

**A COMPARATIVE SOCIO-SEMIOTIC PERSPECTIVE OF
INVECTIVES IN ISIZULU AND YORUBA LANGUAGES**

by

'Kunle Musbaudeen OPARINDE

2016

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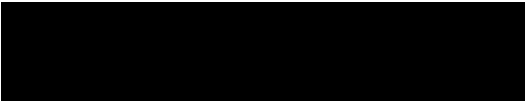
by

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Thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Technology: Language Practice in the Department of Media, Language and Communication in the Faculty of Arts and Design at the Durban University of Technology.

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DECLARATION

I, **Kunle Musbaudeen OPARINDE** hereby declare that thesis titled “A comparative socio-semiotic perspective of invectives in isiZulu and Yoruba languages” is my own work and has never been submitted for any other degree at any other institution. I further declare that all the sources cited have been duly acknowledged.

Signature: _____

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Date: 7 March 2016

ABSTRACT

The diversified ways of language use in different geographic areas of the world present valid reasons for the study of various usages of language. Invectives are a major aspect of language that have been greatly neglected in intellectual discourse. Motivated by the paucity of academic literature on invective-related studies and other stereotypes in human communication, the thrust of this work is to discuss the socio-cultural factors embedded in the two cultures in their approach of invectives. The study examines a comparative taxonomy of invectives in isiZulu and Yoruba languages from a socio-semiotic perspective. Drawing examples from the two languages, the study explores instances of semiotic analysis that are created by the assumption that signs, utterances and messages are situated within the context of social relations and processes. The study indicates that invectives are context and culture-dependent and may be perceived differently in line with the field of discourse, tenor of discourse and mode of discourse. The research tools included observation, interviews, and archival materials. Our research also identified and classified pre-assigned invectives, ritualized insult chants, innovative songs and visual insults. Adeosun's (2012) proposed model of analyzing written poetry in Yoruba was used in analyzing the insults. The following typologies of insults (among others) were observed in the two languages: ethnophaulism, dehumanization, sexotypes and body parts. The study reveals striking similarities and differences in the invective-related discourses of isiZulu and Yoruba.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to:

- Almighty God for seeing me through during the course of this project.
 - My parents for their support.
 - My siblings.

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I am overwhelmingly grateful to Almighty God for His faithfulness, provision and sustenance throughout the course of this research. My unreserved gratitude goes to my supervisors, Dr. R. L. Makhubu and Prof. I Bariki who out of their busy schedule still managed to put considerable efforts in getting me turn out a Masters' thesis. My supervisors' expertise, understanding, and patience have greatly added to my wealth of experience. Their efforts in other areas like ethics, assistance, proposals, scholarship applications and this thesis would never be forgotten.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION.....	ii
ABSTRACT.....	iii
DEDICATION.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xi
CHAPTER ONE.....	1
GENERAL INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.0 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY.....	1
1.2 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES.....	2
1.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY.....	3
1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	3
1.5 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM.....	4
1.6 SCOPE OF THE STUDY.....	4
1.7 THE CONCEPT OF LANGUAGE.....	4
1.8 THE CONCEPTS OF SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND SEMIOTICS.....	6
1.9 M.A.K HALLIDAY'S LANGUAGE AS SOCIAL SEMIOTIC.....	11
1.10 GENERAL OVERVIEW OF ISIZULU AND YORUBA LANGUAGES AND CULTURE.....	14
1.11 ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS.....	19
1.12 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.....	20
1.13 PUBLICATIONS.....	20
CHAPTER TWO.....	21
LITERATURE REVIEW.....	21
2.0 INTRODUCTION.....	21
2.1 CONCEPTUAL OR THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	21
2.1.1 The Concept of Social Semiotics.....	21

