

**A SOCIO-PRAGMATIC
ANALYSIS OF SILOZI EUPHEMISMS**

**BY
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**A Dissertation Submitted to the University of Zambia in Partial Fulfilment of
the Requirements of the Degree of Masters of Arts in Linguistic Science**

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA

LUSAKA

2011

DECLARATION

I, Christine Lubasi Mwanambuyu, do solemnly declare that this dissertation;

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ABSTRACT

The current study examined Silozi euphemisms from a sociopragmatic perspective within the framework of theories of Sociolinguistics and Pragmatics. Precisely, the study applied speech act theory, politeness theory, face theory and conversational analysis theories. This exercise was done in order to prove or test the theoretical position that in instances of language use in context, euphemisms perform functions as espoused under speech theory. Limulunga and Mongu confines of the western province of Zambia were the principle 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. A word and sentence completion task was administered to school pupils who were given ten ordinary Silozi words for them to supply the equivalent euphemisms and using these euphemisms to construct meaningful sentences appropriately. Observation of language use in domains such as court, church, girl in seclusion, home, hospital, school, local electronic media (Oblate Radio Liseli and Lyambai) was done by Check listing, that is, ticking the Silozi euphemisms used there in and to establish the direction, degree and causality of such use of euphemisms. The method used to gather data was qualitative but due to the fact that a variety of instruments were used, we may safely say that the actual method used was triangulation.

Though the researcher is a native speaker of the language under investigation, she decided to collect the bulk of the corpus from various sorts of texts on , such as novels, readers, bibles, and other grammars. Furthermore, the collected corpus had to be validated by using other speakers and informants using structured interviews, observations taken from various (domains) occurring interactions in public and private spheres, and sentence compilation task and recording.

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 it happens more frequently among elders than the young. In this regard it may be true to state that the forms euphemisms take and the euphemistic patterns depend on the social distance between the participants, their relative social statuses, age, occupation, gender and even power of the speaker and hearer which determines the strategies applied in Silozi euphemisms. The other aspect to bear in mind is the context of euphemisms and the speaker's intention. Some euphemisms are better understood and appreciated by people who share the same social cultural background or context. It is recommended that further studies be carried out to identify other factors that may affect the use of Silozi euphemisms from other dimensions.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my late father Mr. Baron, Nakula Lubasi, my beloved mother Catherine, Nyambe Mubukwanu who realized that educating a girl-child is educating the whole village and that this would bring prosperity in my humble life and the whole clan would benefit! I have prospered in life because of this brighter light which has continuously been shining on my path to prosperity. Beloved father, you should have been around to enjoy the fruits of your investment, alas you had to answer to the Lord's eternal call! I really salute you and may your dignified soul rest in eternal peace. My beloved husband, Mutafela Aggrey Mwanambuyu who allowed me to pursue my M.A though he greatly missed my love and care during the time of my studying. My four children: Akashambatwa, Monde, Nasilele and Mundia (respectively), who really needed parental love, care and guidance. To all these do I salute.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 General

This chapter introduces the study involving Silozi Euphemisms from a sociopragmatic perspective. The presentation starts with background information by establishing euphemisms as constituting a legitimate field of study in linguistics after which it presents information on the origin of Silozi, the specific language whose euphemisms are under investigation, as well as its status both in the Republic of Zambia in general and in the Western province of the country where it is predominantly spoken. In this regard, the chapter identifies the historical factors of migration and language contact between the Luyana and the Makololo which resulted into the death of the Luyana language and the production of a hybrid (creole) language known as Silozi. Thereafter, the chapter provides information relating to the statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, the objectives of the study, as well as the specific research questions which addressed the objectives and the rationale. It also gives a summarized description of the study methodology employed in data collection and analysis which is discussed in detail in chapter three. The next section of the chapter outlines the theoretical framework of the study, with specific focus on speech act theory, politeness theory and sociolinguistic theory, showing the validity of each of them to the current study. The chapter concludes by giving the scope of the study, outlining some of the limitations and providing a summary of the issues dealt with in the chapter.

1.1 Background

1.0 General

This study analyses Silozi euphemisms from a sociopragmatic perspective, that is, a sociological interface of Pragmatics involving both Sociolinguistics and Pragmatics. Therefore, sociopragmatics has to do with the analysis of significant patterns of interaction, in a particular social situation and or in a particular social system such as speech acts which may be realized

differently in different social contexts and situations as well as among different social groups within a given speech community.

Euphemisms are a common phenomenon in everyday conversations of people in various domains and have been the subject of research over the years. The most detailed publication of research output on euphemisms is by Rawson (1981) who compiled a dictionary of euphemisms and other double talks which embodies the achievements of research on euphemisms over the decades by many British and American linguists. The most important aspect of euphemisms, as presented in the preface to the publication, is that they constitute a widely and frequently used figure of speech. Rawson's publication complemented the earlier one by Mencken (1936) whose book, entitled *The American Language*, remains the earliest publication on euphemisms and laid the foundation for research. In this book, Mencken presents a detailed discussion as to why hundreds of euphemisms had been born and became popular on the basis of American history and social background. His book is a valuable legacy for studies on euphemisms.

Usually euphemisms aim at providing a way of speaking of the unspeakable (4). In Silozi, just as in English, euphemisms may be looked at from various angles such as metaphor, circumlocution, substitution of a word or phrase, referring or used as a way of showing politeness, or as a way of avoiding taboo words. The way people decide which form of language to use in a particular context depends on some factors such as distance between participants, their relative status, occupation and the formality of context. Some words or phrases are avoided because of superstition, taboo or vulnerability attached to such phrases. Therefore, it is in this regard that this exercise is facilitated through the application of theories of speech acts, politeness and sociolinguistics, which are applicable both Pragmatics and Sociolinguistics in the analysis of social communicative verbal interaction. Cooperative social interaction and displaying consideration for others are universal characteristics of every social-cultural group. (Watt 2003) Politeness theory extends to what is referred to as the '*theory of face*' which has been espoused by researchers such as Brown and Levinson (1987).

The present study is premised on the understanding that like any other human language Silozi makes use of euphemisms. Inspired by Mencken and Rawson, the researcher collected several Silozi euphemisms which were subjected to a sociopragmatic analysis in order to demonstrate

the fact that language, as a kind of behaviour, may be used to get others do something yet taking into consideration their public image.

1.1.1 Euphemism as a Field of Study in Linguistics

1.1.2 Definition of euphemism

Webster's New Dictionary (2003) refers to euphemism as, substitution of agreeable or offensive expression for one that may offend or suggest something unpleasant. The word euphemism originates from the Greek, the prefix "eu" means "well" or "sounding good" and the stem "pheme" means "speech" or "speak" and the suffix "-ism" means "action or results".

Qadi (2009) points out that euphemisms originated from a Greek word which means, "sounding good" and is defined in dictionaries as a rhetorical device. Qadi (ibid) quotes Wilson (1993) who considered euphemisms as, "words with meanings or sounds thought somehow to be nicer, cleaner or more elevated and so used as substitutes for words deemed unpleasant, crude or ugly in sound or sense", adding that "English euphemisms are exemplified as, 'pass away' for "die", 'intimacy for "sexual intercourse", 'underprivileged' for "poor", 'make redundant' for "dismissed", 'senior citizen' for "the old" among others, while an example of an Arabic euphemisms is 'kullu man' for "calajaha:fa:n", meaning "whatsoever is on earth is on it (the earth) will perish" or everyone will die, and so forth.

Williams (1975:198) states that, "euphemism is a kind of linguistic elevation or ion specifically directed towards finding socially accepted words for concepts that many people cannot easily speak of, and originated from Greek which means 'to speak' favourably" adding that, "the essential characteristic of euphemisms, whether arised from superstition or from the other social morals, is that in the course of time they lose their euphemistic character, and assume the full significance and connotations of the o iginal word that they have displaced, become taboo, and lastly have to be replaced by euphemisms" (ibid:3).

This observation suggests that the force of a euphemism does not last forever but it is not fully clear as to the circumstances under which a word or an expression can lose its euphemistic status.

Rawson (1981:1) points out that, “Euphemisms are powerful linguistic devices which are embedded so deeply in our language that few of us, even those who pride themselves on being plain spoken ever get through a day without using them.” While Asher (1994:1180) considers euphemism as, “sounding good, instead of blunt or coarse words.” He goes on to say that euphemisers prefer bland or enhancing terms and gives an example of ancient Greeks who propitiated the implacable Furies by calling them ‘*Eumerides*’, the good tempered-one’s, as they feared invoking them by their right name “*erinyes*”.” Asher also observes that some experiences in people’s lives are too vulnerable to be discussed freely without safeguards and gives examples of the major subjects of anxiety or shame as death, the supernatural, sexuality, the body, illness among others and points out that the precise areas of taboo are culture and era-specific, but the urge to vet or veto is timeless. He concludes by stating that, “Euphemisms provide a way of speaking about the unspeakable. It falls midway between transparent discourse and total prohibition” Asher (ibid: 1181). The point being made is that, in a conversation, an interlocutor is able to select a word or phrase which sounds better than the other in line with words used. The perspective presented by Asher shows that euphemisms are a substitute of an agreeable or less offensive expression in place of one that may offend or suggest something unpleasant to the receiver or make it less troublesome for the speaker, in the case of doublespeak. The deployment of euphemisms is a central aspect within the public application of political correctness.

Stockwell (2002) associates euphemisms with taboo and further to identify sex, death, war, defecation and all manner of social unpleasantness as taboo areas. On the other hand, Crystal (2002) observes that taboo language is that language which is avoided in times when people avoid a taboo item by replacing it with a more technical term commonly happens in medicine where terms such as anus, genital, vagina and penis are not mentioned directly but there is use of euphemisms in form of medical terms. Burrige (2004:199) supports Stockwell (2002) and Crystal (2002) by stating that, “taboo is revolting, untouchable, filthy, unmentionable, dangerous, disturbing, thrilling but, above all, powerful.” Crystal (2000) refers to taboo as language avoided to be used by people in polite society either because they believe them harmful or feel them embarrassing or offensive e. g. death (harm) and supernatural or merely vague discomfort deserving from a half believed superstition. According to Crystal, words or expressions are classified as taboo because they might be embarrassing as those referring to

sexual act and its consequences or offensive as those referring to various substances exuded by the body and different forms of physical, mental and social abnormality. Usually taboo words are avoided by replacing a taboo word with a more technical term, so, these technical terms are usually associated with euphemisms.

With regards to Silozi, Lisimba (2000) identifies a number of Silozi names as constituting euphemisms. These include a number of names referring to an otherwise taboo subject. Most of these names allude to the transitory nature of life and consequent death. He alluded to the fact of the notion of “*death*” as, “manifesting itself in subdivided parental anxiety over a new-born child’s ability to survive its early years and is introduced by a number of names derived from the verbs of duration for ‘*last*’, ‘*sleep*’, ‘*stay*’ and ‘*raise*’, Lisimba (2000: 52). According to Lisimba, in a more optimistic sense, euphemistic names are given to children so as to protect them from vengeful ancestral spirits. The process entails personification, whereby human qualities are attributed to selected animals as a source of inspiration. For instance, the name ‘*Sianga*’ is a euphemism for ‘*crocodile*’ and connotes tremendous physical force in the positive euphemistic sense. In this book, Lisimba talks about an aspect of “*death*” as being a taboo subject, a positive euphemistic sense which the present study has looked at in the sociopragmatic analysis of Silozi euphemisms which is an interface of Sociolinguistics and Pragmatics. It involves examining the ways in which conditions of language use derive from social situations.

The conclusion drawn from the various definitions for euphemism which have been presented above is that, in every human society there are certain words which are not supposed to be spoken or mentioned directly because they are frivolous, vulgar or at least inconsiderate. It is the case, therefore, that euphemisms form an integral part of human language and language in use and constitute a legitimate topic for investigation in linguistics. Bolinger (1971) observes language, as an instrument of social communication, takes into account not only the internal patterns of language as a self-contained system but also the manner in which these patterns relate to the communicative operation of language in use. This position is in line with that of Allan and Corder (1975:90) who state that,

“what the learner of a language needs primarily to know, is not so much how to recognize and produce sentences as linguistic objects but how to make and understand utterances which

express certain concepts, perform certain communicative acts, and in general enable the learner to participate in interactional processes of normal language use.”

The same perspective is held by Osterloh (1986:77) who observes that,

“Language is not simply a formal system of sounds, words and syntactical structures but language is also a way of communication by human people within their beliefs, attitudes, customs, behaviours, social habits, etc and this is what is meant by culture. Each language, in society accumulates rules according to which concrete statements are interpreted abstractly and which are valid through common usage.”

It is the case, therefore, that euphemisms qualify to be considered as a form of language use because they are used by people in society for communication purposes. Language is used as a way of communication and is regarded as the most important means by which people maintain their social relationships. In most situations, interlocutors, at the time of their communication, inevitably encounter unpleasant situations. This means that using direct and definite language to talk about unpleasantness will undoubtedly displease both sides of a conversation and possibly affect their relationship. Under such conditions, the use of euphemisms may be the best way of communicating. As observed by Enright (1985:13), “without euphemism, the rotation of the world would have stopped rubbing and would have been flooded with feud.” The use of euphemism, in this regard, lubricates language thereby minimizing the possibility of conflict. Another specific purpose of euphemism is to facilitate the avoidance of taboo words. In modern times, most of the taboo terms are avoided due to the fact that their use is regarded as distasteful within a given social context. Some speakers would claim that to utter the taboo terms would offend their own sensibilities, because of the supposed unpleasantness or ugliness of the taboo terms themselves. In many societies there is the perception that violation of taboo would automatically cause harm (even death) to the violator or his/her fellows. For example, in many cultures the name of gods and devils are taboo and people manage to avoid mentioning them directly, otherwise they would be accused of blasphemy. In order to avoid mentioning or talking about taboo matters, euphemisms are employed as substitutes for taboo words than often result in anxiety, embarrassment and public shame.

Finally, from the available literature, euphemisms are used in order to show politeness. In modern society, the psychology for the production of euphemisms has changed, the motivation

for euphemism is not usually with such fears, but is more concerned with not harming the sensibilities of any parties involved. The most important communicative function of euphemisms leads to the art of showing politeness. From the above examples, it is clear that euphemisms are used as a way of not wanting to frustrate or hurt those in sorrow but to somehow please them by using less offensive words in place of offensive ones.

1.1.3 Competence in using euphemisms

Competence in using euphemisms is an on-going linguistic socialization process throughout an individual's life. Since euphemisms are culture-specific, they constitute the living and lives experiences of individuals. They can only be acquired and used appropriately through the linguistic socialization process. This perspective is in line with Duranti (1985) and Hymes (1972) who describe speech events as "socially recognised activities that occur in specified situational settings, involving participant performing one or more socially relevant acts using communicative resources in conventionally expected way to achieve certain outcomes." The point being made is that linguistic socialization constitutes the only avenue for acquiring competence in using euphemisms.

1.1.4 Classification of euphemisms

Classification of euphemisms involves grouping them according to the characteristics of their referents or, in some cases, according to their meaning. In this regard, there are about three main categories of euphemisms: positive euphemisms, negative euphemisms and metaphorical euphemisms.

1.1.4.1 Positive euphemisms

According to Rawson (1981:1) positive euphemisms, are also referred to as stylistic or exaggerating (hyperbole) euphemisms, those which "inflate and magnify, making the euphemized items seem altogether grander and more important than they really are". This is done in order to avoid thrill, to be polite or to achieve cooperation. For instance, the British and American people, especially contemporary Americans prefer using this technique of exaggeration to euphemise something unpleasant and embarrassing. As such, they prefer using fancy occupational titles which save the egos of workers by elevating their job status, for

1.1.4.3 Metaphorical euphemism

Metaphor is a figure of speech as well as a common way of human thinking that exists in many languages. For instance, euphemisms for “*death*” are composed of metaphors such as: in English, ‘*going to his last home*’, ‘*to sleep the long/eternal*’, ‘*never ending sleep*’, ‘*to rest in peace*’/ *to be at rest*’, ‘*has gone to Heaven/paradise*’ are words which are often used to mean “*death*”. It is a belief of the state of the dead which is reflected even in the old testament ‘*Sleep*’, (“*to die*”) is a euphemism, so ‘*sleep*’ sounds like avoiding to use the frightening phrase “*to die*”. In a similar way, in Genesis chapter 3: 19 b there is a reference where God uttered a curse to Adam: “until you go back to the soil from which you were formed.” ‘*Going back to the soil*’ was used as a euphemism for “*dying*”. In the new testament there is an example of this kind of euphemism: in the book of John (11:11) where Jesus had this to say about his friend Lazarus whom everyone in Bethany regarded as dead and had even been buried for four days: “our friend Lazarus has *fallen asleep*, but I will go and awake him up.” In the real sense, Jesus meant that Lazarus had “*died*”, yet the disciples thought that he meant natural sleep. In this regard we experience Jesus’ use of a euphemism ‘*sleep*’ in place of a taboo or frightening word “*die*”. Another example is found in Matthew (9: 24) where Jesus commanded the people at the funeral of the official’s daughter as follows, “Get out, everybody! The little girl is not “*dead*”- she is only ‘*sleeping*!’” Jesus went ahead and took hold of the girl and she got up. In this story Jesus used the word, ‘*sleep*’ as a euphemism for the word “*dead*”.

From the above discussion on the classifications of euphemisms, it is clear that they may be sub-categorised differently, for instance: sex – negative, but also bodily functions, body parts. Others would relate to death, excretory, occupation or disease. Euphemisms are quite interesting in the sense that there are situations when some of these euphemisms are created depending on the inputs on a certain occasion and are never repeated while others are coined and reused later and ratified by many people and have lasted generations and even centuries.

1.2 The origin of Silozi

Since the present study focuses on Silozi euphemisms, it is necessary at this point to provide some background information on Silozi language. Silozi belongs to the Lozi Group of Bantu proper, grouped under Zone K20 (the Lozi Group) by Guthrie (1967) and is closely related to

Sotho (David, 1997). Nkolola-Wakumelo, quoted in Chabane (2003:89) confirms Silozi as “having developed due to language contact between Luyana and Makololo, a language spoken by the Sotho people, originally of the Fokeng group.” Therefore, the historical fight between the Makololo and the Luyana speakers led to a language conquest. Silozi, a language spoken by natives and non-natives, is one of the seven regional official languages in Zambia (Bemba, Kaonde, Lozi, Luvale, Nyanja, Tonga, and Lunda). It is officially designated for use in domains such as: administration, education, broadcasting, health, communication, literacy campaigns, political rallies and religion among others in the Western Province of the country.

Silozi is taught in some schools alongside other content subjects and it serves as the official regional language of communication in the Western Province and parts of Southern Province of the Republic of Zambia, particularly around Livingstone urban and Mambova area. Outside Zambia, Silozi is also taught in schools in the Caprivi region of Namibia. In fact it is one of Namibia’s official languages and is “spoken as lingua franca by all East Caprivi and is used in education and administration.” David (1997) states that Silozi is not only the mother-tongue or home language of a significant number of people in Namibia but is also one of the languages of wider communication in the region. Silozi is also an important lingua franca in Western Democratic Republic of Congo and is broadcast in Zambia, DR Congo as well as in South Africa. While there are some regional dialects of the language, the researcher investigated the variant of “*central*” Silozi, a dialect the writer is familiar with and which is mainly spoken in Mongu and Limulunga.

1.2.1 Silozi as product of languages in contact

Mesthrie et al (2000) state that language contact occurs when speakers of different languages come into contact resulting in increased social interaction necessitating the creation of a common language or lingua franca. But, more frequently, it is initiated by the spread of language of power and prestige via conquest and colonisation. Historically, Silozi is a language which developed from the contact of two languages namely, Luyana and Kololo. Originally, the Luyana people migrated south from the Luba-Lunda empire (diaspora) in the Katanga Region of the Congo River basin between the 17th and early 18th century. So, the Silozi-speaking people are believed to be migrants of Congolese origin who established a strong kingdom in the central plain in the early 17th century. Therefore, it may be true that these people, initially, may have spoken a

language similar to Luba-Lunda. The Aluyi (people of the water or rivers), as the Luyana-speaking people are also called, settled on the floodplains of the upper Zambezi River of today's Western Zambia, built, resided and developed a kingdom on great mounds on the plain because this place was considered safe from outside interference.

On the other hand, the Makololo an offshoot of the southern Sotho group displaced in the aftermath of the Shaka wars, were fleeing from Shaka Zulu's Mfekene and with the copied tactics from the Zulu armies were able to invade and overrun the Luyana kingdom on the Zambezi flood plains, which had been weakened by internal power struggles of the rivalry that was there at the time, between Litunga Silumelume and his brother Mubukwanu who wanted to overthrow him, so they found it easy to subdue the people and ruled them for forty years. During that period, they imposed their rule and language due to the fact that there was no one common language spoken around there, partly, because of large linguistic or dialectical differences. Therefore, the language of the conquerors (Sikololo) came to be spoken, not only between the conquerors and the conquered but also for the mutual understanding among the latter.

Simwinga (2006:165) testifies that, "Lozi is a corrupt form of rozwi, a Nguni term of southern Sotho language which means *'builders'*, a term which came from the Sotho speakers of Sebetwane who invaded Ngulu, the headquarters of the Aluyi in the 1840s, a Bantu language of the Niger-Congo language family". This Sotho ethnic group was a military army and had shaven heads, that was the reason why they were referred to as *'Kololo'* by the Aluyi language, *'kukolola'* (to shave), and Makololo meant *'people with shaven heads'*. It is a language which is spoken by the Lozi people, primarily in southwestern Zambia and surrounding countries such as Zimbabwe, Botswana (Kasani area) and Namibia (Caprivi Region) and in Democratic Republic of Congo (Congo DR).

1.2.2 Silozi as Creole

Allen and Corder (1975) define a creole as a language about as a result of two languages or two cultures coming into contact. The need for these people to communicate may lead to the development of a derived language whose simplified structure provides the means for minimum adequate communication across the two cultures. In the initial stage of its development, the new

language (creole) functions as a lingua franca which later on becomes mother tongue of a group of people. So, Silozi happens to be such a creole which has come to be learned by children and used extensively as the dominant language of the Western Province of Zambia.

It is explicit that language contact brought about the death of the Luyana language even if the period was only forty years. Lisimba (2000: 24) refers to “Lozi as being in fact a hybrid language with a Southern Sotho structure whose vocabulary is about seventy-five percent (75%) Southern Sotho and twenty-five (25%) Luyana.” (which he refers to as old Lozi). It goes without saying that Sikololo became dominant for the central part of the Luyana people, leading to Luyana language death. Lisimba (ibid) says that Lozi was a language of increasing importance that had driven the central Luyi dialect virtually into extinction and became the lingua franca of the western province. However, by 1864, the indigenous population revolted and overthrew the Kololo due to the fact that their leader Sebetwane had died. Lisimba also records that during the Luyana uprising, all Kololo men were exterminated while the women and children were integrated into the Luyana society. Ironically, this strategy became one of the factors which contributed to the rise of Kololo as a lingua franca. Luyana chiefs and headmen’s greed, of taking the advantage of marrying Kololo women, worsened the situation in the sense that, it contributed to the rise of Kololo as a lingua franca in the western province. Yakuwa (1987) alludes to the fact that, in societies which practice polygamy, children tend to learn the language of their mothers because they are with their children most of the times as opposed to men.

1.2.3 Silozi as regional official language (ROL)

The government of the republic of Zambia recognizes seven local languages as regional official languages of wider communication by province and, in the case of the North western province, by district. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 17) observe that, “regional languages occur in extremely linguistically heterogeneous societies; they are often languages in geographic sub-areas of a polity.” This observation is supported by Kashoki (1999: 60) who states that, “the designation of and actual employment of a language as an official language has the effect of turning it in the course of time into language of some prestige or practical consequence causing speakers of non-official or “minority” languages to acquire and use it as a second (or even first) language and, as a result, becoming a lingua franca,” adding on that this phenomenon is “largely

the result of social and economic forces triggered by the language policies and education systems in operation in the country.” Silozi is one of the seven regional official Zambian languages which is spoken in the Western Province of Zambia and is rightfully recognized by the Republic of Zambia as such. So, Silozi enjoys this prestige in the Western Province in the sense that it is used as one of the content subjects in schools and widely used in churches, courts, political rallies and many other domains in the province.

1.3 Statement of the problem

Since the use of euphemisms has remained an integral attribute of every human society, substantial research has been carried out on this phenomenon in many languages and in many countries, particularly pertaining to euphemisms as figures of speech. Most of these studies have separately applied Pragmatics, Sociolinguistics, Phonology, Syntax and Semantics among other approaches. Very little (if any) research on euphemisms has been done using the sociopragmatic approach. Studies exploring euphemisms have been done on languages such as English, Chinese, Arabic and Sesotho among others. While the significance of euphemisms in Silozi is generally acknowledged and appreciated, the specific sociopragmatic roles performed by these forms of language use has not yet been systematically investigated and documented. The intension of this study was to establish the social significance of Silozi euphemisms by carrying out a sociopragmatic analysis of selected Silozi euphemisms. Stated as a question, the problem being investigated in this study was: What is the sociopragmatic significance of Silozi euphemisms? In statement form, the problem was: we did not know the sociopragmatic significance of Silozi euphemisms.

1.4.0 Purpose of the study

1.4.1 General

The purpose of this study was to establish the sociopragmatic significance of Silozi euphemisms.

1.4.2 Objectives

The study intended to achieve the following objectives:

- (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 sociopragmatic functions performed in the domains in which they are used;
- (iv) To establish whether or not the use of Silozi euphemisms is related to social factors such as age, gender, status and occupation.

1.4.3 Research Questions

This investigation attempted to answer the following questions in line with the above listed objectives.

- (i) What euphemisms do speakers of Silozi use?
- (ii) In what social domains are Silozi euphemisms used?
- (iii) What sociopragmatic functions do Silozi euphemisms perform in the domains in which they are used?
- (iv) Is there any relationship between the use of Silozi euphemisms and social factors such as: age, gender, status and occupation?

1.5 Rationale

This study was significant in the sense that it yielded valuable information on the relationship between the use of euphemisms in Silozi and sociopragmatic factors. The investigation was the first to explore the use of euphemisms in Silozi from a sociopragmatic perspective and has therefore made valuable contribution to knowledge, on the subject. In addition, teachers of Silozi will have access to a data base which will eventually be incorporated by the Curriculum Development Centre as a component in the Silozi syllabi, despite the fact that this will need recasting and revising the work to make it accessible to people in these areas.

