemba	The body Manhood Poison A bull Synonym for penis Synonym for penis	Penis
Mubili		
Buuna		
Sifanu		
Lumbolundo		
Ndotwane		
Ndolobongo		
Nyo	Womanhood Vaginal opening A hole	Vagina
Busali		
Kalyoliyo		
Musima		

The communicative function of euphemisms is to show politeness in the event of taboo language. In short, the use of euphemisms as an avoidance strategy reflects the society's need to maintain the face of both the speakers and hearers. This research also benefitted from

Mwanambuyu's study in terms of the methodology used in this study. Interviews and observations were used as the main data-eliciting activities, as in her study.

Oyeka (2015) studied euphemisms as substitutes for verbal taboos in Igbo language dynamics. The study examined and described the various categories of such words. Data comprised one hundred and fifty of the taboo words/expressions which were elicited through oral interviews from two hundred Igbo native speakers representing various individuals without recourse to age, sex, educational background, occupation and location. The respondents were randomly selected and interviewed based on convenience random sampling. The theoretical framework adopted for the analysis was the politeness and face approach as proposed in Brown and Levinson (1978,1987).

The study indicated that euphemisms were employed to avoid mentioning certain issues directly. Practitioners of certain professions feel ashamed as regards their reputation in identifying with their means of livelihood. The society resorts to euphemism for occupational prestige as indicated in the table below.

TABOO WORD	SUBSTITUTE	GLOSS
ndi uwe' ojii (People in black)	Eke (Python)	The police
Duoduo (Stitch-stitch)	Obioma' 'one (with a good heart)	Mobile tailor
Igba' akwu'na'kwuna' (to loiter around)	Izo' ah'ia Usu/ikwunye kotin' (to engage in trade)	Prostitution
Dibia' afa' (diviner)	Onye' o'huuzu (Seer)	Diviner
Igba' a'piri'ku (to cut corners)	Iru' oru / iti' aka (to work; /to hit the hand)	To dupe
Ndi ohi' (those who steal)	Umu'nnwa'	Thieves
Iji egbe' ezu'	Izu' afia'	Armed robbery

(to use gun for stealing)	(to trade)	
O'jiegbe'ezu (a person who uses gun to steal)	Onye afia' (a customer)	An armed robber
Amo'o'su (witch/ wizard)	O'fena'bali (flyer at night)	A witch

The study also indicated that Igbo society resorts to euphemisms in order to sound polite. Taboo topics such as sex, sexual organs, menstruation and death are avoided in polite discourse. The findings are reflected in the table below.

TABOO WORDS	SUBSTITUTE	GLOSS
ohun'su (excremental cavity)	ike' (anus)	Buttocks
amu' /utu' (Scrotum /penis)	akwa'ra'/o'dogwu' nwoke'/iken'ga' (vein/hero/power-source)	Penis
a'kpa' amu' (scrotum sack)	O'go'do' (cloth)	Scrotum
Akuotu (coverlet)	Abuba/aji ike (feathers/hair)	pubic hair
inyu' n'si	Ikpu' ohia'/ iga' a zu ulo 'tu	to defecate
nso 'taboo'	Igbu okuko/ire mmanu (to kill fowl'/ to sell oil)	Menstruation
Idiime (to be pregnant)	Ikwe n'elu'/ idi' ahu'abu'o (to stand on top'/ to be of two bodies)	to be pregnant
Ima' nwoke' (to know a male')	Iwa' nga' da'/ ipu'n'ulo' (to be astride /to leave the house)	to be deflowered

Ira' di /ike/ otu' (to have sex with a man)	Iji' ife'/ipia oku / iti O'kwe' / ime'nsori (to hold a thing/ to flog fire/ to play a game	to have sexual intercourse
Ibi'ugwu' (to cut into half)	Icho'mma' (to beautify)	Circumcision
otu' (vagina)	a'hunwaa'nyi/ ihu'ukwu (womanhood)	Vagina
ogbe' ike' (bunch of anu)	ido'nye'e/ibu' azu (to be fatty/back load)	Buttock
ara (breast)	n'ke'ihu (frontal one)	Breast
Ozu (corpse)	Manga'la (a species of dried fish)	Corpse
oria' mmi'nwu (drier disease)	Echi'ete'ka/ o'bi'ri'naaja'ocha' (tomorrow is too far)	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS)
n'si (shit)	Mkposi (convenience)	Faeces
ulo' nsi ('house of shit)	ulo' mkposi (house of convenience)	Toilet
ime' o'kwa' / m'kpuke' (pregnancy outside marriage)	ime' oghum' (accidental pregnancy)	Unwanted pregnancy

Kaguda (2012) analysed the language that the Shona-speaking people in Zimbabwe use in naming death and dying, describing the dead and consoling the bereaved.

Interviews and participatory observations were employed as data collection techniques in order to establish whether the Shona people use their language ordinarily or they fine-tune it to suit specific situations particularly unpalatable social situations like death and dying. The study

established that the Shona people have the tendency of creating, packaging and re-packaging their language use in relation to the social dilemmas confronting them. Euphemistic words and expressions allow the Shona people to talk about unpleasant notions and neutralise the unpleasantness, for example, in talking about death and dying.

A related study carried out by Banana (1999) in Zimbabwe revealed that human communication is universal, guided by the desire to maintain and enhance one's own and others' public self-esteem. 'Face' is something that is emotionally invested and can be lost, maintained or enhanced and must be constantly attended to in interpersonal, social and public interaction.

The study is based on participatory observations carried out at 15 funeral gatherings attended between March 2011 and March 2012. Since death is a taboo subject which is usually avoided in public day-to-day conversations, interviews could not be carried out at the funeral because of the fear of opening the wounds of the bereaved. Additional information was obtained by interviewing 40 informants outside the funeral context. These participants, whose ages ranged between 20 and 60 years of age, comprised relatives and friends of the deceased, workers and students. Data gathered was analysed from the perspective of the politeness principle. The following were the findings of the study in relation to euphemisms to do with death.

SHONA	ENGLISH DESCRIPTION AND IMPLICATIONS
Wazorora	Has rested /is asleep but will rise from the dead.
Watora	Has been taken away
Waenda	Has gone ahead of us where we will follow.
Washaika	Has disappeared but will be recovered
Watungsmira	Has gone ahead of us/has preceded
Watsakatika	Has disappeared, is somewhere
Wapfuura	Has passed on to the next destination ahead of us.
Watisiya	Has left us, we will catch up with him/her

Warara	Is asleep, will wake up later
Watunhora	Has become cold
Waketsira	Has gone to asleep
Wawoneka	Has bade farewell to us
Wafuratira	Has turned his back on us
Wanyrara	Has become silent
Wadaidzwa	Has been called
Waparadzika	Has been called
Watsanwa	Has been angered and left us
Wapedzarwendo	Has completed his/her journey
Watanga rwake ruendo	Has embarked on a journey ahead of us
Mweya wake waenda	His/her soul has gone, only the body is left
Watevera vadzimu wapedza	Has followed the ancestors
Pake	Has played his/her part and finished, we have to do our part, too.
Wapira gotsi	Has turned his/her back on us
Waneta	Has become tired and needs a rest
Avete	Has gone and will wake up later

Atorwa na Mwari	Has been taken by God
Atorwa nevadzi	Has been taken by the ancestors
Aiwa Azirora Ngova yanga	Has rested
Takwana	His/her time was due
kuda mwa mwari	It is God's will
Ndineurumbo nekurasikirwa kwa maita	I am sorry about the sad loss
Ndineurombo	My condolences
Nedzinoparadzu	Sorry for the destructive force that has befallen you
Tikubatei maoko	Sorry for the loss

Nedzataunyanira	Sorry for the sad gathering
Zvatsiwana	A sad moment has caught up with us.

DESCRIPTION OF THE GRAVE AND BURYING PROCESS

Rinda	Grave
Churu	Anthill
Musha	Second home
Mupfiganebwe	A place whose door is closed by a big stone
Wazorodzwa	He/she has been put to rest

Waradzikwa	He/ she has been put to sleep
Waarekedzwa	He/she has been escorted to his/her final destination
Waraswa	He/she has been thrown away
Wadyarwa	He/she has been planted somewhere
Wafushirwa	He/she has been covered underground

Njoroge (2014) carried out a similar study in Kenya with regard to avoidance strategies and taboo topics like death. The main objective of her study was to identify and describe the euphemisms and taboo words that are popularly used by speakers of Kikuyu. Her study sought to answer the following research questions:-

1. To what extent are euphemisms and taboo words used by speakers of Kikuyu?
2. What are the semantic attributes and functions of euphemisms and taboo words in Kikuyu language?
3. Why are euphemisms and taboo words extensively used in social discourse?

Data for the study was collected from twenty (20) male and twenty (20) female informants from the Kabete area of Kiambu. The results of the research showed that in order to avoid embarrassment and loss of face, Kikuyu people try to look for substitutions that can hide or cover up the power of taboo words. Consequently, euphemisms are employed to replace offensive expressions that can cause harm and shame to the speaker of Kikuyu. Euphemism was used as an avoidance strategy. Hence words that may be seen as offensive, blunt, obscene or somehow disturbing to the participant in social discourse were avoided, and replaced by polite, socially and culturally appropriate terms. Euphemisms hide unpleasant ideas to avoid frightening or unpleasant subjects.

In a study of euphemisms and cultural sensitivity in Tzintzuntzan, Mexico, Foster (1966) observed that euphemisms serve many functions. An important use is to permit discussion in a variety of topics which for reasons of delicacy are thought best not discussed in standard

terminologies. The study discussed the sensitive areas of culture, as indicated by euphemistic usages in the Mestizo village of Tzintzuntzani Michoacan, Mexico.

Tzintzuntzenos are relatively prudish about sex and a number of euphemisms are used in discussing various aspects of the subject. A menstruating woman is said to be ‘**enferma de su mes**’ (ill of her month). Forster (1966) observed more usage of euphemism in relation to sex, sex organs and diseases. A married man who chases women is said to ‘**brincar la cerca**’ (“to jump over the fence”) . Men most frequently call the penis ‘**el pajar**’ (“the bird”) and an erection is ‘**un pajar bien templado**’ (“a well-tempered bird”). They refer to the vulva as ‘**el munu**’ (“the monkey”). The Spanish Americanism ‘**chiche**’ is used by members of both sexes for the female breast. A variety of words suggestive of or related to defecation normally are replaced by euphemism.

Excrement may be called ‘**la hierba sin aiz**’ (“the herb without roots”) while the act of defecation is ‘**obrar**’ (“to work”) rather than defecate.

Children ‘**ensuciarse**’ (“to dirty one’s self”) rather than defecate in their clothing. Testicles are called ‘**los compadres**’ (“because they are always together”). Latrines, again following common Mexican usage, are called ‘**excusados**’ (the place where one excuses himself).

The study revealed that even certain diseases are euphemistically discussed. A person known to have or suspected of having tuberculosis is said to be ‘**enfermo de la espalda**’ (burnt by fire of gods), (“tuberculosis”). To suffer from venereal disease is to be ‘**enfermo de la sangre**’ (disease of adults). A person with a disfigured face suggestive of the ravages of advanced syphilis may be delicately said to suffer from ‘**un fugoso**’ (“a fever sore”).

From the foregoing, it can be concluded that euphemism is an avoidance strategy reflecting politeness. The idea behind euphemism is the intentional utilization of lexical resources in a language by interactants to achieve the expression of politeness and kindness in human interaction. Lyons (1977:574) aptly captures it in this assertion: “Euphemism constitutes a pragmatic choice by the language user at a given point in interaction. This pragmatic choice is not arbitrary , rather, it is an intentional undertaking opted for in light of diversified contextual factors that include knowledge of social role, subject matter and register, among other things.”

After a study of euphemism as a linguistic avoidance strategy in Arabic, Farghal (1995) concluded that death is the most euphemized term in Arabic. The data in this study are primarily drawn from modern standard Arabic (MSA) and colloquial Jordanian Arabic (CJA), as spoken mostly in the rural northern parts of Jordan to the exclusion of urban and Bedouin dialects. The study investigated Arabic euphemistic expressions as they relate to Brown and Levinson's (1983) politeness principle and Grice's (1975) cooperative principle.

The study further revealed that euphemism is used as a politeness device but flouted the maxim of quality, thus conversationally implicating that the death in question is for the good of the deceased because he will go to heaven.

2.2 PROVERBS AS A MITIGATING AND POLITENESS STRATEGY

Obeng (1996) examined the pragmatic significance of proverbs in the context of advice-giving. Proverbs are regarded as a politeness device and an avoidance strategy. Among the Akan of Ghana, a proverb is highly valued as a mode of communication. Specifically, it may act as a mitigator that minimizes the offensive intent of an upcoming "difficult" utterance. It may also show a speaker's humility or his acknowledgement of the addressee's sensibility by providing a common ground.

The study examined eight excerpts from an extended Akan discourse in which an old couple advise their son who is about to go on a journey. The advice is centred on a taboo topic. The work is based on transcripts of tape-recorded natural discourse. The couple advise their son who is leaving the village and country for another country. The couple, Yaw Oyasi, eighty-one years of age, and Abena Humuu, seventy-three years of age, are from Asuom in the Eastern region of Ghana. The advisee, thirty-five years old, lived in this village until he was sixteen.

In excerpt 4, Abena Hummu and Yaw Oyasi inquire whether Ku, their son, will be travelling with his wife and children. Abena then advises Ku against male chauvinism and encourages him to listen to his wife and children's suggestions.

“WO tri ye wo yere te asem ase. Mpaninfon se” (Humble yourself. Listen to your wife).

“Nyansa sen wiase nnipa nyinaa ati na ontie ne mpaninfos” (Wisdom is found in listening to counsellors).

In excerpt 4, AH advises Ku against male chauvinism and impresses upon him the need to be tolerant. The preproverbial utterance, the proverb itself and the tale all contribute to drive home the face-threatening act”: “Be a responsible man, stick to your wife listen to her and your children.”

The study revealed that face-threatening Acts (FTA) may be mitigated by indirect speech forms such as proverbs, riddles and tales. The proverb signals to the hearer that the upcoming utterance is as “difficult” or face-threatening to the speaker as to the addressee. Proverbs act as a mitigator and thus minimize the possibility of any offence that might be taken by Ku.

The role or function of proverbs in communication, as an avoidance strategy, has been studied by folklorists, ethnographers and linguists, Herzog (1936), Arewa and Dundes (1967), Yankah (1989), Obeng (1994) and others. These have discussed the role proverbs play in managing social conflicts. Herzog, for example, remarks that “proverbs are the most important instrument for minimizing the impact of face -threatening speech acts. Proverbs form a vital and potent element of the culture they interpret. Okpewho (1992) and Olatunji (1984) have treated proverbs as social control strategies among the Yoruba and Asaba (Igbo) of Nigeria.

Penfield and Duru (1988) investigated the role of proverbs in Igbo society in South eastern Nigeria. The study drew an ethnographic data collected among Igbo respondents in Owerri province. Penfield used a procedure first used by Herskovits (1930) in analyzing the proverbs of the Kru. It consists of eliciting hypothetical situations from skilled adult users of proverbs to obtain interactional contexts in which various proverbs could be used. The methodological objective was to collect texts in their interactional contexts and to engage respondents in their interpretations of these contexts as well as the proverbial texts.

Using the self-disclosure technique, Penfield elicited over 380 hypothetical situations for 150 proverbs. Beyond this open-ended data, the researcher also probed for information related to several speech event components suggested by Hymes’ (1967) ethnography of speaking model: addressor, addressee, topic, feelings, intention, effect and norms of interaction.

The study revealed that proverbs are not only a reflection of life, they also play an active part in it. They are used in social interaction as a politeness device. Offensive messages which could be face-threatening may be eliminated or weakened.

2.3 METAPHORS AS AN AVOIDANCE STRATEGY

According to the Advanced Learner's Dictionary (Hornby 1994:780), a metaphor is “the use of a word or phrase to indicate something different (though related in some way).” A Metaphor is seen as one of the most important traits of proverbs (Seitel, 1981:124). It can be defined as an analogous construction (Hulzer-Vugt, 1995:190) which mediates between the elements of two different cognitive domains.

Less (2011) carried out a study of metaphor as a conceptual linguistic avoidance strategy. The study analysed conceptual metaphors in three Austronesian languages: Kalavan, Paiwan and Seediq, which are indigenous languages spoken in Taiwan. Geographically, Kalavan is a plains tribe language spoken on the eastern coasts with the village of Patrongan as the main settlement.

The data was analysed within the framework of conceptual metaphor theory initiated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). The study revealed that metaphors are conceptual and provide members of a linguistic community with a structure that helps people understand the world.

NO	SPECIFIC METAPHOR	LEVEL	GENERAL METAPHOR	LEVEL	LANGUAGES
1	To die is to close eyes		Death is sleep		Kavalan Paiwan Seediq
2	Death is departure		Life is a journey		Paiwan Seediq
3	Funerals are farewell events		Life is a journey		Kavalan Paiwan Seediq
4	Death is to plant yams		There is life after death		Seediq

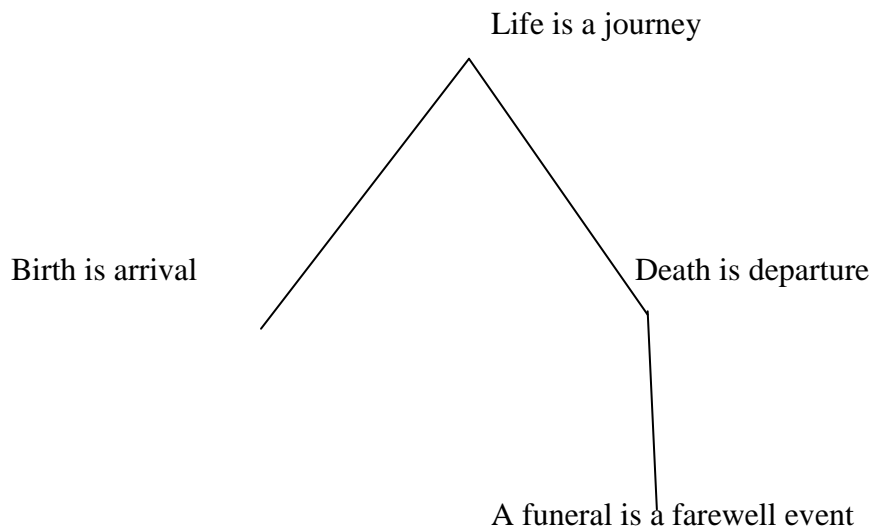
5	No breath stands for death	Death is sleep	Paiwan Seediq
6	Death is absence	Absence is non-existence	Paiwan Seediq
7	To die is to erase the name	Life is a journey	Paiwan

From the foregoing, it can be concluded that speaking about death is a face-threatening act and hence the use of a metaphor in referring to it. Face-threatening acts may threaten either the speaker's face or hearer's face. According to Brown and Levinson (1978), a metaphor is an off-record strategy, whose goal is to manage the most face-threatening acts and thereby help minimize the accountability of the speaker. A metaphor may thus soften or totally eliminate the inherent face-threat in an utterance.

In another related study, Kovecses (2006) describes a metaphor's role as a linguistic tool for politeness. Sex is metaphorically portrayed. It is associated with affection and action. Affection is linked with warmth which is essential for our body to function normally. Therefore, sex is associated with body-related actions that can be carried out with warmth. The metaphor of sex entails bodily warmth, it means to be together, and to know each other.

A metaphor is a figure of speech which makes an implicit, implied or hidden comparison between two things that are unrelated but share common characteristics. Kovecses (2006) postulates this in his study of metaphor. He notes that birth is arrival and death is departure. These are specific-level metaphors, which are high-level metaphorical events. He also explains the specific-level metaphor; a funeral is a farewell event. Life is conceptualised as a cycle of a journey, where the end of one journey is the beginning of another. Birth is the beginning (arrival) of life, and death is departure at the end of this life. Birth and death never exist without each other. Death is metaphorized as the beginning of an afterlife as depicted in the notion of reincarnation.

KOVECSES' CATEGORIZATION OF LIFE AS A METAPHOR FOR A JOURNEY



Usually, metaphor is defined as an analogous construction (Hulzer-Vugt ,1995) which mediates between the elements of two different cognitive domains. Ethical issues which may be face-threatening are addressed.

2.4 CIRCUMLOCUTION

Circumlocution, as an avoidance strategy, is but one component of strategic competence as identified by Canale and Swain (1980). Farghai (1995) investigated the nature of taboo language in Arabic and how people respond to taboo by using various strategies to maintain face. The study indicated that circumlocutions are the second most common device used as an avoidance strategy in Arabic. One use of circumlocution as an avoidance strategy is to maintain face. The speaker's face and that of the hearer in saving one's face and that of others. The focus of circumlocution is politeness. Circumlocution flouts the maxim of manner by not observing the submaxim of brevity.