2.1.2	Structural Semiotics and Social Semiotics	22
2.1.3	Analysis of Texts through Social Semiotics Approach.....	31
2.1.4	Social Semiotic Ethnography	33
2.2	INVECTIVES.....	42
2.2.1	Typologies.....	44
2.2.2	Literary Approach.....	46
2.2.3	Socio-political Approach	48
2.2.4	Moral and Pedagogical Sexotypes	49
2.2.5	Pragmatic Approach.....	50
2.3	CONCLUSION.....	56
CHAPTER THREE		57
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY		57
3.0	INTRODUCTION.....	57
3.1	RESEARCH DESIGN.....	57
3.2	RESEARCH METHOD.....	60
3.2.1	Qualitative Research.....	60
3.3	TARGET POPULATION	62
3.4	SAMPLING.....	62
3.5	DATA COLLECTION METHODS	64
3.5.1	Interviews	64
3.5.2	Observation.....	66
3.5.3	Discussion.....	68
3.5.4	Documentary Sources.....	68
3.6	VALIDITY.....	69
3.7	RELIABILITY.....	70
3.8	PILOT STUDY	70
3.9	LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY	71
3.10	ANALYSIS OF DATA.....	72
3.11	ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS.....	72
3.12	CONCLUSION	74

CHAPTER FOUR.....	75
DATA ANALYSIS.....	75
4.0 INTRODUCTION.....	75
4.1 CONTEXTUALISED INVECTIVES	77
4.1.1 Zulu Folktale Chanted Insult	77
Translation	77
4.1.2 Passengers insulting one another in Taxi in isiZulu	77
4.1.3 Field of Discourse	78
4.1.4 Tenor of Discourse	78
4.1.5 Mode of Discourse	79
4.1.6 Yoruba Insults: Co-wives chanted insults.....	79
Translation	82
4.1.7 Field of Discourse	84
4.1.8 Tenor of Discourse	84
4.1.9 Mode of Discourse.....	85
4.2 NON-CONTEXTUALISED INVECTIVES: PRESENTATION OF DATA ANALYSIS ACCORDING TO TYPOLOGIES.....	86
4.2.1 Ethnophaulism.....	88
4.2.2 Dehumanization (Animalization and Objectification).....	91
4.2.3 Sexotypes	94
4.2.4 Physical Invectives	97
4.2.5 Moral/Personality Invectives	99
4.2.6 Filial Invectives	102
4.2.7 Political Invectives	103
4.2.8 Social Invectives	106
4.2.9 Status Invectives.....	109
4.2.10 Gender Invectives	112
4.2.11 Misc-Solidarity Invectives.....	114
4.2.12 Power Invectives	116
4.2.13 Proverbial Invectives.....	119

4.2.14	Visual Invectives.....	120
4.3	CONCLUSION.....	125
CHAPTER FIVE		127
FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION.....		127
5.0	INTRODUCTION.....	127
5.1	FINDINGS	127
5.2	RECOMMENDATIONS.....	133
5.3	CONCLUSION.....	134
BIBLIOGRAGPHY		135
APPENDICES		144

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: A proposed socio-semiotic model for analyzing Yoruba written poetry (Adeosun 2012:50).....	40
Figure 2: Proposed socio-semiotic model for analyzing insults based on Adeosun’s model of analyzing Yoruba poetry.....	41
Figure 3: Premises for invectives analysis.....	87
Figure 4: Diagrams showing Zulu insulter saying the insultee is crazy or bereft of common sense.....	121
Figure 5: An isiZulu visual invective where the insulter pushes his/her tongue out.	122
Figure 6: Diagrams showing an insulter telling the target to “keep quiet” in isiZulu context.....	122
Figure 7: Diagrams showing a Yoruba visual sign which means that the other party lacks common sense.....	123
Figure 8: Diagrams showing a Yoruba invective insulting the target’s mother.....	124
Figure 9: Diagrams showing how to abuse a dumb person with signs in Yoruba.	125
Figure 10: Diagrams showing an insulter telling a recipient to “keep shut” using Yoruba visual signs.	125
Figure 11: Similarities and dissimilarities between isiZulu and Yoruba invectives.	128
Figure 12: A tabular summarization of chanted conflict isiZulu and Yoruba songs.	132
Figure 13: A diagram overview of the taxonomy of isiZulu and Yoruba invectives.	133

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter captures the general introduction of the research which begins with the background to the study, and proceeds to the aims and objectives. It discusses the significance of the study, research questions, statement of the problem, and the scope of the research. Furthermore, the concept of sociolinguistics, semiotics, language and a general overview of isiZulu language of South Africa and Yoruba language of Nigeria are covered. The chapter ends with a summary and conclusion.