Since Silozi is one of the regional official languages that are taught and examined at primary, secondary and higher levels of learning in Zambia, results from the present study could be used by both teachers and writers of Silozi as teaching materials. It is hoped that findings of this study will practically be used to enhance the teaching and learning of Silozi in schools, in Silozi speaking areas. Moreover, this study will also assist in text book writing, teaching and translating euphemisms into ordinary Silozi language.

Furthermore, this information is vital because it may be used by lexicographers in Zambian languages to improve the corpus of planning of languages which may lead to their full standardisation. In the long run, on the basis of the findings, suggestions and recommendations will be made to help improve the teaching of Silozi in Zambian schools, colleges, and even University.

The study is also significant in the sense that it will serve as a challenge to Bantu linguists to begin to apply the sociopragmatic approach as yet another alternative and effective method of analysing Silozi euphemisms, by applying the current universal linguistic theoretical and principles while sticking to those parameters that best represent a Bantu language. For example, most of the available studies carried out in Silozi had concentrated on Syntactic tones, Kamwengo (2008), Luyana Dialectology, Lisimba (1982), An Outline of Silozi Grammar, Fortune (2001), Lozi Names In Language and Culture, Lisimba (2000), Pragmatics, Semantics among others at the expense of other aspects of linguistic levels of analysis and that few grammars that purport to discuss all aspects of Silozi do this from the taxonomic point of view.

Furthermore, there will be an academic benefit of this sociopragmatic analysis in the sense that the result of this study may be used as an additional reference by other researchers to conduct further research.

1.6 Methodological Framework

In the investigation of Silozi euphemisms, the researcher used the sociopragmatic approach, which is an interface of Sociolinguistics and Pragmatics. It involves examining the way in which conditions of language use derive from social situations.

However, the study employed a cross section survey to facilitate the answers to the questions raised in 1.5 above. This approach was considered most appropriate in the sense that the investigation sought to analyse Silozi euphemisms at a specified point in time as opposed to several points. The sample for this study was drawn from two study area locations vis-a vis Mongu and Limulunga in the Western Province of Zambia, to analyse Silozi euphemisms from the sociopragmatic perspective. From each area, a sample of ten informants of different age, gender, education and social status among others, were selected to give the required information. Furthermore, simple random sampling techniques were employed in order to get samples from each of the two areas. Structured interviews were conducted with the twenty informants according to plan and recordings of the interviews were made. Observation of euphemism use in seven domains was done by Checklisting the prominence of these euphemisms, a word and sentence compilation task was administered on seventy (70) pupils from St. Johns' Secondary School and Limulunga High School respectively. Information was elicited from each of these areas, to ensure that at all costs, equal opportunities were extended to all individuals present at the time of the study. A detailed description of the research procedure and techniques adopted in the present study is presented in chapter four.

1.7 Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

This study was guided by two theories: Speech Act Theory and Politeness Theory. This section of the chapter defines terms and concepts that have been used in the present study.

1.7.1 Speech act theory

Speech Act Theory (SAT) is concerned with how an utterance is defined in terms of the intentions of the speaker and the effect it has on the listener, for instance, a directive, declaratives or commissive among others. Speech act theory is a pragmatic aspect which considers language as performing communicative acts. Speech act theory was founded by John Austin (1962) who at the time proposed the concept of “performatives” which states that the issuing of an utterance is the performing of an action. Declaratives such as, “I name this ship Queen Elizabeth”, “I bet you two dollars it will rain tomorrow”, “I pronounce you husband and wife”, are some examples of performatives and he noted that to achieve their performative

function as a speech act, such utterances need to meet certain contextual conditions, called *felicity* conditions, which were later formalised by Searle (1969) as will be explained in due course. Austin (1962) pointed out that an utterance produced by a speaker conveys three layers of meanings which are interrelated to one another, vis a vis:

1. The literal meaning of the utterance produced by the speaker.
2. The speaker's intention conveyed in the utterance and
3. The effect that the utterance has on the hearer.

These three layers of meanings are linked to three types of acts:

A locutionary act: which is responsible with the production of sounds and words with meaning.

An illocutionary act: which has to do with the issuing of an utterance with conventional communicative force achieved in saying something; and

A perlocutionary act: deals with the actual effect achieved by saying something.

Austin (1962:92-101) went on further to give an illustration pertaining to what transpires when one says, 'Don't smoke!' Not only does he utter these words which subsume the locutionary act but also performs an illocutionary act which is concerned with advising, or ordering someone not to smoke. Due to this utterance, if one stops smoking, then the perlocution is that, the speaker convinced someone not to smoke.

Due to the fact that Austin's speech acts showed flaws, Searle (1969) improved on Austin's (1962) work by proposing a systematic framework whereby the illocutionary acts were incorporated into linguistic theory. According to Searle (1969:21), "the speech act is the minimal unit of communication." Being aware of the significance of context, Searle (Ibid) took Austin's felicity conditions a step further and systematised the nature of the conditions as: the propositional content condition, the preparatory condition, the sincerity condition, and the essential condition which are necessary for a particular utterance to count as a given act. For a successful performance of a particular speech act, a set of felicity conditions that correspond to the speech act performed have to be met. Furthermore, Searle introduced several ideas that contribute to the application of speech act theory to discourse, such as, the classification of

speech acts and indirect speech acts. He relied on some taxonomic principles, which reflect the different types of conditions underlying speech acts, proposed five different classes of speech act: representatives (e.g. asserting); directives (e.g. requesting); commissives (e.g. offering); expressive (e.g. thanking); declaratives (e.g. appointing). So, of the five, most empirical studies on pragmatics have focused on the speech acts in this category which include ordering, commanding, requesting among others.

1.7.1.2 Indirect speech act

Searle (1969) discussed the importance of indirect speech acts as being responsible for sentence meaning and speaker meaning which may be different. Searle (ibid) defines direct speech acts as utterances whereby, sentence meaning is consistent with speaker meaning. However, the problem posed by indirect speech acts is how it is possible for the hearer to understand the indirect speech act when the sentence he hears and understands means something else. Searle (1979:48), points out that, “the speaker communicates to the hearer more than he or she actually says by way of relying on their mutually shared background knowledge, both linguistic and non linguistic, together with the general power of reality and inference on the part of the hearer. Searle also contends that certain linguistic forms will tend conventionalized standard idiomatic forms for indirect speech acts. For example, Searle also states that the chief motivation for using indirect form is politeness. The Speech act theory which provides a basis for examining what the speaker means by an utterance are locutionary, perlocutionary and illocutionary speech acts.

1.7.1.3 Cooperative principle

In pragmatics, a lot of researchers and linguists believe that cooperation essential for a conversation to take place. This means that a conversation will go on successfully and smoothly if the speakers on both sides hold a cooperative attitude. In order to guarantee successful communication in everyday life, it is believed that there should be some norms or beliefs which are shared by the speakers and these do govern a smooth communication otherwise there may be misunderstanding or communication breakdown.

The philosopher H.P. Grice (1975, 1989) first put forward this idea,

“our talk exchanges... are characteristically, to some degree at least, co-operative efforts, and each participant recognizes in them, to some extent, a common purpose or set of purposes, or at least a mutually accepted direction... We might then formulate a rough general principle which participants will be expected...to observe, namely: Make your conversational contribution such as required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged”.

(Grice, 1989:26, cited in Blackmore, 1992:25).

The Cooperative principle interprets language on the assumption that the speaker cooperates with the listener in an attempt to exchange meaning in a conversation, according to Grice (1975). The cooperative principle involves indirectly conveyed meaning of a conversation whereby, communication is regarded as a series of cooperative efforts between the participants who observe a common principle that he calls the cooperative principle (CP): “Make your contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged” Grice (1975:45). This principle is composed of four maxims, namely:

- (i) Quantity maxim: is a maxim which alludes to the fact that in a conversation, there should be a provision of adequate information but not excessively adequate. Conversations are supposed to be as informative as possible. This means that contributors to the conversation should not give more information than required.
- (ii) Quality maxim: is concerned with saying the truth and that one should have adequate evidence to rely on, no saying things which are false. In a conversation, interlocutors should be as truthful as possible.
- (iii) Relation maxim: which is responsible for conversations to be relevant to what is being talked about.
- (iv) Manner maxim: means that conversations should be told in explicit, brief and orderly manner. One should avoid obscurity of expression, avoid ambiguity, be brief and orderly.

However, the CP becomes greatly influential, and meanwhile also comes across objections and criticisms. Among the objections of the opinion that the CP is not practical and does not apply to “real language use“ are (Leech 1983:80, Larkin and O’Malley,1973, cited in Leech, 83) claim that conversational constraints’ such as those of the do not work because the majority of declarative sentences do not have an information-bearing function. Another objection lies in the belief that the CP is not so universal as to be capable of applying to all language communities (Keenan, 1976, cited in Leech, 1983). As pointed out by Mey (2001), people like Levinson, who hold the notion of CP, “tend to overlook a number of problems that actually occur between cooperating humans”. Three areas where these problems occur are:

- The assumption of cooperation is “simply too broad and sweeping”.
- “There are significant intercultural differences in cooperative behavior”.
- “Certain forms of social (including language) behavior are preferred (and hence rewarded), while others are subject to sanction”. Mey (2001:76).

Due to the above problems, there are occasions when one or several maxims are absent during communication processes (“flouting maxims”). To flout a maxim means one or several maxims being absent during a communication. For example, in story-telling, joke telling, movie, and secret among others.

1.7.1.4 Conversational implicature.

Grice (1975) alludes to the fact that cooperative principles allow hearers to arrive at implicatures, by inferring the communicative intent of the utterance that goes beyond the conventional meaning of what the speakers say, adding that some implicatures arise by flouting maxims. This comes about when what a cooperative speaker says so patently violates a maxim that the hearer must infer that the speaker is implying something different. For instance, irony and metaphor are considered to arise from flouting the maxim of quality. Conversational implicature could be “calculated” using the cooperative principle. Therefore, to work out an implicature is to infer it in a specific way from the Cooperative Principle using particular facts about the meaning of the sentence uttered and the context of the utterance. So, to work out as to whether a particular conversational implicature is present, the hearer will rely on the following information:

1. The conventional meaning of words used, together with the identity of any references that may be involved.
2. The Cooperative Principle and its maxims.
3. The context, linguistic or otherwise, of the utterance.
4. Other items of background knowledge and
5. The fact (or supposed fact) that all items of background falling under the previous headings available to both participants and both participants know or assume this to be the case.

Grice (ibid: 51) gives the following illustration:

- A. Smith doesn't seem to have a girlfriend these days.
- B. He has been paying a lot of visits to New York lately.

B's response implies that Smith has or may have, a girlfriend in New York. The Implication is reached when both A and B are observing the maxim of relation. Implicature, as observed by Grice, is generated when a maxim is flouted. Therefore, implicature is seen to be similar to 'indirect speech act (Searle 1975) in both of these models there is a stage which involves inferences which are made in order to understand the indirect illocutionary force. However, while speech act theory stresses speaker intentions that are related to the locutionary force of the utterance, Grice's model presents a broader view of intentionality in communication by emphasizing the interaction aspect in communication. Grice's analysis of conversation does not take into account social variables in language use (Leech, 1983, Brown & Levinson, 1987). However, people at times choose to flout a maxim intentionally, they blatantly fail to follow it so, deviations from the Grician (CP) are considerations of politeness. Therefore, this linguistic term "implicature" is derived from the verb 'to imply' which means to show or to suggest that something exists or is true.

Mey (2001:45) reports that, "conversational implicature' is...something which is implied in conversation, that is, something which is left implicit in actual language use." Conversational implicature is closely related to Cooperative principle in that on the one hand, there is always

something implied in an utterance, only if we hold the belief that our interlocutors are speaking in accordance with Cooperative Principle can we be confident enough to interpret the hidden meanings. On the other hand, conversational implicature may also help analyse as to whether the speaker means to cooperate or not. This is what happens in normal interlocutions in many societies, Silozi inclusive.

1.7.2 Politeness Theory

In the current study, politeness theory has been used according to Brown and Levinson (1987), who describe politeness as showing concern for people's 'face' wants where 'face' means one's public self image. The reason why people decide which form of politeness to use in a particular context depends on some factors such as: distance between participants, their relative status and the formality of context. Therefore, a polite person ensures that s/he makes others feel comfortable in a conversation, so, being linguistically polite involves speaking to people appropriately so that there is no conflict between or among the parties involved in the interlocution. This means that, inappropriate linguistic choices may be considered rude. So, making decisions about what is or is not considered polite in any community involves assessing social relationships along the dimensions of social distance or solidarity and relative power or status. Therefore, it is necessary that we understand the social values of a society in order to speak politely to our interlocutors.

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), politeness should help us try to develop a model that concentrates on choices interactants make in actual contexts and allows for cross cultural variability. Their model is built on strategic interaction and is believed to be the best known study of politeness, which was first published in 1978 and then revised in 1987 with the additions of a fifty page preface summarizing the research of the previous decade and justifying their arguments. Their politeness theory has been considered the most influential and comprehensive work on pragmatic politeness. Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness has the concept of 'face' as being central and both of them borrow their use of the term initiated by Goffman (1955]1967:33-4) who implied that, "our knowledge of the world and the place we occupy in that world is gained entirely through social interaction 'face work', which he may have derived from the Chinese usage (Hu 1944, Ho 1976).

Goffman (1967) went on to say, “*In any society, whenever the physical possibility of spoken interaction arises, it seems that a system of practices, conventions and procedural rules come into play and these function as a means of guiding and organising the flow of messages. This means that an understanding will prevail as to when and where it will be permissible to initiate talk, among whom and by means of what topics of conversation, based on ‘face’ which refers to a person’s public self-image which is derived in part, from the everyday use of the term in expression such as ‘losing face’*”.

On one hand, ‘Positive face’ is regarded as the desire for appreciation and approval by others; on the other hand, ‘negative face’ is referred to as the desire not to be imposed upon by others. Therefore, when interacting, speakers need to balance a concern for other peoples ‘face’ with a desire to protect their own. This means that when people are in a conversation, they draw on politeness strategies as a way of paying attention to another person’s face and avoid ‘*face threatening acts*’. That is the reason why they resort to the use of euphemisms so as to maintain “*face*”. Goffman (1967: 5) considers ‘*face*’ as the ‘positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular context based on his observational research. Goffman claims that there are three features of a person’s ‘*face*’. A person desires to be seen as worthy of respect. Two basic rules of social interaction are: be considerate and respectful, both of which exist for the maintenance of ‘face’.

Brown and Levinson (1987) followed Goffman’s perspective, which says, offer a descriptive analysis of the strategies used by interactants to remain respective faces in social interaction. They assume that all component adult members of a society have (and know each other to have) ‘*face*’, which they define as, “the self- image that every member wants to claim for himself.”(1987:61). Brown and Levinson (1987: 60) observed that ‘*face*’ is, “emotionally invested and that it can either be lost, maintained, or enhanced and must be constantly attended to in interaction”. The two proposed that the concept of ‘*face*’ has two components: These theories among others have been used to investigate and explain the application of the Silozi euphemism phenomenon.

1.7.2.1 Positive and Negative Face

(a) Negative face: freedom of action and freedom from imposition. It is a desire of every competent adult member of society that his actions be unimpeded by others.

(b) Positive face: desire that the self-image be appreciative and approved of claimed by interactants. In other words, every member desires that his wants are desirable to at least some other people in society.

Politeness aims at redressive action taken to counter-balance the disruptive effect of face-threatening activities. There are three wants: to communicate the content of a face – threatening act, the want to be efficient, the want to maintain the hearer’s face. These three wants together produce five strategic choices that speakers must make.

1.7.2.2 Face threatening acts and politeness strategies.

The face threatening acts (FTA) are determined by the cumulative effect of three universal social variables which are:

- social ‘distance’ between the participants.
- The relative power or status between them.
- The absolute ‘ranking’ of the imposition in the particular culture.

Brown and Levinson (1987) claim that the two face wants are universal and are supported by many other researchers:

Janney, Arndt (1993:14), “view politeness as a rational, rule-governed’ pragmatic aspect of speech that is rooted in the human need to maintain relationships and avoid conflicts.” That is to say, while Sociolinguistics is responsible for language use in society, pragmatics is concerned with the choice of how to use language. Suffice to say that Pragmatic politeness is concerned with internal politeness negotiated during speech and it has to do with the relationship between the speaker and hearer, it should facilitate interaction by lessening potential conflict or confrontation. This seems to be exactly what euphemisms do in society, lessening confrontation between and among people in various domains. Lackoff (1973) is believed to have been the first

to conduct studies on politeness and did expand on Grice's views in her attempt to account for politeness phenomena and proposed two basic rules of pragmatic competence:

1. Be clear.
2. Be polite.

Lackoff's (1973) main concern is the message to be communicated, making the speaker concentrate on the clarity of the utterance. In the expression of politeness the main concern is the status of interlocutors and the situation involved. Lackoff points out that, in most informal conversations, actual communication of important ideas is secondary to reaffirming and strengthening relationships. He reformulated three pol :

1. Don't impose-formality: keep aloof.
2. Give options- difference- give options.
3. Make A feel good- Camadorie: show sympathy.

Therefore, aloof and informal are culture specific and this is also applicable to the present study of Silozi euphemisms where interlocutors usually speak in accordance with cooperative principle (CP) because they do interpret the hidden meanings of conversations appropriately.

Politeness plays a very important role in social interaction and conversation, it leads us to what is referred to as '*face saving*' which must be taken into consideration so that communication can go on smoothly. It is very necessary for each and every one of us to keep 'face' in communication, for instance, mutual self-interest requires that conversational participants maintain both their own face and their integrators' '*face*'. Though many verbal interactions are potential threats to face. So, the communicators manage to weaken face threatening through a number of strategies, euphemisms inclusive. For instance, the judge can openly and freely say that, "*you have been sentenced to five years in prison*" but one would say a similar thing in front of the criminal's parents or relatives that, '*He has been sent to the big house*' or '*he is now living under the government's expense*'. Therefore, a euphemism in this example is used to avoid being impolite in speech and to avoid hurting the feelings of the criminal's parents and relatives.

Job titles are also euphemized so as to inflate the egos of those who do such jobs. So, people often make the humble occupation sound higher in rank and pleasant to the ear, for example, jobs such as “*shoe maker*” is replaced by ‘*shoe rebuild*’, ‘*sanitation engineer*’ from “*garbage man*”. All these practices are done due to the fact that interlocutors want to show politeness.

Leech (1983) is yet another advocate of politeness theory who proposed a general pragmatic model based on Grice’s views, used the term ‘rhetorical’ to characterize his approach to pragmatics. He focused on ‘goal’ oriented speech situations, whereby a speaker uses language so as to produce a particular effect in the mind of a hearer, these she stated were interpersonal and textual (rhetorics). Leech included Grice’s CP, a politeness principle (pp) and irony principle (IP). She noted that, PP regulated the “social equilibrium and the friendly relations which enable us to assume that our interlocutors were being cooperative in the first place.” Leech (Ibid: 82). Just like Grice, his PP consisted of a set of maxims such as Tact, Generosity, Approbation, Modesty, Agreement and Sympathy:

Tact: minimizing cost and maximizing benefit to the hearer.

Generosity: tells people to minimize their own benefit, while maximizing that of the hearer.

Approbation: involves minimizing dispraise and maximiz ise of the hearer.

Modesty: concerns minimizing self praise and maximizing self dispraise.

Agreement: minimizing disagreement and maximizing agreement between self and other.

Sympathy: minimize antipathy and maximize sympathy between self and other.

Each of the above maxims operates by way of set of scales: Cost-benefit, optionality, indirectness, authority and social distance.

Leech (1983) pointed out that the speaker always strived to maximize the benefit for his or her hearer while minimizing the cost that was unfavourable to the hearer and ultimately reached the social goal of establishing and maintaining comity. Fraser (1990:227) points out that Leech’s (1983) principle is by far too theoretical and too abstract since, “there is no way of knowing the maxims to be applied, what scales are available, how they are to be formulated, what their dimensions are--- and so fourth”.

1.7.3 Sociological interface of pragmatics

Brown and Levinson (1987) state that the Sociological interface of Pragmatics involves “speakers’ and hearers’ beliefs built on relevant social and cultural values” adding that when this is properly done, it leads to what is referred to as sociopragmatic competence, which is the ability of individuals to adjust their speech strategies appropriately according to different social variables such as degree of imposition, social dominance and distance between participants to a conversation, and participants’ rights and obligations in communication.

1.7.4 Sociopragmatics

Harlow (1980) observes sociopragmatics as, the study of communication in its socio-cultural context, while Crystal (1985:240) considers sociopragmatics as, “the study of language from the point of view of users and of the choices they make.” He discusses the problems they encounter in using language in social interactions and the effects their use of language has on other participants in the act of communication. It is the case, therefore, that when interlocutors encounter the dilemma on what to say, how to say it and to whom, they opt to use euphemisms. However, in situations where they are ignorant of these, then, for sure, they may not be able to converse appropriately, hence the importance of their using this component of language, euphemisms so that they are safe to easily converse with anyone at any time without hurting them.

(Thomas, 1983:99, Harlow, 1990:328) provides a distinctive feature of sociopragmatics which is: *“the interdependent relation between linguistic forms and socio cultural contexts. It is the knowledge on how to vary the language output in speech acts according to different situations and /or social considerations. Socio-pragmatics is the analysis of significant patterns of interaction in particular social situations and systems such as speech acts which may be realized differently in different social contexts and situations as well as in various social groups within a speech community”*.

This means that sociopragmatics takes into consideration of things like speech act theory under which the process of conversation is considered to be controlled by a set of maxims and principles such as the cooperative principle, the politeness principle and the face-saving

principle. These concepts, among others, were found appropriate for application in the present study.

1.7.5 Sociolinguistics

Asher (1994:4023) defines Sociolinguistics as, “the study of the means of speech in human communities, and their meanings to those who use them. These means and meanings are the forms of speech and their social functions, respectively.” Hymes (2000) repeatedly argued that out of these, (speech and their social functions) important questions have been given far less attention than they deserve, greatly because the dominant paradigm within linguistics is the analysis of the formal structure of language, divorced from its social context. It is the case, therefore, that Sociolinguistics is the study of the relation between _____ and society, of how social factors influence language use and how language use reflects social structure. This perspective is in consonance with

Yule (1997: 239) who states that:

“Sociolinguistics emphasizes the use of language in an appropriate context. It goes beyond the structural analysis of grammatical systems because it _____ with the social aspects of language. Therefore, Sociolinguistics is seen as concentrated on how language is used by groups of people in various areas. This is a clear testimony that langu _____ is used and its meaning can only be worked out in suitable contexts.”

The definitions of sociolinguistics as presented above are in line with what the current study sought to investigate as clearly stated by the objectives of the study. Therefore, it is important for a speaker of a language to know what variety to use in what situation, how to vary the style according to whom s/he is addressing, when to speak or remain silent, when and what kind of gestures are required to go with what speech. It is in this respect that the researcher affirms that the investigation was based on a variety of language known as euphemisms.

1.7.6 Pragmatics

Asher (1994:3255) defines Pragmatics as, “the study of the system which underlies the ability of language users to interpret utterances. Pragmatics is _____ with how people use these symbols interactively”. Pragmatics may also be referred to as the study of linguistic acts and the

contexts in which they are performed. It involves the context which is dependent on aspects of meaning, which are systematically abstracted away from the pure Semantics of logical form. Levinson (1983:24) regards Pragmatics as, “the study of the ability of language users to pair sentences with contexts in which they would be appreciated.” The three definitions presented above suggest that pragmatics is applied to the study of language from the user’s perspective, the choices they make, the difficulties they encounter in utilizing language in social conversations and how their use of language affects other participants in communication. Therefore, the pragmatic aspect of meaning involves the interaction between the context in which an expression is uttered and the referential interpretation of elements within that expression. These definitions seemed very cardinal and were applicable to our current study. Due to the fact that language is pragmatically meaningful within a particular context, it is true that there is a Sociological interface of Pragmatics which is known as sociopragmatics, which could be referred to as, the way in which conditions of language use derive from the social situations.

1.8 Limitations of the Study

There were a number of challenges in this study such as: finances being inadequate for the researcher to have covered many domains in her research. It was difficult to do a comprehensive research at Lyambai local radio station due to the confusion that rocked Mongu town as a result of Barotseland secession conflict which led to the police destroying equipment, hence workers lost direction, so, it became difficult to get more information from there. The other constraint was that of ethical considerations, (despite the fact that the researcher had authority from the University) at Lewanika Hospital, the Hospital Director could not allow the researcher to be in attendance when a patient was consulting a doctor or nurse for her to hear the actual first hand use of Silozi euphemisms. He admonished the researcher that people were now enlightened on their humanrights as such, imposing an observer on them would bring problems, unless prior permission was requested from the patients and were agreeable. However, the researcher got adequate information from ten (10) nurses whom she interviewed because these are constantly with patients. Due to the nature of the study, some informants could not give the researcher certain information because they felt shy or they thought it was taboo to mention certain aspects such as: sex, excretory, body parts, defecatory among others. However, there was adequate

information collected, hence the ability of the researcher to come up with the production of this dissertation.

1.9 Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation is made up of five chapters. The first chapter gives us information on euphemisms, as an introductory part of the study, providing background information to the investigation, stating the specific problem under investigation. The chapter also outlines the purpose and objectives of the study, the specific research questions which addressed the objectives. Moreover, the rationale of the study has been given in this very chapter. In the same chapter, there is a brief summary of the methodological framework employed in data collection and analysis. Furthermore, the chapter presents the theoretical and conceptual framework within which the study was undertaken by defining and illustrating some of the major concepts relating to the study and closes with a summary of the main issues covered in the chapter.

Chapter two reviews some of the available literature that is considered to be directly relevant to the present study in order to place the investigation in the context of similar surveys, thereby enriching it as providing justification for it.

Chapter three describes in detail the methodology used to collect data so as to provide answers to the questions raised in chapter one of the study. The chapter builds on the introduction to the methodology provided in 1.7 and presents details relating to the research paradigm and research design employed in the study, the study area and sample size, the data collection instruments and procedures as well as the data analysis process.

Chapter four presents the findings on Silozi euphemisms use in the two study areas vis-a- vis Mongu and Limulunga, extracted from the data collected. The presentation is arranged according to the research objectives and questions as set out in chapter one of the report.

Chapter five presents the Summary of the findings regarding sociopragmatic use of euphemisms in line with the objectives. Furthermore, the chapter draws conclusions and implications and goes on to make some recommendations with regard to other future euphemism investigation options.