2.5 SLANG AS AN AVOIDANCE STRATEGY

Jannedy, Polettu and Weltoon (1990:465) define slang as a "word or expression used in informal settings, often to indicate membership in a particular social group". Slang is a special vocabulary or phraseology of a particular calling or profession. Others (Allan and Burridge, (2006) define slang as language of a highly colloquial and contemporary type, considered stylistically inferior to standard formal and even polite informal speech.

Kagudu (2012) analysed the language that the Shona-speaking people of Zimbabwe use in naming death and dying, describing the dead, and consoling the bereaved. Interviews and participatory observations were employed as data collection techniques in order to establish the avoidance strategies Shona people use in the event of taboo topics like death. Slang was identified as an avoidance strategy. The Shona people use slang in order to come to terms with death. Such vocabulary includes:-

SHONA SLANG	ENGLISH DESCRIPTION
Ashuzula	Has gone ahead of us.
Atila	Has died
Ashamla	Has gone
Anura	Has drowned
Akushta	Has fallen asleep
Arova pasi	Has gone ahead of us
Agemuka	Has perished
Akita	Has died
Afriza	Has gone cold
Avhaya	Has gone ahead of us
Akuromoka	Has fallen down
Awoma	Has dried up
Abaya	Has gone
Masofa panze	Has died and people need space to mourn as furniture is taken outside

2.6 AVOIDANCE LANGUAGE PRACTISED BY WOMEN

Avoidance strategies are linguistic means whereby we conduct our lives. People constantly censor the language they use. The censoring of language arises out of social constraints imposed by society (Allan and Burridge, 1991). Avoidance strategies in relation to taboo language are not universal as some societies put a strain on women's use of language.

The practice of "respect through avoidance" (hlonipha) is widespread among the Nguni people, including a pervasive avoidance of personal names by women. Hlonipha, the custom of respect which exists particularly in Nguni and Sotho societies, should be understood as a complex social and linguistic behavioural context that requires differential conduct. Raum (1973) conducted the most comprehensive study of the custom in Zulu society. The qualitative study combines three research tools: questionnaires, interviews and participant observation in family households. The focus is primarily on the analysis of 60 questionnaires and 31 interviews conducted with individuals from different places in the rural area of northern KwaZulu-Natal, stretching from towns such as Eshuwe, Nkandla, Nungoma, Ulundi, Melmoth, Nhlophenkulu and their surrounding villages.

The study noted that hlonipha avoidance describes an avoidance custom practised by women towards the personal names of senior male affines. The central name to be avoided is that of the father-in-law (in whose homestead the young wife was traditionally resident). The names of other senior males must also be avoided, including the father's brothers, husband's elder brothers, husband's paternal grandfather, brother of the latter, etc, i.e all senior males of the father-in-law's clan.

Reader (1966) noted that one of the functions of hlonipha is to serve as a constant reminder to the daughter-in-law that she is merely an outsider. Women who practise hlonipha may not say the names of these men or any words with the same root as their names. They avoid the taboo words phonologically (substituting sounds) or lexically (substituting words with synonyms). Women have to literally invent a new language when referring to their new in-laws.

The system of ‘name-taboo’ practised by Mongolian wives described by Humphrey (1978) is strikingly similar to the system of Nguni prohibitions. They are both general taboo applicable to names of the dead, predatory animals and certain spirit-inhabited locations. A woman is not allowed to pronounce the names of her husband’s older brothers, his father, his father’s brothers, and grandfather.

Furthermore, she can use any word in ordinary conversations which shares a stem with the prohibited names or which sounds like them. Humphrey (1978) gives a summary of the Mongolian avoidance language.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Taboo Word</u>	<u>Substitute</u>
Shar	Shar “Yellow”	Angir “Yellow coloured duck”
Bayadaa	Bayan “rich”	Vyen “er”
Galzoud	Gal “fire”	tsursa/”spark”
Xazai	Xazaar “bridle”	Nugt “halter”

The study further revealed that the husband avoids mentioning his parents-in-laws’ names just as all juniors avoid the names of seniors, but he was not required to avoid the names in reference or to avoid similar sounding words.

Mitchel (2015) presented the first linguistic description of the Datooga avoidance register: Datooga is one of a handful of languages within the African continent that exhibit a phenomenon known as speech avoidance. It belongs to the southern Nilotic language family and refers to a dialect cluster spoken in northern and central Tanzania . (Rottland, 1982).

The study was based on data collected in Manyara region, Tanzania, from July to August 2012. Informal interviews were conducted with seven speakers (six female, one male) and most examples of avoidance words were directly elicited from speakers although a few arose in spontaneous speech.

According to Michelle (2015), there are various ways through which the married women in Datooga society avoid the taboos of this register, and she sums them up as borrowing, circumlocution, described form, lexical substitution, consonant replacement and unknown strategies. The greater majority of the avoidance is done through lexical substitutions, meaning that the women will replace one word that will literally or contextually make sense. As an expression of respect towards their husbands' kin, Datoonga women avoid saying the names of their senior in-laws as well as any word in the language which sounds like those names. In place of the taboo forms, they use words from a conventionalised avoidance vocabulary, a practice known as giving 'a weak shooda'. For example, if a woman's father-in-law is called **Gidabasouda**, a name which consists of the masculine name prefix **gida** and the common noun '**basoda**' (lake), she will refrain from ever saying his name or the word **basooda**. In place of the latter, she will say '**hey wanda**', a form that is unique to '**giing awe akshouda**', which has no known meaning in the ordinary language.

From the foregoing, it can be concluded that linguistic avoidance strategies attributed to women are, in reality, similar to those linguistic practices that have been documented in unrelated languages elsewhere in Africa.

Avoidance strategies reflect culture. Speakers are controlled by certain rules, principles and practices when communicating with each other. Some rules are universally-oriented while others are culturally-oriented and culture-specific. Communicative competence by the Datooga, Kambata and other tribes practising hlonipha entails use of a special register for women.

2.7 ETHNOPRAGMATICS OF THE AKAN PALACE LANGUAGE OF GHANA

Agyekum K (2011) carried out a study which dealt with formal language at the palaces of the chiefs of the Akan people in Ghana. The Akan ethnic group includes the Nzemas, Ahantas, Sefwis and Aowins who do not speak Akan as their native language. The linguistic Akan group refers to the people who speak the Akan language as their mother tongue. Akan is spoken as a native language in six of the ten regions of Ghana. Usage of ordinary registers at the chiefs'

palaces is regarded as taboo. The monarchy and the chiefs have registers. The study looked at Akan palace language from the point of view of the norms and values of Akan culture and shows the rich use of language in socio-cultural communicative events at the Akan chiefs' palaces. The study examined the Akan palace language in the context of ethnography and pragmatics, paying particular attention to register and formality. The study focussed on the following research questions:

- (i) How different is royal oratory from ordinary language?
- (ii) What is the place of formality and politeness in palace language?
- (iii) What are the functions of palace language?

The researcher visited Akan palaces for six months, collecting data primarily on verbal taboos. The researcher was both the observer and a participant observer, depending on the type of communication that was taking place. He observed traditional events and rituals and listened to formal and informal discourses. He observed local arbitration at the Manhyia palace courts in Kumasi and recorded some of the proceedings on disputes and conflict resolutions and later transcribed and translated them into English. The researcher took notes on salient points of palace language, and after the deliberations, he interacted with members of the jury. The researcher selected informants and interviewees based on age, gender, education, occupation, rank and religion with the intention of getting a wide range of answers. In formal interviews, the researcher used both structured and unstructured methods. In structured ones, the questions were closed and required specific answers. Unstructured interviews allowed the respondents to speak confidently and openly. The researcher interviewed chiefs and their wives in order to get views on taboo language in reference to the 'monarchy'.

The study indicated that palace language is used in structured and ritualized communicative events that are commonly observed at the palace. It is a triad of communication involving the chiefs, their spokespersons and their subjects. The events involving greetings and narrations are interspersed with proverbs, idioms, personifications and historical allusions. A number of archaisms are used only at the palace. For instance, the term for two bottles of liquor is '**pantu**'; in ordinary language it is 'nsa ntoa mmienu'. The word for vulture is '**opetee**' in common use

but at the palace it is ‘ **nyankopasakyeie**’. One major feature of the Akan language is the use of metaphors in appellation(names and titles). The characteristics of animals, plants, rivers, and other objects of nature are attributed to the chiefs. Their positive characteristics are recalled to describe how courageous, invincible, immortal, or warlike, and so on, the ruler is. The Akan palace language plays many socio-cultural roles. It embodies the society’s laws, traditions, philosophy, religion, norms and values. The use of indirectness and taboo avoidance techniques reduces the threat of loss of face and enhances social cohesion.

2.8 ETHNOPRAGMATICS OF THE LUNDA PALACE LANGUAGE OF MWANSABOMBWE

Musangu K (2014) carried out a study on the socio-pragmatic function of Cilunda royal court language at Mwansabombwe palace in Zambia. His study revealed the reality of taboo language in relation to linguistic avoidance strategies. Ordinary language may be termed as taboo language if used to refer to the Mwata Kazembe.

Certain royal lexemes refer only to the Mwata Kazembe, his

Property and relations. The **amapango** is the headdress, an insignia mark for continuing the kingship. The **mpok** (also spelt as **mpoko**) is the broad sword of kingship or Mwataship. The **mbafi**, royal axe, is only used by the Mwata Kazembe. The Mwata Kazembe traditional counsellors are called **bakabilo**. All the royal family members are related to the Mwata Kazembe as his children, **abana ba mfumu**, children of the king; they are also referred to as **abana ba kufumu**, the children from the royal family. **Pakamenga** is the reference made to the King’s (Mwata’s) children born after the King’s succession to the throne. The **kamenga** is the mound in the papyrus mat hut of Kingship. **Mwanabute** refers to a child born in **pakamenga**, heir to the Kingship. **Pakamenga** is a special place in the **chipango**, the palace; it is specially prepared for royal childbirth.

The **Mwadi** is the Mwata’s wife. The **IChilunda** term **kubwala** refers to period when the children of the reigning monarchy are born before he succeeded to the throne of Mwataship/ Kingship. The **ICilunda** word, **imbala** refers to the Mwata’s own traditional kitchen. The **ikuto** is a **ICilunda** term referring to tribute money given to the Mwata. The **amadimba** is the **Cilunda**

xylophone. The **inkumvi** is a wooden silt drum; whereas the **umondo** is the famous talking drum used by the Mwata Kazembe. The **mukelo** and **itumba** are the common drums for royal usage, while **kaseya** is the title of the person who distributes royal beer brought for the Mutomboko festivals in the palace. The **fikola** are the Mwata Kazembe's constables (Security). The **ulubembo** is a large metal gong with two notes. The **mukonso** is a skirt like garment made of several metres of about 32 metres of cloth. The king is regarded as a separate entity, separate from his people, and hence it becomes a taboo to refer to him by ordinary language usage. Separate lexemes set him apart.

2.9 NAME AVOIDANCE

Rupert Stasch (2011) examined name avoidance among the Korowai speakers of West Papua, Indonesia. Name avoidance practices are among the most frequently mentioned sociolinguistic traits in world ethnography because they are cross-culturally widespread and a focus of strong reflective interest on the part of people who practise them. There are about 4,000 speakers of Korowai dialects and they are spread out across 500 square miles of New Guinea's highlands.

The study revealed that the Korowai have a strict name avoidance. A man and his wife's kin should avoid uttering each other's names in all speech. Because most people's names have independent semantic meanings, one often needs to adopt substitute terms or circumlocutions in place of ordinary names. Siblings-in-law often call each other by the euphemistic substitute expression "my friend", a son-in-law and parent-in-law often call each other by the euphemistic substitute expression "my friend", and a son-in-law and parent-in-law often call each other "my people".

Mbaya (2002) presented a descriptive study of a custom in Oromo culture (Ethiopia) which consists of avoiding mentioning names of the persons who are relatives by marriage. The study showed that because of linguistic taboo a husband, wife and their in-laws avoid using their respective names and substitute different forms for them.

From a similar perspective, Mutunda (2005) carried out a study on the descriptive analysis of politeness strategies in Lunda, a Bantu language of the Central African plateau in the north-western corner of Zambia. Drawing on the works of Brown and

Gilman (1960), and Brown and Levinson (1978,) his study described how and when address forms such as pronouns, kinship terms, and other strategies are used by the Lunda in their verbal interactions in order to convey the aspect of politeness.

With data from live and recorded conversations, short telephone interviews, letters and introspection, it came to light that the choices of linguistic strategies by interlocutors are guided by the social relationship that exists among them.

The study indicated that name avoidance is a common practice among the Lunda. It is practised between wife and husband. In the family, if it happens that the couple do not have children yet, the husband and his wife will address each other using kinship terms. The husband addresses his wife as ‘amama’ (mother) and the wife could call her husband ‘atata’ (father). The reason for this is that, when a man and a woman leave their respective parents and decide to live together as a couple one automatically becomes the “second parents” of the other. If the couple are barren, they are addressed teknonymously using the name of their kins’ children.

Teknony refers titles taken by parents on the birth of their first child (Pollard and Banks 1930). For instance, upon the birth of a child, a woman becomes Nyakalumbu or ‘Mama ya Kalumbu’ (the mother of Kalumbu) and her husband is Sakalumbu or ‘tata ya Kalumbu’ (father of Kalumbu). The study further revealed that another polite strategy that is used in the Lunda community is the avoidance of personal names. Personal names are reciprocally used among friends, close associates, and members of the same peer or age group. The Lunda consider addressing an elderly person by personal name as being impolite, rude and grossly insolent.

2.10 CONCLUSION

A review of the literature has shown that language is not used “randomly”. Language is used to fulfil a specific purpose. Taboo concepts like death, dying, sex, and sexual organs must be referred to euphemistically. The literature indicates that linguistic devices portray politeness. In short, such devices are culture-specific, not universal. For example, women’s linguistic avoidance language has been documented in languages such as Ngoni, Kambaata and Datooga. These have specialized avoidance registers for their in-laws. Such avoidance registers may not

be found in other languages. The literature reviewed also showed that other linguistic devices like proverbs, metaphors, circumlocutions and slang are used as linguistic avoidance strategies to save faces of both the speaker and the hearer. However, there is a gap in the literature as none of the studies undertook a deep analysis of linguistic avoidance strategies as a whole. In each case authors have identified a single linguistic avoidance strategy and discussed it without looking at other linguistic avoidance strategies. Therefore, the present study focusses on the Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies in relation to Silozi taboo language. The subtopics to be addressed in this study are as follows:

- (i) To identify and describe the types of taboo words avoided by Silozi speakers.
- (ii) To identify and describe a range of Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies in relation to taboo language.
- (iii) To establish the significance of the identified Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 . RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 METHODOLOGY

The study employed the qualitative approach, a type of approach which uses three most common qualitative methods.

- (i) Participant observation
- (ii) In- depth interviews
- (iii) Focus groups

This approach was applicable to this study as it permitted the researcher to observe, record and interpret non-verbal communication (i.e body language, voice intonation, gaze). The researcher was able to analyze language as it occurs using multi- qualitative methods to collect data, e.g. observations, indepth interviews, unobstrusive measures, use of camera and focus group discussions.

Qualitative approach offers more advantage through the use of open-ended questions and probing gives participants the opportunity to respond to their own words. Open- ended questions have the ability to evoke responses that are;

- Meaningful and culturally salient to the participant.
- Unanticipated by the researcher
- Rich and explanatory in nature

Another advantage is that the method allows the researcher to probe further during interviews and focus group discussions. The researcher is not bound by the question schedule. This gives the researcher an opportunity to probe beyond initial responses and rationales. The qualitative approach provides complex textual descriptions of how people experience a given research issue. It provides information about the “human” side of an issue- beliefs, opinions and relationships of individuals.

3.2 DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH SITE

A detailed description of research sites is necessary to enable readers have a perspective from which to judge the observations being made by a researcher in relation to the topic. This is in line with Miles and Huberman(1994) who state that to describe a setting adequately, one needs not only give an account of the social setting but also the historical context. The study was carried out in Mongu district. Mongu is the

capital of Western Province of Zambia situated on the eastern edge of the 30 kilometre wide Barotse floodplain. It is the home town of the Lozi people, who speak a language derived in part from that of Makololo- related Sotho languages. Among the important historic villages in Mongu district where the research was conducted is Lealui. Lealui or Lialui is the dry season residence for the Litunga, the Lozi king. It is situated on the Barotse floodplains, about 14 kilometres west of the town of Mongu. In March when the upper Zambezi is flooded, the Litunga moves to Limulunga on the higher ground.

3.3 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

3.3.1 PILOT-TESTING

A pilot study entails trying out the instruments to be used in data collection on a sampled population. Pilot-testing can be referred to as “dress rehearsals” or “field tests”. It is an adequate reflection of the survey target population. A pilot study is a subject of a real survey. The researcher piloted the interview guides for both semi-structured interviews and semi-structured focus groups. The pilot size was 10 semi-structured focus groups (each group consisting of five people). It aided in assessing the instruments as to whether they would achieve the intended objectives.

3.3.2 INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS

Interviews are a two-way communication in which the interviewer asks the participants questions. Interviews open the opportunity for the interviewer to have more in-depth knowledge of the subject by asking the participants to talk freely on the topic. For this study, the researcher conducted face-to-face interviews. Twenty-five (25) key informants were purposively sampled to elicit information for this research.

3.3.3 FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Focus groups are a form of group interviews that capitalise on communication between research participants in order to generate data. Focus groups were appropriate for discussing emotionally-sensitive topics. This study employed six

focus groups to elicit data on linguistic avoidance strategies. The focus groups were as follows:

Group A	-	8 members
Group B	-	9 members
Group C	-	6 members
Group D	-	6 members
Group E	-	8 members

The total number in focus groups was 43.

Focus group members were informants chosen based on traditional ethnological knowledge. Those chosen for individual interviews and focus group discussions were key informants, members of the community, who knew much about the Lozi culture and were able and willing to share their knowledge.

3.3.4 SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

In this type of interview, the researcher wants to know specific information which can be compared with information gained in other interviews.

Semi-structured interviews were used to interview both individuals and focus group discussants. In this interview, the interviewer and respondents engage in a formal interview. The interviewer develops and uses an “interview guide”. This is a list of questions covered during the conversation usually in a particular order. The interviewer is not so much fixed to the guide. The majority of the questions are created during interviews, allowing the person interviewed to go into details with regard to the subject under discussion. The interviewer can change the questions in terms of the way they are worded.

Semi-structured interviews encourage a two-way communication. Those interviewed were able to ask the interviewer questions. Semi-structured interviews are open-ended, allowing new ideas to be brought up during the interview as a result of what the respondents say.

3.4.5 OBSERVATIONS

3.4.5.1 PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

Marshall and Rossman (1989) define observation as “the systematic description of events, behaviours and artifacts in the setting chosen for the study”. Participant observation is the process enabling researchers to learn about the activities of the people under study in a natural setting through observing and participating in those activities. It is a qualitative method in which a participant observer immerses herself/himself in the society of the people she/he is investigating. Lecumpte and Preissis (1993) note that participant observation is a method where the researcher immerses himself/ herself in the lives of the people she is investigating, blending in the way of life of the people she is observing.

The researcher participated in most community activities. The researcher went to churches found in Lealui, Mongu. She went to the Seventh-day Adventist Church, the Roman Catholic Church and Pentecostal Assemblies of God. In addition, the researcher attended baptisms, kitchen parties, weddings and funerals.

The objective was to observe the linguistic avoidance strategies used by Silozi speakers in relation to taboo language. The researcher gained deeper insights, and understood the phenomenon being observed and investigated.

3.4.5.2 NON-PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

It is a research technique whereby the researcher watches the subjects of his or her study while they are aware of this fact but she or he does not take an active part in the situation under scrutiny. The researcher stays relatively uninvolved in the social interactions he/she observes. In this study, the researcher observed facial expressions, voices, hesitations when speaking/answering, visual signs such as nods, smiles, gaze, way of smiling, biting lips and gestures.

The researcher was a non-participant observer in certain places where she observed language usage, e.g. in courts, markets, guest houses, and while watching drama groups performing plays on HIV/AIDS sensitization. On

average, the researcher would be at court the whole day listening to three or four cases. This is because the local courts deal with cases which are tabooed, e.g. sex, pregnancy, etc. In the courts, the researcher was a non-participant observer not involved in the proceedings but sat at the back of the courtroom observing all that was taking place. The researcher was able to write notes which helped in writing this report.