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

This research intends to investigate and study invectives in isiZulu and Yoruba languages using a comparative socio-semiotic approach. Machin and Threadgold (2010) define social semiotics as the study of occasions of the production, use and reception of semiotic devices in terms of language, images, sounds, settings, objects and postures that point to analytic issues in social life and broader social phenomena. People live in a world of signs, and the actions of man connote signs. People derive meanings from these signs, which in turn make them understand various realities and the codes in which they are organized (Azaola 2009). This study explores the use of invectives which function within social discourse most especially in situations of quarrel or verbal combat. Invectives involve emotions of hostility and the use of barbed expressions to hurt another party. In many instance, invectives are influenced by personal vendetta and often heavily coloured by personal biases (Adejumo 2013). The research will treat invectives by identifying them in the two languages. A typology will be established to explore a socio-semiotic explanation for their use. The research

will furthermore stress context of social relations and processes vis-à-vis the two cultures in question: Zulu and Yoruba.

Fernandez (2009) opines that people often have recourse to invectives during fits of anger and moments of frustration. The use of invectives can create tension and, in fact, paradoxically relieve one of tension also, depending on particular circumstances. It is important to note that invectives occur in different ways depending on the participants; for instance, invectives among friends may not portray anger. They could also be a source of humour. Understanding the use of invectives requires being steeped in a people's language and culture. Given the intertwined relationship between culture and language, the role of the former in this study is crucial. Basic aspects of isiZulu and Yoruba cultures need appreciation. A proper analysis of invectives in the two languages can be presented in different mediums; they can be verbal (including the use of songs) or visual (hence the use of the term "semiotic"). The research will study the comparative typology of invectives and identify possible situations that can provoke the use of invectives in the two languages vis-à-vis the relationship of the users. IsiZulu is widely spoken in South-Africa, but this study will be limited to speakers in KwaZulu-Natal province. In the same vein, examples from Yoruba will be limited to South-western Nigeria, even though Yoruba is spoken in other parts of the world e.g. Togo, Cuba. The research will also discuss the extent to which correspondence in terms of propositional and expressive meanings can be attained in specific lexical units regarding invectives.

1.2 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The ultimate aim of this work is to evaluate the use of invectives in isiZulu and Yoruba languages, and it intends to operate within the following objectives:

- i. To identify and draw up typologies of invectives in the two languages.

- ii. To examine the cultural circumstances that can provoke the use of invectives.
- iii. To compare verbal and visual (sign) invectives in the two languages, and
- iv. To examine the power relations in the use of invectives.

1.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Invectives are common daily occurrences. Studying them can lead to a better appreciation of the culture of the people who use them. The study will be useful in highlighting behavioural traits of the speakers of isiZulu and Yoruba. The study will be an in-depth exploration of the richness and complexity inherent in the two languages and cultures through invectives. The research will not only be of immense benefit to the public but also the academic world in general ranging from scholars in (socio)linguistics, semiotics, philosophy, psychology, sociology, education, translation and scholars in other fields of study in language. The study will give an opportunity to non-isiZulu and non-Yoruba speakers to have a deep insight on some unfamiliar aspects of the languages mainly with regard to invectives. The result could be a facilitated cultural integration of people who have cause to live with speakers of these languages. Certain sociolinguistic aspects of languages, values and the world view of their speakers can further appreciated through this study.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- i. What types of invectives can be identified in Zulu and Yoruba?
- ii. What are the similarities and dissimilarities between isiZulu and Yoruba languages as regard invectives?
- iii. Are power relations based on age and social status involved with respect to invectives in the two languages i.e. do the two languages have age-/status- related invectives?

1.5 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

Studies on invectives and related Yoruba topics are scanty as politeness appears to be a more popular theme (Bariki 2009). Over the years, the study politeness has gained more prominence than insults. By implication, one of the motives guiding this work is to study the absence of politeness. Apparently, insults and their nuances portray a certain degree of absence of politeness.