1.10 Summary

This chapter introduced the investigation into a sociopragmatic analysis of Silozi euphemisms. Identifying the historical factors of migration and language contact between the Luyana and Makololo as having had a bearing on the Luyana language death creating a creole (hybrid) of Silozi. Thereafter, the chapter went a step further to present the problem under investigation, background, statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, objectives of the study and research questions which addressed the objectives and the rationale. Furthermore, there is a summarized description of the study methodology employed in data collection and analysis which has been discussed in detail in chapter three. Additionally, this was followed by part of the chapter that furnished us with the theoretical and conceptual framework of the study which was responsible for defining and exemplifying some of the concepts applied in the analysis of euphemisms discussed in relation to theories on speech acts applied to the research context such as speech analysis, politeness theory (*'face'*), conversational analysis theories, language contexts and domains and also showed the validity of these to the current study within which the findings have been analysed. The chapter concluded by giving a presentation of the scope of the study, outlining some of the limitations and providing a summary of the issues dealt with in the chapter.

The next chapter gives a review of some of the available literature which is thought to be directly relevant to the present study so as to position the investigation within the context of similar research by enriching it and providing a justification for it.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 General

The previous chapter introduced the study involving Silozi euphemisms from a sociopragmatic perspective. The presentation started with background by establishing euphemisms as constituting a legitimate field of study in linguistics after which it presented information on the origin of Silozi, the specific language whose euphemisms are under investigation, as well as its status both in the Republic of Zambia in general and in the Western province of the country where it is predominantly spoken. Thereafter, the chapter provided information relating to the statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, the objectives of the study, as well as the specific research questions which addressed the objectives and the rationale. It also gave a summarized description of the study methodology employed in data collection and analysis which is discussed in detail in chapter three. The next section of the chapter outlined the theoretical framework of the study, with specific focus on speech act theory, politeness theory and sociolinguistic theory, showing the validity of each to the current study. The chapter concluded by giving the scope of the study, outlining of the limitations and providing a summary of the issues dealt with in the chapter.

The current chapter gives a review of some of the available literature which is considered to be of direct relevance to the present study. The purpose this chapter is to position the investigation within the context of similar research by enriching it and providing a justification for it. The review in this chapter has been organized three sections: Studies on euphemisms in some European countries, studies on euphemisms in some African countries, conclusion and summary.

2.1 Studies on Euphemisms in Some European Countries

In the recent past, many scholars have investigated euphemisms as a form of language use in various societies, in different languages and in various countries due to the prominence of the phenomenon in language use. However, many linguists and scholars have studied this linguistic

phenomenon from the perspective of either, Semantics, Pragmatics or Sociolinguistics only. In addition, to date, there has not been any documented investigation on Silozi euphemisms using a sociopragmatic dimension, which consists of a combination of both pragmatics and sociolinguistics. It is necessary to bring on board insights from other researchers on euphemisms in order to identify the specific knowledge gap and the specific contribution to the theory of knowledge which the current study is expected to make.

Maharani (2009) carried out a study entitled: A sociopragmatic Analysis of Refusal Utterances in Cartoon Movie Manuscripts. The aim of his study was to analyse refusal utterances in a script of the cartoon movie, Disney's *Mulan*. In this study, he utilised theories of sociopragmatics which are: *implicature, face threatening act, cooperative principle, context of speech and politeness strategy*. Specifically, Maharani's (2009) research sought to address the following questions:

1. What were the ways of refusal utterances used in the cartoon movie manuscripts?
2. What were the implicature of refusal utterances used in the cartoon movie manuscripts?
3. What were the politeness strategies of refusal utterances used in cartoon movie manuscripts?

The objectives of the study were:

1. To describe the ways in which the refusal utterances are used in the cartoon movie manuscript.
2. To describe the implicature of refusal utterances used in the cartoon movie manuscripts, and
3. To describe the politeness strategies of refusal utterances used in cartoon movie manuscripts.

He brought to our attention that refusal was concerned with the ways in which people refuse, say, someone's requests, commands, offers, invitation, suggestions and so forth. He argued that people had different needs, wishes and opinions in society which were expressed through various utterances on particular occasions. He went on to say that refusal was considered to be one of the

familiar utterances that were often used in communication and meant declining to take or accept. There is what is referred to as direct refusal which is, to say, “no” and is considered impolite and the other one is indirect refusal which is considered to be polite. He advised that interlocutors should bear in mind that communication dealt with language used with regard to the type of society, situation, condition, educational background, setting, time, level of social status and psychological state. He pointed out that, “To adjust the ways of conducting language in conversation related to the context of speech is not only to avoid miscommunication in a social interaction but also is done in order to avoid embarrassing other people or making them feel uncomfortable in conversation.” Maharani (Ibid: 2) This quotation may be capitalized upon to qualify the fact that Silozi euphemisms are used according to the context of speech. The writer in this study used cartoon movie manuscripts as primary data source because from the story, it was easy to comprehend real refusal uttered by the speaker towards the hearer.

In order to have best results with adequate energy and time, the writer’s analysis was limited on the refusal utterances in some cartoon movie manuscripts such as the one itemised above due to the fact that there were conversations in refusal utterances that politely or impolitely related to speech context and the language used in cartoon movie was easy to understand.

Maharani’s (2009) study of A sociopragmatic Analysis of Refusal Utterances in Cartoon Movie Manuscripts used theories such as implicature, *‘face threatening act’*, *cooperative principle*, *politeness theories* and *context of speech*, which were both befitting and beneficial to the current study of, a sociopragmatic analysis of Silozi euphemisms, in the sense that, the sociopragmatic theory which he used in his study motivated the present researcher to try and apply it to the sociopragmatic analysis of Silozi euphemisms.

In Maharani’s quest of wanting to prove the originality of his research, he presented the following previous researchers who had conducted different studies on sociopragmatic analysis and the utterances, as a way of comparison with his study:

The first research was written by Winarsih (UMS: 2006) entitled: “A sociopragmatic Analysis of Apology and Forgiveness Utterances in Cartoon Movies Manuscripts.” The purpose of the study

was to analyse the intention of apology and forgiveness utterance by applying speech act theory. She used apology and forgiveness utterances in her study as the object of the study and obtained data from some cartoon movie manuscripts known as: Aladdin, Beauty and the beast, and Disney's Mulan. She analysed the intention of apology and forgiveness utterances by employing *speech act theory*. The findings showed that speakers uttered apology and forgiveness to reflect consoling, regretting, accepting the blame and requesting for forgiveness. She also discovered that some reasons of employing apology and forgiveness were: to show impression, guilty, regret, accept of blame, request for forgiveness, respect, being afraid and to express close relationship.

Though the approaches taken were the same as those of (2009) there were differences such as :

- (i) Maharani used refusal utterance as the object of the study whereas Winarsih (UMS:2006) used apology and forgiveness utterances.
- (ii) Maharani classified the data (refusal utterances) into certain ways of refusal and described the meaning of the use of refusal utterances employed in cartoon movie manuscript by using *implicature theory, face threatening acts, context and cooperative principle* whereas Winarsih (UMS:2006) used *speech act theory*.
- (iii) Maharani described the politeness strategies of refusal utterances as used in the cartoon movie manuscripts by applying context of speech and politeness pattern, whereas Winarsih (UMS: 2006) described speech act theory of apology or forgiveness.

Based on the study by Winarsih, the current study adopted speech act theory to the socio pragmatic analysis of Silozi euphemism.

The second example was written by Dewi (UMS: 2005) entitled: "sociopragmatic Analysis of Refusal Utterance in Children Movie Manuscripts." To analyse the meaning of the use of refusal utterances employed in cartoon movie manuscripts, the writer applied *implicature theory, cooperative principle, politeness strategy, particularly face threatening act theory as espoused*

by *Brown and Levinson (1987) and speech context*. The data were obtained from children's movie manuscript such as *Mulan, Mulan 11 and Kung Fu Panda*.

Her findings showed the existence of the application of politeness strategies in English children movie manuscripts. From this study Dewi (ibid) identified eight reasons as accounting for variation in the use of refusal utterances in English children manuscripts. The eight are power or authority, showing anger, showing freedom, showing disagreement, showing dislike, showing conviction, showing modes and showing solidarity. She identified the specific meaning of refusal utterances as: declaration, representative, expressive, commissive (committing, asserting/informing and directive (recommending, directing, warning, challenging, suggesting, commanding).

In this study, Dewi (ibid) applied politeness strategy, implicature, cooperative principle and speech context. The present study adopted Dewi's approach in that it also utilized the same theories.

Qadi (2009) carried out an investigation entitled: *A Sociolinguistic Comparison of Euphemisms in English and Arabic*. This study aimed at highlighting euphemisms in English and comparing them Sociolinguistically with Arabic euphemisms. This was done due to the fact that many Arabic speakers are in need of learning English because just like English, Arabic is an international language and is a language required to be learned as a non-native language. Furthermore, it is one of the basic world languages which is valid and necessary for Muslims all over the world. Hence, the study entailed the main figures of speech of euphemisms in both languages and their general linguistic and cultural resemblances and distractions.

In his introduction, Qadi (2009:13) points out that, "language is not simply a formal system of sounds, words and syntactic structures but that it is also a way of communication by human people within their beliefs, attitudes, customs, behaviours, social habits etc and this is what is meant by culture." He referred to language as being subject to change and development which reflects that languages are best records for the history of the people. These changes and developments have linguistic, social and psychological reasons and have influence from other languages. Euphemisms according to Qadi, are generally divided into positive and negative

types. He quoted (Rawson 1998:492) who pointed out that, “euphemisms are employed positively in considering general social mores and expressing solidarity with the addressee or the referent.” According to Qadi, Positive euphemisms are exemplified in English with fancy occupational titles such as ‘*environmental engineer*’ instead of “*garbage men*”, and ‘*dustmen*’ instead of “*garbage collectors*”. In the like manner, in Arabic too they have positive euphemisms. Negatively, euphemisms are employed to prevent face loss by erasing from the language everything that people prefer not to deal with directly and straightforwardly.

He confirmed that it looked like most euphemisms in both English and Arabic were utilised negatively. For example, in both languages, “*poverty*” in English and “*fagr*” in Arabic is euphemised with ‘*low-income*’ in English and ‘*daxil mahdu:d*’ in Arabic. He also noted that euphemisms are either unconscious or conscious. He gave examples such as when a government spokesman says, ‘*redeployment of troops*’ s/he means “*withdrawal*.”. Qadi qualified the reason why politicians generally, select words with care to ensure that lies were spoken in such a sweet way as to ensure that lies are made truths and seem respectable. These individuals have the reputation of speaking in a very diplomatic way due to their use of euphemisms.

According to Qadi, euphemisms are regarded as an important aspect of every language and a language without euphemisms would be considered a defective instrument of communication. As such they can be categorised as what the user of a language should avoid, what not to say or write. Euphemism in this study was a linguistic politeness strategy which conveyed a social attitude.

Some of the most notable similarities in the use of euphemisms between Arabic and English were:

- (i) In both languages, euphemisms are employed in three main figures of speech: metonymy, synecdoche and circumlocution. Metonymy being regarded as a basic figure of speech is primarily formed in languages for euphemisms.
- (ii) Both languages have in general similar euphemistic subjects such as, death, urination, defecation and sex, elevate low occupations to get nice titles. It is worth noting that the study’s comparison was mainly done on the basis of the common subjects and

occupations as opposed to specific item or phrase level, meaning that a certain item or phrase is euphemized in one language but not necessarily in the other.

- (iii) Both languages use pronouns in speech and asterisks and dashes in writing as substitutes for taboos.
- (iv) Both languages have social attitudes, changes and pruderies in euphemisms, especially taboos. For example, mostly in English, there are items for “*prostitutes*” such as: ‘*call girl*’, ‘*fallen woman*’, ‘*hostess*’, ‘*lady of easy virtue*’, ‘*model*’, ‘*moll*’, ‘*pick-up*’, ‘*street-walker*’ and ‘*woman of the town*’ (Burchfield, 1985:23). Similarly, in Arabic the same item such as, “*ba:ji[at alhawa*”: ‘*seller of love*’ and “*bana:t allajl*” for ‘*night girls*’.
- (v) In both languages, euphemisms may be seen positively and negatively, negative euphemisms are far more than the positive ones due to the fact that they reflect the main function of euphemisms. In both languages, euphemisms are formed unconsciously or consciously, as is the case in all languages. However, conscious euphemisms in most cases are likely to develop into unconscious ones.
- (vi) Both languages have euphemistic synecdoches and circumlocutions.

Qadi also identified some differences which include:

- (i) English has an ever growing number of euphemisms as compared to Arabic ones as experienced from the fact that English has a number of specific dictionaries for euphemisms but Arabic has none. This may be connected to the fact that English is an international language hence its abundance of reference books, researches and so on.
- (ii) The degree of politeness is more pronounced in Arabic than it is in English since English is overt while Arabic is covert. As such, English euphemisms tend to be more explicit, while Arabic ones are more decent. For example, in English, when talking about sex, nothing is unmentionable and decent but expressing sex in Arabic is cautiously done in a very decent and euphemistic manner. Furthermore, Arabic has a number of euphemistic formulas which are rare in English.

Therefore, this is a clear testimony that Arab learners find it easy to learn English euphemisms but English learners find it difficult to learn Arabic euphemisms.

- (iii) The Islamic and cultural rules impose a great sanction on the deliberate use of Arabic words and phrases in different subjects of life where as English native speakers freely use and even adopt things from other languages and cultures.

Qadi's (2009) study has greatly assisted the current study entitled: A sociopragmatic analysis of Silozi euphemisms in the sense that most ideas used in this study have been utilized in the current study despite the fact that, it was not a comparative study. For instance, sociolinguistic theory used by Qadi is part and parcel of sociopragmatics a theory used in the present study. The definition of euphemisms as a way of communication could be applicable to Silozi language, in regards to their beliefs, attitudes, customs, behaviours, social habits which all culminate into culture. The idea of language changes and development being an influence from other languages is precisely what Silozi language experienced in the 19th century. The examples given of English euphemisms could also be found in Silozi inclusive of subjects of euphemisms such as death, urination, defecation and sex, elevation of low occupations to get nice titles among others and the educational benefits also assisted the current study. The current study regards euphemisms as a language used as a protective shield in order to safely avoid taboo words, so, alternative words are used without hurting or scaring any one since language is supposed to sooth the listener and also that euphemisms are used for politeness purposes.

Benjamins et al (2007) carried out a comparative study of English and Chinese euphemisms from a Pragmatic perspective. The purpose of the study was to compare English euphemisms with Chinese euphemisms in their linguistic cultural characteristics. Areas of comparison were in: formation, range of use and then evaluated the importance of euphemisms. In this study, it was pointed out categorically that euphemisms have a communicative function, a way of showing politeness and avoiding taboo words. Benjamins et al (ibid: 2) specifically points out that,

“in every society there are certain things that are not supposed to be speakable or mentioned directly. A fair number of words are labeled as frivolous, vulgar, or at least inconsiderate. But in communication, for better maintenance of social relationship and exchanging ideas, people have to resort to a kind of language, which can make distasteful ideas seem acceptable or even

desirable. This type of language is defined as “euphemism in linguistics and it comes in a variety of forms and is used for a variety of reasons.”

In regards to formation, the study referred to comparisons in phonetic device, lexical device, grammatical device and rhetorical device. These writers pointed out that phonetic distortion referred to the changing of a sound in a word for the purpose of euphemizing, which is acceptable in English due to the fact that its writing is alphabetical. Phonetic distortions include: abbreviations, reduplication, distortion of pronunciation, among others. For instance, ‘TB’ stands for (‘tuberculosis’), ‘JC’ (‘Jesus Christ’), ‘SOB’ (‘son-of-a-bitch’), ‘BS’ (‘bullshit’) among others. It was further mentioned that euphemisms play a vital role in our daily communication.

Benjamins et al (2007) proved that euphemism could be divided into many categories depending on different criteria, rule or principles. For instance, dividing euphemism according to their age such as Middle Ages, euphemism in the Victorian Age, euphemism in the 20th century and contemporary euphemism. Other classifications of euphemisms are: sex, euphemisms of occupation, euphemisms of unemployment, euphemisms of crime among others.

Benjamin et al (ibid) referred to positive and negative euphemism as stylistic euphemisms or exaggerating euphemisms which include many fancy occupational engineers and are meant to save the egos of workers by elevating their job status, such as ‘*exterminating engineers*’ for “*rat catchers*”, ‘*beautician*’ for “*hairdresser*”. On the other hand, negative euphemisms deflate and diminish, defensive in nature, offsetting the power of tabooed terms and otherwise eradicating from the language everything that people prefer not to deal with directly. Rawson (1981:1) points out that, “negative euphemisms can be called traditional euphemisms or narrowing euphemisms. They are extremely ancient, and closely connected with the taboos.” A euphemism and its corresponding taboo are in fact two faces of the same coin. They refer to the same thing though they have different looks, the euphemism having a much more pleasant face than the taboo. Mostly, in many cultures it is forbidden to pronounce the name of God, so, they use euphemisms such as: ‘*jeeze*’, ‘*jeepers*’, ‘*Creepers*’, or ‘*Gee*’ for “*Jesus*”, “*Jesus Christ*” or “*Christ*”, “*goodness*” for “*God*” or “*My God*”. The names of the tabooed subjects have been exemplified as the “*dead*”, “*sex*”, “*defecatory*” and “*excretory*” among others.

Conscious euphemisms are widely employed, for example, when people communicate, they are conscious to say things tactfully, and the listeners understand their implied meanings. For instance, when a lady, at a dinner party says '*she wants to make a phone call*', the people present will understand that she means; "*going to the ladies' room*".

Unconscious euphemisms are used unconsciously without intention to deceive anyone. For example, the term '*cemetery*' has been a replacement for "*grave yard*". '*dieter*' for the one "*moderate in eating*" and '*dinning*' for "*loosing weight*".

Language, culture, taboo and euphemism are society's basic lingua franca, as such they are outward and invisible signs of our inward anxieties, conflicts, fears and shames. By tracing them, it is possible to see what has been and is going on in our language, our minds and our culture. Rawson (1981) says that language and euphemism are closely related. (Ibid:3) points out that , "euphemisms are embedded so deeply in our language that few of us, even those who pride themselves on being plain-spoken, even get through a day without using them." Therefore, the relation between language and euphemism is so intrinsically close that it is impossible to study one without an analysis of the other. Other areas of euphemisms in this comparison were, antonym, rhetorical device, metaphor as a figure of speech and grammatical device among others.

The communicative function of euphemisms is to show politeness in the sense that using direct and definite language to talk about unpleasantness may undoubtedly displease both sides of interlocutors and possibly their relationship so, the use of euphemisms may be the best alternative. Euphemisms are believed to have been lubricating language and social communication since its invention. The communicative function of euphemisms in English and Chinese are to avoid taboo, to show politeness and to use a pleasant, mild or indirect word to replace more accurate or direct ones. Social taboos in most English-speaking communities and Chinese-speaking communities stretch from those of bodily effluvia, reproductive process; they are associated with body parts and death. Euphemisms are used in order not to mention or talk about the taboo words that often result in anxiety, embarrassment and public shame. In showing politeness, there is what is referred to as "*face saving*" which must be taken into account in order

to keep communication going. Since, “Everyone needs to keep face in communication, such “mutual” self-interest requires that conversational participants maintain both their own face and their integrators’ face. But many verbal interactions pose potential threats to face.” (Ibid: 1999) Therefore, the communicators manage to weaken face threatening through a series of strategies which includes euphemism. For instance, the judge may say, “*You have been sentenced to five years in prison.*” However, if one says the same thing to the prisoner’s relatives would use a euphemism and say, ‘*He has been sent to the big house*’. or ‘*He is now living under the government’s expense*’. In this example, euphemisms have been used to try and avoid being impolite in speech and not hurting feelings of the criminal’s parents and relatives.

Translating English and Chinese Euphemisms involves both trans-linguistic and trans-cultural aspects which are non-literary, literary and poetic. Therefore, the translation of euphemisms focuses on faithfully interpreting and conveying cultural connotations underlying euphemisms for readers or listeners.

Benjamins et al consider that some euphemisms are created on impulse on a certain subject and are never repeated later, while others are coined and used and ratified by many people and have lasted for generations or even centuries.

The present research may have benefited from the comparison of English and Chinese euphemisms if it were investigating euphemisms from that perspective. However, the current study has had a lot of benefit from the previous study, for instance, the definition of euphemisms as a way of communication, among the Lozis in regards to their beliefs, attitudes, customs, behaviours, social habits which all culminate into culture. The idea of language changes and development being an influence from other languages was precisely what Silozi language experienced in the 19th century. The examples given of English euphemisms are found in Silozi inclusive of subjects of euphemisms such as sex, death, defecatory, body effluvia, body parts and excretory which have been applied in the current study. The communicative function of euphemisms in this comparative study is to avoid taboo, show politeness, keeping face and use of pleasant, mild or indirect words to replace more accurate or direct ones which applies to the current study. Politeness, “*face saving*” are some of the theories which have been used in the previous study and have also been utilised in the current research of a sociopragmatic analysis of

Silozi euphemisms. Furthermore, some of the above categories of euphemisms have been used in our current study of analyzing Silozi euphemisms from a sociopragmatic perspective.

Yon (nd) conducted a study on: An Analytic Study of Euphemisms in English. The aim of this study was: Leading people to the appropriate use of English language to the situation, in light of understanding of euphemisms in English. The study established that in all societies there were certain behaviours both verbal and non-verbal which have been forbidden or were considered taboo by the people in each community. These originated from the sources of religion and superstition of their own; otherwise, they are acquired innately by the tradition or social morals of each society. She alluded to the fact that, in most cases, when people avoid the accurate descriptions and expressions of things generally regarded as taboo, they resort to alternatives such as: circumlocutory, indirect, suggestive and euphemisms among others. She gave an example that people who are ignorant of euphemisms in English may be embarrassed if a foreign woman coyly asked for the direction to 'powder room' she would denounce them as ill-mannered. However, these sensitivities of prudence are not learned by rigid rules of syntactic or phonological ones but gradually come to learn how, when, to whom, and what to use in terms of careful and speculative choice under the restriction of such factors as role relationship, age, sex, status, education in a Sociolinguistic context.

Yon (ibid) Referred to Categories of Euphemisms as:

- (i) Taboo: found in areas such as superstition, ignorance, prudishness and other ancestral traits. These occur in many languages which are difficult to use in polite society. Therefore, if strict rules of euphemisms are violated, we may experience punishment or public shame.
- (ii) Kindness: another factor of euphemisms are those where euphemistic terms arise due to the desire to avoid giving pain, e. g. "he passed away" or he is 'gone' are used to appease the sorrow involved in the sentences, "he died" or "he is dead".
- (iii) Semantic process: where a word is generalized to name super ordinate set, for instance, "cancer" becomes, 'growth', "syphilis" or "gonorrhoea" is referred to as 'social disease', "faeces" as 'solid human waste'.

- (iv) Semantic Shift: which refers to the substitution of a whole or similar generality for what we avoid to discuss. Metonymies (substitution of the whole for part) e. g. ‘*rear end*’ for “*buttocks*”, ‘*without a stitch on*’/ ‘*nude*’ for “*naked*”, sexual relations as in ‘*make love*’, ‘*sleep with*’, ‘*go to bed with*’, ‘*stay the night with*’ or just ‘*be with*’ instead of “*copulate*” or “*fornicate*”
- (v) Litotes: also create euphemisms by replacing a word with the negative expression of its opposite. e. g. saying ‘*untidy*’ or ‘*unclean*’ for “*dirty*”, ‘*untruthful*’ for “*lying*”
- (vi) Body parts: many examples have been given in this category where “*legs*” were regarded as highly sexual so, the word ‘*limbs*’ was substituted for it, in the Victorian age. “*breasts*” were euphemized as ‘*boobs*’, “*buttocks*” euphemised as ‘*bottom fanny*’, ‘*rear end*’ and ‘*butt*’. Female sexual organs are referred to as ‘*twat*’, ‘*a cunt*’, ‘*a hole*’ or ‘*a slit*’ (“*a valve*” and “*vagina*”). Male sexual organs have the following euphemisms: ‘*a cock*’, ‘*a prick*’, or ‘*a dick*’ (“*penis*”); ‘*balls*’, ‘*nuts*’, or ‘*family jewels*’ (“*testicles*”)
- (vii) Secretions and Excretions: the taboo connected to certain functions of the body results in use of different milder or periphrastic replacements. To ‘*perspire*’ is a polite way of saying, to “*sweat*”, ‘*cream*’ for “*sperm*”, “*menstruation*” has ‘*flowers*’, ‘*to be sick*’, ‘*not feeling well*’, ‘*to have visitors*’ are some of its euphemisms.

Yon (nd) concluded that euphemisms were used as better expressions of connotations and that euphemisms have existed since the beginning of language. As long as there have been actions or things of which people hate to speak frankly, there always have been better uses of expressions for them. The abilities of language use cannot stop simply acquiring some norms of grammar’ but continue to study the complex rules of the appropriate social application of language, so called, communicative competence. Euphemism is regarded as a pervasive human phenomenon, permeates all discourse in our life. It performs indispensable roles in our society, and it may be seen as an attempt to avoid offensive, fearful or painful terms, and to adopt inoffensive, softened or veiled ones, instead. Therefore, euphemism minimises unpleasant connotations as carrying on the smooth conversations in a particular social context. Thus, verbal communications are carried out more effectively and successfully through the proper use of euphemisms.

Yon's study assisted the current study by serving as baseline in order to establish whether or not the categories of euphemisms as identified by Yon were also available in Silozi. These categories included body parts, taboo, secretions, and excrement been used in the current study. Furthermore, euphemisms in the previous study have been considered as an indirect way of referring to embarrassing situations, which may be true about the current study.

Chakrani (2007) conducted a study entitled: *An Investigation of the role of cultural context in the reading of utterances, A sociopragmatic Analysis of Bargaining Exchanges in Morocco*. The aim of this study was: To determine the importance of cultural context in the determining of the illocutionary force of speech utterances in the bargaining exchange and the felicity conditions which help the speaker attain a successful performance of speech utterances.

He cited Leech's (1983) criticism leveled against the theoretical premise of speech act theory which lies in its failure to consider variation in 'cultural context' as a determining factor in assuring successful communication vis- a vis performance and reception. The theoretical premise of his paper was to show that marketers' ability to perform an act and determine its illocutionary reading was achieved not solely by meeting and fulfill the felicity conditions but was in fact also the Moroccan cultural context.

The Following were the Research Questions:

- (i) What are the linguistic elements that are necessary in understanding speech utterances in general and bargaining speech acts in particular?
- (ii) How important is the element of context in delivering the meaning of utterances?
- (iii) Which component(s) of context, if any, help us unpack illocutionary reading of a given speech act? And
- (iv) How does the notion of context manifest itself in the of bargaining?

The study showed how interactants in a bargaining exchange manipulated salient, shared cultural concepts and strategically organised and analysed each other's locutions, while indexing the different social roles and relationships in which they enter.