3.4.5.3 UNOBTRUSIVE MEASURES

Unobtrusive measure is a method of making observations with subjects of the research not fully aware that they are being observed. Webb et al (1966) coined the term unobtrusive measures to refer to data gathered by means that do not involve direct elicitation of information from research subjects. This approach often seeks unusual data, sources such as garbage, graffiti and obituaries. An unobtrusive measure is a method of making observations without the knowledge of those being observed. It is designed to minimize the risks connected with the investigated community when they know they are being investigated. In the present study, unobtrusive measures include:

3.4.5.3.1 Body position

Body position includes a way of smiling, biting lips, expressing embarrassment and twiddling one's fingers, facial expressions, head tilted inwards and really listening, nods to indicate that one has understood and nodding while the other is speaking to give him or her confidence.

3.4.5.3.2 Gaze

Gaze is the term used in conversation analysis to indicate where participants look during a conversation and it is linked interactionally with speech.

3.4.5.3.3 Gestures that convey meaning

Gestures include the use of hands when one cannot find the word he or she is looking for. Other gestures used to convey meaning are smiles, frown, yawn, and instant alert.

3.5. INTROSPECTION

This is where the researcher himself/herself generates the data. The researcher is a native speaker of Silozi language. Thus, the researcher used her native competence to undertake the present study. The researcher developed interview schedules for both individuals and focus groups. Participant observation was employed as a way of collecting data.

3.6 USE OF CAMERA

A camera was used as a tool for documenting and capturing information. It was necessary for reliable observation and it gave a permanent record of what was said. This included a record of body language. Unobtrusive features were studied from captured photographs, e.g, facial expressions, laughing, gaze, stare, nods, smiles, yawns, use of gestures, etc.

3.7 DESK RESEARCH

As depicted by the name, desk research is the research technique which is mainly acquired by sitting on a desk. It is a term that is used for gathering and analyzing secondary data. Secondary data is data that already exists. This is the kind of data found in publications, available in hard copy or electronic form.

There are basically two types of desk research techniques:

3.7.1 INTERNAL DESK RESEARCH

Internal desk research can be treated as research within the organizational boundaries. The researcher accessed data at the University of Zambia library. The data was available in hard copy and electronic form. These were theses and dissertations on socio-pragmatics and avoidance strategies that framed the theoretical and methodological framework of this study.

3.7.2 EXTERNAL DESK RESEARCH

External desk research involves research done outside the organizational boundaries and collecting relevant information. This was done through online desk research. Google scholar (<http://scholar.google.com>) enabled the

researcher to search scholarly literature such as books, articles, theses, dissertations and abstracts from academic publishers and online repositories.

3.8 POPULATION AND SAMPLING

3.8.1 POPULATION

A population is a group of individuals, objects or items from which samples are taken for measurement (for example, a population of students). Population refers to an entire group of persons or elements that have at least one thing in common, for instance students at the University of Zambia. Population also refers to the larger group from which the sample is taken. This description of a population is supported by Born and Gall (1979), who defined it as all members of a hypothetical set of people, events or objects from which the researcher wishes to generalize the results of the research. The population of this study are the Lozi - speaking people of Zambia's Western Province.

3.8.2 SAMPLE

Saunders (2003) defines a sample as "a small proportion of the entire population selected for observation analysis". A sample is a subject of the population. The concept of sample arises from the inability of the researchers to test all the individuals in a given population. The sample for this study consists of 25 interviewed informants and 43 who formed six focus groups.

3.8.3 PURPOSIVE SAMPLING

Purposive sampling, also known as judgemental, selective or subjective sampling, is a type of non-probability sampling technique. It represents a group of non-probability sampling techniques. It relies on judgement when it comes to selecting the units (e.g. people, cases/organizations, events, piece of data). The researcher handpicked supposedly typical or interesting cases. Key informants and focus group members were observant, reflective members of the community of interest who knew much about the culture and were willing to share their knowledge. Informants were chosen due to the qualities the informants possessed, as well as their ethnological knowledge.

8.4 SNOWBALL OR CHAIN SAMPLING

Snowball sampling was used in identifying participants in focus groups. A snowball sample is a non-probability sampling technique that is appropriate in research when the members of a population are difficult to locate. The researcher collected data by using a few target respondents and other knowledgeable respondents. The research participants were asked to assist the researcher in identifying other potential subjects.

The snowball sampling process is relatively simple. In the same way that a snowball rolls in the snow and picks up more and more flakes with each turn, so it is with people that were recruited as research participants at each turn.

3.9 RECORDING METHODS

Recording research interviews is a great way to capture qualitative data.

3.9.1 NOTE TAKING

Note taking is the practice of recording information from another source and putting materials in a manner that can be recalled and used in the future. Notes are commonly drawn from a transient source, e.g. oral interviews, focus group discussion or a written recording from observations. The researcher did not rely on recording equipment only, but took notes too. The researcher took notes of all oral interviews and focus group discussions. Notes included verbal recordings of participants, a reconstruction of the dialogue and description of the physical setting as well as accounts of particular descriptions of the participants' behaviours.

3.9.2 AUDIO RECORDING

A tape recorder was used to record oral interviews and focus group discussions. This method is important for preserving information collected during interviews. The researcher used a small micro-cassette recorder which was quite unobtrusive, unthreatening, and not eye-catching. Audio recording enabled the researcher to refer back to the interviews. The tape-recorded interviews eliminated omissions, distortions, elaborations and condensation of data. They

ensured validity of the research as the researcher compared data from the notes with that of the audio recording.

3.9.3 VISUAL RECORDING

A camera is a tool for documenting and capturing information. The researcher used a camera to capture pictures for all oral interviews and focus group interviews. As a participant observer, the researcher photographed community activities, she participated in them, including church meetings, kitchen parties, etc. The researcher also photographed community activities which she witnessed as a non-participant observer. These included church meetings, kitchen parties, drama performances, and conversations in markets, among other places. Unobtrusive measures were detected, eg. facial expressions and interaction.

3.10 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY OF THE STUDY

Validity is described as the degree to which a research study measures what it intends to measure. It is an indication of how sound the research is. Validity applies to both the design and the methods of the research. In data collection, it means that the findings truly represent the phenomenon one is claiming to measure. Therefore, validity reflects reality in relation to one's findings. Cullins and Hussey (2003:59) define validity as "the extent to which the research findings accurately represent what is really happening in the situation". It is a reflection of the reality. To ensure validity of the study, the researcher undertook the following measures:

3.10.1 PILOT STUDY

Burg and Gall (1998) observe that a pilot study serves as a tool for the validity of the study. The researcher undertook a pilot study prior to study with a view to increasing the chances of obtaining valid findings in the study.

3.10.2 TRIANGULATION

Triangulation is also referred to as convergent validation. It means using more than one method to understand a phenomenon or investigating a research problem. The researcher used multiple methods of data collection, e.g. individual

interviews, focus group interviews, desk research, observation and unobtrusive measures. The researcher noted that since every method has weaknesses or bias, using variety of methods would build a better picture and lead to validity of the research findings. Individual interviews and focus group interviews were used. What people share in a group may be less private than what they would reveal in a one-to-one interview. The purpose of triangulation in this research was to obtain confirmation of findings through convergence of different perspectives. In the case of the camera use as a mode to capture data, it made the researcher study body language, and captured unobtrusive features, e.g. facial expressions, laughing, gaze, stare, nods, smiles yawns and use of gestures, as interviewees in both focus groups and individuals were discussing linguistic avoidance strategies triangulation of methods and theories made the researcher pick every aspect of Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies in relation to taboo language. In the observation method, both as a participant observer and non-participant observer, the researcher noted avoidance strategies reflected in a natural setting. Some of these could not be picked in formal settings like focus groups and individual interviews. The researcher employed various theories to investigate the problem, e.g. Brown and Levinson's theory, Grice's cooperative principle, Stella Ting's face negotiating theory.

3.10.3 MEMBER CHECKING

The researcher involved various participants in the research undertaking. The participants were given the opportunity to be part of the research. The participants read and edited the transcripts and hence felt they were part of the research. Member checking is in line with views on validity (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Member checking also known as member validation (Searle, 1999), is described as a research phase when the "provisional report is taken back to the site and subjected to the scrutiny of the persons who provided information (Lincoln and Guba, 1985:236). The researcher provided persons who provided information with the provisional report to read and determine if the researcher has accurately reported their stories. Participants analysed the findings and affirmed that the findings reflected their views, feelings and experiences.

3.10.4 USE OF SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

The researcher used unstructured interviews to probe for a deeper understanding, asking for clarification and allowing the respondents to move in the right direction. Therefore, the researcher gained an understanding of the participants' beliefs, perceptions and an account of the topic under study. The researcher obtained specific information which she compared and contrasted with information gained from different interviews

3.11 DATA ANALYSIS

Cohen and Manion (1994) state that qualitative data analysis is a four-step process that involves identifying the main themes, assigning codes to these themes, classifying responses under the main themes, and integrating themes and responses into the text of the report.

The researcher had written field notes during the observation process since the interviews were in Silozi. She analysed the data by way of transcribing the proceedings and then translating the data into English. Data analysis was also done with the help of an interview summary and focus group discussion summary form which the researcher completed soon after each interview or focus group session. This is in line with Dawson (2013:115), who says this should be done "to help you with the analysis of qualitative data. It is useful to produce an interview summary form or a focus group summary form which you complete as soon as possible after each interview or focus group has taken place".

Various themes emerged from the data. Therefore, the data was analysed in terms of those themes. Comparative analysis was also used to analyse the data. This is closely connected to thematic analysis. Using this method, data from different people was compared and contrasted and the process continued until the researcher was satisfied that no new issues were emerging. The researcher kept moving backwards and forwards between transcripts, memos, etc.

3.12 CONCLUSION

The chapter has provided information on research, sensitive research and research design. The study employed ethnography as a research design.

The chapter has also described concepts like population and sampling. In addition, it has provided a synopsis of the data collection process. Data was collected through observations, semi-structured one-on-one interviews and semi-structured focus group interviews. The chapter also addressed issues of the validity of the study, which is the relationship between research findings and reality. Pilot study, triangulation and member checking have been discussed. The chapter has also reflected on ethics in research and a description of the data analysis has been given.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a qualitative analysis of the data which examined the Silozi linguistic strategies in relation to Silozi taboo language. The views of the interviewees, information obtained from observations and other relevant documents are discussed in this chapter. The findings focus on the socio-pragmatic perspective of Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies. Socio-linguistics deals with language and society, that is, the society influences how we speak. Socio- linguistics variables are not fluid but have a permanent connotation. Therefore, in such an instance linguistic choices made by individuals are determined by society. On the other hand, pragmatics is dynamic. So, linguistic choices arise depending on a particular conversation. Each conversation is unique.

The findings have been organized into nine themes:

- (i) Silozi taboo language a reality.
- (ii) Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies a reality.
- (iii) Euphemism as a linguistic avoidance strategy.
- (iv) Circumlocution as a linguistic avoidance strategy.
- (v) Understatement as a linguistic avoidance strategy.
- (vi) Tales as a linguistic avoidance strategy.
- (vii) Name avoidance as a linguistic device.
- (viii) Avoidance strategy attributed to the Litunga, the King of the Lozi.
- (ix)The significance of Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies.

4.1 PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1.1 SILOZI TABOO LANGUAGE A REALITY

In Silozi society, there are some words which are believed to be inappropriate for communication in public occasions. A considerable number of words are taken as silly, vulgar or obscene when used in communication, and these words are termed “taboo”. Identifying what Silozi taboo language is has been cardinal in this study. This is because Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies relate to taboo language. The study revealed that Silozi taboo language is such language which is avoided because it is deemed unfit for normal linguistic usage. It was also noted that taboo language is considered inappropriate. Ono interviewee submitted:

“Ze ki lipulelo zesabulelwi mwa lipulelo feela. Ki manzwi atokolomohiwa sihulu mwa sicaba kakuli sicaba sianga kuli aki manzwi hande. Manzwi a swana inge za kwa miseme, lilama za sina kapa za sisali, kuba fa kweli, kapa mane matuku amanwi a swana sina sina AIDS,cancer kapa lika ze swana sina sina masipa ni muluto.”

“These are words deemed unfit for ordinary usage. They are words which are avoided at all costs in public discourse because society regards them as inappropriate, offensive, banned in public domain, e.g sex, sexual organs,

menstruation, faeces , urine, and certain illnesses such as HIV and AIDS, and cancer.”

Taboo words, as indicated from the above interviewee, are words like **“lilama za sina”** (male sexual organs), **“lilama za sisali”** (female sexual organs), **“masipa”** (faeces), **“muluto”** (urine) and even some diseases are regarded as taboo and cannot be referred directly, e.g AIDS, cancer.

The discourse indicating death is regarded as taboo language. Death, dying and the process of mourning are highly tabooed aspects. Observations at a funeral service in Tungi, at a burial site and in Suulu local court reflect Silozi society’s attitude towards death. It was regarded as a taboo and was not to be mentioned. Death is regarded as a subject that should never be mentioned, and the preacher in this particular case referred to death as a journey.

Another observation at a funeral home reflects a taboo topic, death. The conversation between two relatives ran this way reflects topics as taboo, as conversation between two relatives ran this way:

Lulu: Mufitile (you have arrived)

Mono: Lufitile. Luswabile. (I have come to mourn).

Lulu: Ona zeo zemuutwile. Lumwa maswabi, lutomohile lipilu, balusiile, baikezi, bapumuzi, batokwahalile mabani. (What you have heard is true. We are in pain, perplexed. He has left us, he has gone, he is resting).

The discourse indicating death is regarded as taboo language. Hence it is not direct. It is not only death that is regarded as a taboo, but even the deceased is treated with sensitivity and not referred to directly. This is indicated in the following dialogue in the noted dialogue.

“Lusindeketile mufu, ulwanile ndwa ya hae. Lwaziba kuli mufu usiyile musali ili mbelwa hamoho cwalo ni bana.Mufu na nani bashemi kaufela bainzi mwa bulutu.

Basiile mufu kaufela baishonda, kono musike mwa libala kuli mufu ulwanile ndwa yaha. Mufu umisiyezi ndwa ya mina.”

Family member: “We have escorted the deceased (mufu), he has fought his battle. We know that he has left a family, together with children. The deceased (mufu) has parents. Whoever has been left by the deceased (mufu) feels lonely, but don’t forget that he fought a brave fight. The deceased (mufu) has left the battle with you.”

In addition to language of death and dying being regarded as taboo language, the study further revealed that there are linguistic taboos in which notions of uncleanness are the motivating factor. Silozi communities regard contact with menstruating woman believing that it pollutes males in particular. Menstruation is not directly mentioned. Some interviewees submitted that words referring to menstruation are sensitive and offensive to hearers. They are frowned upon by our culture because they are not supposed to be used in public. Such expressions are viewed as “taboo”. Speakers have to use other strategies in order not to sound offensive.

The phrase “ taboo language” commonly refers to language that is a breach of etiquette because it contains so-called “ dirty words”. In society, however, the phrase refers to name- usage and avoidance. A man must not call his wife by name, and at the same time a woman must not call her husband by name. The wife and the husband must avoid calling fathers-in-law by name. This was echoed by a number of interviewees. For example, one interviewee had this to say:

“Mane kuna ni mo ba bizezwa makwenyana mutu. Makwenyana mutu aki ba kubiza feela, ki kutokolomoha mabizo a bona. Mane ne bile ba ba inzi mwa manyalo. Muna ni Musala hae ba tokolomoha kuipiza fa mabizo.”

“There is a language which is also restricted to in-laws, e.g a daughter in –law cannot call her father in-law by name. Even among married people , a husband should not refer, to his wife by name, and the wife should not refer to the husband by name. They instead use tecknonyms.”

The study also revealed that the lozi regard with great respect or reverence, every single entity related to the Litunga whom they refer to as “Kaongolo ka Nyambe” (God’s representative on earth). The study indicated the following ordinary Silozi words in usage as taboo, if referring to the Litunga.(Refer to Appendix 1E). The words below are appropriate in ordinary lozi discourse. The lexemes below are taboo, they are generally considered inappropriate in certain contexts. In this sense they become taboo words if used to refer to the Litunga, King of the Lozi, or to refer to his property.

- (1) Muhata - Fly whisky
- (2) Kufunduka - to leave
- (3) Kutonda - to miss
- (4) Kubulela - to speak
- (5) Kufitisa - to present someone
- (6) Kufa likuta - to salute
- (7) Kuitimula - to sneeze
- (8) Pata - face
- (9) Ndu - house
- (10) Kubiziwa - to be called
- (11) Kuzamaya - to walk
- (12) Kulekula - to visit
- (13) Kulumelisa - to greet
- (14) Kuomana - to scold
- (15) Kutapa - bath
- (16) Minwana - fingers
- (17) Kulobala - sleeping
- (18) Kukula - sick
- (19) Musiyo - bedroom
- (20) Sipula - chair
- (21) Munyako - door
- (22) Patelo - Open space near Litunga’s house.
- (23) Situngu - Kitchen
- (24) Balizi - drummers

- (25) Mota - Vehicle
- (26) Kuca - to eat
- (27) Likomu - cattle
- (28) Kulila - to cry
- (29) Kuseha - to laugh
- (30) Mukolo - barge
- (31) Miwayo - spears
- (32) Balibeleli - bodyguards
- (33) Misumo - poles
- (34) Litipa - Knives
- (35) Mashasha - enclosures
- (36) Lika za Mulena - property of the King
- (37) Kupateha - to be busy
- (38) Mazoho - hands
- (39) Milomo - lips
- (40) Hotola - cough
- (41) Kuina - to sit down
- (42) Musali wa kwa tuko - girlfriend
- (43) Musala Mulena - King's wife
- (44) Waomana - When the King scolds

As indicated in the study , taboo words are many and they can be summarized in the following categories:

(A) Bodily excretions

Words concerning bodily excretions are taboo. These include faeces, urine, defecate, menstruation.

(B) Death and disease

Death is a face-threatening speech act. Any language referring to death is avoided. Grieving,mourning are not referred to directly. Even the name of the dead, “mufu”, is avoided at all costs. More polite lexemes are used to refer to the dead, the dying or actually the name of the dead. Serious diseases like HIV/AIDS and cancer are also taboo topics.

(C)Sex

Words to do with sexual acts, and sexual organ are regarded as taboo.

(D)Name-calling

There are certain names which are tabooed. A man may not call his wife by name. At the same time, a woman may not call her husband by name. The married couple would avoid their in-laws names.

(E) Use of ordinary words to refer to the Litunga

Some ordinary words in usage become taboo words if used to refer to the Litunga. For example, the Lozi word for face (**pata**), feet (**mahutu**), walking (**kuzamaya**), bathing (**kutapa**), table (**tafule**), servant (**mutanga**), bodyguards (**balibeleli**), laughing (**kuseha**), fingers (**minwana**), situngu (**Kitchen**), and many other ordinary Silozi lexemes are taboos if referred to the Litunga.

4.1.2.SILOZI LINGUISTIC AVOIDANCE STRATEGIES A REALITY

Most Interviewees submitted what is termed Silozi linguistic avoidance strategy. One Interviewee specifically emphasized, “What is termed as Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies is a kind of language, where people deliberately avoid talking about things which are prohibited.” They said it is a kind of language, a reflective language, where people deliberately avoid talking about things which are prohibited. People use a specific kind of language. They further submitted that most of the time, people are polite and hence the use of euphemisms, metaphors, circumlocution, name avoidance, language related to the Monarch, understatement to avoid the use of taboo language. From the observations made in public places, more especially funeral homes, it was evident that avoidance is goal-oriented communicative behaviour where individuals keep their conversations away from topics which are regarded as taboo topics. They do this to keep away from face-threatening speech acts. Hence, they will never mention the name of the dead, but refer to such a dead person (“mufu” deceased), they avoid mentioning “ushwile” (has died) but would say “ulobezi” (he is asleep) or “ulusiile” (he has left us)”. The goal behind linguistic avoidance strategies was to avoid direct use of taboo language.

4.1.3.EUPHEMISM AS A LINGUISTIC AVOIDANCE STRATEGY

From the recorded interviews , some interviewees noted that euphemism is a linguistic avoidance strategy in reference to taboo language. Euphemism is the practice of referring to something offensive or delicate in terms that make it sound

more pleasant than it really is. Euphemism, thus, is an avoidance linguistic strategy which is used to substitute an expression with inoffensive, pleasant or exalted connotations for an expression with offensive, unpleasant or harsh ones. In identifying euphemism as a linguistic avoidance strategy, one interviewee reflected:

“Lipulelo zeitusiswa mwa sibaka sa manzwi ao. Inge Simbuzi basibiza kuli Kandu ka matali, kapa Kalimbalimba. Kapa mane Mandamino. Zemasila zeswana inge masipa balibiza kuli zemaswe. Nebile manzwi a swana sina awela kuza simbuzi baabiza kuli “kuya kwa mutabani , kuluta bali ku sulula mezi.”