Invectives are often influenced by culture. They can be culture-specific. Given the wide disparity in the two languages under study, invectives are likely to produce interesting differences. There are bound to be similarities also as invectives themselves have a large element of universality as would be further reviewed in different contexts in the next chapter. The research will explore invectives in the two languages under study and draw up relevant comparisons.

1.6 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Social semiotics encompasses analysis of meaning in certain social and cultural circumstances. It tries to analyze meaning-making as a subject of the society. Invectives will be critically examined under the auspices of social semiotics which comprises the study of meaning both in verbal and non-verbal instances. The study is not intended to be judgmental. It will simply treat invectives as seen and perceived by speakers of the two languages. This research will limit the scope of studying the languages to the KwaZulu-Natal province of South Africa and South-western Nigeria.

1.7 THE CONCEPT OF LANGUAGE

Language is no doubt the most effective medium through which messages or thoughts are expressed, hence, its indispensability as a human phenomenon. The only reason Pythagoras was able to tell us that $a^2+b^2=c^2$ is a right angled triangle (Maor 2007); Einstein, that $E = MC^2$ (Bodanis 2000); Boyle, that “the absolute pressure exerted by a given mass of an ideal gas is inversely

proportional to the volume it occupies if the temperature and amount of gas remain unchanged in a closed system” (Fulton 1961); and Newton that “an object either remains at rest or continues to move at a constant velocity unless acted upon by an external force (Galili and Tseitlin 2003)” was because they all had the linguistic means, and the medium of communicating these various ideas is language. The only reason why scholars are celebrated today is because they have the linguistic means to pass their knowledge to other generations; otherwise, their knowledge might have been of little or no valuable use.

Language has been studied by a variety of scholars from different disciplines. According to Liu, Volcic and Gallois (2011), language is used by people to convey thoughts, feelings, desires, attitudes and intentions from a party to another. They argue that the language we speak defines our world and identity. Our attitudes to certain languages can be either positive or negative depending on the influence of the situation in which the language is used. In this regard, the language we speak has a great influence on how we act in the world. Languages are used in contexts. There is no language without culture and context and vice versa.

Halliday (2013) also explains language as a semiotic system representing the full potential meaning available to speakers (what s/he can mean in contrast to what s/he cannot mean). Halliday sees language as a complicated entity in that a user of a language might mean a different thing from what is understood by his/her audience. For instance; “it is cold here” might not be a declarative statement depending on the context; it could mean “I need some hot tea”.

For Mheta (2013), language is a cultural and social phenomenon. He is convinced that language is an integral part of a society and is therefore, shaped by the society. Chomsky and McGilvray (2012) both consider language as the perfect tool for communication around which human life revolves. They further attribute everything to language and as such, everything ranging for instance from appearance, mannerism, countenance, and expressions do communicate.

In a nutshell, language is a medium through which thoughts are expressed and it is also important to note that certain thoughts cannot be fully understood without culture and context. This thesis tries to expatiate the thought processes through sociolinguistics, semiotics and social semiotics.

1.8 THE CONCEPTS OF SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND SEMIOTICS

Language could be studied from different angles such as semantics, syntax, phonology, pragmatics, sociolinguistics, semiotics, morphology, psycholinguistics, etc. In this research, language and specifically the use of invectives will be studied from the perspectives of sociolinguistics and semiotics.

Sociolinguistics is a very relevant field of study in linguistics. A morphological examination of “sociolinguistics” presents a bound morpheme “socio” and free morpheme “linguistics”. Sociolinguistics is the social aspect of linguistics (Idiagbon 2007). Different scholars in linguistics have studied sociolinguistics as the study of language in combination with the society. The world being a multilingual society has given the avenue for people to use languages in different manners. Through that, terms such as dialects, idiolects, sociolects have all surfaced. The sociolinguistics domain of linguistics emanated from the need to study the social aspects of language and its central roles in society which was seen as a deficiency in Chomsky’s and Saussure’s studies of linguistics. Chomsky’s *Syntactic Structures* (1957) and Saussure’s *Course in General Linguistics* (1972) do not acknowledge language as a social factor or action. Chomsky’s science of linguistics only gives recognition to the order of mastery of rules of grammar. His approach detached language from the society and was aimed at giving rules distinguishing correct and incorrect forms, grammatical and ungrammatical forms. The approach was far removed from actual observation, and the scope of his study was found to be limited.