Cultural context's importance to the analysis of bargaining interactions was the situational context which encompassed the features such as socioeconomic background, social status, age and interactants' knowledge of the market, and so forth, co-text, addresses how the utterance itself became a context for the next utterance.

He explained that the co-text was a fragment of context that was created at the level of "linguistic environment".

The corpus of bargaining exchanges of over sixty interactions totaling about twelve hours of recording time was carried out.

The Conclusion of the Study was as Follows:

- (i) This study showed that, using bargaining data, that unpacking the meaning and the illocutionary force behind an utterance was not simply contingent on speaker's intension or hearer's inference, but partially on the cultural meaning that these utterances had acquired in the Moroccan culture.
- (ii) Utterances, mobilized by interactants, index cultural and in turn, drew part of their meaning from these notions.
- (iii) The interactants' success in performing felicitous and persuasive speech acts was based on, and contingent upon, their knowledge of the local Morocco culture.
- (iv) It was clear that the invocation of cultural context was essential in analyzing not just the illocutionary force, but also the persuasive aspects of utterances.
- (v) This invocation became especially apparent when we compare the language local sellers used when they conversed with local buyers as opposed to the one used with tourists.

Chakrani (2007) made the following recommendation: future comparative study between the bargaining strategies used with local buyers, as opposed to those used by tourists, might yield insightful results and provide further evidence as to the role of culture in contextualizing speech utterances in bargaining.

This study was important to the sociopragmatic analysis of Silozi euphemisms in the sense that it talked about cultural context in determining illocutionary force of speech utterances in a given

speech act (in line with speech act theory which has been utilized in the present study). Felicity conditions help the speaker attain a successful performance of speech utterances, these were very valid to the current study. Cultural context was equally important in the study of euphemisms and context was discovered to be very cardinal in delivering the meaning of utterances. Furthermore, context enabled interlocutors to understand her very well in conversations in the sense that they share the same background knowledge.

2.2 Some Studies of Euphemisms in Some African Countries

Liketso (2001) carried out a study entitled: A Semantic Analysis Of Sesotho Non-Referring Expressions. The purpose of the study was to explain how non-referring expressions acquire meaning.

Research Questions were:

1. How can Sesotho non-referring expressions be categorized?
2. In what ways do non-referring expressions get meaning?
3. How do people communicate through the use of these expressions?

This topic came about as a way of giving answers to children about things which are believed to be taboo or incomprehensible to them. From the study, identified euphemisms as consisting of referring expressions in Sesotho. She gave an example of ghost ('sepoko') as referring to someone who was known to be dead yet seen alive at night. She said that there was a relationship between word and object, word is a referring expression and the object is the referent. Non-referring expressions acquire meaning by association with the objects or individuals that they refer to, depending on interlocutors' experience, that is to say, shared context. Speakers of Sesotho were able to communicate non-referring expressions because they had shared knowledge of these words, for example, the word 'Lihele' (hell) creates a schema or a picture in one's head. She said that in semantic theory, non-referring expressions were not wrong but that they had truth condition of being either true or false, failure would lead

to the occurrence of misunderstandings. It may be true that euphemisms have to do with shared context and background knowledge between the speakers.

In her conclusion, Liketso (2001) observed that, Sesot non-referring expressions acquire meaning by association with the objects or individuals that they refer to, and this was done on the basis of the interlocutors' experience. In addition, sentences that contain non-referring expressions were considered to have truth conditions, as they could be evaluated as true or false. She alluded to the fact that speakers of Sesotho were able to communicate using non-referring expressions because they had shared knowledge of the usage of these words. However, in cases where the speaker and hearer did not have the same referent for an expression, they had to explain to each other their perception of such terms, otherwise communication was likely to fail.

This is true about the present research on sociopragmatic analysis of Silozi euphemisms, references to certain words and phrases were dictated shared context and background knowledge between or among speakers. As a matter of fact, the current study could have been investigated using the Semantic Theory but had taken a different dimension of interest to the researcher. Liketso talked about taboo, incomprehensible, interlocutors' experience and shared knowledge. The current study wanted to find out how applicable all these could be to the socio pragmatic analysis of Silozi euphemisms.

Mohoanyane (1995) carried out a study on: The Semantic Interpretation Of Sesotho Idiomatic Expressions. The purpose of the study was: To determine the Semantic Interpretation of Sesotho Idiomatic Expressions in order to find out the effects of these expressions in ordinary speech.

Particular focus was placed on figures of speech such as, metaphors, hyperbole and euphemisms. For instance, in the expression, '*Thabo runs fast*'-----'*Thabo ke sefafane*' (Thabo is an aeroplane) this is an idiomatic expression. In her research, Mohoanyani looked at idiomatic expressions using semantic theory. She pointed out that, Idiomatic expressions had hidden meanings which in communication could lead to misunderstandings if the hearer interpreted these expressions literally. So, interlocutors need to have a common ground for communication to succeed. The use of idiomatic expressions could mean using ambiguous expressions where

two images were reflected in the hearer's mind. This was a clear testimony as to why these expressions were used in certain domains where interlocutors were able to understand each other.

Research Questions were:

1. How are idiomatic expressions interpreted?
2. What problems are caused by these expressions?
3. How can these problems be overcome?

From her findings, it was evident that certain language was not meant for outsiders.

The Conclusion of her Findings were as Follows:

Not all of idiomatic expressions were compositionally but that they could be added in the lexicon as single units isolated from the lexical items which comprised them so that it became easy to interpret them. The use of idiomatic expression resulted into the ambiguous expressions where two images were reflected in the hearer's mind. Therefore, these expressions may cause confusion and misunderstanding which could lead to communication breakdown. It was advisable that the problems brought about due to misinterpretation of expressions, context must always be provided or the speaker should use straightforward language which may easily be understood by everyone at the scene of the conversation.

Mohoanyane's (1995) study on: The Semantic Interpretation Of Sesotho Idiomatic Expressions, has been beneficial to the present study of a sociopragmatic analysis of Silozi euphemisms in the sense that, this study was very much concerned with context and common ground as being very important attributes to understanding what is being talked about between or among interlocutors. Euphemisms may be regarded as idiomatic expressions because they kind of have a hidden meaning which may lead to misunderstanding if the hearer misinterprets these expressions literally. Therefore, in situations where interlocutors do not have shared knowledge of the usage of euphemisms, no communication would take place.

Leboela (2000) wrote an article entitled, "Sesotho euphemisms" which was published in the National University of Sesotho (NUL) Journal of research, vol 8. The purpose of the

investigation was: to show how euphemisms fit into general theory of euphemisms and also how they offer some insight into Basotho culture or a survey to show the range of euphemisms that exist in Sesotho. However, her arrangement was not of dictionary formation type but the euphemisms were grouped or categorized under general headings such as “*drunkenness*”, “*flattery*”, and “*madness*”. The individual Sesotho euphemisms attached to the headword were literally translated into and then a brief explanation of the background to the euphemism was given with, at times a suggestion as to what type of euphemism it was, for instance, one of “*understatement*” or of “*abstraction*”. Leboela (ibid) quoted Rawson (1981), who pointed out that, “all languages have euphemisms for they are used as society’s basic *lingua non franca*’ and without them, normal everyday life would become impossible.” Her article catalogued a selection of Sesotho euphemisms and to show how they fit into the general theory of euphemisms and also how they offer some insight into Basotho culture, most of which were suggested by students at the National University of Lesotho (NUL). Though Leboela accepted the basic definition of euphemism by Watson and Hill (1985), which was, “rendering of harsh, unpleasant, blunt terms in mild, inoffensive or quaint language.” She extended this definition of euphemisms as being used as a form of hyperbole, to give people or events an added status such as when a young child “graduates” from nursery school, in Lesotho (as author’s elder child did) she was complete with mortar-board, cap and gown!

She confirmed that most euphemisms had to do with what Redfern (1994) referred to as the “*prime subjects of anxiety and shame*” which had been identified as “*death*”, “*the supernatural*”, “*sexuality*”, “*bodily functions*” and “*illness*”. However, though these subjects were regarded as prime, they may vary from society to society, for instance, she posed a question as to whether many cultures adopted euphemisms for a “*lazy woman*” as appeared to be the case among the Basotho?

Her Findings were as follows:

Euphemisms extend within society in the sense that people in different social classes had their own prejudices as to what should be euphemized and what not. She pointed out that the differences between euphemisms in regards to, circumlocution, proverb, idiom and metaphor seemed to be fuzzy, a case which she confirmed to be true with Sesotho. Leboela confirmed that the Basotho have a deep appreciation of the proverb and idiom. According to her, there was a lot

of data in books pertaining to Sesotho proverbs and idioms but as far as she knew, no comparable effort had been put into investigating Sesotho euphemisms as a concept in themselves due to the fact that euphemisms had not been differentiated from proverbs and idioms. One of her NUL informants stated that, euphemisms are referred to as '*maelana*' in Sesotho-but '*maelana*' translated as "idioms" in English Language. However, other general comments which were made by other informants about what they understood euphemisms to be were, euphemisms, even though not widely used in Sesotho, are found in written and spoken Sesotho. Furthermore, three informants independently proposed that euphemisms were mostly used by elderly women, "*for gossiping purposes so that children could not make out what is being said*", suggesting that in this situation, adults were trying to hide some facts and were using circumlocution for their euphemisms, a practice used by most elders world over! Describing *Ntate* as *ho khora* in order for children not to know that *Ntate* likes a drop of *joala* now and again... and again...and again... Sesotho euphemisms are used for respect purposes.

However, one respondent claimed that among the Basotho, euphemisms were mostly used for respect and mockery purposes. Nevertheless, there were also those euphemisms that could be referred to as inevitable, people cannot do without them.

Moreover, there was a suggestion that the explicit appreciation of the concept of euphemism was fairly new among the Basotho, these have always been embedded in the language. The following points were made by respondents:

It appears that they were very few, if any euphemisms in old Sesotho for there were old place names...such as Libono (buttocks) and Maine, which comes from ho ima (to fall pregnant), subjects which are euphemized in contemporary Sesotho...

According to Leboela, in Sesotho, positive euphemisms are some of the late developments. Most of these are direct translations from English and are used mostly by young people.

In the category of job titles, people who do *manual jobs* are looked down upon by the rest of society, including the title of their positions which are considered *inferior*. So, an attempt is made to raise their status and the validity of the job they do, new titles are invented for these positions. The same thing happens in Basotho culture. For instance, '*Operaita ea lemati*' refers to a "*sliding door operator*", the Basotho refer to such a one as a '*kontae*', one responsible for

opening sliding doors of minibus or taxis for people to get on and off. 'Kontae' is a Sothofied form of "conductor" which is detested as an inferior form but would rather be referred to as 'a sliding door operator' due to the fact that they feel this kind of reference some hint of a skilled job. Another recent euphemism for "house-maids" as 'mo-engineer', 'oa fatse/lithaela' (literally translates as a "floor or tile engineer"). Maids use this title of 'mo-engineer' due to the fact that it sort of uplifts their status and sounds as though there was a skill attached to it than just a mere maid. 'M'e Mary' is yet another title for maid which has been on the scene longer, which most respondents suggested was a common euphemism for "maid" though would not be used in her presence by other ordinary people except for her employers. This title of 'M'e Mary' was used by expatriate employers because they found African names difficult to pronounce, so they made their lives easier by referring to their employees as "Mary". In regards to the above cited euphemisms, one would co the comment made by one of the NUL informants about positive euphemisms as often being a direct translation from English, such as, 'operaita', 'engineer' and ('li)thaele' are all English language words borrowed by Sesotho.

Another way was that in which husbands and wives' can be addressed apart from by their actual names (say, instead of addressing themselves as: John or Jane) which would be considered rather formal, or by the generic terms: 'monna oa ka' (my husband) and 'mosali oa ka' (my wife). These various ways of addressing one's spouse are considered as a more intimate and/ or polite ways of addressing one's spouse and might be considered euphemisms in this light. Furthermore, in Sesotho, a husband can also be referred to according to names of his children, especially by female in-laws so as to avoid using his actual name, this means that a name a husband was called by also depended on the sex of a newly-born child, e. g 'Rangoanana' (girl child) and 'Ramoshanyana', (boy child). Finally, there was 'ea rathang patsi' (literally means "one who cuts wood") meaning the husband as this was considered a man's job among these people. In this society, a secret lover of the wife may come in the absence of the husband and says he has "come to chop wood" ('ratha patsi').

Leboela (ibid) concluded by saying that the paper had to examine at a very basic level, euphemisms in Sesotho, and had shown, it was hoped that euphemisms were a Sociolinguistic

universal as all the evidence showed that Sesotho euphemisms fitted in with what was already known about the use of euphemisms.

Sesotho euphemisms appear to show that, at least at the level of category, there is little difference between Sesotho and English Language euphemisms with both languages covering such topics as, “*drunkenness*”, “*madness*”, and “*gossiping*”. The author’s stance on recommendations for future studies suggested her particular interest in the remark made by Redfern (1994) which states that, the precise areas of taboo are cultural-and era-specific but the urge to vet or veto is timeless and she would very much like to consider this remark in the light of the Sesotho euphemism. This recommendation has assisted the researcher to come up with the current study in the sense that Silozi euphemisms could be regarded as used to evade taboo or as a politeness strategy. The present study benefitted a lot from this study in the sense that it thought of analysing Silozi euphemisms by identifying, categorising them in line with the previous study and were equally the same as those used in English Language too, their social significance as well as establishing whether or not the use of euphemisms was related to social factors such as age, gender, status and occupation and many other specifications as written in the dissertation. By and large, the reasons for using euphemisms in Sesotho are more or similar to the current study, so, this literature was justifiable and useful to the current study.

Mukonde (2009) carried out a pragmatic analysis of requests in Bemba in which she applied cooperative principle according to (Grice 1975). The purpose of her study was to investigate the pragmatic dimension of requests in Bemba.

Mukonde considers that, in pragmatics, ‘*face*’ is the person’s public image and goes further to explain how people arrive at or infer meanings which are nowhere expressly stated. She looked at the politeness principle which she defined as referring to, “proper social conduct and tactful consideration of others. What counts as polite in any given context was socio culturally and historically determined.”(ibid: 7)

Quoting Asher (1994) Mukonde went on to say that, in pragmatic pragmatics, politeness has to do with the ways in which linguistic action is expressed. She quotes Yule (1997:134) who pointed out that, pragmatic politeness was “showing awareness of another person’s face.”

The Following were her specific research Questions:

- (i) What linguistic forms are used to express requests in Bemba?
- (ii) What categories of request strategies are used in Bemba?
- (iii) How often do these categories of request strategies occur in Bemba?
- (iv) How do request strategies in Bemba relate with social factors such as: age, gender, status, social distance, and authority?
- (v) Do request strategies in Bemba support Searle and Brown and Levinson's theoretical approaches?

She collected data from two study areas, that is, Kitw and Chililabombwe on a total number of hundred and fifty (150) participants, seventy five from each of these areas who were drawn from different social groups in terms of occupation, economic status, age and status.

The major findings of the study were:

- (i) When the speaker was inferior to the addressee, she or he tended to be deferential and indirect in their request making.
- (ii) In some cases request making was accompanied by non-linguistic features such as gestures if the speaker was inferior to the hearer.
- (iii) In terms of influence of status, the analysis of the distribution of the main request strategy types in the situation under survey revealed that conventional indirectness was clearly the preferred strategy type for the situation in which both interlocutors have equal social status, and in request situation when the speaker's social status is inferior to the hearer's.
- (iv) Finally, she pointed out that, in the requests where the speaker is superior to the hearer, impositives dominate.

- (v) Data analysis revealed in general that Searle's speech act theory as well as Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theories, though they were developed based on English, also do apply to Bemba.

She recommended that further study be undertaken to identify other factors that may affect request making in Bemba. Also to disseminate the information gleaned from this study to researchers investigating other speech acts and politeness formulae.

It was from her recommendation that the present study got the ideas of speech acts and politeness formulae that were used in the present study of sociopragmatic analysis of Silozi euphemisms which is yet another aspect of investigation. The theories which Mukonde used were: Searle's (1969) speech act, Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness, cooperative principles, pragmatics "face", to carry out a pragmatic analysis of requests in Bemba. The same theories proved beneficial to the present study of a sociopragmatic analysis of Silozi euphemisms.

2.3 Conclusion

As has been clarified from the above review on the work of other researchers, there has been a lot of investigation on euphemisms using various linguistic approaches but not much has been done using the sociopragmatic perspective of analyzing Silozi euphemisms, hence the importance of the current study. Arising from the review of selected literature presented above, it has been established that euphemisms constitute a universal phenomenon in the language use. The present study was premised on the view that, like any other language, Silozi uses euphemisms to facilitate the performance of specific speech acts. The intention of this study was to identify the specific euphemisms, the specific speech domains in which they were used as well as their sociopragmatic significance.

The following are some of the major characteristics of euphemisms:

- (i) When a phrase is used as a euphemism, it often becomes a metaphor whose literal meaning is dropped.
- (ii) Euphemisms may be used to hide unpleasant or disturbing ideas, even when the literal term for them is not necessarily offensive.

- (iii) This type of euphemism is used in public relations and politics, where it is sometimes called doublespeak.
- (iv) Sometimes, using euphemisms is equated to politeness.
- (v) There are also superstitious euphemisms, based (consciously or subconsciously) on the idea that words have power to bring bad fortune, for example, not speaking the word “autism”;
- (vi) There are religious euphemisms, based on the idea that some words are holy, or that some words are spiritually imperiling (taboo).

Often euphemisms may be somewhat situational; what might be used as a euphemism in a conversation between two friends might make no sense to a third person, if this happens, then, the euphemism is being used as a type of innuendo. In other instances, euphemisms are common in circles such as the medical field but not in others becoming a type of jargon or in underworld situations especially, argot.

2.4 Summary

This chapter has presented a review of most of the available literature which was thought of to be of direct relevance to the present study so as to place the research within the context of similar studies thereby enriching it and providing a justification for it.

The next chapter presents in detail the methodology utilized to collect and analyse data so as to provide answers to the research questions raised in chapter one of the study. The chapter builds on the introduction to the methodology provided in 1.7 and presents details relating to the type of research paradigm and research design employed in the present study, the study area and sample size, the data collection instruments and procedures as well as the data analysis process.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 General

The previous chapter gave a review of some of the available literature which was considered to be directly relevant to the present study so as to place this investigation within the context of similar surveys thereby enriching it and providing a justification for it. Precisely, it focused on studies in euphemisms done by various researchers in other countries, as well as those done in Zambia.

The present chapter explains the research procedures and techniques adopted in the study in an attempt to find answers to the research questions raised in the first chapter of the study. An introduction to the methodology was given in 1.7. Therefore, this chapter builds on that introduction and presents details relating to the type of research approach and research design executed in the study, the study area and sample size, the data collection instruments and procedures and the data analysis process. The chapter also states the criteria used to come up with each research method and clearly explains the whole research process.

3.1 Research Design

3.1.0 General

Research design means a framework within which the given parameters of a research exercise is to be undertaken and gives the reasons for the choice of suitable research methods which are to be used in the investigation of a given phenomenon. There are several methods of research design that one may use in a study. Modern developments in research according to Patton (1990:10-11) “have led to an increase in the use of multiple methods”. This clearly confirms that a researcher should not only rely on the most suitable method in his or her study but has to bear in mind as to which combinations of methods will come up with better results. The use of a multiplicity of techniques in research is referred to as triangulation. In research, several methods may be utilized to get valid data

on what one is investigating on. Triangulation means the combination of two or more theories, data sources, methods, or investigators in the study of a given problem. It is advantageous to use triangulation in the sense that it is a holistic and contextual portrayal and reveal the varied dimensions of a given phenomenon.

The current study used triangulation in the method of collecting data which was done introspectively, as the researcher is a native speaker of Silozi, observation technique was done in seven mentioned domains, word and sentence compilation task was administered on the pupils at Limulunga High School and St. Johns' Secondary School, in Mongu, structured-interviews were also administered on a selected number of twenty informants and tape recording was also done on two of these inclusive of the researcher.

There was also a practical collection of data from seven domains that is, court, church, girl in seclusion, home, school and two electronic media vis a vis Oblate Radio Liseli and Radio Lyambai, and at different levels of people in society. To be more precise, this study used qualitative method in collecting and analyzing the most needed data. The study was carried out in Mongu and Limulunga of Western Province of Zambia.

The use of euphemisms was scored by the ability of informants' confirmation of the listed down and categorized euphemisms by the researcher. Furthermore, the informants supplied more euphemisms which were not listed down by the researcher due to the fact that they were not known by the researcher. There was also the idea of observation which was done by check listing the various euphemisms used in the itemised domains to prove as to whether the findings indicated that euphemisms were used because interlocutors wanted to evade taboo words or as a way of being polite. Structured interviews and recordings were used to collect data from each of these areas and to ensure that at all costs, equal opportunities were extended to all selected individuals present at the time of the study. Simple random sampling techniques were employed in order to get samples from each of the two study areas, vis a vis Mongu and Limulunga.

3.1.1 Data collection procedure

The present study qualified to be regarded as a research undertaking due to the fact that it sought to gather new data on the use of euphemisms in selected areas and to collect or ascertain the theory that in situations of language contact, Silozi language emerged from the death of Luyana.

The task of collecting data was done in a period of nine weeks. Some of the data was collected introspectively as the researcher is a Silozi native speaker. A list of euphemisms was prepared by the researcher and this was later on verified and confirmed by informants who went a step further to supply more euphemisms which were not on the list due to researcher's ignorance of them. It is important to get a native speaker intuition because if a linguist is a native speaker of a language he or she is investigating, he or she will be able to distinguish between well-formed and not well-formed sentences. In the present research, there was the aspect of also using informants to avoid the temptation of subjecting the researcher to being biased. Therefore, the actual procedure was to interview twenty (20) informants from the two study areas of Mongu and Limulunga in the Western Province of Zambia. These informants were gotten by snowballing technique. Simultaneously, the researcher managed to engage a recording technique of two of the informants to ascertain that the data did not just come from one person but that it came from that source (of informants). On the whole about hundred (100) euphemisms were collected and categorised according to their specification by subject. The consolidated list of euphemisms was observed by check listing their use in various domains and their use in daily conversations of the people. The following were the domains which were under observation: court, churches, girl in seclusion, home, Lewanika Hospital, school and electronic media vis a vis Oblate radio Liseli and Lyambai Radio station. It was very necessary to undertake the process of check listing as it was a way of trying to ascertain the frequency of the use of euphemisms in the mentioned domains.

The other data was collected using word and sentence compilation task where ten ordinary words were given to the pupils to give their equivalent euphemisms, thereafter; they had to use these euphemisms in constructing appropriate and meaningful sentences to prove their knowledge or ignorance of the specified euphemisms. This task was executed to seventy pupils (who take Silozi as one of their content subjects) as follows: a class of forty (40) pupils at St. Johns' Secondary School and thirty (30) at Limulunga High School. Therefore, in the actual collection of data, the instruments used were: observation, recording using a digital recorder, semi-structured interviews, where there was involvement of snowballing technique so as to avoid a waste of time, the world wide web and internet and also word and sentence compilation task were done according to plan. Therefore, this study used qualitative and a segment of quantitative methods but to be more precise, triangulation method of research was used in collecting and analyzing of the most needed data.

3.1.1.1 Sampling

This is a procedure where a sample or a few people from the bigger proportion of the population are chosen to become the basis for estimating or predicting a true situation or result regarding the larger group which the investigator is interested in. By observing the characteristics of the sample, one may make certain inferences about the characteristics of the population from which it was drawn. It is also possible for one to infer changes observed in the sample to changes that would likely have occurred in the population. Samples are not selected haphazardly but are chosen in a systematically random way so that chance or the operation of probability is utilized. However, where random selection is not possible, other systematic means are utilized. The major objective of any sampling design is to cut on the limited cost in regards to the gap between the values obtained from the sample and those existing in the population. Sampling is a very paramount aspect in research due to the fact that it enables the representation of the population from a few participants in the study. Sampling is important in the sense that studying the whole population would be expensive and time consuming.

3.1.1.2 Sample size

This investigation targeted specific groups of people who were able to communicate in the specified language, in various domains as indicated in the objectives. However, there is a controversy pertaining to the determination of an adequate sample size, in fact all the researchers agree that if resources were available, the larger the representation sample used, the better. Nevertheless, many a time, most researchers have financial constraints, inadequate time and manpower to enable them collect large samples. In this regard, it has been proved by many researchers that qualitative research has no specific rules to determine a sample size. Robnson (1993) points out that, “sample size in qualitative research is small. The purpose of selecting the case or cases is to develop deeper understanding of the phenomena being studied.” It was in this regard that the sample for the current study was hundred and thirty (130) participants who were drawn from different backgrounds and varying ages drawn from two study areas of Mongu and Limulunga.

3.1.1.3 Sampling Technique

This was a very progressive method of coming up with the identification of adult participants who were regarded to be very conversant with the language in the investigation. In this scenario the

researcher was very interested with informants who were very conversant with Silozi euphemisms in various domains of the language use. Therefore, it deemed appropriate to use snowballing technique. Patton (1990) describes snowballing sampling as an approach in which initial contact with one informant leads to further contacts. Patton (ibid) states that snowballing sampling is an approach in which initial contact with an informant generates further contacts. He states that snowballing gets bigger and bigger as one accumulates information-rich cases. Those people or events recommended as valuable by a number of different informants take on special importance. Alternatively, the logic criterion behind sampling was to review and study all cases that meet some predetermined criterion of importance. major criterion in this sense was the presence of the participants in the area at the time of the investigation and their willingness to take part in the study. So, snowballing sampling was executed in selecting ten participants from each research area to participate in the semi-structured interview.

3.1.1.4 Pilot testing

Wimmer and Dominic (1994) point out that pre-testing or pilot testing a questionnaire before administering it is crucial so as to iron out many of potential unanticipated difficulties during the research process. A pilot investigation deals with a small scale trial prior to the major investigation and is mainly intended to assess the adequacy of the research design and tools to be used. It is executed in order to evaluate the data collection instruments to be utilized and ascertain if they are appropriate to meet the objectives of the study.

In the current research, the pilot enabled the researcher to evaluate whether the instrument and the research design would facilitate the collection of the much needed data efficiently. It enabled the researcher to have a feel of the activity of interview and to make some adjustments to the research instrument.

The research instrument was pilot tested on thirty participants from Mongu to assess the clarity of both the questions and the instructions, the layout of the semi-structured interviews took about thirty minutes. The results showed that the instructions were clear enough because they were adjusted by the participants in the pilot study. This exercise took about thirty minutes per person.