“Euphemism refers to this kind of language, for example, “simbuzi” (toilet) is referred to as “kalimbalimba”, a euphemistic term for toilet, or “kwa mandamino”, meaning behind the village, a euphemistic term for toilet. “Masipa” (faeces) is referred to as “ze maswe” or “masila” (meaning bad things or dirt). The word “kunyela” , meaning to defecate, is referred to as “kuyema sina mutu. The literal meaning is “standing away”. Urinating is also regarded as a taboo topic and is referred to as “kusulula mezi” (to throw away water) or “kutapa kwa mahutu”, meaning “washing one’s feet”.

Research findings prove that sex has remained as the most tabooed topic, where as death is also handled with care in Silozi speech community. Observations indicate that since death is viewed as taboo subject, the language of death has been avoided at great length by the Lozi people. Thus, using the term dying or dead (**kushwa**) is frightening, dysphemistic and is against politeness standards. To replace the negative tone of such terms, the Lozi replace them with euphemisms. Death is an area which evokes fear and nervousness amongst the Lozi people. Their understanding and use of euphemisms as avoidance strategies is reflected in the table below. This is euphemism in relation to death. The terms below refer to polite ways of referring to death.

SILOZI	ENGLISH TRANSLATION AND IMPLICATION
Upumuzi	He /she is resting
Uile	He/she has gone
Uitangetile	He/ she has gone ahead of us
Ulobezi	He/she is asleep
Ulaelize	He/she has bid farewell
Ulufulalezi	He/ she has turned her back on us
Ukuzize	He/she has become silent
Ulunyemezi	He/she is annoyed with us
Usinyehile	He/she has perished
Ubizizwe	He/she has been called
Uwile	He/she has fallen down
Ulusiyezi bulutu	We are lonely. He/she has left us
Usilezi mwa buse	He/she has crossed the river
Uile ko ku kuzize.	He/she has gone to a peaceful, quiet place

LANGUAGE OF CONSOLATION AMONG THE LOZI

SILOZI	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
Luswabile	We are disappointed
Lumwamatomola	We are in a painful period
Lwasilisa	We are mourning, grieved
Kitato ya Mulimu	It is God's will.
Kitukiso ya Mulimu	It is God's providence
Lumwa manyando	We are in a time of suffering
Upumulisizwe ki Mulimu	He has been put to rest by God

DESCRIPTION OF THE GRAVE AND BURYING PROCESS

SILOZI	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
Ndu ya mufu	“House of the dead,” meaning grave
Likwati	Coffin
Ubulukilwe	Has been put to rest
Upatilwe	Has been hidden

This was observed at the funerals that the researcher attended.

Wa Lubasi : “ Lusindeketile mufu . Ulwanile ndwa ya hae. Lwaziba mufu usiyile musali ili mbelwa, hamoho cwalo ni bana.Mufu na nani bashemi, kaufeela bainzi mwa bulutu. Basiile mufu kaufela baishonda, kono musike mwa libala kuli mufu ulwanile ndwa yahae. Mufu umisiyezi ndwa ya mina.”

Family member: “We have escorted the deceased (deceased referred to as mufu). He has fought his battle.We know that he has left a wife and children. The deceased has parents. Whoever has been left by the deceased (“mufu”)) feels lonely, but don’t forget that he fought a brave fight. The deceased (“mufu”) has left the battle with you.”

Research findings prove that sex has remained as the most tabooed topic. Sexual activity is tabooed as a topic for public display and surely constrained as a topic for discussion. The language of sexual pleasure and copulation itself gives rise to a great deal of verbal play and figurative language. All the interviewees and most observations attest to the fact that sex is highly tabooed in Silozi language. Sexual organs and the sexual act are referred to by using euphemisms, e.g. male sexual organ (“**nemba**”, which is the penis). Another euphemistic term for **buna** (manhood) is “**bupilo**” (life). The female sexual organs (**Litochi**) is euphemistically referred

to as “**busali**” (womanhood). The euphemism for the sexual act (**kuikonya**) is “**kukopana**” (to sleep). Sex and sexual organs are never mentioned directly.

Observation nine is an issue of sex in Suulu Local Court in Mongu. A sexually starved husband of Mongu had refused to continue in a sexless marriage after his wife started denying him conjugal rights for the past one year. The man begged Suulu local court to dissolve his six-year old marriage because he had not been intimate with his wife for the past year.

“Musali yo,ni bata kukauhana ni yena kubonahala kuli za kwa musiyu alikwanisi.”

“I want to be divorced from this woman because it seems, on issues concerning the “mat” or bedroom issues, she cannot perform.”

HIV and AIDS and other sexually transmitted infections are usually discussed euphemistically.

The researcher found out that in Mongu district of Western Province, the term HIV and AIDS evokes feelings of discomfort and embarrassment in many communities because of its relationship to sex and sexuality. Discussing HIV and AIDS is still a taboo in Silozi society.

The subject of this disease remains eclipsed in mystery. The Lozi have created some expressions to avoid talking about it. In this regard, they may say “**ki ba kuli**” (he/she is sick) or “**bakatezi**” (he/ she is tired). Even when someone has died of or has HIV and AIDS, they say “**ba shwile kasamulaho akukula nako yetelele**” (he/she died after a very long illness). Or they may say, “**“Muba boni mo ba otezi kubonahala kuli ba bulailwe ki matuku ona a”** (have you seen how he/she has lost weight, it seems he/she is with these diseases’ (‘**ona a matuku**’-these diseases), referring to HIV and AIDS. Learning to speak in Silozi society, like in any other community, involves recognizing the potency of the spoken word and linguistic avoidance in certain situations. HIV is a modern taboo. From the study, the researcher found out that the Silozi speakers get their euphemistic terms for HIV and AIDS mostly from the linguistic environment, e.g. HIV is euphemistically referred to as “mbande”

(eagle). Eagle is a common name for many large birds of prey in Western Province. The eagle is powerful, fearless, and it soars across the sky with such ease and confidence. It can spot a chick nearly a mile away or fish swimming under the water from several kilometres away.

Findings revealed that defecation, urination, flatulence and menstruation were treated with cultural distaste among the Lozi. And linguistic avoidance strategies are employed in their place. Defecation is the process of eliminating solid or semi-solid waste, through the opening of the digestive tract. This is regarded with a cultural distaste among the Lozi. For example, “**simbuzi**” (toilet) is referred to as “**mutabani.**” “**Kwa mandamino**”, or “**Kandu ka matali**” (small house of leaves) refer to a toilet.

The act of defecation, “**kunyela**”, is euphemically referred to as “**kuyema sina mutu.**” It is also “**kuipulusa**” (to save oneself). The researcher found out that urination is not a process that one can talk about openly, especially in polite company, and if need arises people use other strategies. Urination is the release of urine from the bladder through the urethra to the urinary meatus outside the body. The term “**kuluta**” (urinate) is politely referred to as “**kutapa kwa mautu**” (washing one’s feet) or “**kusulula mezi**” (to throw away water). Among the Lozi, it is socially unacceptable to flatulate in public and it is considered a face-threatening act. It is also a face-threatening act to mention flatulation (“**kupinya**”). This is politely referred to as “**kuipulusa**” (to save oneself). Menstruation, also known as period or monthly period, is the regular discharge of blood and mucosal tissue from the inner lining of the uterus through the vagina. It is also regarded with a cultural distaste among the Lozi. Hence euphemism is used to politely refer to it. “**Kuzwa mali a busali**” (menstruation) is also euphemistically referred to as “**kuya kwa kweli**” (to be on the moon) or someone may mention “**hanisika ina hande.**”

4.1.4 CIRCUMLOCUTION AS A LINGUISTIC AVOIDANCE STRATEGY

Circumlocution is a rhetorical device that uses too many words to say something, especially in order to avoid something unpleasant. Circumlocution is locution that circles around a specific idea with multiple words rather than directly evoking it with fewer and apter words. Based on the analysis of this data, circumlocution is one of the linguistic

avoidance strategies employed by the Lozi speakers to mitigate face-threatening speech acts. Speakers use many words where fewer would do, especially in a deliberate attempt to be vague or evasive.

Circumlocution as an avoidance strategy was noted on several occasions in this data as illustrated in the following observation. An Observation at a guest house, particularly from a phone dialogue.

A man was at a guest house and booked a bed space. He was talking on the phone as he invited his girlfriend.

“Niinzi kwa guest house kwanu. Busihu ki bobutelele. Taha, ni fa mumbeta wena busihu kaufela. Ni fetuhe fa mumbeta wena busihu kaufela. Mumbeta ki umutuna. Mwa muzuzu ni linosi. Butuna kaufela ona ni linosi, musamo ni linosi. Busihu ki bo butelele, utahe.”

“I am at this guest house here. The night is long. Come, I am on the bed, the night is long. The bed is too big for me. Too big for me alone. The night is long. Come.”

4.1.5 UNDERSTATEMENT AS A LINGUISTIC AVOIDANCE STRATEGY

An understatement is a statement whose function is to minimize the threat to a ‘face’ that exists behind every communicative act. The following excerpt from one interviewee gives this assertion:

**“Fukufwi witusisa lipulelo ze kona kotalusa sika
kono isinyi kusitaluseleza, kusitalusa hanyinyani feela ili
kupata niti .”**

**“Sometimes understatements are used. An understatement
is a statement that describes something in a way that**

makes it seem less important, less serious, or less bad.”

In this observation, understatements serve as an off-record strategy, with an emotional part to moderate something that might seem harsh. An understatement describes something in a way that makes something seem less important, less bad. One observation reflect this.

Here is a dialogue between the researcher and a house wife who was complaining about her husband’s lifestyle :

Musali: “ Ni hupula kuya kwa kuta kuyo lukuluha. Bo munaka bafumani musali usili. Mazazi a bataha busihu malungasisu kwa ma 01.00 hours. Halukopani ni ku kopana. Halukopani, Hanisaziba fo lokopanezi, hamuho mwendi likweli ze ketalizoho ka zetalu za kwana kono halupokani, halulobali hamoho halukopani, halulobali hamoho.”

Housewife: “I intend to go to court to seek divorce. My husband has found another woman. This time he comes back from his activities around 01:00 hours. We don’t meet. I don’t know when we last met. We could have met eight months ago. We don’t meet. We don’t stay with each other.”

4.1.6 TALES AS A LINGUISTIC AVOIDANCE STRATEGY

A face-threatening act is an act which challenges “the face wants” of an interlocutor. Tales are used by Silozi speakers as a linguistic avoidance strategy to cushion the effect of the face-threatening speech acts which may be regarded as taboo. Some interviewees submitted that tales are linguistic devices, narratives, which are regarded as fiction, not considered as dogma or history, and may or may not be taken seriously. Tales are narratives which, in Silozi society, are considered to be truthful accounts of what happened in the remote past. The following quote from one interviewee is an indication of a tale as a linguistic avoidance strategy.

“Fukunwi luitusisa makande, ona makande ale asizo kuputezi like kuli mane nebile zelusaba kubulela iwa kona kulibulela. Fukunwi inge lika zenelusike iwa bulela banana kakulukuluha kakuli ki za mwila, kona kuli bulela ka tukande to.”

“Sometimes when we talk of sensitive things we tell stories, tales. These are didactic. Tales make it possible for the speaker to convey the most sensitive messages because the speaker has his face to protect and at the same time, protect the face of the listener. For example, sensitive things that we tell children (youth) may come in form of tales”

4.1.7 NAME AVOIDANCE AS A LINGUISTIC AVOIDANCE STRATEGY

The study indicated that name avoidance is verbal politeness which is considered as the relationship between the use of certain names accepted in communicative exchanges and the norms of social behaviour. Tabooed names are a reality in Silozi society as indicated by most interviewees. One interviewee submitted:

“Mane kuna ni ba bizezwa makwenyana mutu. Makwenyana mutu aki ba kubiza feela ki kutokolomoha mabizo a bona. Mane nebile babainzi mwa manyalo. Muna ni musala a hae ba tokolomoha kuipiza ka mabizo.”

“This is language which is also restrictive to in-laws, e.g. a daughter-in-law cannot call the father-in-law or mother-in-law by name. Even among married people, a husband does not refer to his wife by name and the wife should not refer to the husband by name. They instead use teknonyms.”

4.1.8 AVOIDANCE REGISTER ATTRIBUTED TO THE LITUNGA

The Lozi language is bound up with culture in multiple and complex ways. Language is the principal means whereby the Lozi conduct their social lives. Lozi ordinary language

is not used to refer to the Litunga. Most Silozi ordinary words become taboo when used to the Litunga.

In Lealui, the King's capital, the researcher observed the language used in reference to the Litunga, the king of the Lozi, and his property. At Nayuma (King's harbour) there were several barges and canoes for the Litunga. These had royal names attributed to the Litunga only.

- (1) **Natamikwa** - it is a surveillance canoe paddled by the Litunga "mabuto" (bodyguards)
- (2) **Mundende** - this is also a small canoe like Natamikwa.
- (3) **Nalikwanda** - this is a royal barge in which the Litunga travels during special occasions like Kuomboka.
- (4) **Mbulyanga** - this barge belongs to the Litunga's wife, the Mooyo Imwambo.
- (5) **Notila** - this royal barge is used to carry the Litunga on all ceremonial journeys. The Siluyana and Sinkoya Royal Band ensembles are both carried aboard this barge.
- (6) **Matende** - this royal barge, which is as large as the Notila, carries royal property.
- (7) **Njeminwa** - this royal barge is used by Mukena, the Litunga's Prime Minister.
- (8) **Namoonga** - this Royal barge is used by Imbunda.
- (9) **Namandimbwe** - this royal barge carries the Litunga's kitchen utensils. It is paddled by the kitchen staff.
- (10) **Sabelele** - this barge is used by Mukwae Ngula, the Litunga's mother either by birth or by inheritance.
- (11) **Naliken**a - this barge belongs to the Ngambela, Litunga's Prime Minister.

The researcher also noted differential reference to the Litunga's vehicles.

- (i) **Indila** - the Litunga's personal vehicle
- (ii) **Matende** - The vehicle on which the Litunga's children may travel. But the ordinary term for vehicle in Silozi is mota.

An avoidance register in relation to the monarch is a reality to Silozi society. Most interviewees highlighted the royal vocabulary applicable to the Litunga. The royal vocabulary is indicated below:

	Royal terms	Ordinary terms	Meaning
1	Litunga	Mulena	King of the Malozi
2	Namaya	Muhata	The Litunga's fly whisk
3	Minyoloi	Ngambela	The Prime Minister of Barotseland
4	Kukunona	Kufunduka	When the Litunga leaves, departs
5	Kumaiba	Kutonda	Absence of the Litunga
6	Kukunola	Kubelela	When the Litunga speaks
7	Kutaleka	Kufitisa	To present a person to the Litunga
8	Kushowelega	Kufalikute	The royal salute performed for the Litunga.
9	Kupumenisa	Kualaba	A response after saluting (kushuwelela) from the Litunga through the induna
10	Ikandula	Sihalaleho	A platform in the kuta, where the Lubona or the Litunga is placed
11	Kukunula	Kubulela	When the Litunga speaks
12	Sikutingo	Siziba sa Litunga	The Litunga's traditional kilt/attire
13	Tuyami	Libyana za Litunga	The Litunga's goods
14	Mutala	Lapa la Litunga	The inner courts of the Litunga
15	Lyangamba	Lapa la Litunga la fande	The Litunga's outer courtyard
16	Kuashimisa	Kuitimula	When the Litunga sneezes
17	Kambai	Pata ya Litunga	The Litunga's face
18	Kwandu	Ndu ya Litunga	The Litunga's palace

19	Kuwaba	Kunyakalala	The presence of the Litunga
20	Kutamboka	Kunonta	The Litunga's majestic walk
21	Kuisiwa	Kubiziwa	When the Litunga invites a person through a steward
22	Wayuyana	Waomana	When the King scolds or rebukes
23	Minwana	Bwandilala	King's fingers
24	Ushendami	Ulobezi	Sleeping
25	Male	Musiyo	Litunga's bedroom
26	Lienga	Situngu	Where the Litunga's food is prepared
27	Ukundami	Kwa kweli	When a woman in the palace is on a monthly period
28	Kusena	Kulila	King cries
29	Kuikanala	Musena	King laughing
30	Libanga	Munyako wa lapa la mulena	The gate into the Litunga's courtyard
31	Kunonile	Mulena ha kinduka	When the Litunga leaves the palace
32	Mabutu	Balibeleli	King's bodyguard
33	Bo imilema	Mapulisasa	Royal police
34	Fa ubanda	Fa kaufini mulena	To be near the king
35	Imuluka yo muswau	Lisweu, leliyaliwanga fu litafule za mulena	White cloth spread on the Litunga's table
36	Yandi ya Nambwa	Mashasha a poluluhile mandu a mulena kapa mooli	Reed fence surrounding the king's house or that of his wife.
37	Muungo	Tafule	The Litunga's table
38	Sikombwa	Mutanga	The Litunga's servant

ROYAL VOCABULARY

Objects	Ordinary terms	Royal terms
Body parts		
Forehead	Pata	Kambai
Hand	Mazoho	Tunfonga
Lip	Milomo	Tukwakwa
Personal effects		
Chair	Sipula	Lubona
Dishes	Mikeke	Tuyami
Fly-whisk	Muhata	Namaya
Spear	Malumo	Lingweshi
Specific actions		
Cough	Hotola	Kasa
Eat	Kuca	Kukumbela
Sit down	Kuina	Kushiama
Speak	Kubulela	Kukung'ula
Walk	Kuzamaya	Kutamboka

4.1.9. METAPHORS AS A LINGUISTIC AVOIDANCE STRATEGY

In Silozi society, as the case with other African societies in general, sex and death are tabooed subjects. Hence speakers tend to use existing metaphors to create new ones where they are not readily available. An Observation undertaken at a funeral service in Tungi Seventh-day Adventist (SDA) Church in Mongu indicated that the Lozi use metaphors as a tool of indirectness to talk about death.

Mukutazi: Luinzi mo, lunelilwe.

Lukulubile: “Lunelilwe ki pula ya maswabi. Lutile kutosingeteta mwana habo luna. Lwaziba kuli lifu ki musipili. Lifu ki musipili o, mutu kaufela akazamaya. Mwana habo luna yo, witangetile. Lutayo mufumana. Yo, ulukisize mufaho wa hae. Kana mina mo mulukisize mufaho wa mina. Kio mukolo utile utunga mwana habo luna.”

Preacher: “We are here, soaked. We are wet. We are soaked by the rain of mourning, weeping. We have come to escort our beloved friend. We know that death is a journey. Death is a journey which everyone will travel. Our friend has gone ahead of us. We will find him. He has prepared his food for this journey. What of you, have you prepared food for this journey. Here is the canoe, it has come to take our relative.”

This observation underscores the point that the Lozi use metaphors. Metaphors are also used as an object of politeness. The Lozi try to avoid using harsh language and taboo in their connection with each other and tend to replace these expressions with metaphorical expressions.

Some interviews showed that metaphors are a linguistic avoidance strategy. They indicated metaphors are used as a substitution for direct words which would otherwise be regarded as disrespectful, offensive and taboo. They are used at funerals where death is regarded as a journey or considered as evening or night. The following were the uses of metaphors as reflected in the interviews:

- (i) **Mukuti obutuku** - a painful ceremony
- (ii) **Mukiti osatwaelwi** - a feast one will never be used to
- (iii) **Pina yesatwaelwi** - a song that one will never be used to
- (iv) **Pina yesina mutabelezi** - a song without a lead singer
- (v) **Mukulu utile** - a canoe has arrived.
- (vi) **Busihu bo bubutuku** - a painful night.

- (vii) **Musipili wahae, hausika zamaya hande** - it is a journey which has not been good at all.
- (viii) **Kukuta kwa hae hakusikaba hande** - his visit has not been a good one.
- (ix) **Ngoma yesina mubini** - a drumming ceremony without dancers.

Metaphors concerning sex.

- (i) **Tau yamo haina meeno** -
This lion has no teeth
- (ii) **Kwena yamo haina meeno**
This lion has no teeth
- (iii) **Tau yesa lwani**
A non-fighting lion

OTHER METAPHORS

- (i) **Ki munyopi** - a snail, a follower without instinct
- (ii) **Ukakuanya inge munyopi** - she will sap you like a snail
- (iii) **Kwena ya mutu** - he is as treacherous as a crocodile.
- (iv) **Ki kaze** - he is a cat, very clean and may hide under innocence.
- (v) **Nja ya mutu** - he is a dog, e.g. sexual pervert like a dog.
- (vi) **Yo ki sitongwani** - he is a hyena, very treacherous, cruel (Interview II).
- (vii) **Kunyalela mwa muluti** - marrying from the shade (meaning marrying from a respectable home)
- (viii) **Kunyalela mwa lizazi** - marrying from the sun (implying marrying from a respectable home).
- (ix) **Musali yatalu lapa** - marrying a woman who fills the house (implying marrying a respectable woman).
- (x) **Kubizezwa kwa mileko** - to be called to a bargain, implying very presentable .
It is an illocutional ambiguity, for one can infer a quite different meaning from the intended meaning.
- (xi) **Mahutu a baana** - feet of men, implying mediocre men.

- (xii) **Bo suta ni fiele** - move, sweep, implying not worthy men.
- (xiii) **Kuswala mwa liito** - touching one's eye, implying capable of being betrayed by certain characters.

METAPHORS TO DO WITH SEX

- (i) **Kubapala** (to play, meaning having sex)
- (ii) **Kubapala ni muna** (to play with a man)
- (iii) **Kubapala ni musali** (to play with a woman) having sex with a woman).
- (iv) **Kuzibana** (to know, to have sex)
- (v) **Kwena yesina meno** (a crocodile, harmless one, without teeth, a crocodile without teeth).
- (vi) **Tau yesina meno** (a lion without teeth, a harmless lion, an impotent man).

METAPHORS TO DO WITH DEATH

- (i) **Musipili wa mafelezo** - last journey.

Ngoma yesina mubini - a drumming ceremony without dancers.

- (ii) **Busihu bobubutuku** - a painful night.
- (iii) **Mukiti osatwaelwi** - a feast that one never gets used to.

4.1.10 PROVERB AS A LINGUISTIC AVOIDANCE STRATEGY

Proverbs make specially effective avoidance strategies because they count as indirect speech acts. Proverbs, as a politeness device, generate implicatures. Among the Lozi, proverbs save the face of the speaker and the face of the hearers. They act as a mitigator that minimizes the extent of an utterance which may be face-threatening to both the speaker and hearer.

This is reflected in observation carried out at a home in Mongu. A parent used proverbs as an avoidance strategy. This was an observation based on four excerpts from a discourse in which a mother was advising her daughter concerning her wayward life. In this discourse, the mother told the daughter:

(i) *Nife ni yoye kunu kuli Nyambe o mufuti no moyo.* (My survival, my life is in Nyambe, our god, the giver of life).

In this discourse, the mother signalled a face-threatening situation. She was about to advise the daughter but first indicated her fragile existence. She was aware that death is inevitable, hence she expected her child to look at life from that angle. The woman cited another proverb :

(ii) *A simbuyu yayupa kundina kumibonda.* (Close associates are heard of mostly because of problems. Close friendships should not be based on dubious motives.)

In this discourse, she uttered a face-threatening act but maintained the warmth and positive concern for her child. She wanted her to have a bright future and, therefore, she encouraged her to have the right company. The mother uttered the third proverb:

Excerpt 3

(i) *Kwisaa Nyaci ni bakatundu* (to provoke a buffalo is to have a tree nearby)

In this discourse, the mother uttered the proverb as a potent element of Silozi culture, and as a social control, she advised her daughter to be alert to the consequences of her social life. Then she gave her a closing proverb:

Excerpt 4

(i) *“Tawana mbulu tumulye, mbulu kaa mwabetu.”*

(If we find a tortoise, let’s eat it; a tortoise isn’t our relative)

The mother indicated that proverbs act as a strategy for dealing with a variety of communicative situations. She taught the child that in an unfamiliar social environment, it is always advisable to act with caution.

It was also noted during interviews that proverbs are a desirable avoidance strategy. This is because they are ancient sayings. No one can claim ownership of proverbs. This is in line with the focus group which submitted that proverbs are a linguistic strategy meant to protect the face of the speaker and that of the hearer. The focus group members identified the following proverbs of advice :

(i) **Waliulwa valiliela,waliwana walinyembunya**

When you want something, you cry over it, but when you have it, you no longer crave for it.

(ii) **Meimalumba kamana nyotwa, mwana mukuwe kamwana Nyambo.**

(You cannot rely on begging water. Only your child can fulfil your dreams).

(iii) **Mulya mangolwa kalele ku mooleka; mumane elya elikuwa kalele ku muyuyisa.**

(He who eats everything in the evening doesn't eat with someone who has kept a little).

(iv) **Mwanuke, ufune elama, isaalabo ni ya mabila.**

(Child, use your youthful life, one day you will age, utilize your life well)

(v) **Nife ni yoye kuli Nyambe o mufuti no moyo.**

(My death or survival depends on God, the giver of life)

(vi) **Litooma mudi wa Nyambe nenyi na kwatiwa munyanguba o mutate unje ni mutelela**

(Litooma (God's village), the village has visitors every time. He who lives there does not return).

(vii) **Nyambe Ngula, musimu, witumuka bakenu. Lyanga nali mwala** (God does not speak but when He speaks, He is capable of destroying the whole world).

As indicated in the observations and actual tabulated proverbs collected through interviews, proverbs are counted as indirect, as one does not directly speak the truth, but does that indirectly. Proverbs, as a linguistic tool, mitigate any offence in the event of taboo subjects and, hence, taboo subjects like death and sex can easily be talked about by the use of proverbs. Proverbs act against face-threatening speech acts which may put speakers and listeners in awkward positions.

4.2 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.2.1 SILOZI TABOO LANGUAGE A REALITY

Silozi linguistic taboos are words and expressions censored by the society because using them directly in public is seen as a violation of certain moral codes. Taboo words are sanctioned or restricted on both an institutional and individual level, censored, believing harm will fall on anyone using them. Silozi taboo words refer to words that are a breach of etiquette and are considered as dirty words. As indicated in the study findings, these are to do with sex, sexual organs, menstruation, gonorrhea, death, faeces, urine and illnesses including HIV and AIDS, syphilis and cancer.

To a large extent, culture defines what is regarded as taboo in a language domain. Akmajian et al (2004) stated that what counts as taboo is defined by culture and not anything inherent in the language itself. In the same vein, Fab (1974) has observed, any word is an innocent collection of sounds until a community surrounds it with connotations and decrees that it cannot be used in a certain speech situation. He stated further that it is the symbolic value a specific culture attaches to the words and expressions that makes them become taboo. This is supported by She (1998:3), who says: “Language is the principal means where we conduct our social lives. When it is used in the context of communication, it is bound up with culture in multiple and complex ways.” A good example is how the Silozi society has weaved ordinary Silozi words into taboo, in the event that such words are used to refer to the Litunga. Hence these ordinary words e.g. **musiyo** (bedroom), **kukula** (sick), **situngu** (kitchen), **mota** (vehicle), **kulila** (to cry), **kuseha** (to laugh), **mashasha** (enclosures), **mazoho** (hands), **minwana** (fingers),

libyana (clothes). All such ordinary words are taboo words and they cannot be used to the Litunga. A special avoidance language has to be used to refer to the King.

4.2.2 SILOZI LINGUISTIC AVOIDANCE STRATEGIES A REALITY

The goal behind every communication is the conveyance of information, yet communication should be bound by rules that include politeness and appropriateness that make the messages very clear for one to understand. Linguistic avoidance guides speakers to say what should be said and get rid of all that is not supposed to be said. It leads speakers to be appropriate in language and say what they have to say at an appropriate time, in the right place, using appropriate words.

From the domain that was investigated, it was observed that linguistic avoidance strategies centre on the notion that conversation is a cooperative endeavour and a polite undertaking. Interactants in a conversation who resort to abusive terms and obscenities, generally, provide a clear violation of the cooperative principle that is basic to speech, and signals that communication cannot occur or has broken down. Linguistic avoidance strategies rely on knowing what native speakers observe when they speak to each other. According to the philosopher H.P. Grice, “cooperative principles that operate in a conversation has very specific consequences for speakers and listeners”.

The individual and focus group interviews conducted brought out the fact that interactants take special steps to prevent “faces” from being threatened. Such FTAs, unmitigated, can easily result in social conflict. The Lozi people of Western Province in Zambia maintain face according to their culture. They try to maintain and negotiate “face” in all communication situations. Avoidance strategies identified reflected the culture of the Lozi, who learn the norms for appropriateness from their immediate cultural avoidance strategies. Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies reflect some characteristics of the Silozi speech community itself. Linguistic avoidance strategies are a mirror reflecting key themes in society; courtesy, kindness, politeness and face consideration for others. Le (2006) asserted that the degree of avoidance of taboo words in language is culture-specific. Language that is tabooed in one society might be a norm in another. The study argues that linguistic avoidance strategy is verbal politeness, which is considered as the relationship between the use of certain linguistic units in

communicative exchanges and norms of social behaviour as has been observed by other scholars (Fraiser 1990, Held 1992, Watts et al, 1992). Linguistic avoidance strategies are part of the ethnography of communication-“ society sometimes places certain words under strict verbal censorship.” (Yankah 1998)

Through their interaction, the Lozi have certain strategies in order to avoid taboos and to protect their “faces”. Politeness is one of the strategies. The Lozi try to avoid harsh language and taboo in their social relationships and tend to replace these expressions with certain mechanisms including the creation of linguistic avoidance strategies. Searle (1975) affirms that, when communicating about a sensitive topic, we become more careful, avoiding injuring the listeners. To avoid something, after all, does not mean it goes. It often means what is repressed simply manifests itself in another context.

4.2.3 EUPHEMISM AS A LINGUISTIC AVOIDANCE STRATEGY

From the recorded interviews and observations it was noted that euphemism is a linguistic avoidance strategy in reference to taboo language. Euphemism is the practice of referring to something offensive or delicate in terms that make it sound more pleasant than it really is. Euphemism, thus, is an avoidance linguistic strategy which is used to substitute an expression with inoffensive, pleasant or exalted connotations for an expression with offensive, unpleasant or harsh ones. In identifying euphemism as a linguistic avoidance strategy, one interviewee reflected:

“Lipulelo zeitusiswa mwa sibaka sa manzwi ao. Inge Simbuzi basibiza kuli Kandu ka matali, kapa Kalimbalimba. Kapa mane Mandamino.Zemasila zeswana inge masipa balibiza kuli zemaswe. Nebile manzwi a swana sina awela kuza simbuzi baabiza kuli “kuya kwa mutabani , kuluta bali ku sulula mezi.”

“Euphemism refers to this kind of language, for example “simbuzi” (toilet) is referred to as “kalimbalimba”, a euphemistic term for toilet ,or “kwa mandamino”,meaning behind the village, a euphemistic term for toilet. “Masipa” (faeces) is referred to as “ze maswe” or “masila” (meaning bad

things or dirt). The word “kunyela” , meaning to defecate, is referred to as “kuyema sina mutu. The literal meaning is “standing away”. Urinating is also regarded as a taboo topic and referred to as “kusulula mezi” (to throw away water) or “kutapa kwa mahutu”, meaning “washing one’s feet”.

The interviewee explanation of euphemism relates to Leech (1983), who defines it as the practice of referring to something offensive or delicate in terms that make it sound more pleasant or becoming than it really is. More recently, and surely more technically, Allan and Burridge (1991:14) offer this definition.

“Euphemisms are alternatives to dispreferred expressions and are used in order to avoid possible loss of face. The dispreferred expression may be tabooed, fearsome, distasteful, or for some other reason has too many negative connotations to felicitously execute speakers’ communicative intention on a given subject.” In every conversation, speakers have their face to save; to protect. They also have the face of their hearers to protect and to save. And, hence, they avoid injuring the face of their hearers. In the place of more hostile terms like masipa (faeces), muluto (Urine),simbuzi (toilet), kunyela (defecate , diseases like cancer and HIV and AIDS, euphemistic terms are used.

Death and dying is a heavily tabooed area in Silozi society and the people have indirect ways of referring to tabooed matters. Allan and Burridge (2006) point out that language users resort to euphemisms to avoid taboo terms that might cause distress for themselves and receivers. To a greater or lesser degree, people do not prefer issues related to death or even to mention the name of a dead person. Death is an inevitable and usually fearful event. Given its fearful nature, it is consequently a typical taboo domain. Utterances occurring at funerals are usually filled with euphemistic expressions. Euphemism, used as an avoidance strategy, flouts Grice’s maxim of quality, thus conversationally implying that death is for the good of the deceased because he or she goes to heaven (‘ **litooma**’ meaning village of Nyambe, God). But it upholds Brown and Levinson’s theory of politeness and Stella Ting Face’s negotiation theory. Both theories assert that speakers and hearers have the desire to maintain “face”. People try to maintain and negotiate “face” in all communication situations.

4.2.3.1 SIGNIFICANCE OF EUPHEMISM AS A LINGUISTIC AVOIDANCE STRATEGY

From the study it was very clear that euphemism as an avoidance strategy performs a very important function. One reason was politeness, as submitted by an interviewee:

“We will avoid injuring our hearers. Being direct, not using linguistic avoidance strategies is considered a face-threatening act.” This view is in line with Sifiano’s (1992:86) comment on politeness as “the set of social values which instruct interactants to consider each other by satisfying shared expectations”. The study also revealed that direct speech acts and assertions with an explicit distasteful reference also pose a threat to the social images of the parties involved in the verbal encounter.

This was noted by an interviewee who submitted :

“Euphemism in Silozi is not a haphazard strategy . The term “bunna” referring to the male sexual organ implies the societal expectation of a man. The term “busali” referring to the female sex organ implies the societal expectation of a woman and the roles of a woman in society.”The interviewee quoted above emphasized that the male organ used for urinating as well as for ejaculating is involved in the creation of life. It is an organ at the forefront of continuity, hence a careful look at euphemism shows the societal expectation of the Lozi people. Euphemism is an avoidance strategy that portrays concepts about death. **Upumuzi** (he/she is resting), **uile** (he/she is gone), **uitangetile**(he/ she has been called), **ulaelize** (he/she bid farewell) **usilezi mwa buse** (he/ she has crossed the river). According to Silozi beliefs, a person continues to live even after death. This is in consonance with the idea of the “living dead”, a concept which has widespread acceptance among Africans. Mbiti, (1969:49) states that:

“After death, a person does not sever his relationship with his living kinfolk. He does not only retain a merely passive membership of his matrilineage, but as a spirit, he continues to be involved in the affairs and destiny of his lineage.” This view is supported by Lisimba (2010) who alludes the perception of heaven as a man’s final abode. He suggests that in the Lozi culture, the concept of eternal life in Litooma, Nyambe’s abode where after his worldly experience, man shall rejoin his god. Litooma is man’s authentic and final destination.

Mbiti’s and Lisimba’s documents are supported by Jalla (1951), who stated that Kamunu (man’s rebellion) led to death. Then finally, Nyambe crossed the Zambezi river and fled to Litooma, his

heavenly abode on the spider's web. A correlation exists between Silozi euphemisms concerning death and their beliefs. In short, euphemism is an iceberg to Silozi way of life.

From a speech point of view, expressing experiences on HIV and AIDS, sex and other taboo topics is considered a face-threatening speech act (Brown and Levinson, 1987)

An interviewee elaborated on disease and terminologies use to save face:

“The gravity of the disease points to death. Therefore, this hinges on the nature of Silozi society: not an individualistic society, but a collective society. No one likes anyone to be infected.”

As the quotes above show, the practice or option of beating about the bush with reference to HIV/AIDS speech stems from the collectivism of Silozi culture. Like most collectivist cultures, Silozi culture emphasizes the goals, concerns and needs of vulnerable individuals and the group (family)

4.2.4 CIRCUMLOCUTION AS A LINGUISTIC AVOIDANCE STRATEGY

As indicated by Gasparro (1966), circumlocution is a rhetorical device that uses too many words to say something, especially in order to avoid something unpleasant. Circumlocution is used for social purposes in order to avoid using offensive words. There was a strong feeling among interviewees, that circumlocution serves as an excellent device for communicating sensitive topics. The following excerpt from an interviewee reflects this understanding:

“Baitusisa kungonjoloka. Haneba swanela kubulela lika ze nyinyani baipumana inge ba bulela lika zen'ata n'ata.”

“when talking about sensitive topics, some resort to circumlocution. This skill includes means by which speakers frame their messages and thereby set the linguistic context for their listeners and frame their speech to facilitate listener comprehension. More words are used to explain a concept in order to be more polite.”

The findings validate the face- negotiation theory. People in a culture choose strategies of politeness according to the cultural expectations and requirements. Findings support the relationships among themes of culture and politeness. Face concern is cardinal for circumlocution as a linguistic avoidance strategy. Circumlocution as a common linguistic strategy flouts Grice's maxim of manner by not observing the submaxim of brevity. Using more words means the speaker is violating Grice's maxim of manner. However, Brown and

Levinson's politeness theory is validated as the speaker avoids face-threatening speech acts using more words.

4.2.4.1 SIGNIFICANCE OF CIRCUMLOCUTION

It is clear that there are many ways to “avoid possible loss of face; either one's own face or through giving offence to that of the audience or some third party.” (Allan and Burridge 1991:11). The Lozi try to avoid using harsh language and taboo in their connection with each other and tend to replace these expressions with circumlocutions that are more acceptable and pleasant. The following were quotes of the significance of this strategy:

“Kungonjoloka kutalusa kuba ni likuta. Kuna ni zobata ku bulela kono ulibulela ka likute. Mubuleli ubulela lika zeneka kona ku tunka batelezi.”

“Circumlocution borders on politeness. At the same time, he is considering the plight of the hearers.”

In this excerpt, circumlocution is necessary among interlocutors in order not to break communication. The goal behind every communication is the conveyance of information, hence speakers are bound by rules of communication, e.g. politeness and appropriate and suiting the context.

4.2.5 UNDERSTATEMENT AS A LINGUISTIC AVOIDANCE STRATEGY

As indicated by Hubler (1983), an understatement is a common linguistic strategy used in communication. Some interviewees indicated that understatement employs mild and weakened expressions instead of direct and offensive words. “Sometimes understatements make a thing less serious and less bad. The idea of using understatements is to be appropriate and polite. The speaker presents a situation or thing as if it is less important.

“Luitusisanga ku tokolomoha ku bulela lika mo zi inezi ili kuli lu bonahale likuta. Ku sa ba ka shwau.” “We prefer not to say things the way they are, in order to be polite.”

4.2.5.1 SIGNIFICANCE OF UNDERSTATEMENTS

Although there are many linguistic avoidance strategies, in some cases, during this research interlocutors opted to use understatements because of the role such statements play in conversations. People employed under-statements in order to protect human relations during social interactions. This view is in line with Brown and Levinson (1978), who assert that many speech acts are intrinsically threatening to “face”. Speech acts are threatening in that they do not

support the face wants of the speaker (s) and those of the addressee. Messages are presented in a way that interlocutors cannot be held accountable. Using understatements, the hearer will be less embarrassed and FTA will be minimal or non-existent. Interlocutors desire to be pleasant to each other through a positive manner of addressing the interlocutors, who are aware of this value and thus very careful in the use of understatements. The Lozis are sensitive, hence a number of understatements are used in discussing taboo topics.

4.2.6 TALES AS LINGUISTIC AVOIDANCE STRATEGY

A face-threatening act is an act which challenges “the face wants” of an interlocutor. According to Brown and Levinson (1978, 1978), face-threatening acts may threaten either the speaker’s face or the hearer’s face. Tales are used by Silozi speakers as a linguistic avoidance strategy to cushion the effect of the face-threatening speech acts which may be regarded as taboo. Interviewees’ narratives which are regarded as fiction cannot be considered as dogma or history and may not be taken seriously. Tales are narratives which, in Silozi society, are considered to be truthful accounts of what happened in the remote past.

4.2.6.1 SIGNIFICANCE OF TALES

In Silozi, tales, although used as a linguistic avoidance strategy to mitigate face-threatening speech acts, are didactic. Several interviewees indicated that tales are told for the moral instruction they convey and their purpose is to illustrate vividly the rewards of virtue and the punishments for vice and folly. On the importance of tales, one interviewee submitted :

“ This spells how to behave appropriately in a given situation and how to maintain smooth interactions and good social relationships with other people. The goal behind every communication is the conveyance of information, yet communication should be bound by rules, namely politeness and formality that make the messages sent more understandably.”

This comment could be interpreted as a belief that tales serve both as depository and vehicle of culture. They are significant in building personality without a face-threatening situations. Tales are part of the social and cultural capital. This is also noted by Finnegan (1967), who observed that these stories are a rich repository for wisdom and cultural values. Tales are repositories of politeness.

In Silozi all verbal interactions are socially constructed and centred on the culture of politeness and a collective society. These views were held by another interviewee:

“We are able to convey sensitive language without injuring the feelings of hearers. At the same time, we are conveying such information without putting anyone at risk. The hearer’s feelings are our core preoccupation”

4.2.7 NAME AVOIDANCE AS A LINGUISTIC AVOIDANCE STRATEGY

According to Allan & Burridge (2006:125) ,“One’s name is an alienable part of one’s identity; it is the essence of sense and it is a means by which one is known to one’s fellows.” The above quote validates the finding that teknonymic nomenclature is a reality in Silozi society. At birth, each person is given a proper name by which he is called until he marries and has a child. There is a name avoidance relationship between a man and his wife .A man will not call his wife by name. At the same time, a woman would not call her husband by name. There is also an avoidance relationship between a man and his mother-in-law and father-in-law or a woman and her mother-in-law and father-in-law.