3.1.1.5 Research Instruments

These are the resources or tools which are supposed to be utilised in a study for one to come up with consolidated required information in order to prove the theoretical framework of the research being undertaken by an investigator. In this regard, it is true to say that research may use several instruments such as: Questionnaire, structured interviews, observation, focus group discussions and recording. The present study used structured interview schedule, observation, word and sentence compilation task and recording because these were regarded to be the most appropriate for our study.

Word and Sentence Compilation Task

The researcher formulated some work consisting of ten ordinary Silozi words which seventy (70) pupils were to give euphemistic terminologies for and to the euphemisms to construct appropriate and meaningful sentences. This was a skilful way of trying to find out how conversant the pupils were of Silozi euphemisms. This was effective because the results spoke volumes as to how knowledgeable or ignorant the pupils were of this phenomenon. More details are given in chapter four and in the appendix in regards to the questions and the outcome of the exercise given as in marks scored by each pupil.

Semi-structured Interviews

A research interview is a two person face-to-face interaction which is initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research related information. It is focused by him or her on context specified by research objectives of systematic description, prescription, or exploration. To make sure that when variations appear between respondents they can be attributed to the actual differences between the respondents and not the variations in the interviews. In this interview, the questions, their wording and their sequence were fixed and were identical for every respondent. This was a distinctive research technique, which aimed at serving three purposes:

1. It was used as a principle means of gathering information having direct bearing on the research objectives. Tuckman (1972) looks at interviews as some activity done: By providing access to what is inside a person's head; it makes it possible to measure a person's knowledge or information, his values, preferences, attitudes and beliefs.

2. It must be used to test the hypothesis or to suggest new ones; or as an explanatory device to help identify variables and relationships.
3. The interview may be used in conjunction with other methods in a research undertaking. In this connection Kerlinger (1970) suggests that, it might be used to follow up unexpected results for instance or to validate other methods, or to go deeper into the motivations of respondents and their reasons for responding as they do.

Formal interview is a type whereby set questions are asked and the answers are recorded on a standardized schedule though less free to modify the sequence of questions, change the wording, explain them or add to them to completely informal interview where the interviewer may have a number of key issues which he or she raises in conversational style instead of having a set questionnaire.

The probing technique was used in situations where answers were inadequate in order for the interviewer to seek more information to meet the intended objectives. This was done by the researcher, motivating the respondents to elaborate more or clarify an answer or explain the reasons behind the given answers. Therefore, probing helped the respondents to focus the conversation on the specific topic of the interview. In this situation, the investigator posed questions to twenty informants, ten from each of the study areas and any other person who was suitable to assist answering the set questions. Furthermore, it may be of interest to note that questions asked to the informants were in line with the objectives and research questions.

This research conducted a semi structured interview in which the questions, their wording and their sequence were fixed and identical for every respondent.

If we consider semi structured interviews, the researcher was able to personally interact with the interviewees to get first hand and truthful required data from the horse's mouth. Despite some of them at certain instances failing to give data due to fear of mentioning sensitive and taboo words. However, if such a situation occurred, they were easily prompted through technically rescheduling of the questioning techniques. Also, it was easy at times if one informant failed to give a euphemism for a certain word or phrase, then the researcher would interview another informant to get it, more especially that the informants were females and males, if a male was shy to give a euphemism of that criteria then, a female would and the opposite was true. Though

an interview is a form of face-to-face interaction, it is subject to peculiar problems because of the lack of consensus surrounding the roles of researcher and respondent. Interviews interpret observation or they might be used as the primary methods of data collection in descriptive studies.

Observation

This is a method whereby the researcher simply watched to see what was going on in the prescribed domains where the activity of check listing of euphemisms was being conducted. Observation is the most powerful instrument or tool for gaining an insight into situations and it is a suitable method for a variety of research purposes. The main virtue of observation is its directness, it is able to study situations as they occur. It might be used in explanatory research to gain insights that will subsequently be tested as hypotheses. Observation is used to collect supplementary data that may interpret or qualify findings obtained by other methods. Observation enables the researcher to gather information on the physical setting, human setting, interactional setting and programme setting. This method proved to have been beneficial to the current study due to the various reasons explained above.

Cohen (2007:396) observes that,

“the distinctive feature of observation as a research process is that, it offers an investigator the opportunity to gather ‘live’ data from naturally occurring social situations. In this way, the researcher can look directly at what is taking place in situ rather than relying on second-hand accounts. Therefore, observation provides a reality check; observation also enables a researcher to look afresh at everyday behavior of the observed”.

Observational data are sensitive to contexts and demonstrate strong ecological validity.

Patton (1990:202) suggests that, “observational data should enable the researcher to enter and understand the situation that is being described.” In the current study, the observation instrument was used as a way of collecting data in domains such as church, churches, girl in seclusion, home, hospital, two schools and two local radio stations (Oblate radio Liseli and Lyambai). Domains in this context refers to the contextualized sphere of communication such as home, work, school, religion transactional, leisure or friendship, community group or an abstraction

referring to a sphere of activity representing a combination of times, settings, and role of Relationships. Romaine (1994:43) observes domain to be, “an arena within which variable linguistic behaviour takes place”. Therefore, in a sociolinguistic enquiry, domain may be regarded as one that composes the major arena for data collection. Apparently, domain happened to have been a very effective approach for the current study in the sense that most of the data collected from the informants was to be confirmed by the investigator through checkl of euphemisms to ascertain whether they were used contextually or not.

This method was the most appropriate in the sense that, the researcher was actually there to observe and experience the actual use of euphemisms in the specified domains. Since the researcher is a native speaker of Silozi language, she was able to identify the presence or absence of these euphemisms in the various interlocutions without much of a problem. Through observation, it was possible to generate firsthand data that were uncontaminated by factors standing between the investigator and the object of research. There was an aspect of the fact that data collected by observation described the observed phenomena as they occur in their natural settings. Since most research techniques introduce elements of artificiality into the researched environment, artificiality may be curtailed in observational studies, especially when the observed are not aware of the fact that they are being observed or when they become accustomed to the observer and do not perceive of him or her as an intruder.

Since some individuals are unable to give verbal reports or articulate themselves meaningfully, observation befits such because it demands less active cooperation on the part of the individuals being studied than do verbal reports. Moreover, verbal reports can be validated and compared with actual behaviour through observation. The relationship between a person and his or her environment is often best maintained in observational studies. Therefore, opportunities for analyzing the contextual background of the behaviour are improved by the researcher’s ability to observe the environment in operation with the observed.

Introspection

This is an approach or method in a research undertaking where the investigator is the major source of data in Sociolinguistics because he or she is a native speaker of a language so, the current study executed this method. Introspectively, the researcher had prepared a list of

euphemisms which she was aware of due to the fact that she is a native speaker of Silozi. These were confirmed by the informants who supplied more euphemisms which were not on the list due to researcher's ignorance of them. Consequently, the euphemisms were to be checked listed to ascertain as to which ones were prominently used in the specified domains. Therefore, it is a clear testimony that the researcher moved with this list in all the specified domains to prove euphemism use.

Recording equipment

This equipment was of paramount importance to the current study, a digital recording equipment was used to record data from two out of the twenty informants and the researcher herself in order to ascertain that some other people were definitely consulted in this research. Interviews were recorded on tape, later transcribed and analysed accordingly.

World Wide Web (www) and internet

This tool cannot be forgotten to be mentioned as having been one of the important research instruments which were used in the present study. It was used for downloading academic materials on euphemisms in various languages. This tool greatly helped in the present study specifically in literature review.

Though the researcher is a native speaker of the language under investigation, she had to collect the bulk of the corpus from various sorts of texts on such as novels, readers, bibles, and other grammars. Furthermore, the collected corpus had to be validated by utilising other speakers and informants using structured interviews, recording, observation and word and sentence compilation task.

3.1.2 Data Analysis

The data was analysed according to the objectives as well as the research questions and was done qualitatively though there was a fraction of quantitative method utilization due to the aspect of compilation of marks for the task that was given to the pupils. Therefore, data analysis was conducted as an activity simultaneously with data collection, data interpretation and narrative report writing. Information was collected from the specified field, followed by the aspect of

sorting the information into categories in line with the objectives of the study and the relevant aspects of speech act theory, conversation implicature polite theory and ‘face theory mentioned in the study. In this regard, data was studied and analysed following Austin’s (1962) and Searles (1967,79) concepts of Speech Act Theory, Grice’s (1975 Conversation Principles and Brown and Levinson’s (1987) notion of “politeness and “Face Threatening Acts”.

3.1.3 Criteria used to come up with each research method.

Upon reading a variety of literature from other writers, the researcher discovered that there were a lot of research methods which could be used and from these ones chose the most appropriate for this study and it was discovered that these methods would help to bring about good and meaningful results to the current study. Therefore, the various research methods listed above were selected because they required the active participation of the researcher in the sense that the data illicited from these methods were the most useful and meaningful information that was required for proper data collection and analysis for this study.

3.2 Summary

This chapter has given the approaches adopted in data collection and analysis in the current study and the basis on which these were selected. It had three sections vis-à-vis: The first one looked at what research design procedure. The second one was responsible for the research methodology used in the study. It went further to present a detailed explanation of the procedures used in data collection and the third and final section furnished us with data analysis.

The next chapter gives us the findings which are stipulated as follows: a sample of some identified Silozi euphemisms both royal and ordinary with examples in line with the selected theories of this study, some examples of how these euphemisms have been properly categorised according to the subjects, that is in both royal and ordinary Silozi euphemisms, examples of how these euphemisms are used in various domains are given in relation to the appropriate theories used in this study. Finally, there is a detailed discussion on the relationship between the use of Silozi euphemisms and social factors such as age, gender, status and occupation. It is necessary to mention that there is an indication of where to find most of the euphemisms identified, categorised, which ones are used in which domains beca they were pushed to the appendix

though they are very useful but we were of the opinion that if they were part of t dissertation
narration, they would in a way sort of distort the smooth flow of information.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.0 General

The previous chapter dealt with methodological aspects of the investigation by focusing on the research procedures and techniques which were adopted in the current study so as to provide satisfactory answers to the questions raised in chapter one of the study. To be more precise, the chapter discussed the type of research paradigms and research design employed in the study and why these were selected. It also presented some specific details relating to the study area, the sample size, the data collection instruments and the data analysis process. The chapter also stated the criteria used in selecting each of these research methods.

The present chapter presents the findings on some of the euphemisms which were identified as being used in the study areas of Mongu and Limulunga as elicited from the data collected and discuss them in light of both the theoretical framework and findings from the review of related literature. While some of the euphemisms are presented in this chapter, the rest are in the appendices. Though Silozi is a ‘tone language’, the texts used in this dissertation are not marked for tone due to the nature of the study. Furthermore, the researcher used the Silozi orthography approved by the Ministry of Education.

The presentation is arranged according to the research objectives and questions as set out in chapter one of the report. As presented in Chapter One, the study sought to find answers to the following questions:

- (i) What euphemisms do speakers of Silozi use?
- (ii) In what social domains are Silozi euphemisms used?
- (iii) What sociopragmatic functions do Silozi euphemisms perform in the domains in which they are used?
- (iv) Is there any relationship between the use of Silozi euphemisms and social factors such as: age, gender, status and occupation?

The above listed research questions were investigated introspectively and by the utilisation of twenty (20) informants of different age, gender, education, social status and occupation who were selected from the two research areas to give the required and appropriate information. Introspectively, the researcher generated and listed some of the euphemisms in Silozi, while the rest of the euphemisms were collected from the twenty informants. The euphemisms were then categorized accordingly. The study was done using a sociopragmatic perspective, in order to find out what euphemisms are, who uses them, to whom, when and why they are used.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with each of the informants and some of these interviews were recorded on a digital recorder and later transcribed and analysed. Observation of Silozi euphemisms used in various domains was done by listing, to ascertain as to which euphemisms were used in each of the listed down domains. As already indicated in the last chapter, a word and sentence compilation task was administered to seventy (70) pupils in two schools in the research areas. The rest of the present chapter presents and discusses the findings in line with the research questions.

4.1 Existence of Silozi Euphemisms

The findings from the study have shown that speakers of Silozi, like speakers of any other language, make extensive use of euphemisms. These are classifiable into two major categories: royal euphemisms and ordinary euphemisms. In this study, royal euphemisms are those which are used in the royal domain mainly at the palace of the King of the Lozi speaking people, the Litunga while ordinary euphemisms are those used elsewhere.

4.1.1 Royal Euphemisms

The study's findings seem to suggest that though one of the informants had alluded to the fact that the palace is the origin of euphemisms, the euphemisms used at the palace differ greatly from those used by ordinary people, suggesting that there are differing degrees of politeness (*likute*) in these two areas. There is also the aspect of 'secret words' which are called '*manzwi alikunutu*' and are not known by every person but those who live or are familiar with life at the palace. As a matter of fact, one who is ignorant of these polite or secret phrases may not be allowed at the palace because he or she may be a misfit as language in this place is used according to context and shared background knowledge. instance, the word "*mulena*" is an

ordinary Silozi word which means king but then it is taboo among speakers of Silozi to address the king as “*mulena*” but as ‘*Litunga*’, which is deemed a polite way of addressing the king. This is the case because the word, ‘*Litunga*’ is the formal Silozi title for the Lozi Royal King. There are other polite expressions which Silozi-speaking people use in referring to their king with various euphemistic terminologies such as: ‘*kaongolokaNyambe*’ (God’s own creation). Speakers of Silozi regard their king as their earthly God, so, they feel obliged to shower him with flowery words of praise. Another euphemistic title for their king is, ‘*munga'luna*’ (which literally means our own), ‘*kwatoho yatapi*’ (at the head of a fish), ‘*yomutelele mwa bulozi*’ (the tall one in Bulozi). The reigning king in ordinary Silozi is referred to as, “*mulena yabusa*”, but in a polite term he is referred to as ‘*mbumuyamaoma*’ (the royal reigning king).

The other example which we may give is the one pertaining to the king when he is happy, in ordinary Silozi, it is said: “*mulena hatabile*” one cannot say it plainly that “*mulena utabile*” but uses befitting or corresponding euphemisms such as: ‘*mulena uwabezwi*’, (the king is happy) ‘*lumenyo*’ (smile). The Silozi speakers are well known for the respect of their tradition so, all costs they use words of respect in addressing their king because it is impolite to just say that the king is happy. However, an outsider would not know how to say this hence, the need for people to learn how to use polite words to the king.

When the *Litunga* is eating in Silozi, the ordinary word is “*kuca*” (eating), however, it is taboo for anyone to say that the king is eating, “*mulena waca*” but politely would say, ‘*Litunga wakumbela*’. This word ‘*wakumbela*’ is a euphemism which refers to the fact that, *the Litunga* “*is eating*”. From these examples one is able to realize that there is a widespread use of conversational indirect speech acts at the palace. This finding relates to speech act theory as espoused by Searle (1969, 1975). According to this theory, there is an assumption that language is regarded to be a form of behavior and is governed by a set of rules. As such, a speech act is an utterance which serves a particular function in a conversation. Furthermore, there seems to be an aspect of ‘*face*’ according to Brown and Levinson (1987) who looked at one’s favourable public image where the threat may be lessened by the preference of using indirect phrases, so, the use of euphemisms is regarded as a way of being polite. Politeness is regarded as a strategy employed by the speaker to promote and maintain harmonious relations. Conversational implicature as applied by Grice (1975) is also applicable in this area in the sense that the interlocutors imply the

meaning of what they mean by what they say in a conversation. What is said is being inferred and interlocutors are able to cooperate in their communication because they belong to the context and share the same background.

A few examples have been cited on this slot but for an exhaustive and comprehensive package list of royal Silozi euphemisms, refer to Appendix III.

4.1.2 Categories of Royal Euphemisms

It was a bit difficult to find a way of categorizing royal euphemisms since there has not been a study of this nature in regards to the categorization of royal euphemisms in any language for the researcher to have made reference to. Therefore, the researcher felt it was possible to do this despite the fact that there was no related literature (in line with this categorization) which was available at the time of the study. This means that these euphemisms were sort of categorised using the ordinary euphemism categorization approach. For instance, the word death in ordinary Silozi language is referred to as: “*kushwa*” but then, according to the Lozi people, the king can never, ever be referred to as *dead*, “*mulena ushwile*”. In the category of death, we have the following euphemisms “*Kushwa kwa mulena*” (royal death). The royal death among the Lozis is held in very high esteem and is not referred to in the same way as any ordinary death. Actually, it is taboo for anyone to say: “*mulena ushwile*” (the king has died) but as a way of showing ‘politeness’, euphemisms such as ‘*mande ipazuhile*’ (the necklace has split), ‘*kulatehelwa*’ ‘*kimung’aluna*’ (to lose our own), ‘*kumaiba*’ (to be unlucky) are used. Therefore, it is clear that the politeness theory by Brown and Levinson (1987) is applied in this category where language is used as a way of showing maximum respect or politeness to their king. Grice’s (1975) conversation implicature and cooperation between and among the people in this context is prominent because they are able to comprehend what is talked about due to the shared background knowledge which is very cardinal.

“*Libita la mulena*” (royal grave) goes hand in hand with the royal death and can be said to be in the same category. In this mind, it is taboo to refer to the Litunga’s grave as “*libita*”, but politely, it is called, ‘*limbwata*’, ‘*sitino*’ (which literally means an attire or clothing), ‘*muleneng’i*’ (which literally means the kingdom).

In this category, there was yet another aspect of a coffin which in ordinary language is referred to as “*likwati la mulena*” (royal coffin), which has polite euphemistic terminologies such as: ‘*ikupatu*’, (where to hide), ‘*saali*’ (which means litter on which to carry the dead), ‘*pumulelo*’ (where to rest). All these are indirect interlocutions according to Searle (1969) and Grice’s (1975) indirectly conveyed meaning referred to as “conversational implicature”, where communication is regarded as a series of cooperative efforts between interlocutors who observe a common principle known as cooperative principle.

For more Silozi euphemisms in the royal category, refer to appendix IV.

4.1.3 Ordinary Silozi euphemisms

The study has shown that ordinary Silozi-speaking people use euphemisms to a large extent and do not have difficulties in identifying them. Several informants interviewed by the researcher did confirm that it was easy to identify Silozi euphemisms in the sense that, when one was talking, it was possible to detect certain words which were not used in ordinary Silozi language. This was particularly easy in the case of persons who are conversant with the Silozi language and know the meanings of these euphemisms.

For instance, the expression “*kuya kwa simbuzi*” (to go to the toilet) is an ordinary way of speaking which is common and is understood by both native and non native speakers of Silozi language. Due to the fact that the word “*simbuzi*” (toilet) sounds impolite, Silozi speakers would rather use a euphemism to sound polite, hence the use of the following euphemisms: ‘*kuya kwa mutabani*’ (which literally means, to go to war). Therefore, this means that one who is not conversant with Silozi euphemisms would not understand the actual meaning of ‘*kuya kwa mutabani*’ as going to the toilet but would misinterpret it as ‘*going to war*’ which would distort the intended meaning altogether. If such a situation occurred, then there would be what is referred to as pragmatic failure which Thomas (1983) considers to be the inability of an individual to understand what is said in an interlocution. Though, ‘*mutabani*’ is a Silozi euphemism for the word “*simbuzi*”(toilet), the same word, “*simbuzi*”, may have yet another euphemism: ‘*kuya kwa kandu kamatali*’ (which literally means, to go to the hut or small house of leaves). Ironically, one informant told the researcher that this phrase may have been invented due

to the fact that in the olden days people had no toilets but used to go into the bush to *respond to the call of nature*, hence their coming up with such a euphemism, of ‘*small hut of leaves*’.

The use of these euphemisms clearly indicates that there is a tendency by interlocutors to avoid using certain words or phrases which are considered taboo or which may hurt or insult somebody. If these words were used, society would say “*utapauzi mutu*” (which means that one has insulted a person). Silozi euphemisms are used due to the fact that interlocutors would want to show respect to their culture as opposed to using direct words which at times sound insolent. For sure, there are specific times when interlocutors would want to use euphemisms, of course it is not all the time. They would use euphemisms for instance, when they are talking about the history of Silozi kingship to their children at a fire place as a way of not wanting their children to be misfits in this society.

In the above example, it is evident that the speech act theory by Searle (1967) has been applied, where the interlocutors choose to use indirect speech due to the nature of the conversation. The use of indirect speech is a way of avoiding the use of the exact words for fear of hurting or annoying someone. As a matter of fact, indirect illocutions tend to be more polite as they increase the degree of optionality and because the more indirect an illocution is, the more diminished and tentative its force tends to be. In the above examples, the ‘*politeness theory*’ by Brown and Levinson (1987) has been taken into consideration by the interlocutors, especially if there is the aspect of age, sex and even the nature of relationship between the referents. Politeness theory contends that politeness should help us try to develop a model that concentrates on choices interlocutors make in actual contexts and allows for cross cultural variability. For instance, the piece of conversation given below would constitute a typical application of euphemistic language.

Visitor: “*Musali muhulu, boma Mundia baile kai?*” (“*Big lady where has mother to Mundia gone to?*”)

Big lady: “*Bati baile kwa mutabani*” (“*she has gone to the toilet*”). This means that the terminology ‘*mutabani*’ sounds more polite than “*simbuzi*” (*toilet*) which is associated with insolence. In this scenario, there is also the aspect of not wanting to “*lose face*” by the two interlocutors in this exchange because the word “*toilet*” is associated with defecatory and

excretory activities which brings about the aspect of people in this Silozi society feeling shy or even embarrassed. Upon mentioning that word, the interlocutor will not look at the one she is conversing with in the eyes but would rather look down shyly. This finding is in line with Wilson (1993) who describes euphemisms as words with meanings or sounds thought somehow to be nicer, cleaner or more elevated and so used as substitutes for words deemed unpleasant, crude or ugly in sound or sense and Allan and Burridge (1991:14) who consider euphemisms as “alternatives to dispreferred expressions, and are used in order to avoid possible “*loss of face.*” The aspect of face has to do with a person’s self image which is responsible for the emotional and social sense of self that every individual possesses and expects every other person to recognise. It is also the desire of an individual to be appreciated and not to be imposed upon. Rawson (1981:1) observes that:

“euphemisms are society’s basic lingua franca. As such, they are outward and visible signs of our inward anxieties, conflicts, fears, and shames. By tracing them, it is possible to see what has been and is going on in our minds and culture. He goes on to say that all languages have euphemisms and points out that without euphemisms normal everyday life would become impossible.”

In the above example, the two interlocutors were able to converse without any hindrances of say, hurting or annoying the other, hence their ability to understand each other very well. Therefore, euphemisms may be considered to have a function of lubricating communication, help establish a good relationship between human beings and even strengthen social stability.

Furthermore, in the above example, the aspect of conversational implicature by Grice (1975) is applicable in the sense that speakers are implying the meaning of ‘*mutabani*’ (a euphemism for toilet). Grice (1975) is regarded as the initiator of a communicative theory he dealt with indirectly-conveyed meaning called “*conversational implicature*” where communication is viewed as a series of cooperative efforts between the participants who observe a common principle which he referred to as the *Cooperative Principle (CP)*: He observed that conversational implicature was an attempt at explaining what a hearer gets from what is said to what is meant, from the level of expressed meaning to the level of implied meaning. However, what is implied varies according to the context of the utterance.

The examples highlighted above suggest that euphemisms may be described on the basis of meaning or semantics. In this regard, they may be classified as hyponyms, where we have one umbrella term with other terminologies. For instance, term: “*kwitwala*” (to fall pregnant) has the following terminologies or euphemisms: ‘*kuyemamwaha*’ (which literally means, to stand in the village). Another Silozi euphemism for the phrase “*kwitwala*” (to fall pregnant) is: ‘*kubafameziamanca*’ (which literally means to be on new waters). Therefore, one may safely say that these other terminologies for the phrase ‘*to fall pregnant*’ would semantically have different words which mean the same as the initial word itself.

For more examples on the list of ordinary Silozi euphemisms refer to appendix V.

4.1.4 Categories of Silozi Euphemisms

Just like euphemisms in English are categorized, Silozi euphemisms too may be categorized as follows: *death, disease, excretory, sexual intercourse, body parts, fornication, religion, crime, employment and social* among others.

Here are some examples of the euphemisms used by people in their everyday conversations. These phrases are written according to various ordinary words with their corresponding euphemisms as listed down by the researcher and also confirmed and given by the twenty informants. These euphemisms have been translated both literally and their actual meanings in English and have been given as they are used by interlocutors: for instance, the phrase “*kushwa*” is an ordinary Silozi phrase which may be translated as: “*to die*” in English. This word “*kushwa*” has the following corresponding euphemisms in Silozi: ‘*kutokwahala*’ (which literally means to be needed), ‘*kutimela*’ (literally means to get lost), ‘*kuitobalela*’ (literally means to sleep), ‘*kusiya*’ (literally means to leave), ‘*kutoba*’ (literally means to escape), ‘*kusila*’ (literally means to cross), ‘*kuya ku Nyambe*’ (literally means to go to Nyambe, who is God), ‘*kungiwa ki mung’a bupilo*’ (literally means to be taken by the author of life). ‘*kutubula mubili*’ (to undress the body).

In the category of death, we have other words with the equivalent euphemisms as: “*Kupumbeka*” which is an ordinary Silozi word which means: “*to bury*” and has the following Silozi euphemisms: ‘*kubuluka*’ (which literally means to keep), ‘*kupata*’ (which literally means to hide), ‘*kulobaza*’ (to take to sleep).

“Mabita” is an ordinary Silozi word which refers to “graveyard”/“cemetery”: has the following Silozi euphemisms: ‘*mayumbelo*’ (which literally means – rubbish dump), ‘*matotaeti*’ (which literally means deserted place), ‘*njinjo*’ (which is a synonym for graves), ‘*mundimunene*’ (big village).

“Kulila” is yet another ordinary Silozi word in this category which means to “mourn”, and has the following euphemisms: ‘*kusilisa*’ (literally means to help cross), ‘*maswabi*’ (literally means sorrow). ‘*kulotisa miyoko*’ (to let tears drop).

“Likwati” is an ordinary Silozi word which means: “coffin”/“casket”, has the following euphemisms: ‘*ikupatu*’ (where to hide), ‘*pumulelo*’ (where to rest).