The Lozi people choose politeness strategies according to their cultural expectations and requirements. Name avoidance is an applicable linguistic avoidance strategy. People in all cultures try to maintain and negotiate face in all communication situations. Brown and Levinson’s theory of politeness (1987) asserts that speakers and hearers have the desire to maintain face. Using a tabooed name is a face-threatening speech act. Stella Ting (1988) postulates face as a concern for one’s projected image that is both immediate and spontaneous. The theory supports the idea of maintaining face according to people’s culture. Each community has its own cultural values about speaking and those are linked to judgement of appropriateness.

4.2.7.1 SIGNIFICANCE OF NAME AVOIDANCE

Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies are societal, construed within the society’s context. The society determines appropriateness. The Lozi people choose politeness according to their cultural expectations and requirements. Name avoidance is an applicable linguistic avoidance strategy which has socio-pragmatic significance. Name avoidance is related to language censoring which has far-reaching consequences. Allan and Burridge (2006:27) put it this way: “Language is

constantly subject to censoring. Individuals who do not censor their language and say whatever enters their heads without considering the circumstances of their utterances are deemed mentally unstable.”

Hence, a careful examination of the research data revealed that the Lozi people choose politeness according to their cultural expectations and requirements. Brown and Levinson’s theory of politeness (1987) states that speakers and hearers have the desire to maintain “face”. Calling a tabooed name is a face- threatening speech act. One would be regarded as insane to utter a tabooed name, hence the function of name avoidance is politeness to save the face of the speaker and the face of the person to be called.

Interactants take special steps to prevent their faces from being damaged. The study revealed that when people avoid using tabooed names and use other appropriate names, they cooperate. Wardhagh (1988) states : “Conversation is a social activity, one that always involves two or more people. Conversation is therefore a cooperative endeavour. It is knowing what can be said and exactly how to say it “rightly”. According to the philosopher H.P. Grice, the general cooperative principle that operates in conversations has very specific consequences for speakers and listeners. Interactants take special steps to prevent their faces from being damaged. Such face- threatening speech acts (calling tabooed names) can easily result in social conflict.

4.2.8 AVOIDANCE REGISTER ATTRIBUTED TO THE LITUNGA

An avoidance register in relation to the monarch is a reality to Silozi society. As indicated from the interviews, Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies are culture-specific. In short, each avoidance strategy selected constitutes a statement of one kind or another. The Lozi differential notion of politeness is in line with what Holmes (1995:17) says: “ Power attracts differential behaviour, including linguistic difference or negative politeness. In other words ,people are generally more respectful to people who hold power and would try not to offend them.” Ordinary Silozi terms become taboo language if referred to the Litunga. Hence, an avoidance register is applicable to the Litunga.

	Royal Terms	Ordinary Terms	Meaning
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1	Litunga	Mulena	King of the Malozi
2	Namaya	Muhata	The Litunga's flywhisk
3	Minyoloi	Ngambela	The Prime Minister of Barotseland
4	Kukunona	Kufunduka	When the Litunga leaves, departs
5	Kumaiba	Kutonda	Absence of the Litunga
6	Kukunola	Kubelela	When the Litunga speaks
7	Kutaleka	Kufitisa	To present a person to the Litunga
8	Kushowelega	Kufalikute	The royal salute performed for the Litunga.
9	Kupumenisa	Kualaba	A response after saluting (kushuwelela) from the Litunga through an induna
10	Ikandula	Sihalaleho	A platform in the kuta, where the Lubona or the Litunga is placed
11	Kukunula	Kubulela	When the Litunga speaks
12	Sikutingo	Siziba sa Litunga	The Litunga's traditional kilt/attire
13	Tuyami	Libyana za Litunga	The Litunga's goods
14	Mutala	Lapa la Litunga	The inner courts of the Litunga
15	Lyangamba	Lapa la Litunga la fande	The Litunga's outer courtyard
16	Kuashimisa	Kuitimula	When the Litunga sneezes
17	Kambai	Pata ya Litunga	The Litunga's face

The study revealed that language reflects the cultural values of the society in which it is spoken and, thus, learning a language means not only learning grammatical rules and the lexicon but also the social and pragmatic rules associated with it. Among many different characteristics of Silozi language, the avoidance register attributed to the monarch is one of the most peculiar, yet important, aspects. This was noted by Lisimba (2010:173): "The Litunga is a creature endowed with mystic powers reminiscent of the helpless spider that transported the Lozi god, Nyambe, to

heaven.” This king is primarily illustrated by the use of a fairly specialized vocabulary referring to his authority, actions, body parts and personal belongings.

4.2.8.1 SIGNIFICANCE OF AVOIDANCE REGISTER ATTRIBUTED TO THE LITUNGA

According to Wardhaugh (2010:229) , “The exact nature of the relationship between language and culture has fascinated and continues to fascinate people from a wide variety of backgrounds. There should be some kind of relationship between the sounds, words and syntax of a language and the ways in which speakers of that language experience the world and behave in it.” The utterances that were noted under the avoidance register attributed to the King would be considered to serve a specific function; the relationship between royal linguistic avoidance and culture. Most Interviewees indicated that among African societies, choosing an avoidance strategy is not a casual affair, primarily because in this tradition, avoidance strategies are designed to convey socially significant meanings. The royal vocabulary distinguishes the Litunga from all common people, and the vocabulary consists of a fairly restricted set of lexical items mostly referring to the King’s body parts to his actions and personal effects and is used exclusively to refer to him. The following is an excerpt from an interviewee:

**“Lipulelo ze, lisupa fo malozi iyemi tumelo yabona.
Mulena uyemela mulimu wa Malozi yena Nyambe,
Kona kuli ni lipulelo zeitusiswa ku Mulena za shutana
Ni ze itusiswa kwa batu.”**

“This language portrays the Lozi culture and beliefs.

The Litunga is no ordinary person. The Litunga is the representative of the Lozi god Nyambe on earth.

Therefore, the language which is used to refer to him and his property is distinct.”

The royal vocabulary is used as a symbol to point at the creation of a semi-divine kinship and the enactment of the original state in which man lived together with his god here on earth prior to the advent of death and human misery, through these barriers which range from specialized royal

vocabulary to physical isolation. The Lozi King is systematically removed from ordinary human beings and ultimately assigned the status of a veritable substitute for Nyambe, the Lozi god.

Lisimba (2010:175) explains the above notion relating to the significance of the royal lexicon:

“In general the royal lexical items relating to the body parts allude to the potentially fearsome character of the king whose hands and lips are to “claws” and “small” fences or “ fortresses” respectively. Some terms in this category focus on the overwhelming physical presence of the King whose forehead is thus likened to a “small river” to underline its conspicuous profile. The royal terms relating to personal effects tends to focus on certain attributes compatible with the King’s political and spiritual leadership. The royal fly- whisky “Namaya” (expert carver) which is an emblem of political authority, signals the king’s capacity to mould the destiny of his people. The metaphor “expert carver” implicitly associates the king with divine power to create life on behalf of the Lozi god himself regarded as ultimate performer of the actions as acknowledged in these terms.

As indicated, the royal vocabulary serves as a politeness device to distinguish the Litunga from the common people..

In this data, both through interviews and observations, it was noted that the Lozi believe that the departed Kings are actually “resting” and not dead as such. Hence, terms referring to the dead Lozi kings have significance as they reflect the Lozi belief in immortality. Examples include **“Imutakwandu”** (King has returned, referred to a king who died after ruling for a long time), **“Imushotoki”** (King has returned; referred to a king who died after ruling for a short time), **“Sitino”** (a village where the King is buried), and **N’omboti** (a caretaker of the village where the king is buried). Death seems to have reverse effects of raising dead kings to the ranks of deities accredited with much more decisive power to influence the course of human events. A strict divine attribute of the Lozi king as mentioned above is immortality. Dasgupta (2005: 51) states: **“The King was thought of as a direct descendant of Nyambe. As such not only was he supposed to be the source of all ritual powers but even when dead, the royal spirits were believed to have in them all the ritual power of kingship to affect the whole nation.”**

4.2.9.1 METAPHORS AS A LINGUISTIC AVOIDANCE STRATEGY

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), there are four strategies of politeness that individuals can choose from:

- (1) Bald on record
- (2) Positive politeness strategy
- (3) Negative politeness strategy
- (4) Off the record strategy

A metaphor is an off-record strategy, whose goal is to manage the most face-threatening speech acts thereby helping in minimizing the accountability of the speaker. Face-threatening speech acts are taboo words like those related to death and sex. These are not mentioned directly but metaphors as a politeness device are used to mitigate the harshness taboo language would carry. Metaphors are used to protect the face of the speaker, and at the same time to save the face of the hearers. They are used as objects of politeness. The Lozi try to avoid using harsh language and taboo in their connection with each other and tend to replace these expressions with metaphorical expressions. And, hence, as reflected on metaphor as a linguistic avoidance strategy, one word is got from one domain and used in another domain in order for speakers to be more appropriate.

- (i) Mukiti obutuku – a painful ceremony

Death is termed as a ceremony, a feast, although referred to as a painful ceremony/feast. The concept of feast lays ground for politeness. It is not referred directly.

- (2) Mukiti osatwaelwi – a feast one will never be used to.

Death is termed as a feast. It is a feast that one would never get used to. It's a feast, but a harsh feast one would never like; The most hated feast, the most unusual feast.

- (3) Pina yesatwaelwi – a song that one will never be used to.

Death is portrayed as a song. The concept of song is brought in in order to mitigate the effect of the harshness of death. Hence it is called a song, a bitter song to swallow, a bitter pill to test, difficult to manage. The concept of death as a song brings the reality of death in the minds of the hearers. The speaker needs not explain the harshness of death but all is embodied in the song concept.

- (4) Pina yesina mutabelezi – a song without a lead singer

In this sense, death is referred to as a song without a lead singer or a lead performer. A lead singer is a term used to describe a vocalist who sings a song's melody in front of musicians who accompany the singer playing the rhythm and backing music regardless of the type or size of the band. Death is portrayed as a strange song, no

one is at the front leading it. But everyone almost joins in unison. Death , painful as it is , brings people together, it's a community event.

(5) Mukolo utile – A canoe has come.

Death is politely referred to as a journey. A canoe is a form of transportation used by native American tribes living near rivers, lakes and oceans. Death is politely referred to as a form of transport to another world

According to Grice, speakers who use metaphors ostensibly violate principles of cooperation. Metaphors are illocutional ambiguities, for one can infer a quite different meaning from that which is intended. On the other hand, by use of metaphors in a conversation, interlocutors uphold Brown and Levinson (1987) and Stella Ting face's concepts. When the speaker decides to commit an act which potentially causes the hearer to lose face, the speaker tends to use politeness strategies in order to save and maintain their face. At the same time they save the face of hearers.

4.2.9.1 SIGNIFICANCE OF METAPHOR

According to Cameron (2007), a metaphor is seen as a linguistic socio-cultural pragmatic tool. Metaphorical language provides insight into the hard-to-articulate taboo language, e.g. the language of death or that to do with sex. It was noted that Silozi metaphors are a socio-pragmatic tool the speaker may use to communicate face-threatening speech acts using few words. But in short, such words are rich in meaning, they are simply compacted. They simply have to convey meaning in a few words and leave the impression that words themselves point to a variety of unexpressed information.

It was emphasized by interlocutors that metaphors, although compacted, are also important as a tool for face-threatening situations, e.g. talking about death or sex. In referring to death, metaphors like **“musipili otata”**(difficult journey), **“pina yesina mutabelezi”**(a song without a lead singer), **“pina ye kwa butuku”**(painful song), **“pina yesatwaelwi”**(a song that one would not get used to), **“mukolo utile”**(the boat has arrived) **“bazamayi fa lifasi”**(travellers on earth). More importantly,

interlocutors are able to discuss the sensitive areas of culture without offending hearers. One interviewee noted:

“ Lipulelo molizwi linga mubuleli mwa ketela manzwi. Lika ze za muila likomokisa batu ni hakuli cwalo, mutu nako ni nako uswanela kuketa lipulelo zakuitusisa. Mubuleli una ni buiketelo mwa lipulelo za hae, mitokomelo ye ya lipulelo isupa tumelo ya malozi kuamana ni lifu, hamoho cwalo ni tumelo yabona ku mulimu wa bona yena Nyambe.”

“Social-linguistic and contextual factors govern speakers’ lexical choices. Taboo language is prohibited, frowned upon. But yet in every conversation the speaker has a choice to be appropriate; to choose more appropriate lexical to substitute taboo words and in such a way he is being considerate of the hearers. The speaker has a choice in each a case.”

It was also discovered that metaphors are a significant politeness device. Levinson (1978), states that a metaphor is an off- record strategy whose goal is to manage the most face-threatening acts and thereby help minimize the accountability of the speaker; to soften or eliminate the inherent face-threat in an utterance. Interlocutors have “face” which they consciously try to protect and preserve.

From observations made in homes, public domains and interviews, it was concluded that metaphors were used to convey sensitive topics without injuring the feelings of hearers and, at the same time, conveying such information without putting the interlocutors at risk. The following phrases show how metaphors are used to convey politeness:

METAPHORS TO DO WITH SEX

- (i) **Kubapala** (to play, meaning having sex)
- (ii) **Kubapala ni muna** (to play with a man, having sex with a man)
- (iii) **Kubapala ni musali** (to play with a woman, having sex with a woman)
- (iv) **Kuzibana** (to know, to have sex)

- (v) **Kwena yesina meno** (a crocodile, harmless one, without teeth, a crocodile without teeth).
- (vi) **Tau yesina meno** (a lion without teeth, a harmless lion, an impotent man)

METAPHORS TO DO WITH DEATH

- (i) **Musipili wa mafelelezo** -last journey.
- (ii) **Ngoma yesina mubini** – a drumming ceremony without dancers.
- (iii) **Busihu bobubutuku** – a painful night.
- (iv) **Mukiti osatwaelwi** – a feast that one never gets used to.

It was discovered that metaphors are a significant socio-pragmatic tool in that they elaborate the propriety of a relationship. Each person is defined by their existence with reference to other people, e.g.

X's mother, X's father, X's sister, X's brother, X's aunt, X's uncle, X's friend, X's neighbour. Therefore, the Lozi people are more concerned with maintaining their culture and relationships, hence their use of metaphors. They are more concerned with preservation of their face. They are born in a culture and live in a culture.

The study also concluded that as an avoidance strategy, metaphors portray the Lozis' belief in the after-life and their inclination towards their god, Nyambe. Metaphors portray the transient nature of man. Man is not permanent on earth. Man is in transit. It is man's unexpected entry into and exit from this world. This view is documented by Lisimba (2010:127): “ **The world is a cattle camp; the village is up in heaven. A cattle camp is a collection of temporary shelters usually inhabited by herdsmen looking after cattle in seasonal pastures fields. The metaphor comparing the world to a cattle camp thus underlines the short-lived character of man's existence on earth. A herdsman soon abandons a temporary cattle camp to regain the village as a permanent settlement, much in the same way as a dying man leaves this world for external residence in heaven.**”

Because of the Lozi belief in the after-life, their metaphors reflect this. **“Lumwa musipili”**(we are on a journey, this is not our home) **“lubapoti”**(We are visitors) **“usilezi mw abuse”** (he has crossed the river) **“lu mwa nzila”** (We are on the way) **“baile kwa hae”**(they have gone home). Metaphors act as a compass pointing to life beyond this life. These views are in line with other authors . Ogbu Kalu (1979: 177) says. **“Those who are dead are never gone; they are there in the thickening shadow. The dead are not under earth. They are in the tree that rustles. They are in the forest. They are in the house. They are not dead.”**

4.2.10 PROVERB AS A LINGUISTIC AVOIDANCE STRATEGY

Raines (1999) refers to language as an iceberg to culture. Language mirrors a culture. Language is the representative of every culture. Language and culture are inseparable. Therefore, proverbs in particular are a representative reflection of Silozi culture. Proverbs, as an avoidance strategy, have equivocate meaning - double meaning. The Lozi use proverbs in because of a number of reasons. They are frequently used because of their literal attribute of being figurative and their attribute of conveying truth, even offensive truth which can be made less offensive. For example, asking a young woman to abstain from sex is face-threatening act.

Proverbs save as a pre-difficult utterance. For the Lozi ,even in talking about sensitive things of culture, they engage in facework. Interlocutors employ strategies to minimize threats when using some speech acts in which the selection of a strategy is weighed against face threatening acts in relation to hearers.

- (i) **Sikanamunanga sa metu sa waba sili a meto. Sa tunda metu sa yumbiwa.**
You are lucky when you are still survived by your parents. Be careful with your life and listen to your parent’s advice. Take heed of your parents’ admonition.
- (ii) **Mbengenge ta mushitu ne kufeko bana.**
Worldly pleasures always deceive children. Worldly pleasures will lead you into a ditch. Stay away from worldly pleasures. Worldly pleasures will lead you to a life of regret.

In Silozi, any utterance that hinders one's image from being approved by others or that places an imposition on other discourse participants may be described as "difficult." Proverbs play a role in maintaining face among Silozi speakers. When speakers want to say something that may impose on hearers, they must attempt to avoid threatening the hearers' face while saving their own face. (Brown and Levinson 1987). The findings with reference to proverbs as a linguistic avoidance strategy validate both Brown and Levinson's politeness theory and Stella Ting face's negotiation theory. The face is an identity; the persona we keep up in the society- a public image. As face represents oneself in the society, people display an attitude which is desirable to them, hence the use of proverbs. From his Childhood, the person lives in this perspective created by culture.

The range of strategies from which people choose is limited by their cultural values. Culture is important because it shapes how the context or situation is perceived, in that it helps determine one's self and in turn one's corresponding face. A look at the proverbs as a linguistic strategy portrays the culture of the Lozi.

The role that proverbs serve always has to be considered in relation to their social context. Proverbs are oriented towards a particular listener. The speaker communicates such message bearing in mind the Silozi cultural facets of politeness and the need to maintain one's face and the face of the hearers. The communication event may begin with a proverb, warning the hearer that the face-threatening speech act is about to be uttered. The communication event may end with a Proverb, the speaker giving an indication that he has concluded his advice. In certain instances, the whole conversation is laced with proverbs. A face-threatening speech event is communicated, but in a more polite manner.

4.2.10.1 SIGNIFICANCE OF PROVERBS AS A LINGUISTIC AVOIDANCE STRATEGY

Proverbs are explicit moral and empirical strategies for dealing with situations. They help to give complexity to narratives, to form coherence direction to moral and social insight. They are a politeness device, which means putting things in such a way as to take account of the feelings of the hearer.

It was further discovered that proverbs perform different functions whenever they are used. The major role is politeness embedded in their use to reveal or to talk about taboo topics, educate children, counsel general Silozi speakers' talk about death, dying and sickness. For instance, proverbs' significance can be picked in their role to mitigate a face-threatening situation. The Lozi, in advising any person, even their own children, engage in "face work." The use of proverbs gives a human face to a risky utterance. Proverbs may be used to reprimand or recommend a course of action, e.g. as advice.

- (i) **Sikanamunanga sa metu sa waba sili a metu- Sa tunda metu sa yumbiwa.**
You are lucky, your parents are still living.
- (ii) **Ikanungwe siwo lumbo, mutiwambwa a lundukile.**
Don't despise advice from elders.
- (iii) **Mubonda bebi ngombe kule.**
It is very easy to commit an offence but difficult to pay.
- (iv) **Waliulwa walililela, waliwana walinyembunya.**
When you want something, you cry for it, but when it is given to you, you may not bear the consequences of your choice.
- (v) **Kwalanga kasawelo**
Seeing is not foolishness.

It was emphasised by the interviewees that proverbs are often a cushion of indirectness for speakers who wish to comment on or correct or alter another person's behaviour. They help to maintain the speaker's face, since it is threatened by FTA utterance. Hence, a difficult utterance is prefaced or laced with a proverb. They act as

a bell, a gong to alert the hearer that a face-threatening speech act is about to be performed. The hearer is alert. The Lozi people did not create proverbs. They behave like lawyers in court citing a “case” to support their point of view. Proverbs give weight to the validity of their point. Proverbs smoothen the rough edges of communication in a community that must live and interact closely together (Nwoga, 1975).

From observations made in natural environments (home public domains), it is clear that proverbs are used in social interactions to summon the conscience of the guilty to reform and follow the rules of the school order or to show the community that the rules have been followed.

One interviewee noted, **“Proverbs are counted as an indirect device. Linguistic taboos are expressed in the form of proverbs. Proverbs are metaphorical, they are an avoidance strategy that reflects the value of the society. The Lozi use proverbs in particular because of a number of reasons. They are frequently used because of their literal attribute of being figurative and conveying truth. Even offensive truth can be made less offensive. Proverbs are society’s mirror. They reveal cultural attitudes and values of the society in which they exist, for transmission of culture.”**

From the domains investigated and from probing further through focus groups and interviews from interlocutors, it was observed that proverbs are laid bare and there has to be shared knowledge between the speaker and the addressee, making them a more significant politeness device. The speaker infers from what is said, even from the most sensitive things like sickness, death.

PROVERBS ABOUT DEATH

- (i) **Litooma mundi wa Nyambe nenyi na kwatiwa munyanguba, u muta ta unje ni mutelela.**

Litooma (heaven), Nyambe’s (God’s) home always has visitors. No one who goes there returns.

- (ii) **Kwa musha tuna ubanene kawa nungu bo kawa maci to aliba munu.**

Nyambe (God) doesn’t give any notice when he comes to take life. No one is clever before God.

(iii) Utela bakenu abakulimbulula.

Nyambe is all-powerful. He catches humans unawares

(iv) Liywa lya kufa kalimukwa

Life is unpredictable. Death is inevitable. One never knows when one will die.

(v) VMayumbelo nambulan'geke

Graves have no mercy

(vi)Banji ni bamba, eba neliwa kale; batundwa nji tubandakana.

The world is a painful place. We exit the world through sufferings.

PROVERBS CONCERNING SICKNESS

(i) Kupelwe eliywe kakuyuya bukame kwipelwe eliywa kakuyupa.

(ii) Kunyima unyangubele kuuso.

Seeing is not foolishness.

To understand the above utterances (proverbs), the listener has to infer their meanings. The study found that the proverbs' significance lies in generating implicatures. Grice defines a conversational implicature as a proposition which the hearer must make in order to preserve his assumption that the cooperative principle and maxims have been obeyed. Conversational implicatures are, roughly, things that a hearer can work out from the way something is said rather than what is said. The concept of speaker meaning constitutes the aspect of what is meant in a speaker's utterances without being part of what is said. What a speaker wants to communicate is characteristically far richer than what he or she directly expresses (Horn, 2004).

4.3. REACTIONS TO THE SUBJECT OF AVOIDANCE STRATEGIES IN RELATION TO TABOO LANGUAGE BY DIFFERENT INTERLOCUTORS, THOSE OBSERVED AND INTERVIEWED.

During the research, the researcher noted various reactions to the subject, and the discussion of the sensitive nature of the topic. The following non-verbal clues were identified:

(i) Disgust, “horrified look.”

Some people interviewed indicated surprise as to why such a topic could be investigated. This sent a message, a more convincing message, about the sensitive nature of the topic under study.

(ii) Suppressed smiles

In some cases, those interviewed did not actually laugh but tried to hide their laughter in the form of a suppressed smile. A suppressed smile shows how the the speaker feels about what he is saying, or alternatively, how listeners are responding to what they hear.

(iii) Group members’ reassuring smiles.

In focus groups, the members’ reassuring smiles indicated the importance of the subject under study.

(iv) Eye contact

Group members were focusing on the interviewer when speaking. Eyes settled on the speaker. Occasionally people shifted their eyes away from the interviewer, especially when the topic was just introduced. The people’s eyes settled on whoever was speaking. A person’s eyes can reveal and disclose information about their feelings and their mental state (Nowicki (2001) states: “A person’s face can reveal his feelings about the subject at hand.”

(v) Nodding

People nodded in agreement or for emphasis.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.0 GENERAL

The previous chapter provided a detailed account of Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies in relation to taboo language. The chapter also presented a discussion of the significance of the Lozi linguistic avoidance strategies. In short, Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies are as an iceberg to Silozi culture. They are a reflection of the Silozi way of life. The present chapter provides a summary of the research findings and makes some recommendations for future research.

5.1.1 SILOZI TABOO LANGUAGE A REALITY

The study concluded that linguistic taboo is any word or phrase or topic that, if mentioned in public, provokes shame, embarrassment, shock, and it is offending to the hearer's sensibilities or his beliefs. Taboo words are words that many people consider offensive or shocking or face-threatening. Taboo language falls into these categories: (i) Name taboo - these are names to be avoided being referred to e.g. a husband may not call her wife by name. (ii) Disease taboo - diseases like AIDS, not referred to directly. (iii) Excretion (faeces), Urination (urine), menstrual activity. All these are not referred directly. (iv) reference to the Monarch - royal vocabulary is used

as a symbol to refer to the Litunga as ordinary. Items relating to the body parts e.g hands, lips face and the Litunga's property are not referred directly. Linguistic avoidance strategies in reference to the Monarch are employed. (vi) Death- the Lozi speaking people regard subjects relating to death and dying as taboo. These are also not referred to directly.

Therefore language is used to avoid directly saying such matters and prefer to talk about them in roundabout ways. This is in line with Bakhtiar (2012) who argues that in each culture, taboo domains are subject to varying degrees of constraint and prohibition.

5.1.2 SILOZI LINGUISTIC AVOIDANCE STRATEGIES A REALITY

The study concluded that linguistic avoidance is a response to stimulus that may be threatening to the speaker in a speech event. Stimulus in this case is taboo language. Linguistic avoidance is an act or practice of avoiding something undesirable or unwelcome. An interlocutor's statement represents a threat to another interlocutor's expectations. Therefore people avoid taboo language and use more appropriate language. In short, that which people avoid does not completely go away, but emerge as (i) euphemism (ii) metaphor (iii) understatement (iv) circumlocution (v) tales (vi) name avoidance (vii) avoidance register attributed to the Litunga

(vii) proverbs.

Euphemism, as an avoidance linguistic strategy is used to substitute an expression which is offensive, with a pleasant expression. Death is regarded as taboo. The word **kushwa** (die) is not referred to directly but referred to as "**kupumula**"(resting), "**kusilela mwa buse**"(crossing the river). Disease, sexual organs, are not referred directly. Metaphor is understood "literally" as a means of approaching something in terms of something else. One word is moved from another domain and used to refer to something else. E.g. "**busihu**" (night) is used to refer to **lifu** (death), **kukuta kwa liluli** (to return to the earth), **buloko bwa mafelelezo** (last sleep), **musipili wa mafelelezo**(last journey). Metaphors are used to popularize complex issues as they present novel and abstract ideas in terms of something familiar. Understatement, as a linguistic avoidance strategy, says less than what could have been said. In a bid to be polite, interlocutors understate facts. Circumlocution is used as a vehicle of indirectness, to talk about things in a roundabout manner. Tales are prose narratives which are regarded as fiction. They are told and are

considered to be truthful accounts of what happened in the remote past. Tales may be used to call attention or to emphasize tabooed topics. Tales are told with a view to educating listeners, impart morals. But they are narrated with caution, so that information achieves specific purposes.

The study also revealed that name avoidance is verbal politeness which reflects the Silozi culture. Calling a tabooed name is a face-threatening speech act, it's like assaulting the owner of the name. The Silozi community has its own ways about speaking and these are linked to judgement of situational appropriateness. Language is bound up with culture in multiple and complex ways. Royal vocabulary is used as a symbol to refer to the Litunga as divine. Silozi linguistic avoidance in reference to the Monarch, portrays the Litunga as super political power. An avoidance register relating to the body parts, e.g. hands, lips, way of talking, laughing is talking are used. The study also revealed that in Silozi society, proverbs are highly valued as a mode of communication; a linguistic avoidance strategy in the management of "face". Interactants take special steps to prevent their faces from being marred. Proverbs give a human face to a risky utterance. Therefore proverbs may be used to reprimand or recommend a course of action. Proverbs give validity to stated points.

5.1.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF LINGUISTIC AVOIDANCE STRATEGIES

Linguistic avoidance strategies (euphemism, metaphor, understatement, circumlocution, tales, name avoidance, avoidance register attributed to the Litunga, proverbs) centre on the notion of politeness. People will use polite strategies to enhance face between themselves and their interlocutors. Linguistic avoidance strategies serve as a "face-saving act". They give human face to risky utterances. The use of linguistic expressions suggests that speakers have or wish to have a close personal relationship with others. Linguistic avoidance strategies are part of ethnography of communication. The goal behind every communication is the conveyance of information, yet communication should be bound by rules of namely politeness, formality and appropriateness that make the messages more understandable. Therefore, linguistic avoidance strategies act as a conveyor belt in conveying face-threatening speech acts taking into consideration the face of the hearer and that of the Listeners.

Silozi linguistic strategies are an iceberg to Silozi beliefs. For example, metaphor, euphemism, proverbs and avoidance register attributed to the Litunga portray the Lozi belief in life after death. The Lozi view death as a human destiny, decisive and irreversible. Man lives under the shadow of death due to his incapacity to “last”. Death forms a bridge between this world and the one beyond. Death in this sense is not the act of returning to the world of the ancestral spirits but rather the process through which a Lozi person attains heavenly paradise. This is reflected in linguistic avoidance in relation to the Litunga the King of the Lozi. Separate lexemes are used to refer to him. The Litunga, the king of the Lozi, is considered as the representative of the Lozi God, Nyambe on earth. Death seems to have reverse effects of raising dead Kings to the ranks of deities. Hence these terms are used, **Imutakwandu** (king has returned, referring to a king who died after ruling for a long time; **Imushotoki** (king has returned refer to a king who died after ruling for a short time; **Sitino** (a village where the King is buried). Euphemisms confirm the Lozi belief in after life. **Uile** (he/she is gone), **uitangetile** (he/she is gone ahead of us). Metaphors confirm the Lozi belief in life after death: **Musipili otata** (difficult journey), **Mukolo utile** (the boat has arrived), **bazamayi fa lifasi** (travellers on earth). Concepts about death and the power of the Lozi god, Nyambe are reflected in proverbs: **Toli bamunu wiluteela bakenu abeelu kulimbulula samutumwa Nyambe wasanowanga sa munu afe, sa munu ayoye** (What Nyambe (God) wills comes to pass. Nyambe decides whether man lives or dies).

	LINGUISTIC AVOIDANCE STRATEGY	SOCIO-PRAGMATIC SIGNIFICANCE
1	Euphemism	Politeness -Enables interlocutors to discuss sensitive areas of culture without offending anyone -Consideration to others . HIV/AIDS and other venereal diseases discussed euphemistically. This stems from

		Silozi society as a collective society
2	Circumlocution	<p>Politeness device</p> <p>-Interlocutors avoid face-threatening speech acts in order to save their face, at the same time save face of the hearers.</p>
3.	Understatements	-Minimise the impact of face-threatening speech acts. The face of the speaker is protected and, at the same time, the face of the listener is protected.
4	Tales	-Narrative, held with a view to educating people and inculcating morals in them, with caution, so that the faces of the speaker and listeners are taken care of.
5	Name avoidance	-Name avoidance, part of verbal interactions, socially constructed and centred on culture of politeness and, collective society, to call a tabooed name is face-threatening to the caller and the owner of the name
6	Avoidance register attributed to the Litunga	-The Litunga has his own avoidance register attributed to him and his property because he represents divinity, the Lozi god, Nyambe, on earth. The Litunga is portrayed as a semi-god. Some language attributed to him regards him as immortal. He never dies.
7	Metaphor	-Metaphors are used as a vehicle of

		indirectness, to talk about things in a roundabout manner. They point to the Lozi religion, belief in after-life and their union with ancestors and god, Nyambe
8	Proverbs	-Proverbs are an indirect device, in that information is not given in a direct way but the target recipients have to infer meaning from the proverbs. They generate implicatures

5.1.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

This study approached linguistic avoidance strategies in relation to taboo language from a theoretical point of view featuring Stella Ting Face's negotiation theory, Grice's cooperative principle and Brown and Levinson's politeness theory. The study recommends that future research on linguistic avoidance could be explored using other politeness theories. Linguistic avoidance strategies as a pragmatic field is not a closed-up field but an open field because of the fluid nature of avoidance strategies. Avoidance strategies are culture-specific and may evolve with time.

Silozi being the regional language of Western Province is officially used in schools and other public domain. It is recommended that the Ministry of Education and curriculum specialists review the Silozi syllabus to include much of the stated Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies, i.e.. metaphors, euphemisms, proverbs, and language in reference to the monarch, the Litunga. These should be incorporated in the Silozi language textbooks. Without any doubt, they would also help non-Silozi speakers learn Silozi because linguistic avoidance strategies are part of Silozi communicative competence.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1A

Pampili ya Buiketelo bwa ba ba buziwa.(Silozi)

Kuitibahaza: Libizo laka kina Manyando Kayangula, ni mwana sikolo fa Sikolo se sipahami sa University ya Zambia. Ni batisisa fa taba yeamana ni mo lukonela kotokolomohela lipulelo zeo li balwa kuli ki za mwila. Ni kupa zibo kuamana ni maikuto ni maikuto a mina fa taba yeo. Nimikupa kuli mube babanwi ba bakaba mwa lipatisiso ze. Zibo yemuka fa kaufela ikaba likunutu. Mulukuluhile kuzwa mwa ku buziwa haiba mubona kuli mubata kuzwa, nebile kuli lipatisiso inge likalile.

Nalumela kuba ni kabelo mwa lipatisiso ze.

Signature.....

Date.....

**APPENDIX 1 (A) CONSENT FORM FOR INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWEES
(ENGLISH TRANSLATION)**

Sel- introduction: My name is Manyando Kayangula, a student from the University of Zambia. I am conducting research on Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies in relation to taboo language. I need information on your views, opinions, feelings and general attitudes regarding the said topic for the research. I therefore request you to be part of the study. Any information you provide will be confidential and only used for this study. And you are free to opt out of this interview in case you feel not to be part of the study, even when the interview has begun.

Thank you.

I consent to participate in the study;

Signature:

Date :

APPENDIX 1 (B)

ZEAMANA NI LIPUZO.

Mukololo wa lipuzo wo, ukatusa ku nga zetokwahala kuamana ni mukwa wale wa kupotoloha lipulelo za mwila.

(1)Kana ki mina bo mani libizo la mina?

(2)Muna ni lilimo ze kai za ku pepwa?

(3)Muina kakai mi mueza n'i mwa bupilo?

(4)Mufitile kai kuamana ni tuto?

KALULO YA BUBELI

(1)Alikaya ka puo ya Silozi

(i) Kanti kotaluswa nyi hakubulelwa za lipulelo ze sa swanelwi ku bulelwa?

(ii)Hamutaluse lipulelo zeo ze balelwa kwa lipulelo za mwila kamba za mbamba?

(2) Amutaluse kabukuswani lipulelo zebalelwa kwa lipulelo zesa swanelwi kubulelwa?

(3)Muitusisanga lipulelo zecwani hamuambolanga lika zebalelwa ku ze sa lumelezwi?

(4)Ki bufi butokwa bo butuna bwa lipuo/lipulelo zecwalo?Ki bufu butokwa bwa lipulelo ze kwa baitusisi ba puo, hamoho cwalo ku mutu alimun'wi?Lipulelo ze, libonisa cwani, mipilelo ya bupilo bwa bana ba Silozi?

APPENDIX 1(B)

INTERVIEW GUIDE. (FOR INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS)

This interview guide is intended to collect data for research purposes only, on Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies in relation to taboo language.

PROFILE

- (1)What's your name?
- (2)How old are you?
- (3)Where do you live and what do you do for a living?
- (4)What's your level of education?

PART 2

- (1)Among the Siloz- speaking people:
 - (i)What is termed as Silozi taboo language?
 - (ii)Give examples of Silozi taboo language?
- (2)Would you explain why such language is termed as taboo language?
- (3) What kind of language do you use each time you encounter taboo language?
- (4) What is the importance of this language to the society and to individuals? How does the language you mentioned reflect the Silozi society?

APPENDIX 1(C) CONSENT FORM FOR FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSANTS

Mukoloko wa molika zamaisezwa lingambolo zeamana ni kubuabuisana kuamana ni tukwata.

Buiketelo bwa ba ba kaambola mwa sikwata.

Tibahazo: Na kina Manyando Kayangula, ni mwana sikolo fa sikolo sesipahami sa University ya Zambia. Ni nga lipatisiso zeamana ni lipulelo za mwila hamoho cwalo ni lipulelo zeluutisisanga mwa sibaka salipulelo zeo. Na mi amuhela mwa sikwata se, seluambola lingambolo ze. Mu zibiswa kuli zeluambola kaufela likaba likunutu mi likaitusiswa feela kuamana ni kun'ola litaba za tuto ye.

Hamubale kakutokomela ni ku saina kwa mafelelezo kulumela kuli mukaba babamwi ba ba kaba mwa lingambolo ze.

Luitumezi.

Signature.....

Date

APPENDIX 1 C CONSENT FORM FOR FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSANTS

Guide for focus group discussion with Silozi speakers in Mongu.

Self-introduction: My name is Manyando Kayangula from the University of Zambia. I am conducting research on Silozi linguistic avoidance strategies in relation to Silozi toboo language. I welcome you to this focus group discussion. You are assured that all the information provided during this interview shall be kept confidential and only used for the purpose of this study. Kindly read and then sign the consent form if you agree to take part in this study.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Signature.....

Date

APPENDIX 1(D) (LIPUZO ZA MWA TUKWATA)

Mukololo wa lipuzo zenebuziwa feela babainzi mwa tukwata twa kuambola litaba.

LIPUZO ZA PILI

- (1) Kana ki mina bo manyi mabizo?
- (2) Muna ni lilimo ze kai za kupepwa? Manyi ni manyi abulele lilimo zahae za ku pepwa?
- (3) Muna ni kalulo manyi mwa silalanda samina?
- (4) Mufitile kai kuamana ni tuto?

KALULO YA BUBELI

- (1) Muutuswisa nyi fa pulelo yeli lipulelo za muila ze sabuleli fa patalaza?
- (2) Kanti ki nyi lipulelo ze hali bizwa ka libizo lelicwalo?
- (3) Ki lipulelo manyi mwa puwo ya Silozi zeluitusisa mwa sibaka sa lipulelo ze, za muila?
- (4) Kana ki bufi butokwa bwa lipulelo ze cwalo? Ona lipulelo ze, libonisa butokwa mani mwa sizo , hamoho cwalo ni baitusisi ba puo?

APPNDIX 1 (D) INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION AND SCHEDULE FOR INTERVIEWS

These are the questions that will be used for focus group discussions.

PROFILE

- (1)What are your names?
- (2)How old are you?
- (3)What influence do you have in your community? What do you do?
- (4)What's your level of education?