There are several reasons why people use euphemisms in Silozi, sometimes like this word ‘*kushwa*’ (to die) is considered to be a taboo word so, people feel that it is better to use indirect words in its place. This is in line with Speech act theory by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) which talks about saying things indirectly. Searle (1979) considers that the speaker communicates to the hearer more than he actually says by way of relying on their mutually shared background knowledge both linguistic and nonlinguistic, together with the general power of rationality and inference on the part of the hearer. At times interlocutors use indirect forms because they do not want to hurt the one they are tell this ‘*heart breaking news*’! There are some people who, if they are told heart breaking news they may faint or die, so, it is better to use mild words, for instance, instead of saying “*to die*”(ku shwa) use the phrase, “*kwitobalela*” (to sleep). So, they would say, “*Bati bo Mubyana bene ba kula mwa sipatela kikele ‘bai obalela.*’ (‘Mr Mubyana who was ill in hospital has slept.’). In this example sentence, the interlocutor uses a euphemism, ‘*kwitobalela*’ (to sleep) which is less painful, instead of an ordinary phrase, “*kushwa*” which refers to “*death*”. As a matter of fact, the interlocutors in the above example are cooperating, that is the more reason why they are able to understand each other and are able to converse with one another amicably.

The use of these euphemisms is in line with Searle (1979: 48) who states that, “the chief motivation for using indirect forms is politeness.” They are also in line with Grice (1975:45) who regards communication as a series of cooperative efforts between participants who observe a common principle which he referred to as the cooperative Principle, particularly the one which

states, “Make your contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged”.

For more examples on the category of ordinary Silozi euphemisms, refer to appendix VI.

4.2 Sociopragmatic uses of euphemisms in various domains

Observation was one of the methods the researcher used to checklist the euphemisms used in various domains. Therefore, the researcher executed an investigation of the use of Silozi euphemisms in seven domains in Mongu and Limulunga study areas. The seven were: court (local and subordinate), church, home, hospital, girl in seclusion, school and electronic media (Oblate Radio Station and Radio Lyambai).

4.2.1 The Court Domain

4.2.1.1 Local court (Sulu)

This court is responsible for trying civil cases, such as: assault cases, insults, divorces, rape cases, pregnancy and accusations of witchcraft, among others. It is a court which tries cases so as to bring about peace among people or citizenry in respective societies. Various cases were tried and the researcher discovered that Silozi euphemisms at this court were not over emphasized or were not very popularly used due to the fact that the two parties to the case were supposed to understand what was being talked about in plain language. They believe in calling a spade a spade, for instance, in a case of pregnancy, they used such phrases as “*ne muikonyeza kai?*” (where were you having sexual intercourse?) At times they would use common euphemisms such as: *ne ‘muitobalela kai’?* (which literally means, where were you sleeping each other?), *‘ne muicela kai?’* (where were you eating each other?). Fernandez (2008) pointed out that the interpretation of euphemistic and dysphemistic conceptual metaphors was partly motivated by the presence of lexical units to this conceptual metaphor. Therefore, to illustrate the role of context in euphemistic interpretation, he found it worth resorting to Braine’s narrative which states as:

“I hadn’t fallen in love with her. And I wasn’t sex-obsessed.... It was simply that I was an unmarried man with normal appetites. If you’re hungry d someone’s preparing you a good

meal, you'll naturally angle for an invitation. The meal was on the table, so to speak, and it was a long time since I had eaten."

(Braine 1984: 32-33).

The cognitive metaphor sex was referred to as eating. The euphemistic use of eaten with the meaning of 'had sexual intercourse' was easier to reach if the reader considered preceding terms such as appetites, hungry and meal which share a common sexual reference, known as 'sexual desire', 'sexually aroused and sexual intercourse', respectively. The above cited metaphorical terms belong to a conceptual equation that relates sex to eating.

In this domain, the speech act theory by Searle (1975) was evidently utilised, where direct speech acts were considered to be utterances in which meaning of the utterance was consistent with what the speaker intended to accomplish (speaker meaning). That was the more reason why the local court justice would directly ask a question as follows: "*nemuikonyeza kai?*" as opposed to an indirect phrase of: '*nemuicela kai?*', (which literally means where were you eating each other?), or '*nemuisomelakai?*' (a synonym for sexual intercourse).

It is the case that in the court domain there was evidence of what is referred to as conversational implicature as pointed out by Grice (1975:45) where communication is regarded as a series of cooperative effort between participants who observe a common principle known as cooperative principle (cp). "Make your contribution such as is required, at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the exchange in which you are engaged."

Therefore, the four maxims of the cooperative principle were observed in this domain. The principles are:

1. Maxim of quantity where contributions in a conversation are to be as informative as is required, no more or less and this is exactly what is required in this domain.
2. The maxim of quality advises in telling the truth with adequate evidence is required in conversations.
3. Maxim of relation, one has to be relevant with what they are talking about, otherwise they may be found with a case to answer and it would lead to a charge.

4. The maxim of manner, which is responsible for: Avoid obscurity of expression; avoid ambiguity; be brief; be orderly

There were other words which were used in this domain these drew the attention of the researcher, these were: ‘*kwitabisa*’ (to make oneself happy)’*kunyakalala*’ are euphemisms which means to amuse oneself. “*Kuzwa*” is an ordinary word which may be referred to as to come out and had the following euphemisms: ‘*Chomoha*’ (getting out quickly or sneaking out)-- ‘*Lumpuka*’ (getting out stealthily), ‘*kunyanifisa*’, (to belittle). All these phrases are considered to convey politeness, after Brown and Levinson (1987). They are also considered to be indirect speech acts according to Searle (1969) in the sense that these phrases constitute indirect references to the meaning of other words.

Searle (1979) points out that the speaker communicates to the hearer more than s/he actually says by way of relying on their mutually shared background, knowledge of both linguistic and non linguistic, together with the general power of rationality and inference on the part of the hearer. Therefore, in order to guarantee successful communication in everyday life, it is believed that there should be some norm or beliefs shared by the speakers that govern the communication as put forward by Grice (1975) who pointed out that,

“Our talk exchanges... are characteristically, to some degree at least, cooperative efforts, and each participant recognizes in them, to some extent, a common purpose, or at least a mutually accepted direction... We might then formulate a rough general principle which participants will be expected ...to observe, namely: Make your conversational contribution such as required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged.

(Grice 1975: 26, cited in Blakemore 1992:25).

For more euphemisms in this category, refer to appendix VII (a).

4.2.1.2 Subordinate Court

This court was responsible for cases brought to it as well as appeals from the local court. Furthermore, the clerk of this court frankly told the researcher that in this court they called a spade, a spade because if they used euphemisms, other people would not understand what was being talked

about. In this court, the investigator, using the observation method tried to checklist the use of Silozi euphemisms. There were about ten (10) cases listened to and the results proved that euphemisms were rarely used in this domain. Some of the observed Silozi euphemisms were: “*Lihata*” a Silozi ordinary word which may be termed as “*liar*” in English. The word “*lihata*” has the following corresponding Silozi euphemisms: ‘*kabemba muchahabeli*’ (which literally means a double edged razor), ‘*lisawana*’ (literally means, ‘*one who spreads rumours*’), ‘*lihakabe*’ (literally means one who opens the mouth anyhow), ‘*namalimikwalula*’ (which literally means ‘*turning tongues*’) among others.

From the above examples, it is easy to conclude that euphemisms are to some extent kind of synonyms in semantic studies. Looking at the above words, it was easy to classify them as hyponyms, where there is one umbrella term with other terminologies. For instance, the term: “*kubanimba*” (which literally means ‘*to have a stomach*’). This phrase has a number of euphemisms such as: ‘*kwitwala*’ (to fall pregnant) ‘*kuyema mwahae*’ (literally means ‘*to stand in the village*’), ‘*kubafameziamanca*’ (which literally means ‘*to be on new waters*’). There is also the use of conversational implicature (Grice 1975) whereby there is an aspect of being indirect due to the fact that pregnancy involves a body part which cannot just be talked about at will in public, hence the use of euphemisms where one is able to infer the meaning from context.

So, it may be true to safely say that the other terminologies for the phrase ‘*to fall pregnant*’ would semantically have different words which mean the same as the initial word itself, “*kufamba*”), ‘*Kuinduka*’ is a euphemism which means “*kunyapisa*” (means ‘*labour pains*’). Euphemisms are used depending on the circumstances, for instance, the adults use them depending on the context so that communication is made easy amongst themselves.

There were some more recorded euphemisms which were used in this domain such as: ‘*kulyangana*’ (to be confused), a euphemism for “*kupulumuka*”, (which means to be mad). The other euphemism which was used was ‘*milyani yekola*’ (literally means intoxicating medicine), a euphemism for “*matokwani*”, (referring to drugs). This was in a case in which one was accused of trafficking in psychotropic substances. In a defilement case, there was proper use of direct speech as pointed out by Searle (1969), “*ku konya mwana musizana walilimo zemwatasa sikisitini*” (having sex with a girl below the age of sixteen). In his scenario, direct speech was used mainly because the magistrate ensured that cases were audibly said so that no one

complained that they did not hear a thing. Other words which were used were the usual ordinary words which may be understood by everyone present in court.

For more examples we may refer to the appendix VII (b)

4.2.2 Church Domain

This is a domain which is responsible for religious activities. Macmillan Study Dictionary (2009) points out that a church is a religious institution where Christians assemble in order to worship their God. Of course there are various denominations in Zambia such as the Roman Catholic Church, Evangelical Church, Seventh Day Adventist and Apostolic Church, among others, each with their own beliefs (doctrine) and structures. In this domain, Fernandez (2005) talked about death as a concept human beings have traditionally felt reluctant to deal with using straightforward terms. Whether owing to superstition, or social respect, the fact remains that when facing death, language users try to soften the effect of what they really wish to communicate. So, they resort to euphemisms, that is, the semantic or formal process to which the taboo is explicit, offensive or obscene overtones. From this viewpoint euphemism is not merely a response to a forbidden subject, rather, it provides a way to speak about the taboo, that is, about the unspeakable, about those concepts banned from public domain and removed from our consciousness (Sexton 1997). Death is, as Allan and Burridge (1991: 1) have argued, “a fear-based taboo” in which different fears coexist, namely of the loss of loved ones, fear of the corruption of the body, fear of evil spirits and fear of what comes after death. In this domain the researcher discovered that most of the churches did not want to talk about death point-blank because of the uncertainties and mysteries surrounding it. There is a lot of superstition pertaining to “*death*” so, preachers avoid talking about death directly, instead they refer to it euphemistically as, ‘*life after death*’, which in Silozi is: ‘*bupilo hasamulaho walifu*’, ‘*everlasting life*’ (bupilo bobusafeli), ‘*going to heaven*’ (‘*kuya kwahalimu*’) and the like. Thus, there is a lot of emphasis on: “*Jesu atahе atongela bahae kwa hae*” (Jesus to come and fetch his own home). Christians avoid talking about “*death*” so, they talk of awaiting Jesu’s return because there is belief that when one dies, goes to heaven to wait for lord, Jesus’ return as all believers anxiously await his return where the dead will resurrect. This was said by Jesus himself in the book of Revelation 22:12-13 “*Bona*” nitaha kapili kutofa mupuzo kulikana kamisebezi ya hao. *Kina makalelo ni mafelelezo*” (“Listen” says Jesus. “I am coming soon, to give each one

according to what he has done. I am the first and the last.”). This clearly shows that death is avoided by talking about good things that surround death. There is an assurance ‘going to be in the mansions being prepared by Jesus, in heaven’. At all times, Christians are supposed to do good works to others because there is a reward attached to this at the end of their lives.

The findings are in line with Fernandez (2005) who refers to obituary as a euphemism of ‘departure’ a common euphemistic term for “death”. He talks of “death” as a euphemistic hyperbole, upgrades a desirable feature of the referent, aims not only at complimenting the deceased, but also at praising and magnifying the biological act of dying by means of overstatements based on Christian beliefs, where the deceased is said to be in a kingdom, gone to a better place in heaven or enjoying a holy and uninterrupted communion with God, something from the Christian point of view, supposes the fulfillment of happiness. Death is perceived as a journey in religious terms, it is salvation for Christians. There is belief of an afterlife where the deceased will joyfully expect the resurrection in heaven flanked by God and tial angels.

4.2.3 Girl in Seclusion Domain

In the tradition of the Silozi-speaking people when a girl attains puberty and experiences the onset of menstruation she is put into seclusion to be initiated into adulthood. The initiation process involves extensive use of euphemisms as much of the syllabus centres on hygiene, sex and motherhood.

Kumulaela kaza kwipabalela ali ‘kwande’, kapa hana ni ‘nalitwi’, to give advice on the rules of hygiene to such a one on how to take care of herself when she was “menstruating”. There is an indirect way of talking about “menstruation”, instead of saying “kufulumana” they use euphemisms such as ‘, ‘kuya kwande’, (which literally means to go outside), ‘nalitwi’ was yet another euphemisms or synonym for menstruation. This indirect way of speaking was advocated by Searle (1969), it is also a way of being polite as alluded to by Brown and Levinson (1987). In most cases, women would not want to talk about these issues directly because these were topics which relate to body parts of both men and women. These women most of times use euphemisms because they mingle with other women from other tribes and would not want to sell their secrets to other tribes though those who belong to the context may understand without difficulties. There was also the aspect of cooperative principle as pointed by Grice (1975)

because the interlocutors were able to understand each other as they belong to the same context and share the same background knowledge. As for the initiate who was new to this context an elderly person was available to explain every euphemism to her.

Some of the popularly used euphemisms in this domain were: those concerned with sex, body parts, excretion, defecatory among others:

- (i) *'buuna'* (manhood) was a euphemism which was used as opposed to *"nemba"*(penis).
- (ii) *'busali'* (womanhood) was a euphemism used instead of *"nyo"*(vagina).
- (iii) *'kulobala ni muna'* (to sleep with a man or husband) was a euphemism used as opposed to *"kuikonya"* (to have sexual intercourse). *'kuyakwamiseme'* is yet another euphemism for sexual intercourse (which literally means to go to bed).

Most lessons were taught through songs: as a woman she should not fornicate or be adulterous so, we have euphemisms like: *usike waeza 'buitamaeli'* (do not flirt) as opposed to *usike waeza "buhule"* (do not practice prostitution).

- (iv) A song like this one was sung: *'nisayemayema nibone kubabazamaya baeng'i'* (which means, let me take a stroll to see the walking visitors). In the real sense, these visitors represent 'men'.
- (v) A song such as: *"mwana eee, mwana eee, mwana eee, kanti mwana ulajaya"*, all sorts of relevant demonstrations were shown to the girl so as for her to take care during the period of labour pains up to the time of child bearing, she needed to be courageous so that she did not kill the baby and did not die at such a critical, and most important moment of her life when she was destined to bring life into the world!
- (vi) *"washakambayi washaula banyina"* (it would be disgracing one's mother if she sleeps on the matrimonial bed with husband during menstruation). Should this happen then, the man may suffer from a continuous cough referred to as *'sishako'*.
- (vii) *"wainona ndonga, ewainona"* (the penis going direct to the vagina).
- (viii) *"Ndilindili ndili yakumongo"*(having sex from the rear).

The main reasons why these women used euphemisms was to maintain both the ‘*face*’ of the girl and of their own because for them to talk about these directly or the way they are supposed to be said would sound weird so, the elderly put safeguards to these taboo words when they said them to this small girl. In this respect we realize that elderly women use euphemisms to lessen ‘*face threatening acts*’, as advocated by Brown and Levinson (1987) who associate this with politeness theory. Therefore, in this domain the context is seriously respected because the language used here reflects the context and shared background knowledge by the interlocutors.

For more examples of Silozi euphemisms in this domain, refer to appendix VIII.

4.2.4 The Home Domain

This is a domain where in most normal situations, one likely to find father, mother, children and other relatives. The researcher went round in search of data for this study and was attracted by some dialogue that transpired between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law in one of the houses visited. In this home, this was what transpired:

Mother-in-law: “*Boma Mundia, hamutoinga mbututu ‘uteile’.*” (Mother to Mundia come and get the baby, it has defecated). As opposed to “*Boma Mundia, hamutoinga mbututu unyelile*”. So, the phrase ‘*Kuteya*’ is a polite way of talking about defecatory acts, especially that the interlocutors were in-laws.

Daughter-in-law: “*Ima, hamubulelele Nasilele hatuse kumu kenisa, ‘ng’nda’ itamubaba, ni sa tapa fa mubili.*” (Mother, tell Nasilele to help clean the baby because the stool will become itchy on the baby as iam still bathing).

Mother-in-law: “*Bati Nasilele ukeni mwa ‘mutabani’, cwanong’u fa.*” (Nasilele has gone into war a while ago), in this respect, ‘*mutabani*’ is used as a euphemism for the word “*toilet*” as opposed to “*simbuzi*”.

Daughter-in-law: “*kanti na taha.*” (“*Then I am on my way.*”).

The euphemisms used in the piece of conversation quoted above were: ‘*uteile*’ – ‘*kuteya*’ as opposed to “*kunyela*” (to defecate) which is understood by all speakers of Silozi, ‘*nganda*’,

'*mateya*' are euphemisms as opposed to "*masipa*".(faeces) '*mutabani*' is a euphemism as opposed to, "*simbuzi*" ("toilet"). The use of the euphemisms in this context reflected politeness theory as espoused by Brown and Levinson (1987), particularly with regard to "*face*" which they describe as "emotionally invested and that it can be either lost or maintained or enhanced and must be constantly attended to in interaction." Brown and Levinson (ibid:61). In the above example, the two interactants observed the politeness theory. There was also the aspect of indirect speech use in this dialogue as observed by Searle (1969) in the sense that they were avoiding using the direct forms because they would sound impolite. Grice's (1975) cooperative implicature principle which considers communication as a series of cooperative efforts between interlocutors was also adhered to. One realizes that the two were able to cooperate hence their ability to converse successfully. Implicature is similar to 'indirect speech act by Searle (1975) in the sense that in both these models, there is a stage which involves inferences made in order to understand the indirect illocutionary force.

4.2.5 The Hospital Domain

In this domain the researcher found a number of euphemisms used between doctors and particularly those relating to consultation. The researcher found out that there were various categories of patients who visited the hospital on a daily basis and that they used language differently, depending on their age, status, occupation and the type of illness. Euphemisms used in the hospital domain were used because of not wanting to feel embarrassed or for politeness purposes. When one examines these euphemisms they are related to speech act theory according to Searle (1967) who talks about an indirect way of interlocation which aims at enhancing the face of the listener. Mainly conversational indirect strategies were used by interlocutors who may be in the same or different social status but were not close. Adults tended to resort to using euphemisms when mentioning these illnesses when they were consulting a doctor or a nurse at the hospital. This was because these illnesses were concerned with excrement, Sex, defecatory, male or female body parts which caused people to lose '*face*' upon mentioning them. Therefore, it was very cardinal to maintain the '*face*' of both the listener and the speaker, this is according to Brown and Levinson (1987). For example, a patient suffering from "*diarrhea*" feels shy to mention this in an exact Silozi way because it sounds like an insult so, would resort to using euphemisms. For instance, '*kumatamata*' (frequent running) is often used as a euphemism

instead of “*kusulula*” (diarrhea) so, ‘*kumatamata*’ (frequent running) is a euphemism for “*diarrhea*”, in English. However, when a baby or child is taken to hospital, suffering from the same illness, an adult will not hesitate to mention the illness in an ordinary way every other person would mention it and be understood by every Silozi speaker without feeling shy, vis-a-vis, “*kusulula*”. There are situations when a female patient is being attended to by a male doctor or a male nurse so, in such instances, they would rather use euphemism to maintain their face and that of the medical practitioner. It is fortunate that at times like these, Grice’s (1975) cooperative principle was clearly observed by the interlocutors in the sense that they were able to infer the meaning of this euphemism. Therefore, context comes into play in terms of felicity conditions, that is to say, Austin (1962:63) pointed out that, felicity conditions referred to, “the criteria which must be fulfilled if a speech act were to achieve its purpose.” These are concerned with social conventions which speakers and listeners should adhere to in order for them to achieve the purposes for which any speech act was intended.

The researcher was reliably informed that some of the aged behaved like any other adult, that is, they would rather use euphemisms as opposed to ordinary phrases when consulting a doctor or nurse when they were ill. They also felt shy to mention these illnesses in ordinary language. For instance, instead of mentioning body parts like penis or vaginal problems, they would euphemise these as, they were experiencing a discharge from their private part, they would freely say that, “there is a discharge from the ‘*manhood*’ or ‘*womanhood*’”. In Silozi they would be comfortable to say, *kunanizezwa ‘kwabuuna’* or *kunanizezwa ‘kwabusali’*, as opposed to *kunanizezwa ‘kwanemba’* or *kunanizezwa ‘kwanyo’*, respectively. These are some of the most commonly used euphemisms at this hospital. There is yet another concept of euphemizing where there is an aspect of using foreign words to avoid mentioning a taboo term and this is regarded as an effective way of euphemizing. For instance, from Chinese to English, French to Latin, among others. Therefore, using lexical devices as Rawson (1981:8) pointed out, “It is permissible speakers and writers of English to express almost any ought they wish, as long as the more risqué parts of the discussion are rendered in another language, usually French or Latin.”

This was clearly proved in this domain, in regards to most Silozi literate patients, they felt safer to mention illnesses by using a substituted lexical device such as: “*nina ni sitombo kwa ‘private part’*” (‘*I have a sore on my private part*’) as opposed to: “*nina nisitombo kwa nyo/nemba*” (‘*I*

have a sore on my vagina or my penis”). They would rather substitute a Silozi word with an English word because it sounds less offensive.

However, with regards to Voluntary Counseling and Testing (VCT), there is no use of euphemisms because of the sensitivity of what is being talked about. For example, when talking about the use of a condom, one has to demonstrate on how it is used without reservations, failure to which one would not understand and this would worsen the spread of HIV/AIDS. So, in regards to VCT speech act theory are at work and have to do with direct speech as proposed by Searle (1969) where interlocutors say things the way they are supposed to be said without beating about the bush. Grice’s (1975) conversational analysis is observed, that is saying things the way they really are supposed to be said: interlocutors are cooperating very well in their conversation, in this scenario, it meant that all the maxims were followed accordingly, they were not flouted.

For more Silozi euphemisms in this domain, refer to appendix IX.

4.2.6 Electronic Media Domain

4.2.6. 1 Oblate Radio Liseli

This radio station is very vital for the local people of Western Province because they often listen to programmes on this radio station and have access to a number of euphemisms being used. The researcher had the privilege of interviewing one of the workers by the name of Bruce Mubita on the 9th January 2011. Mr. Mubita is a broadcaster at this radio station and identified the following as some of the objectives of the radio station:

§ Integral evangelizing, promotion of culture through music and other programmes.

§ Youth empowerment through information such as HIV/Aids

He also listed the following as the programmes broadcast by the radio station

- Maikuto a sicaba (the feelings of the public).
- Makande anaha (State issues).

- MTN show in Silozi (MTN show in Silozi).
- Kuta yafa moya (a court on air).
- Litumeliso mwa ma ng'olo mwa Silozi (Greetings through letters in Silozi).
- Situndo (simuluho ya sizo sa Silozi).(the origin of the Silozi tradition).
- Taluso ya mabizo (the meaning of names).
- Lizibiso zamaswabi (funeral announcements) among others.

In all the above programmes which are broadcast at this radio station, there is use of euphemisms, most of which are well known by most Silozi speakers who are sufficiently conversant with the language. Some of the euphemisms which were used by the interviewee and which appealed to the researcher's liking were: "*Mbande*" which has these euphemisms: '*Linyambe*' (demeaning the name of Nyambe, who is God), '*Lyombamoyo*' (the killer), '*sinyunywani*' (demeaningly a bird), all these refer to HIV.

"Kushwa" (to die) had the following euphemisms, '*Kutimela*' (literally means to get lost), referring to "death".

"*Mabita*" (graves/ cemetery) has the following euphemisms: '*mayumbelo*' (which literally refers to a dumping place), '*matotaeti*' (literally means an abandoned place).

"*Buhule*" (prostitution), this phrase has the following euphemisms: '*butanya*' (whore), '*buitamaeli*' (walking at will), '*buzangunda*' (stupid woman inclined to prostitution).

For more euphemisms in this domain, refer to appendix X (a)

4.2.6.2 Radio Lyambai

This is a privately owned local radio station which is found in Mongu town of the western province of Zambia responsible for broadcasting a number of programmes to educate the people on a number of issues. It came to the researcher's attention that there was use of euphemisms at this station in almost all the Silozi programmes that y broadcast. Some of the main programmes broadcast at this station are:

At this station, they have programmes such as:

- mabizo a Silozi mwamishobo ni sizo (Lozi names in language and culture).
- Lipuho, manzwi ni litaluso zamabizo (Language, words and meaning of names).
- Kuta yafa moya (a court on air) among others.

According to the interviewed broadcaster, Mukwae (princess) Aongola, they have quite a number of programmes which they broadcast to the locals and in most of these programmes, there was use of euphemisms, such as the ones which are already in our list. However, some exciting ones which appealed to the researcher were as follows:

“*kunutu*” (secret) is euphemized as, ‘*kunata kwazebe*’ (which literally means to beat at the ear). It may be referred to as something that one whispers to another as a way of protecting them so that they were unknowingly not caught by surprise! In this situation, it had been realized that there were some people who did not want to be advised, such a one would be assisted by whispering to them so that those who hate him did not hear what was being talked about. This scenario may rightfully be said to be done in a situation where two people were backbiting others and were trying by all means to hide good or bad news from would be enemies, this act may be something that may protect someone.

For more euphemisms in this domain refer to appendix X (b).

4.2.7 School Domain

The researcher administered a word and sentence compilation task to the pupils to establish as to whether Silozi euphemisms were used and if they were even known by pupils. So, a number of ordinary words were supplied by the researcher for pupils to give euphemism equivalents and then using those euphemistic words to construct appropriate sentences to prove the pupils’ knowledge or ignorance of this phenomenon. In the current study, there were ten ordinary words which were asked. These are given in Appendix II.

It was evident that the euphemisms from this domain applied the speech act theory by Searle (1969) because there was an aspect of an indirect way of saying things as opposed to using language in an exact way due to avoiding mentioning some of the words which sounded impolite

when mentioned in the exact way. For instance, “*kunyela*” is an ordinary word which refers: “*to defecate*”, surely if one were to talk about another person as *gone ‘to defecate’* without using safeguards, such a one would be considered impolite, that is the more reason why under normal circumstances people opted to use euphemisms so as to avoid ‘*loss of face*’ by the interlocutors. Therefore, a euphemism is regarded as a polite way of conversing and in the above example, a euphemism: ‘*kuyemasinamutu*’ (which literally means to stand like a person) is used. In the same vein, there is a parallel of this euphemism in Tonga, whereby one would talk of going to defecate as: ‘*kuyakukubona mwana wakapyamulilo*’

For more euphemisms in this domain, refer to appendix XI (a) & (b).