OTHER QUESTIONS

- (1)What do you understand by the term taboo language?
- (2)Why is such language termed as taboo language?
- (3)What linguistic avoidance strategies are employed by Silozi speakers when they encounter taboo language?
- (4)What is the importance of linguistic avoidance strategies to the society and to the individual? How does this language affect the Society?**

SCHEDULE FOR SEMI-STRUCTURED INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS AND SEMI-STRUCTURED FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEWS

NO. OF INTERVIEW	DATE OF INTERVIEW	TYPE OF INTERVIEW	DESCRIPTION OF INTERVIEWEE	NUMBER OF INTERVIEWERS	DURATION OF THE INTERVIEW
1	21/12/2015	Semi-structured (individual)	26 years, lives in Lealui, fisherman, Grade 9 drop-out	1	30 minutes
2	21/12/2015	Semi-	Focus group	8	60

		structured focus group	<p>consisted of 4 males and 4 females.</p> <p>Their ages are (58, 48, 44, 42, 33, 30, 28, 26), two retired teachers, 2 businessmen, 2 housewives , one induna. Level of education: 2 college education, 2 grade 12</p>		Minutes
3	21/12/2015	Semi-structured focus group	<p>Focus group consisted of 5 females, 4 males.</p> <p>Their ages were: 36, 34, 33, 30, 30, 29, 28, 28, 24: King's ballads (2), 4 businessmen, 3 marketeers). Level of education: 4 Form 3, 5 Grade 12's</p>	9	60 Minutes
4	23/12/2015	Semi-structured (individual)	<p>36 years princess, a degree holder, daughter of the late Litunga of the Lozi, Ilute</p>	1	35 Minutes

5	23/12/2015	Semi-structured (individual)	57 years, induna at Lealui. A degree holder, retired head teacher.	1	30 Minutes
6	23/12/2015	Semi-structured (individual)	45 years, teacher in Mongu district, a diploma holder in education	1	30 Minutes
7	31/12/2015	Semi-structured focus group	Focus group consisted of 4 females, 2 males, their ages were : 44, 43, 40, 34, 30, 28; indigenous Silozi speakers, two grade 9 drop-outs, four grade 12's	6	60 Minutes
8	4/1/2016	Semi-structured (individual)	40 years, in Mongu, teacher with a degree	1	25 Minutes
9	4/1/2016	Semi-structured focus group	Focus group consisted of 4 females and 2 males. Their ages were 34,	6	60 Minutes

			30, 28, 27, 27, 24. Three balladeers (praise-singers) at the Litunga's palace, 1 induna, 2 Silozi speakers		
10	4/1/2016	Semi- structured focus group	Focus group consisted of 4 females and 2 males. Their ages 36, 32, 30, 30, 28, 28, 26. Three businesswomen, 1 nurse, two teachers. Level of education: 5 diploma, 1 grade 12	6	50 Minutes
11	5/1/2016	Semi- structured (individual)	46 years, in Mongu, teacher, a graduate with a degree in education	1	40 Minutes
12	5/1/2016	Semi- structured (individual)	48 years, in Mongu, retired language specialist, worked for the Ministry of Education, a graduate with a Bachelor of Arts	1	30 Minutes

			degree in Education		
13	12/1/2016	Semi-structured (individual)	26 year-old lady, in Lealui, unemployed, a primary school drop-out	1	40 Minutes
14	13/1/2016	Semi-structured (individual)	56 -year-old man, an induna at Lealui at the King's palace, a grade 12 school certificate holder	1	40 Minutes
15	13/1/2016	Semi-structured (individual)	60-year- old man, a balladeer at Lealui at the Litunga's palace. No formal education	1	32 Minutes
16	13/1/2016	Semi-structured focus group	Focus group consisted of 4 females, 4 males. Their ages were :54, 53, 50, 46, 46, 44, 40, 36. All these were indigenous Silozi speakers. 5 business people, 1 housewife, 2 nurses, 2 college	8	60 Minutes

			certificates, 5 Grade 12's		
17	26/1/2016	Semi-structured (individual)	36- year-old lady, in Mongu, a princess, daughter of late Litunga Mbikusita Lewanika, a Political Science graduate	1	34 Minutes
18	26/1/2016	Semi-structured (individual)	31- year-old man, in Lealui, self-employed who has a grade 12 certificate	1	40 Minutes
19	26/1/2016	Semi-structured (individual)	44 –year-old lady, Mongu, traditional counsellor, no formal school	1	40 Minutes
20	26/1/2016	Semi-structured(individual)	75- year-old man, an induna at the Litunga's palace, a traditionalist, Standard 2 education	1	35 Minutes

21	26/1/2016	Semi-structured (individual)	26- year-old lady, Lealui resident, has stayed in Lealui all her life, a marketeer, Grade 9 certificate	1	30 Minutes
22	8/2/2016	Semi-structured (individual)	59 –year-old lady, a Mongu resident, retired local court justice at Suulu Local Court in Mongu, Form 2	1	30 Minutes
23	8/2/2016	Semi-structured (individual)	A 41-year-old lady, in Mongu. Grade 12 certificate holder	1	35 Minutes
24	8/2/2016	Semi-structured (individual)	A 44- year- old lady, an education standards officer at Mongu provincial education office	1	30 Minutes
25	8/2/2016	Semi-structured (individual)	80 –year-old man, in Mongu, retired social worker, a college certificate holder	1	35 Minutes

26	9/2/2016	Semi-structured (individual)	33- year-old Lozi lady, a nurse, a diploma holder in nursing, with high Silozi communicative competence	1	35 Minutes
27	9/2/2016	Semi-structured (individual)	34 -year-old man, Mongu resident, a businessman who has stayed in Mongu from his birth, Grade 12 certificate holder	1	30 Minutes
28	9/2/2016	Semi-structured (individual)	62- year-old woman, a traditional marriage counsellor who has lived in Lealui from childhood. No formal education	1	35 Minutes
29	11/3/2016	Semi-structured (individual)	60 year-old man, a village headman at a village near Mongu township, a retired teacher, has a diploma in	1	30 Minutes

			education		
30	13/3/2016	Semi-structured (individual)	53 -year -old man, self employed Mongu man, competent in Silozi language, no formal education	1	30 Minutes

APPENDIX 1(D) (LIPUZO ZA MWA TUKWATA)

Mukololo wa lipuzo zenebuziwa feela babainzi mwa tukwata twa kuambola litaba.

LIPUZO ZA PILI

- (1) Kana ki mina bo manyi mabizo?
- (2) Muna ni lilimo ze kai za kupepwa? Manyi ni manyi abulele lilimo zahae za ku pepwa?
- (3) Muna ni kalulo manyi mwa silalanda samina?
- (4) Mufitile kai kuamana ni tuto?

KALULO YA BUBELI

- (1) Muutuswisa nyi fa pulelo yeli lipulelo za muila ze sabuleli fa patalaza?
- (2) Kanti ki nyi lipulelo ze hali bizwa ka libizo lelicwalo?
- (3) Ki lipulelo manyi mwa puwo ya Silozi zeluitusisa mwa sibaka sa lipulelo ze, za muila?
- (4) Kana ki bufi butokwa bwa lipulelo ze cwalo? Ona lipulelo ze, libonisa butokwa mani mwa sizo , hamoho cwalo ni baitusisi ba puo?

APPENDIX 3

POLITENESS AS A LINGUISTIC DEVICE

(1) PROVERBS CONCERNING LOZI GOD, NYAMBE

1. Nife ni yoye kunu kuli Nyambe o mufuti no moyo.

-Whether I die or live, my life depends on God.

2. Litooma mudi wa Nyambe nenyi na kwatiwa munyanguba. U muta ta unje ni mutelela.

Litooma (heaven), Nyambe's (God's) home, always has visitors. No one who goes there returns.

(3) Imwala nema talulenda, Nyambe twala moyo.

-Human beings may measure their fields, but God looks at life.

(4) Nyambe Ngula musimu kaloya ngundu andinyi. Musimu mwaenyi ni nya alaba.

Nyambe (God) is the Creator, He is capable of looking on the earth to see and weigh every danger.

(5)Sakaongo nakelo sowana wandala.

Nyambe (God) is the Provider of human needs. He is merciful.

(6)Kawa musha tuna ubanene kawa nungu bo kawa maci to aliba munu.

Nyambe (God) doesn't give a notice when he comes to take life. No one is clever before Nyambe (God).

(7)Uitela bakenu abakulimbulula.

Nyambe is all powerful. He catches human beings unaware.

(1) Sa Mutumwa Nyambe wasanonga samunu ase. Kamunu ayoye isa ni lyoya lyonje ni mulumbela.

Whatever Nyambe (God) declares comes to be. It is he who decides who lives and who dies.

(9)Nyambe Ngula musimu, witumuka bakenu. Lyanga nali mwala.

Nyambe (God) has- power. He has power even to destroy the world.

(10) Nyambe usamukungo ni nyamupu na ngombe.

Nyambe (God) is all- powerful. He is the owner of everything, including cattle and all fields.

(11)Wi atumuka bakanu.Liangwa nali mwala. Usamukungo, minya mupu na ngombe.

Nyambe(God) is powerful, he is the universal reconciler, the owner of land and cattle.

(1) Lubosi lwa Nyambe nolunokwa kuboola muyumi; uyo alemalonje ni mutelela ukuta litooma mundi.

Nyambe (God) is the Judge. It is he who decides who goes to Litooma (Nyambe's village)

(13)Nyamb'a Ngula musimu kaloya ngundu; ambinji musimwa aenyi minya alaba.

Nyamba Ngula's offspring, the incomprehensible spirit, the renowned hosting god ,the owner of the living;

(14) Toli bamunu wiluteela bakenu abeelu kulimbulula samutumwa Nyambe wasanowanga sa munu afe, sa munu ayoye.

What Nyambe (God) wills comes to pass. Nyambe decides whether man lives or dies.

(2) PROVERBS CONCERNING SICKNESS.

(1) Kupelwe eliywe kakuyoya bokame kwipelwe eliywa kakuyoya.

To see the sun rise is not to live, and not to see the sun rise is not to live either. For someone suffering continuing to live is as good as dying.

(2) Munukayumbwa

A human being is never discarded. This is said in consolation to a parent with a disabled child.

(3) Kunyima unyangubele kuuso nonyibaa.

It is better to die than endure a painful disease.

(1) Watutanga mukisi utamba kuwa kutula lyamutumbi mboloolwa.

PROVERBS AS A POLITENESS DEVICE TO CONSOLE THE GRIEVING. (PROVERBS CONCERNING DEATH)

(1) Liywa lya kufa kalimukwa.

Life is unpredictable. Death is inevitable. One never knows when they will die.

(1) Mayumbelo nambula ng'eke.

“Graves have no mercy.” This expression shows the way people loathe death.

(3) Munu kafela muliyungo.

Man's death is a great event in that it is accounted for. A human being never dies in the wilderness.

(4)Mufu kaakubele.

A dead person doesn't (cannot) fold himself, someone in trouble cannot help himself but needs help from others.

(2) Banji ni bamba, aba neliwa kale; batundwa nji tubundakana.

The world is a painful place. We exit it through sufferings.

(C) PROVERBS AS AN ADVICE DEVICE

(1)Sikanamunanga sa metu sa waba sili a metu.Sa tunda metu sa yumbiwa.

You are lucky when you are still survived by your parents.

(2) Mu siula ka ku lumbekwa, musiwana ni mulumbekwa.

Praise is given only to the one who diligently worked hard to earn what he desired.

(3) Siywamiwinji ka si sanenwa lumonyi.

To be warned is to be forewarned;you don't need light during the day to check impending danger.

(4) Ikanungwe siwo lumbu, mutwiwambwa u lundukile.

Don't despise advice from elders, no matter how small they may look.

(5)Mubonda bebi ngombe kule.

It is very easy to commit an offence, but difficult to pay.

(5) Mukulu kulwa ilya ka kulwa ibanguta.

An elderly person may lack food, but not counsel.

(6) Mukulu ni lukona,mwanuke ni mutate; wa ku tingela ba mukulu na ka yoyo.

An elderly person is like a broad tree with deep roots. He doesn't lack advice.

(7) Unungu wa mataba ni ku mutwaleti.

In life, those who are leading the way know hardship along the way.

(8) Wende onjengwe omupu bonamene maeo.

Be cautious in life, people's teeth should not deceive you.

(9) Waliulwa walililela, waliwana walinyembunya.

When you want something, you cry for it. But when it is given to you, you may not bear the consequences of your choice.

(10) Katongo usiya mukulu ukooka ukumuwana.

The place where you have left an elder, upon your return, you find him there.

(11) A simbuyu yayup kundina ko kumibonda

Close associates are heard of mostly because of problems.

(13) Ikayeme Silabo libe bokame ng'alulula mako.

Sometimes physical beauty has no practical value.

(14) Kwise nyati ni bakatondo.

To provoke a buffalo is to have a tree nearby.

He who stirs up trouble must weigh the consequences.

(15) Tawana mbulu tumulye mbulu kaa mwabetu.

In an unfamiliar social environment, it is always advisable to act with caution.

(16) Kaonga oonge nyoko, Itowe ni watuulu.

If you must deceive, deceive your mother: your father is big- legged.

(17)Moongwa mwalimbulula, Nyambe wamubile welo.

When you are deceived, you may not notice. But you need an elderly person to alert you of the danger.

(18)Koongwa akalu, koongwa anuke.

When elders are deceived, children are, too. An issue which puzzles adults cannot be solved by children.

(19) Kufanga kuwayupa.

Sometimes a person dies because of not listening.

(20)Mwanuke ufune elema, isaalabo ni ya mabila.

Youths, enjoy yourselves while you are still young, but remember that there are consequences for such actions.

(21)Wa mbuyoti kaalala musumbu,walala musumbu ni wa lumino.

A blessed person doesn't sleep in the dark, only a cursed person can sleep in the dark.

(22) Mbengenge ta mushitu ne kufeko bana.

Worldly pleasures always deceive children.

(23)Wa mumona maoyo ni mutunda kwanu.Walyambwa ni mwana namukuka.

Good behaviour reflects good upbringing.

(24)Kwalaiwa wa nyina owe, mwana Ndiyala uyupeko.

When those who have parents are being admonished, let the orphan take advantage of such counsels.

(25)Mulya mangolwa kalele ko mooleka; mumane elyaelikowa kalele ku muyoyisa.

He who eats everything in the evening doesn't eat with someone who has kept a little.

(26) Waonga mukulu, oku siele: mukulu ni wa maano biunda bo limbulula.

Be careful when you cheat an older person for they are full of wisdom.

(27) Meimalomba ka mana nyotwa, mwana mukowe kamana nyambo.

It's better to have your own children, because other people's children will not meet your expectations.

(28) Kwalanga kasawelo

Seeing is not foolishness.

(29) Kanuke kasambelwa kalungamenwa tumone.

Leave a child who does not want to heed advice alone to bear consequences of his /her actions.

(30) Kuleya ni koto kono amatina.

It is very easy to have children, but it is difficult to fend for them.

APPENDIX 4

ROYAL VOCABULARY APPLICABLE TO THE LITUNGA, THE LOZI KING

<i>ROYAL TERMS</i>	<i>ORDINARY TERMS</i>	<i>MEANING</i>
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1. Litunga	Mulena	King of the Malozi
2. Namaya	Muhata	The Litunga's fly whisk
3. Induna	Nduna	Traditional counsellor
4. Minyolui	Ngambela	The Prime Minister Of Barotseland
5. Kuta	Kuta	The traditional court
6. Kashandi	Kashandi	The Litunga's receptional hal.
7. Kukunona	Kufunduka	When the Litunga leaves a place
8. Kumaiba	Kutonda	Absence of the Litunga
9. Kuomboka	Kuomboka	To come out of the water onto dry land
10. Kukun'ula	Kubulela	When the Litunga speaks
11. Kutaleka	Kufitisa	To present a person to the Litunga
12 .Kushowelega	Kufa likuta	The royal salute performed to the Litunga
13 .Kupumenisa	Kualaba	A response after kushowelega from the Litunga through an induna
14. Ikandula	Sihalaleho	A platform in the kuta where the Lubona of the Litunga is placed
15. Sikutingo	Siziba sa Litunga	The Litunga's traditional kilt/attire
16. Tuyami	Libyana za Litunga	The Litunga's goods
17. Namoo	Patelo ya fa kuta	The open place between the Kuta and Iyangamba
18. Iyangamba	Lapa la Litunga	The Litunga's outer courtyard

19. Mutala	Lapa la Litunga	The inner courts of the Litunga
20. Lutala	Sitebule sa fitela Litunga	The royal pavilion
21. Lubona	Sipula sa Litunga	A royal chair for the Litunga
22. Libanga	Munyako wa lapa la Litunga.	The gate into the Litunga's courtyard
23. Kuashimisa	Kuitimula	When the Litunga sneezes
24. Kambai	Pata ya Litunga	The Litunga's face
25. Kwandu	Ndu ya Litunga	The Litunga's palace
26. Kuwaba	Kunyakalala	The presence of the Litunga
27. Kutamboka	Kunonta	The Litunga's majestic walk
28. Kuisiwa	Kubiziwa	When the Litunga invites a person through stewardship
29. Kusingula	Kulekula	To pay homage to the King
30. Nachilanisa	Kulumelisa	To greet the King
31. Wayuyana	Waomana	When the King scolds or rebukes
32. Kuyowana	Kutapa	Bath
33. Bwandilala	Minwana	The king's fingers
34. Bo Imuluka	Libyana	The king's clothing
35. Ushendami	Ulobezi	Sleeping
36. Wachilana	Uzuha hande	He is fine
37. Ku kuma kuma	Kukula	When the Litunga is sick
38. Male	Musiyo	Litunga's bedroom
39. Lienga	Situngu	Where the Litunga's food is cooked
40. Makolo	Babeleki ba basali	Women who sweep the Litunga's courtyard
41. Bambeti	Balizi	The Litunga's drummers

42. Indila	Mota	The Litunga's personal vehicle
43. Matende	Mota	Vehicle on which the Litunga's children travel
44. Ukundami	Kwa kweli	When women in the palace are on a monthly period
45. Kukumbela	Kuca	When the Litunga eats
46. Mande itubehile	Kutimela	The king has died
47. Matome	Sickness	The king's serious illness.
48. Ndu ye tuna.	Mwa kuina.	Sitting room.
49. Mbuwa.	Likomu.	The king's herd of cattle.
50. Kusena.	Kulila.	The king cries.
51. kuikan'ala.	Kuseha.	The king is laughing.
52. Libanga	Munyako wa lapa la litunga.	The gate into the Litunga's courtyard
53. Lutatai.	Sitebule sa fitela Litunga.	The royal pavilion
54. Mabuto.	Balibeleli.	The king's bodyguards
55. Ngweshi	Miwayo	Coloured royal spears
56. Mooyo.	Musala a Mulena.	The Litunga's wife
57. Makoshi.	Mukwae Ngula.	The Litunga's mother ,either by birth or inheritance
58. Likombwa.	Servants.	The Litunga's servants
59. Nalikwanda.	Mukolo.	The king's barge
60. Maoma.	Milupa.	Royal drums
61. Bo Imilema.	Mapokola ba Mulena.	Royal police
62. Limbetelo.	Ndu mo ku inzi milupa.	A house where the king's drums are kept
63. Mutana	Lapa la Muoli	The queen's courtyard
64. Imilombwe	Misumo	Poles surrounding the king's and queen's courtyard

65. Fa Ubanda	Fa kaufi ni Mulena	To be near the King
66. Imuluka yo Muswe	Lisila le lisweu leliyaliwanga fa litafule za Mulena.	White cloth spread on the king's tabl.
67. Yandi ya Nambwae	Mashasha a potolohile mandu a Mulena kapa Muoli.	Enclosures surrounding the king's wives houses
68. Miele	Litipa	The king's knives
69. Tuyami	Lika za Mulena.	The king's property
70. Ishee	Muna ya nyezi Mwana Mulena	A husband of the King's daughter
71. Meyana	Muna ya nyezi mwana a Mulena yo ndatahe uinzi fa Lioma.	A husband of the King's daughter whose father is on the throne
72. Muungo.	Tafule.	The Litunga's table
73. Kuwabile.	Fa inzi Mulena.	Where the king is.
74. kuashimisa.	Kuitimula	When the king sneezes.
75. Kashandi	Mwa kumbelela Mulena	Where the king feeds from.
76. Kutalekwa.	Kuzibahazwa ku Mulena.	Being introduced to the Litunga.
77. Sikombwa.	Mubeleki.	A servant of the Litunga.
78. Kukambama.	Kubiza.	The privilege of being called by the Litunga
79. Nawa.	Libulukelo.	A house where the king's raw food is stored
80. N'amba	Lika za Mulena	The king's property, such as mats, bracelets, honey
81. Mushukula, Nateyo, Newananyana	Mandu a manwi a Silena.	Some of the royal houses where the king's property is stored
82. Kutambula	Kufiwa	To be given anything by the King

83.Mumbeti.	Mulizi wa Milupa.	A special drummer who plays the King's drum and xylophones
84.Sope	Ngambela	The king's prime minister
85. Mwenduko	Mulupa wa Mulena.	The royal drum sounded early in the morning when the King is on a journey
86. Mwamwa	Mulupa wa Mulena.	The royal drum, sounded early in the morning on the day the king is on the journey
87.Mundili.	Mulupa wa Mulena.	A royal drum
88.Limbetelo.	Lapa la milupa.	A royal house where king's drums are kept
89. Mafula	Mulupa wa Silena	Royal drum sounded during the men's traditional dance, Ngomalume
90. Kushowelega.	Kushowelega.	A traditional Malozi royal salute. All the people kneel down and clap to perform the royal salute.
91.Liwale.	Ngoma ya basali.	A royal dance performed by women led by Princesses
92. Likambamelo.	Likambamelo.	A place where people ascend to see the King.
93. Kubami	Kupateha	When the king is busy
94. Mbuwa	Likomu	The king's cattle
95. Kusena.	Kulila.	When the king cries
96. Kuikan'ala.	Kuseha.	When the king laughs
97. Tungongo	Mazoho.	The Litunga's hands

98. Tukwakwa.	Milomo.	The Litunga's lip
99. Kasa.	Hotola.	When the Litunga coughs
100. Kuishiana.	Kuina.	When the Litunga sits down
101. Kukun'ula	Kubulela	When the King speaks
102. Nanda	Ndu ya Muoli.	The queen's residence
103. Kuta	Kuta	The traditional Court

ADDRESS TO THE KING, IF HE CALLS ANYONE;

- (i) **Ingishoo** -when you are somehow far.
- (ii) **Shangwe molyange-** when you are near.

APPENDIX 5: PHOTOGRAPHS OF SOME FOCUS GROUPS DISCUSSANTS

FOCUS GROUP MEETING HELD IN MONGU



FOCUS GROUP MEETING HELD IN MONGU



FOCUS GROUP MEETING HELD IN MONGU



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