4.3 Use of Euphemisms in Relation to Age, Sex, Occupation and Status

The use of euphemisms, according to most of the researcher’s informants is that children and adults use them depending on whether one is conversant with euphemisms or not. However, it is important to note that this phenomenon is used differently in regards to who are using these euphemisms and to whom they are being used. Hornberger (2008) pointed out that both children and adults learn appropriate social interaction routines which are indexed by interactional styles of conformity, attentive listening and indirectness. He went on to say that the two parties do experience their pragmatic socialization throughout their lives and even enter new socio cultural contexts to enable them fit in their environment.

In as far as age is concerned, children are not very conversant with euphemisms, many times they are to be corrected by adults on their use. On the other hand, adults are more prone to using euphemisms especially when they are conversing amongst themselves because they are not interested in other people understanding what they are talking about. In regards to the use of euphemisms between children and adults, there is a lot of use of euphemisms by adults because they try by all means to avoid ‘*losing face*’ because at times euphemisms are used as a way of avoiding a taboo word or as a way of exhibiting politeness. In regards to showing politeness, there is what is considered as “*face saving*” in order to keep communication going. Therefore, in this scenario, politeness may be considered in line with Brown and Levinson (1987). For sure every individual needs to keep face in a conversation and such mutual self-interest requires

conversational participants to maintain both their own face and their intergressor's face. For the communicators to manage to weaken face threatening, they use a series of strategies, euphemisms inclusive. It is suffice to note that in our daily conversations, we may adapt our conversation to different situations. Nevertheless, among colleagues they take liberties to say what would seem discourteous among strangers. For instance, call boys at a bus station would call their friend as: *"Iwe chikamba, isa kuno."*["you penis come here."]. This they do not take offense because it is at a pragmatic, colleague level.

There are certain instances when say, the elders are with children and are talking about a sensitive issue which they do not want children to grasp what is being talked about, they would rather use euphemisms so that they retard the children from comprehending their adult talk! At times, the adults would be on their own but then, amongst themselves, others w misfits in that context, so, they may resort to using euphemisms order for these outsiders not to grasp what is being talked about. Therefore, the aspect of belonging to a context and sharing the same background knowledge enables interlocutors to understa each other very well. In this domain, there was use of indirect speech acts as alluded to by Searle (1969). Social status, occupation, and the use of euphemisms is not equitable, it all depends on how knowledgeable of this phenomenon one is. Status or occupation is not an issue, it all depends on how conversant with Silozi euphemisms one is. At times one may have attained a high educational qualification but is ignorant of this phenomenon, may be because of where they grew up. Under normal circumstances, those who are high ranking in society may not know this phenomeno so, they may be taught this concept by their elders. Others may be holding higher occupational positions but may not be conversant with Silozi euphemisms, however, males and females both use them most at the required times. In regards to sex or gender, Mestherie et al (2000:217) points out that, *"the men have a great many expressions peculiar to them, which the women understand but never pronounce themselves. On the other hand, the women have words and phrases which the men never use, or they would be laughed to scorn. Thus it happens that in their conversations it often seems as if the women had another language than the men."*

(Rocherfort1665, cited Jespersen 1922:237).

amuhezi baeng'i (I have received visitors). *'kuya kwakweli'* (to go to the moon), is yet another euphemism for menstruation.

Therefore, circumlocution encompasses saying more than is expected and this in ordinary communicative situations is considered to be a violation of the general principle of economy.

Pinker notes, as quoted in Bowers (1994:58) that in political circles, “once a euphemism is pointed out, people are not so brainwashed that they have trouble understanding the deception”. Therefore, “if euphemisms can blunt the impact of the most strongly charged words when the meaning is ambiguous, then presumably they can blunt the impact of less emotionally charged words in various semantic contexts”. Bower (1994:8)

Many a time, people find it stressful to say aloud a swear word than its corresponding euphemism. English being a widely taught language worldwide, speakers of the language tend to use things like, code switching and code mixing among each other as a strategy of euphemism (Al-Katib), a trend which is also common in Silozi.

4.5 Summary

The present chapter provided samples of euphemisms for the purpose of exemplifying the availability of Silozi euphemisms, finding out if it is easy to identify them in people's conversations, if identified Silozi euphemisms could be categorised according to the social domains, what socio pragmatic functions Silozi euphemisms perform in the domains in which they are used, Vis-a- vis : church, court, school, home, hospital, girl in seclusion and the two radio stations(Liseli and Lyambai) and the relationship between the use of euphemisms in Silozi and social factors such as: age, gender, status, and occupation.

The next chapter provides answers to this question by summarizing and explaining the Socio pragmatic analysis of Silozi euphemisms, in Limulunga and Mongu. There is one section to this presentation which discusses the Socio pragmatics of Silozi euphemisms. Furthermore, the chapter draws conclusions and presents some recommendations on the importance of using euphemisms and areas requiring further research.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 General

The previous chapter presented sample findings on the of Silozi euphemisms in two study areas namely Mongu and Limulunga as extracted from the data. The main reason of doing this was to elaborate on the identified Silozi euphemisms, utilised. This exercise was carried out in order to give answers to the research questions raised in chapter one of the study. The study gave a constructive report on the euphemisms used in the study areas, listing them, categorizing them, showing the sociopragmatic functions performed by Silozi euphemisms in different domains and establishing whether or not the use of euphemisms was related to social factors such as age, gender, status and occupation.

The purpose of the present study was to establish whether euphemisms exist in the Lozi culture, in Limulunga and Mongu study areas respectively. Based on the findings reported in the previous chapter, the present chapter seeks to provide answers to this question by summarizing and explaining the sociopragmatic analysis of Silozi euphemisms. There is one section to this presentation which discusses the sociopragmatics of Silozi euphemisms. Furthermore, the chapter draws conclusions and presents some recommendations on the importance of using euphemisms and areas requiring further research.

5.1. Summary of Findings

The results of this study show that euphemisms have been available in Silozi society for as long as the people have been around. Speakers of Silozi are well known for their tradition, culture and their being polite so, they aim at upholding their tradition at all times. Therefore, in certain circumstances, they would rather avoid using direct words in preference for euphemisms.

The findings from the two study areas have confirmed the availability of euphemisms in various domains such as court, church, home, hospital, girl in seclusion, electronic media (Oblate Radio

Liseli and Lyambai), political rallies, trading, community among others. From the semi structured interviews the researcher had with the informants, it is evident that euphemisms are emphasized in various domains so that Silozi may continue enjoying the politeness it has exhibited for all the years.

It was discovered that to most school going children, euphemisms are not very well known because this category of people likes associating themselves with a foreign language, English, as a way of showing off to people that they are learned, they forget that if they do not promote their own language, no one will. Furthermore, the royal domain is very much fond of using euphemisms. From the discussion, implications are drawn, informants' comments are made among others and specific recommendations made.

The findings from the study have confirmed that euphemisms are used in the two study areas in most domains such as Church, Court, Girl in seclusion, school, the home, hospital and electronic media (Oblete Radio Liseli and Radio Lyambai). In all these domains, euphemisms are used in the regional official language, Silozi. However, even euphemisms are widely used in the listed domains, the court domain seemed not to exclusively use a lot of them due to the fact that there is need for the two parties to the case to understand what is being talked about in their trial other than using roundabout language, so, they believe in calling a spade, a spade. Therefore, euphemisms in this category are rarely used as proven from the findings in chapter and appendices. Nevertheless, in other domains such as: Church, home, hospital and local radio stations, euphemisms are used to a certain extent. However, it is consoling to note that there were a lot of euphemisms used in the girl in seclusion domain and the hospital domain as already explained in chapter four. This is due to the fact that in these areas, there is a lot of talking about issues considered to be taboo, such as, body parts, sex, excrement, defecatory among others.

From the time the Lozis acquired this hybrid (creole) language, from the Makololo, they have maintained it by ensuring that both natives and non-natives speak it at different foras and this has made it easy for most of these people to learn and use the common euphemisms.

5.2 Conclusion

In relation to the purpose of the current study, the findings seemed to suggest that euphemisms are used in most domains in Limulunga and Mongu areas. Silozi language is very prominent in these areas with a large number of speakers who appear to be happy and proud of their language. These people have continued using their language to such an extent that in various local radio programmes, they are heard using the language. In this way, they are sort of promoting the use of euphemisms so that this language continues to use t politeness it is associated with in accordance with their social norms. This kind of venture helps to maintain and preserve the Silozi language which has stood the test of time.

Many Silozi speakers have ensured that they use the language effectively both at home and in the community, especially the elders who do not tolerate those people who would want to talk to them in a different language other than English or Silozi. Many people have called Lozis names such as conservatives because they are not easily swayed by the wind. It was evident that through theories of speech act theory, politeness theory with its face threatening acts and cooperative principle which are available in the English language, are equally applicable in people's daily conversations in Silozi as evidenced in chapter four. At the palace, the use of euphemisms is an on-going activity, no one may speak ordinarily because that is the origin of politeness and euphemisms. Those who proved to have no knowledge of euphemisms were not welcome at the palace because anyone who speaks ordinarily at the palace is regarded to be disrespectful.

As discussed above, speakers of Silozi have a great interest and love of their language as seen from the examples, it is a widely spoken language in the province and is used in various domains so, would like to attach the required seriousness it deserves. The participants were happy with the use of euphemisms as knowledge of these makes them actively involved in conversations in their various domains without much of a problem. They appreciated the education of these euphemisms, accorded to them, through the local radio stations where they are learning a lot of these. Pupils were of the opinion that these euphemisms be widely taught to them in their schools so that they may be able to converse appropriately with the elders and even amongst themselves

in their age groups if they did not want outsiders to grasp what they were talking about or if they were to sound polite.

This study made specific contribution to the sociopragmatic theory, using theories such as speech act theory, conversational implicature, politeness theory ('face'). It has become evident that interlocutors, in the process of avoiding taboo words use those words which do not embarrass them but may maintain their face by using words (euphemisms) which are not 'face threatening'.

5.3 Recommendations for further Research

In view of Silozi being a regional official language, for classroom instruction at primary school, secondary school, college and University levels, church and other local activities, it is recommended that children be taught euphemisms at a tender age so that they do not become misfits in their society.

It is recommended that further study be carried out to identify other factors that may affect the use of Silozi euphemisms from other dimensions.

Through careful analysis of euphemisms, the outcome of the study proved that there is social distance in regards to status, age, occupation, gender and even power of the speaker and hearer which determine the strategies applied in using euphemisms. Some euphemisms are better understood and appreciated by people who share a context and have the same social cultural background. It is recommended that further study be done to identify other factors that may affect the use of euphemisms in Silozi from other dimensions.

Silozi euphemisms are a way of showing politeness among the people because they aim at avoiding directly talking about unpleasant situations as: death, sex, excretion, body parts among other expressions for the purpose of '*face saving*'. Silozi Euphemisms, according to one of the researcher's Silozi informants, are said to be polite way of making the unpalatable more palatable, meaning that interlocutors take into account the feelings of others hence their choice of pleasant alternative words when conversing with others so as not to hurt or embarrass them.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: A Sample of Word and Sentence Compilation Task

1. A Word and Sentence Compilation Task which was Administered to the Pupils

The school domain provided an environment which was valuable in the sense that by using a word and compilation task, the researcher wanted to verify certain euphemisms in Silozi as to whether the pupils were conversant with them or not. This exercise was composed of ten (10) ordinary Silozi words which were to be associated to the euphemism equivalents and then using those euphemistic words to construct meaningful sentences to prove the pupils' knowledge or ignorance of this phenomenon. The exercise was valuable in the sense that it evaluated the pupils' knowledge of euphemisms.

In the current study, there were ten questions which were asked as follows:

Kutatuba manzwi alikutu kapa a likunutu ka Silozi. Kiyao manzwi a Silozi a lishumi, kwalinzwi ni linzwi, ufumane linzwi lalikutu kapa lakunutu leliswanela kuzamaelela nileo, hasamulaho, ubelekise linzwileo lalikutu kapa lakunutu mwa mubamba.

An analysis of Silozi euphemisms, below are ten ordinary Silozi words, for each one of them find the appropriate Silozi euphemism, thereafter, use the word in a sentence. Words used in this example were as follows: “*mabita*” which has the following euphemism equivalents: ‘*mayumbelo*’(which literally means rubbish dump), another euphemism for “*mabita*” is, ‘*matotaeti*’(which literally means an abandoned place) . The royal “graveyard”(‘cemetery’) has ‘*limbwata*’, ‘*sitino*’(literally means an attire), ‘*muleneng’i*’(which literally means the kingdom.

Mubamba sina ka mutala kiwo: (Below is a sentence example)

-Kilwapili Lungowe aya kwa matotaeti.(It is Lungowe’s first time to go to the cemetery.

Cwale ng’ola manzwi atatama kamukwa oswana: (Now write the following words below).

1. *Kushwa*

6. *mbande.*

2. *Lihata*

7. *kulila.*

3. *Simbuzi*

4. *Kunyela*

5. *Kwitwala*

8. *Mulena haca.*

9. *Libyana za mulena*

10. *Mulena haomana*

Appendix II: A Sample of Structured Interview Questions.

2. A Sample of Structured Interview Questions which were used on the informants:

In order for the researcher to elicit meaningful information from the twenty proposed informants, it was necessary to come up with the following semi structured questions. These questions of course had to be in line with the research questions and they were as follows:

1. Are there any Silozi euphemisms?
 - a. Is it easy to identify Silozi euphemisms in people's conversations?
 - b. Why do people use Silozi euphemisms in their conversations?
 - c. When are Silozi euphemisms used?
 - d. How can you tell that this is a Silozi euphemism?
2. How could one categorise these Silozi euphemisms?
 - a. Where are these euphemisms used?
 - b. At what times are Silozi euphemisms used?
3. Is there any evidence of Silozi use of euphemisms in the various domains, (court, church, girl in seclusion, home, hospital, local radio stations, Oblate Radio Liseli and Lyambai) ?

What are the socio pragmatic uses of these euphemisms?
4. Is the use of Silozi euphemisms in any way related to socio pragmatic factors such as age, gender, status and occupation?
 - a. Are we saying that there are different uses of euphemisms in relation to age, gender, status and occupation?
 - b. Is it true that Silozi euphemisms are used differently according to age, gender, status and occupation or these do not matter?

Appendix III: A List of Some Royal Silozi Euphemisms

The appendix below has most of the euphemisms used at the palace. There are differing degrees of politeness in the two areas vis- a vis the palace and the ordinary people. Mumbuna (2008) pointed out that, it was important to write about the issues prevailing at the palace so that a lot of people learn about kingship of the Lozis, become knowledgeable of S lozi ordinary and royalty in full and all the activities that go on in there. In the long run, this I give light to those Lozis who are ignorant of these issues. Since the world is not static but changes are inevitable, when things written down, the history of the people is preserved and people have a reference in case of any need for clarification of one or two issues pertaining to the Silozi kingship.

Mulena hatabile	Kuwabezwi	To be joyous
	Limeka	Pride
	Kumoka	-
	Lumenyo	Smile
Mulena	Litunga	Title of the king
	Kaongolo kanyambe	God's own creation
	Munga'luna	Our own
	Kwatoho yatapi	At the head of fish
	Yomutelele mwa bulozi	The tall one in bulozi.
	Mbumuyamaoma	The reigning king/king on the throne
	Ndatahe sicaba	Father of the masses
Mulozi	A Lozi	

	Toho ya naha	Head of a country
.Mulena haca	Kukumbela	To eat
	Kukushuka	Morning meal
	Kulalela	Evening meal
Kutapa	Kuyowana	Royal bath
	Kukuuba	Royal bath
	Kupufwana	Splashy bath like swimming
Lapa lamulena	Mutala (tota)	A line /an example
	Lyangamba	Second yard of the king
Litino zamulena	Bo imuluka	The stitched
	Ikupatu	Something hidden
Mulena hakula	Kukumakuma	To be unwell
	Matome	Illness of the king
Kulobala	Koonda	Peaceful sleep
Libyana za mulena	Tuyami	Royal property
Mulena ha funduka	Kukunona	The king leaving
Kuba nitohonolo	Kuteeba	To be fortunate
Kuiswa kwa mule na	Kutalekwa	To be brought forward
	Kukambamiswa .	To help ascend

Musala mulena	Malena	Kings
	Mooli	Beloved
	mooyo	the hearty one
	Imwambo	Litunga's wife
Kahuma ka mooli	Nalubeso	Royal wife's hoe
Muhuma wa mulena	Likau	Royal hoe
Kupilahande	Buikangulo	Royal good life
	Kucilanwa winowino	Good health
Mikeke ya mulena	Nambuya	Royal plates
	Mikumanga ya mulena	Synonym for royal plates
Lushoko lwa mulena	Tungongo	Royal bathroom
	Ngongo	Synonym for royal bathroom
Ndu ya mulena	Kwandu	Royal house
Munzi mo kwinsi libita lamulena	Limbwata	Royal grave
	Muleneng'i	A kingdom
	Sitino	An attire
	Sikung'onda	Synonym for royal grave
Kucisa	Kufepa	To feed
Tafule ya mulena	Muungo	Royal table
Lipula za mulena	Mabona	Royal sofas
Mulena yabusa	Yafalioma	King on the throne

Muhata wa mulena	Namaya	Royal tail
Kufiwa mpo ki mulena	Kutambula	To receive
Lisila lafatafula ya mulena	Imuluka	Royal table cloth
Kuta ya mulena	Kashandi	Royal court
	Kwandu	Synonym for royal court
Mulena kushwa	Mande kutubeha/ kupazuha	The necklace cracking or splitting
	Kulatehelwa	To lose
	Kumaiba	To be unlucky
Mokubulukelwa lico za mulena	Newa	Royal food storage
Lico za mulena	Ilya	Porridge with sour milk
	Mukushalu	Roasted beef
Mulena haomana	Kutikaana	Royal fury
	Kuuyana	Litunga's anger
Litipa za mulena	Miele	Royal knives
Mulena ha zamaya	Kutamboka	Walking majestically
Mulena hapota	mulena wa tambala	Royal walking

	ku endaenda	Walking about
Kushwa tala	Kulapa	Starving
Malumo ni miwayo ya mulena	Lingweshi	Royal spears
Lapa la mooli	Mutuna	Royal wife's yard
Likwati	Saali	Litter on which to carry the dead
	Ikupatu	Where to hide
	Pumulelo	Where to rest
Kulumelisa	Kuchilanisa	Royal greeting
Kuitimula	Kuashimisa	Royal sneezing
Kuliza milupa	Kumbeta	Beating royal drums
Komoki	Pikili	Royal cup
Kukomoka	Kumakala	To be dumbfounded
Musali	Mumoo	A woman
Kulizamaoma	Kumbeta	Beating royal drums
Mabupilo	Natamoyo	Mother of life

Appendix IV: Categories of some Royal Silozi Euphemisms:

Mabizo a silena (Titles of the King) Euphemisms		
Ordinary Silozi words	Euphemism	English translation
Mulena:	Litunga	The king's Title
Kaongolo kaNyambe	Earthly God for the Lozis	
Mbumu yamaoma	The reigning king	
Mung' aluna	Our own	
Yomutuna mwabulozi	The big one in Bulozhi	
Mulozi	The Lozi one	
Tohoyanaha	The head of a country	
Ndatahe sicaba	Father of the masses	
Kwa toho yatapi	At the head of a fish	
Musala mulena:		Royal wife
Malena	Kings	
Mooli	The treasured one	
Moyo	Heart	
Natamoyo	Heart Beat	
Imwambo	One with tales	

Ma- bupilo		Mother of life
Kushwa(Royal Death)		
Mulena haswa:		Royal death
Mande ipazuhile	The breaking of the necklace	
Kulatehelwa	To lose	
Kumaiba	To be unfortunate	
Libita la Mulena:		Royal grave
Limbwata		
Sitino	An attire	
Sikung'onda	Synonym for royal grave	
Muleneng'i	The kingdom	
Likwati lamulena:		
Saali	Litter on which to carry the dead	
Ikupatu	Where to hide	
Pumulelo	where to rest	
Tools/utensils/royal clothes for the king		
Muhuma:	Likau	Royal hoe
Malumo nimi wayoya mulena	Lingweshi	Royal guns and spears
Mikeke yamulena	Nambuya	Royal plates

	Mikumanga yamulena	
	Tuyami twamulena	
Litipa zamulena	Miele	Royal knives
Tafule yamulena	Muungo	Royal table
Lipula zamulena	Mabona	Royal sofas
Litino zamulena	Imuluka	Royal clothes
	Ikupatu	
Lisila lafatafule	Imuluka	Royal table cloth
Kahuma kamooli	Nalubeso	A small hoe for the king's wife
Likezo zamulena (king's activities)		
Mulena haomana	Kuuyana	Royal fury
	Kutikana	
Mulena hapota	Kutambala	Royal visitation
	Kuendaenda	
Mulena hazamaya	Kutamboka	Royal majestic walk
Buino bwa mulena(king's social activities)		
Mulena hakula:	Kukumakuma	Royal illness
	Matome	
Kutaba	Kuwabelwa	Royal happiness

	Lumenyo	
	Naliwabelelwa	
Kulobala	Kuonda	Royal sleep
Kuca	Kukumbela	Royal eating
Lapa la mulena	Mutala(tota)	Royal yard
	Lyangamba	
Lapa lamooli	Mutuna	Royal wife's yard
Mulena hapumula	Kushiya	Royal resting
Kuta yamulena	Kashandi	Royal court
	Kwandu	
Kwiswa kumulena	Kutalekwa	-to be ushered to the king
Lico zamulena	Ilya	Royal food
	Mukushalu	
Mulena haca	Wakumbela	Royal eating
Lushoko lwamulena	Tungongo	Royal bathroom
Mulena hatapa	Kuyowana	Royalbathing
	Kukuuba	
	Kupuwana	
Mulena yabusa	Yafalioma	Ruling king

Mulena hafamutu sika	Kutambula	Royal gift
Ndumokufitela lico zamulena	Newa	House where Royal food is kept
Mulena haitimuna	Waashimisa	Royal sneezing
Kubanitohonolo	Kuteeba	To be lucky
Muhata wamulena	Namaya	Royal tail
Kupilahande	Buikangulo	Royal good health
	kucilana winowino	
Kucisa	Kufepa	To feed

Appendix V: A List of Some Ordinary Silozi Euphemisms

Below is a list of Silozi euphemisms written according to various ordinary words used by people in their everyday conversations. Each word has one or more euphemisms corresponding to it as collected and known by the researcher. Some of these euphemisms have been translated in English both literally and the actual way they are really used in interlocutions:

ORDINARY LANGUAGE USED	EUPHEMISM(S)	LITERAL TRANSLATION	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
Kushwa	Kutokwahala	To be needed	To die/ death.
	Kutimela	To get lost	
	Kulobala	To sleep	
	Kusiyā	To leave	
	Kutoba	To escape	
	Kusila	To cross	
	Kuya ku nyambe	To go to god	
	Kungiwa kimun'ga bupilo.	To be taken by the author of life.	
	Kulatehelwa	To lose.	
	Kumiza /kupuma moya.	To swallow/ to cut air.	
	Kusiyā lifasi	To leave the world	
	Kuyamwasibaka samwabuse	To go to the yonder world	
Kutubula mubili	To undress the body		

Buchakolwa	Bundalabangwana	Quaffist	Drunkenness
Matokwani	Milyani yekola	Intoxicating medicines	Drugs
Yashwezwi bashemi bahae	ki Ndiyala	One whose parents died	Orphan
Kumaiba	Kubolamala	To have rotten intestines	To be unfortunate
Lihata	Kabemba mucahabeli	Double edged razor	Liar
	Lisawana	One who spreads rumours	
	Lihakabe	opening the mouth any how	
	Namalimi kwala	Turning tongues	
	Kusasepahala	Not trustworthy	
	Silukelekele yasina munzi	Blacksmith plover bird, without a village (spreads lies)	
	Limpece	One who is a crook	
Simbuzi	Kalimbalimba	Latrin	Toilet
	Kandu kamatali	A small house of leaves	
	Mutabani	Going to war	
	Maipato	Hiding place	
	Mapunyuhelo	Relieving place	
	Maipulusezo	To get served	
	Makundamo	Shelter	

Nyo	nzila yamwana	A child's path	Vagina
	Zwalo	Birth canal	
	Busali	Womanhood	
	Kaliyoliyo	Small hole for urine passage	
	Musima	A hole	
	Bwidiza	New euphem for vagina	
Nemba	Sikwamabisi	Which spits milk	Penis
	Ndotwane	Synonym for penis	
	Muzwingili kotayesina mutai	Tree species which is branchless	
	Ndolobongo	Synonym for nemba(penis)	
	Mubili	The body	
	Buuna	Manhood	
	Sifanu	Poison	
	Lumbolondo	A bull	
	Tau yebuluma isachi mutu	A roaring lion that does not devour a person	

Kunyela	Kutapuha	Lose savour	To defecate
	Kuyemasinamutu	To stand like a person	
	Kuyabuka	Layby	
	Kuyumba nja ya ma ngangula.	To throw a dog belonging ngangula's mother	
	Kuteya (baby)	To trap some thing	
	Kuipulusa	To free self	
	kupatehahanyinyana	To be slightly busy	
	Kupota	To visit.	
Kuluta	Kusulula mezi	To pour out water.	Urinating
	Kushama	Synonym for urinating	
	Kutapa kwamahutu	To wash the feet	
	Kutapuluha	Being rinsed	
Kwishamela	kwisinyeza fainzi	To mess up oneself	To wee wee on self
Muluto	Mushamo	Wee wee	Urine
Pilu yemaswe	Pilusetu	A grey heart	bad heart
Kusaikonya ni musali	Kusalobala ni musali	Not sleeping with a woman	Impotence/ no erection
	Kusabapalana	Failure to play eachother	
	Shamawawa	Unproductive sperms	
	Kuwalukanda	Belt dropping	
	Kusaya kwa miseme	Not going to the beds	

Buhule	Boozwa	Adultery	Prostitution
	Kuba niteka	To have a waist	
	Buitamaeli	Walking at will	
	Metometo	Eyes eyes	
	Limbengwa	Desirous	
	Tusa bulozi/ bazamai	One who helps bulozi/travellers	
	Bunyazi	Concubineship	
	Butanya	Whore	
	Buzangunda	Stupid woman inclined to prostitution	
	Kutokwa buiswalo	Lack of self control	
	Mukwa inge pato	Characteristics of a duck.	
	Lihelehele	A promiscuous lady	
	Kufeba	Fornication	
Kwitwala	Kuyemamwahae	To stand in the village.	To be pregnant
	Kuba famezi amanca.	To be on new waters.	
	Kuhula	To grow	

Kufulumana	Kubakwande	To be outside	Menstration
	Baen'gi	Visitors	
	Nalitwi	Monthly period	
	Kufapuka	To break	
	Kukula	To be sick.	
	Kwitaleha	To be of age	
	Kuya kwakweli	To go to the moon	
	Kukeluha	To be out .	
Kupinya	Kubuyela	To breathe	Fart
	Kuzusa moya	To take out air	
Kuzwa	Chomoha	To sneak out	To go out
	Lumpuka	To rush out	
	Kukeluha	To go out of	To give way

Kumbwasauka	Kusashiyama	Not cool	Careless talk
	Kusaketamanzwi	Not choosing words	
Kuzwala	Kupepa	To put on back	To deliver (to have a baby)
	Kupuluha	To be set free	
	Kubeleha	To be set free	
	Kutamuluha	To be loosed	
	Kutuseha	To be helped	
	Kupila	To have life	
	Kupunyuha	To be set free	
	kubeya famazoho	To put in the arms	
Kunyapisa	Kuinduka	-	To have labour pains
Mulimu	Mwambakani	Great one	God
	Ndataluna	Our father	
	Nyambe angula	The author of life	
	Mung'abupilo	The owner of life.	
	Yamataote	The almighty	
	Mubupi	Creator	

Mbande	Lyombamoyo	Life extinguisher	Aids
	Linyambe	The nyambe(diminitive)	
	Butuku bwanaha	The disease of the nation	
	Butuku bo busina Kalafo	An incurable disease	
	Looto	Sliming	
	Sinyunywani	Deminitively-bird	
	Kakokwani	Small insect	HIV
Kupumbeka	Kubuluka	To keep	To burry
	Kupata	To hide	
	Kulobaza	Take to sleep	
Mabita	Mayumbelo	Where to throw	Graveyard Cemetery
	Matotaeti	Abandoned place	
	Njinjo	Graves	
	Mundimunene	Big village	
Mushapu	Mashakambila	To be obseqous	

Manansa	Matuku akwipumanela	Diseases which are just found	STI's
	Butuku bwasihule	Promiscuous disease.	
	Kuzwa bulalu kwa njenje	Pus coming out of the private part	
	Kusinyeha kwata si	To be spoilt underneath	
Musululo	Kumatamata	Frequent running	Diarrhoea
	Kushwala	Purging due to fresh milk.	
	Kupuyapuya	Continous leaking	
Tutabi mwa sifuba	Kupikeha	Tosuffocate	Nimonia
	Kutabeha	To be pricked	
	Kuikaka	Not set free	
Satani	Dyabulozi	The deceiver of bulozi	Satan
	Mulena walififi	King of the dark	
Kwamafelelezo	Kwanalulelule	At the end	At the end
Sihole	Siyanga	Not well	Crippled
Kulishutanisa	Kulitaluhanya	Confusing them	Differenciating

Kubata	Kulakaza	To desire	Wanting
	Kunyolelwa	To long	
Mutu yatiile	Jeke mananula zebu kiti	Jack the heavy lifter	Powerful person
Lipilaelo	Linonge	Worries	Complaints
Sichaba	Nyangela	Many people	Multitude
Butuku bwa sihule	Soya	Disease caused by pubic hair	Sti's
Likwati	Saali	Litter on which to carry the dead	Coffin
	Ikupatu	Where to hide	
	Pumulelo	Where to rest	
Masipa	Ng'anda(for baby)	Excreta	Faeces
	Zemaswe	Bad things	
	Buloko	Dung	
Munayashwe zwi	Mbakati	One left by wife	Widower

Kulila	Kusilisa	To help cross	Mourning
	Kulotisamiyoko	To let tears drop	
	Kusikoka	Bellowing	
	Maswabi	Sorrow	
Mafelelezo	Masiyaleti	At the end	The last one
	at the rear	At the back	
Mwiya wamali/ mezi	Muzwete	Continuous water/ blood coming out of a vagina	Hormorage
Buhole	Buyanga	Cripple	Disabled
	Kuholofala	To be hurt	
Kuseba	Kunata kwazebe	To beat at the ear.	Secret.
Toho	Toho yang'ambwa mutalaeti	Rainbow headache	Headache
	Toho ya zebe	Headache of the ear	
	Toho yakatose/ pula	Witchcraft related /rainy headache	
Kuikonya	Kuica	To eat eachother	Sexual intercourse

	Kuitobala	To sleep each other	
	Kusomana	Sex with one with a big penis	
	Kubuka	Adultery	
	Kufeba	Fornication	
	Kuyakwabalobalo	To go to sleeping place	
	Kwipahama	To climb each other	
	Kuya kwamiseme	To go to the mat.	
	Kubapalana	To play each other	
	Kunguza	Synonym for sexual intercourse	
Mapunu	Mushenjele	Without clothes	Naked
	Mukungulu	Empty/vacant	
	Muselesele	Nude	
	Ng'ombolo	Without relish	
	Kusaicoleta	Without a stick on	
	Ng'andaleza	Bare/conspicuous	

Kuzamaya ahulu	Lyaenda	John walker	Great walker
	Sendaendi	One who walks a lot	
	Kuenda luko ndo	One who walks	
	Limbamba lya mazila	One who is ever on the road	
	Katuba mazila	One who breaks the roads	
	Katwa mazila	One who pounds the roads	
Lisholi	sikebenga	murderer	Thief/criminal.
	sibangoki	savage	
	Sibatana	killer	
	lingw'anyama	animal	
	Bumenemene	crook	
Tuputula twa mwahali.	Tunekunda	underwear	Pants

Malaho	Mandamino	Rear/back	Buttocks
	Mainelo	The seater	
	Maikalo	Bottoms	
Kupulumuka	Kusitana boko.	Jammed brain.	Madness
	Kulyangana.	To be confused	
	Kupotoloha kachachani.	To go round the shrub.	
	Kutakana	To be more confused	
Yafiyela/ kutanyela kwa sikolo/sipatela	Kuswalaswala kwa sipatela/ sikolo	General worker at a hospital/school	Office orderly
	Butusi kwa maofisi	Assisting in the office	
Mbayesikaziba halakale.	Mutumba	Breakable / fragile	Early months of pregnancy
Kung'omela	Kuswala fapata.	To touch in front	Not buttoned.
Mulwalo haufitelezi	Kubata kuyema	Had wanted to stand	Miscarriage
Mwana wamafelelezo	Ng'omba	The last child	Last born
Munungu	Sibunu	Rectum	Anus
Bwense	Lupepo lwasina	Man's productivity	Sperms

Appendix VI: Categories of some Ordinary Silozi Euphemisms.

In this domain Silozi euphemisms have been categorised as follows:

kushwa (death) euphemisms		
Kutokwahala	To be needed	To die/ death.
Kutimela	To get lost	
Kulobala	To sleep	
Kusiya	To leave	
Kutoba	To escape	
Kusila	To cross	
Kuya ku nyambe	To go to God	
Kungiwakimung'a bupilo	To be taken by the author of life.	
Kulatehelwa	To lose.	
Kumiza/ kupuma moya.	To swallow/ to cut air.	
Kusiyalifasi	To leave the world	
Kuyamwasibakasmwabuse	To go into the yonder world	
Kupumbeka (to buluka)	To burry	Burial
Kubuluka	To keep	
Kupata	To hide	
Kulobaza	To take to sleep.	
Mabita (cemetery / graveyard)		Cemetery
Mayumbelo	Rubbish dump	
Matotaeti	Abandoned place	
Njinjo	Synonym for cemetery	
Kulila: (to smear)	Crying	Mourning
Kusilisa	To help cross	
Kulotisa miyoko	To let tears drop	
Kusikoka	Bellowing	
Maswabi	Sorrow	

Likwati: (the burk)		Coffin/ Casket
Saala	Litter on which to carry the dead	
Ikupatu	Where to hide	
Pumulelo	Where to rest	
Malilo:		Funeral
Mafu	Deaths	
Sihotolwa: (a cough)		T.B.
Sifuba	Chest	
Mwili	Synonym for a cough	
Somo	Type of cough	
Mayoyela	Type of cough	
Sishako	Menstral caused cough	
Moondoloka	Losing weight	
Looto / koota	Sliming	
Tutabi: (pricking)		Nimonia
Kupikeha	Congestion	
Kutabehe	To be pricked	
Kuikaka	To be tied	
Mbande: (an eagle)		
Sinyunywani	A diminitive bird	
Butuku bobunca	A new disease	
Butuku bwanaha	A country disease	
Lyombamoyo	The killer	
Linyambe	Perjorative nyambe(God)	
Butuku bobusina kalafo	Disease without cure	
Kusulula : (pouring)		Diarrhoea
Kumatamata	Continuous running	

Kushwalala	Diarrhea due to fresh milk	
Kupuyapuya	Leaking, leaking	
Matuku a toho: (Diseases of the head)		Headache
Toho yakatose /pula	Rain headache	
Lusinga	Vein	
Toho ya ng'ambwa mutalaeti	Rainbow headac he	
Toho yamanga -		
toho ya zebe	headache of the ear.	
Manansa:		STI's
Matuku akwipumanela	Disease easilly found	
Butuku bwasihule	Promiscuity disease.	
Kuzwa bulalu kwabusali/ buuna	Pus coming out from the vagina/ penis	
Kupulumuka: (go beserk)		To be mad
Kusitana booko	Jammed brain	
Kulyangana	To be confused	
Kupotoloha kacacani.	To go round a shrub.	
Zezwa mwamba (Defecatory)Euphemisms		To defecate
Kunyela:		
Kutapuha	Lose savour	
Kuyemasinamutu	Standing like a person	
Kuyabuka	Lay by	
Kupota	To visit	
Kuteya(baby)	To trap something	
Kupateha	To be busy	
Kuipulusa	To free self	
Kuyumba nja yamangangula	To through a dog of ngangula's mother	
Ng'anda: (extrata)		Faeces
Mateya Extrata		
Zemaswe	Bad things	
Buloko	Dung	

Kuluta:		To urinate	
Kushama	To wee wee		
Kusulula mezi	Pour out water		
Kutapa kwamahutu	To wash the feet		
Mushamo	Wee wee		
Simbuzi:		Toilet	
Kalimbalimba	Latrine		
Mutabani	To go for war		
Kandukamatali	Small hut of leaves		
Makundamo	Sheltering place		
Maipato	Hiding place		
Mapunyuhelo	Place of relief		
Maipunyusezo	Where you get served		
Kwamiseme (Sex)Euphemisms		Sexual intercourse	
Kuikonya:			
Kulobalana	To sleep one another.		
Kuica	To eat each other		
Kusomana	To have sex		
kufosa ni mutu	To error with a person		
Kunguza	To have sex with one who has a big penis		
Kwamiseme	At the bed		
Kubuka	Adultery		
Kuyakwabulobalo	To go to bed		
Kwipahama	To climb each other		
Kubapalana	To play each other		
kuswala fapata:	to touch the front		not buttoned
kusaikonya nimusali:	not having sex with woman		impotent/no erection

kusalobala ni musali	not sleeping with a woman	
Shamawawa	unproductive sperms	
Kuwalukanda	to drop the belt.	
kusaya kwamiseme.	not going to bed	
Kusayemisa	no erection	
Tunekunda:	Underwear	Pants
Lilama zamubili (body parts)euphemisms		
Mainelo: (the seater)		
Mandamino	The rear/back	Buttocks
Maikalo Bottom		
Mushenjele: (without clothes)		Nakedness
Muselele	Nude	
Mukungulu	Empty/vacant	
Ng'ombolo	Without relish	
Kusaicoleta	Without a stitch on	
Ng'andaleza	Bare/ conspicuous	
Nemba:		
Mubili	The body	
Buuna	Manhood	
Muzwingili kotayesinamutai	tree spicies which has no branch	
Ndolobongo	Synonym for penis	
Ndotwane	Synonym for penis	
Sikwamabisi	Which spits milk	
Lumbolondo	A bull	
Sifanu	Poison	
Tauyebuluma isaci mutu	A rorring lion that does not devour a person	
Kubanimba: (to have a stomach)		Pregnant
Kuyema mwahae	Standing in the village	
Kwitwala	To fall pregnant	
Kuhula	To grow	

Kunyapisa:	Kuinduka (labour pains)	
Kufulumana: (on set of puberty)		Menstruation
Kukeluha	To be out	
Kwitaleha	To be of age	
Kuhula	To grow	
Nalitwi	Monthly period	
kuba kwande	To outside	
baeng'i	Visitors	
Kukula	To be sick/ill	
Kuyakwakweli	To go to the moon.	
Nyo: (litoci)		
Busali	Womanhood	
Kaliyoliyo	Vaginal opening	
Musima	A hole	
Bwidiza	New euphemism for vagina	
Kupepa		To deliver a baby
Kupuluha	To be set free	
Kubeleha	To be freed	
Kutamuluha	To be helped	
Kutuseha	To be relieved	
Kupila	to have life	
Kupunyuha	To be set free	
Kubeya famazoho	To put on the arms	
Mukanda:-		Male circumscision
Mupato	To hide	
Buhule: (fornication)		Prostitution
Boozwa	Adultery	
Buitamaeli	Walking about/going about	
Metometo	Eyes, eyes	
Limbengwa	Desire	
Tusabulozi/bazamai	Help bulozi or stranger s	

Mukwainge pato.	characteristics of a duck.	
Kusabonayeshama	Not seeing a urinating one	
Butanya	Whore	
Kutokwa bwiswalo	Lack of self control	
Bunyazi	Concubine	
Kupinya: -		Fart
Kubuyela	To breathe	
Kuzusamoya	To takeout air	
Keleke (Religious) Euphemisms		God
Mulimu:		
Mulena	Lord	
Mwambakani	Great one	
Ndataluna	Our father	
Nyambe angula	God	
Mung'abupilo	The author of life	
Yamataote	The almighty	
Mubupi	The creator	
Halimu: -		Heaven
Kwahae	At home	Home
Litoma	Permanent home	
Dyabulozi	The deceiver.	Satan
Mulena wa lififi	King of darkness	
Busholi (crime) euphemisms		Thief
Sibatana	Animal	
Sikebenga	Killer	
Sibangoki	Savage	
Bumenemene	Crookedness	
Sibulayi	Murderer	
Zabupilo (Social)Euphemisms		To be unfortunate
Kubola mala:	To have rotten intestines	

Lihata:		Liar
Lisawana	One who spreads rumours	
Lihakabe	Opening the mouth anyhow	
Kabemba mucahabeli.		Double edged razer.
Namalimi kwalula	One who turns tongues	
Kusasepahala	Not trustworthy	
Silukelekele yasina munzi	Blacksmith plover bird which spreads lies.	
Limpece	One who is a crook	

Appendix VII. Court Domain

Appendix VII.(a): Euphemisms used in Local Court

Below is a table containing some euphemisms which were used in the local court cases the researcher listened to:

ORDINARY SILOZI	EUPHEMISM	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
Kufamba	Kufamulwalo	Impregnating
Kuikonya ni yena	Kukopana niyena	Having sexual inter course with her.
	Kulobala ni yena	
	Kweza bunyazi	
Kusalobala nimusali	Not sleeping with a woman	Impotence/ no erection
	Kuwalukanda	Belt dropping
	Shamawawa	Unproductive sperms
Kupepa	Kupuluha	To deliver a baby
Kushwa	Kulobala	To die
	Mung'a bupilo wa mwinga.	
Kupunya lushoko	Kusinya bwalanjobwa hae.	To break a girl's virginity.
Kutatafalisa	Kwandalalisa mulala'	To be difficult

Bunyazi	Kuzamanyiyena	Going out with(adultery)
mutu yasakatazi	lizoho lelibubebe	Easy person
Sibulai	Sibangoki	Criminal
	Sibatana	
Butata bu zibwa kiya fita mwate n'gi	Linda zeluma.	Problems are felt by the one experiencing them.
	Kuboyebaba izibwa kimung'a yona	

Appendix VII (b): Subordinate Court Domain

Below is a table containing some euphemisms which were used in the Subordinate court cases the researcher listened to:

This court tries cases which are referred to it from the local court.

In this court, the researcher, using the observation method tried to checklist as to whether in this domain there was use of euphemisms in Silozi. There were about ten cases listened to and the results proved that euphemisms are rarely used in this domain due to the fact that cases brought to this court are referral or appeals from the local court. Furthermore, the translator of this court was interviewed to find out as to why the use of euphe in this domain was close to zero, frankly told the researcher that in this court they call a spade, a spade because if they used euphemisms other people would not understand what was being talked about.

ORDINARY WORD	EUPHEMISMS	TRANSLATION
Kupulumuka	Kulyangana	To be mad
Matokwani	Milyaniyekola	Drugs
Lihata	kabemba mucahabeli	Liar
	Lisawana	
	Lihakabe	
	namalini kwalula	
Kubanimba	Kwitwala	To fall pregnant
	Kuyema mwahae	
	Kubafamezi amanca	
Kukonya musizana walilimo zemwatasa sikisitini	Kupunya lushoko	To break virginity
	Kusinya busizana	
Busholi	Bumenemene	Thieving
Kuikonya	Kusomana	Sexual intercourse
	Kubapala	
	Lisheha	
	Kulobalana	
	Kunguza	

Appendix VIII: Girl in Seclusion Domain

This domain uses a lot of euphemisms as shown in the appendix because this domain tries to be as secretive as possible.

ORDINARY SILOZI WORDS	EUPHEMISM	LITERAL MEANING	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
Nyo	Busali	Woman hood	Vagina
	Kaliyoliyo	Small hole	
	Sikwama	Purse	
	Njenje	Nakedness	
Nemba	Buuna	Manhood	Penis
	Tauyebuluma isacimutu	A roaring lion which cannot devour a person	
	Kota yesinamutai	Stemless tree	
	Mubili	The body	
Kufulumana	Kwitaleha	To be of age/on set of puberty	Menstruation
	Nalitwi	Onset of puberty	
	Kuba kwakweli	To be at the moon	
	Kubakwande	To be outside	
	Kukeluha	To be out	
	Kuhula	To grow up	
	Kufapuka	To break	
	Kukula	To be sick	

	baeng'i	Visitors	
	Kuzwa kwamiseme	To move out of bed	
	Kuicalela	To spread for oneself	
Yashwile	Nyandi	Sufferer	Deceased
	Mutalahali	Late	
	Cemba	Dirty	
	Boozwa	Adultery	
	Mikwa inge pato	Characteristics of a duck	
	Kubaniteka	To have a waist	
	Metometo	Eyes eyes	
	Limbengwa	Desire	
	Kufeba	Fornication	
	Butanya	Whore	
	Kutokwa bwiswaalo	Lack of self control	
	Buzangunda	Stupid woman inclined to prostitution	
	Lihelehele	A promiscuous lady	
	Kutokwa bwiswalo	Lack of self control	
	Kufeba	Fornication	

Kupepa	Kupuluha	To be set free	To deliver a baby
	Kubeleha	To be set free	
	Kutamuluha	To be losed	
	Kutuseha	To be helped	
	Kupunyuha	To be freed	
	Kupila	To have life	
	Kubeya famazoho	To put in the arms	
Malaho	Mandamino	The rear/back	Buttocks
	Mainelo	The seater	
	Maikalo	Bottoms	
Kuikonya	Kubapalana	To play each other	
	Kuica	To eat each other	
	Kwitobala	To sleep each other	
	Kusomana	Adultery	
	Kufosa	to error	
	Kunguza	A big penis	
	Kuyakwamiseme	To go to the bed	
	Kubapalana	To play eachother	
	Kwipahama	To climb each other	

	Kuyakwabolobalo	To go to bed	
Kunyela	Kutapuha	To lose savor	defecate
	Kuyema sinamutu	To stand like a person	
	Kuyabuka	To lay by	
	kuyumbanja yamangangula	To throw a dog belonging to the mother of Ngangula	
	Kuteya	To trap something	
	Kupulusa	To set oneself free	
	Kupatehanyana	To be slightly busy	
	Kupota	To visit	
Kunypisa	Kuinduka	To have abdominal pains	To experience labour pains
Kupinya	Kubuyela	To breathe	Fart
	Kuzusamoya	To take air out	
Kubulelahahulu	Kumbwasauka	Talking too much	Loquacious
Kwitwala	Kubafamezi amancha	To be on new water	To be pregnant

	Kuhula	To grow	
	Kuyemamwahae	To stand in the village	
Tuputula twamwahali	Tunekunda	Under wear	Pants
Mapunu	Mushengele	Without clothes	Naked
	Mukungulu	Empty	
	Muselele	Nude	
	Ng'ombolo	Without relish	
	Ng'andaleza	Bare/conspicuous	
	Kusaicoleta	Without a stitch	
Mwiyawamali	Muzwete	Dripping water/blood from the vigena	Hormorage
Musululo	Kumatamata	Frequent running	
	Kushwala	Purging due to fresh milk	
	Kupuyapuya	Continuous leaking	
Piluyemaswe	Piluseteta	Grey heart	Bad heart

Kusaikonya nimusali	Kusalobala nimusali	Not sleeping with a woman	Impotence/ no erection
	Kusabapala	Failure to play	
	Shamawawa	Unproductive sperms	
	Kuwalukanda	Dropping belt	
	kusaya kwamiseme	Not going to beds	
Mbayesikaziba halakale	Mutumba	Breakable/fragile	Early months of pregnancy
Mulwalo haufitelezi	Kubata kuyema	Was about to conceive	Miscourage
Munungu	Sibunu	Rectum	Anus
Bwense	Lupepolwasina	Man's productivity	Sperms
Munayashwezwi	Mbakati	One whose wife died	Widower
Musaliyashwezi	Mbelwa	One whose husband died	Widow

Appendix IX: HOSPITAL DOMAIN

These were some of the euphemisms which are usually used in this domain at the time of research.

MEDICAL TERMS FOR ILLNESSES.	EUPHEMISTIC TERMS IN SILOZI.	LITERAL TRANSLATION.
Vaginal discharge	Zeza kwa busali	What is coming out of womanhood.
Urethral discharge	Zeza kwa buuna	What comes out of manhood.
Genital ulcer	Sitombo kwa busali	A sore on the womanhood.
Male circumcision	Mupato - mukanda (the real term)	Hiding.
Scrotal swelling	Kululuha kwa buuna	Swelling on manhood.
Condoms	Tupila	Small pipes.
	Maximum	
ARVs	Likobe-cooked grains of dry maize	Cooked grains of dry maize.
Diarrhoea	Kumatamata	Frequent running

Sexual intercourse:	Kuica	Eating eachother.
	Kusomana	
	Kunguza	Synonym for sexual intercourse
HIV	Butuku bwa naha.	A disease for the country.
HIV positive	Ku fumaneha ni kakokwani	To be found with an insect.
Knowing one's status	Kuziba zabwino bwa mutu.	Knowing ones living.
Mental disturbance	Kusitanaboko	To have jammed brain.

Appendix X.0: Electronic media Domains

These are Some of the euphemisms which were used at the two local radio stations:

Appendix X (a) Oblate Radio Liseli.

At this station many euphemisms are used but then, the following were the ones which appealed to the researcher:

ORDINARY SILOZI EUPHEMISMS	SILOZI EUPHEMISMS	LITERAL MEANING	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
Mbande	Linyambe	Perjorative Nyambe(God)	HIV
	Lyombamoyo	The killer	
	Sinywunywani	Diminutively a bird	
	Butuku bobunca	A new disease	
Kushwa	Kutimela	To get lost	Death
	Kulobala	To sleep	
	Kusila	To cross	
	Kusiya lifasi	To leave the world	
	Kutokwahala	To be needed	
Mabita	Mayumbelo	Dumping place	Graves/ cemetery
	Matotaeti	Abandoned place	

	Mundimunene	Big village	
Buhule	Butanya	Whore	Prostitution
	Buitamaeli	Walking at will	
	Boozwa	Adultery	
	Buzangunda	Woman inclined to prostitution	
	Metometo	Eyes, eyes	
Cakolwa	Wamukope	An alcoholic	Drunk
	Bundalangwana	A dead drunk person	
Kuluta	Kutapakwamahutu	To wash the feet	To urinate
	Kusulula mezi	To pour out water	
Kuba nimba	Kwitwala	To fall pregnant	To be pregnant
	Kubafamezi amanca.	To be on new waters	
	Kuyemamwahae	To stand in the village	
Kulila	Kusilisa	To help cross	Mourning
	Kulotisamiyoko	To let tears drop	
	Kusikoka	Bellowing	

Mulimu	Mwambakani	Great one	God
	Ndataluna	Our father	
	Mung' abupilo	The author of life	
	Yamataote	The almighty	
Musululo	Kumatamata	Frequent running	Diarrhea
	Kupuyapuya	Frequent dripping	

Appendix X (b) Lyambai Radio Station

At the time of the investigation, the following were some of the euphemisms used at this station

ORDINARY SILOZI WORDS	SILOZI EUPHEMISM	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
Mbayenyinyani	Mutumba	Early months of pregnancy.
kusinya bwanjo	Kupunya lushoko	Break virginity
Arvs	Likobe	Cooked grains of maize
Panga	Kakumba	An account

Lihata	Kahasanya	Spreading news/ liar
Kuseba	Kunatakwazebe	To whisper/secret
Buhule	Boozwa	Prostitution
	Bwitamaeli	
	Meto meto	
Lisholi	Sikebenga	Thief/ criminal
	Sibatana	
	Lingwa'nyama	

Appendix XI. The School Domain

Appendix XI (a). St. Johns' Secondary School Grade 11 A Word and Sentence

Compilation Task conducted on the 09th of December, 2010 mainly to find out how competent the pupils are in the field of euphemisms.

The following were the results of this exercise:

PUPIL NO.	MARKS OUT OF 100(100%)
1	15
2.	60
3.	55
4.	30
5.	60
6.	50
7.	45
8	45
9	35
10	45
11	35
12	70
13	50
14	45
15	55
16	75
17	50
18	45
19	30
20	25

PUPIL NO.	MARKS OUT OF 100(100%)
21	0
22	25
23	30
24	10
25	25
26	70
27	50
28	40
29	55
30	45
31	35
32	35
33	50
34	45
35	80
36	55
37	72
38	65
39	35
40	55

Appendix XI (b). Limulunga High School Grade 12 A

Word and Compilation Task conducted on the 15th of February 2011: To find out how competent the pupils were in the language of euphemisms:

The results were as follows:

PUPIL NO.	MARKS OUT OF 100(100%)
1.	20
2.	50
3.	75
4.	70
5.	70
6	80
7	59
8	70
9.	70
10.	75
11	65
12.	45
13.	65
14.	85

PUPIL NO.	MARKS OUT OF 100(100%)
15.	90
16.	70
17.	75
18	80
19	90
20	70
21	60
22.	85
23	30
24.	70
25.	30
26	45
27.	30
26	45
27.	30
29.	80
30.	80.