Saussure's structural linguistics expatiates on the concept of sign arguing that it consists of a "signifier" and a "signified". The two are arbitrarily related with no existing relationship between the sound image and the concept it identifies (Dorasamy 2012). Meanings are therefore seen as intrinsic and natural; thus, meanings are derived from signs naturally. His theory did not give details for the plurality of meaning or why the signifiers can have many conflicting meanings which can change over time (Weedon 1987:24). The fact that Saussure views language as having a fixed-meaning or stable identity did not give room for flexibility and social identity, and this is a major weakness in his work.

The weakness in their approach gave birth to sociolinguistics. Fishman's (1972:1) definition of the sociology of language captures the concept of sociolinguistics very well which makes it still relevant till today. He defines sociolinguistics as:

"the entire gamut of topics related to the social organization of language behaviour, including not only language usage per se but also language attitudes and overt behaviours toward language and toward language user".

Similar views resonated in the works of other scholars such as: Gumperz (1972), Hymes (1974), Labov (1972b), Holmes (1992), Hodge and Kress (1994), Jaworski and Coupland (1997) to mention but a few. They all have given enough relevance to sociolinguistics as a field of study.

Recent definitions of sociolinguistics feature scholars like Van Herk (2012) who sees the discipline as the study of the relationship between language and society. Van Herk explains that the study of sociolinguistics can occur in very different forms depending on the circumstances why it is done. This shows that language is used by people in different occasions but there must always be something prompting the use of language at a particular period of time in opposition to why it is not used in other situations. In other words, every utterance has a societal influence.

A study by Mheta (2013) on the diversity of linguistics illustrates that sociolinguistics does not limit its language preoccupation to the medium of communication, but also creates an avenue for studying who the speaker is (their age, sex, ethnic group, nationality), as well as the relationship that exists between the speaker and the hearer regarding the context that surrounds their conversation. By so doing, sociolinguistics focuses more on the societal circumstances defining the use of language at a particular period in time.

Bayyurt (2013) views sociolinguistics as a branch of science that analyzes diverse social contexts through the relationship between language and society. She goes further to identify some of the basic issues employed in the field of sociolinguistics: language variation and style, attitudes and culture in language, discourse analysis, social class, language use, language contact, language and gender, among many more.

Sociolinguistics investigates certain questions like: where was a statement made?, when was the statement made?, who made the statement?, how was the statement made?, and all other related questions that lead to the situations of why something is said. For instance, a look into the linguistic peculiarities of women's speech as against that of men in similar circumstances is one of the major concerns of sociolinguistics. It can now be gleaned from the above discussion that sociolinguistics has to deal with the alliance between the way people speak a language and the social contexts relating to the way a language is used. Having discussed the social aspect of this work, the other components of social semiotics need to be addressed.

Semiotics is the scientific study of signs. "Semiotics" was originally spelt "semeiotics" to acknowledge the popular English philosopher, John Locke who in "An Essay Concerning Human Understanding" (1690) first coined the term "semeiotike" from the Greek word "semeion" which means "mark" or "sign" (Adedimeji 2007). The idea of semiotics emerged from Saussure's study of

linguistics. Saussure's idea is to introduce a science that discovers the true nature of language systems in what he refers to as "semiology". He argues that to see the true nature of language systems, one must first consider systems of the same kind. He further posits that rites, customs, traditions etc. can be perceived as signs that communicate and as such, a new perspective of language is created.

Adedimeji (2007) says that Saussure foresaw the need of a science that studies the life of signs within the society. Such a science is also capable of accounting for the interaction of signs within texts to create more complex signs and meanings. The study captures other possible and visible forms of communicating other than speaking. One of the pioneer contributors to the study of semiotics is Umberto Eco (1976:7) who defines semiotics as a "designated process by which a culture produces signs and/or attributes meanings to signs". The object of semiotics is the different sign systems and codes at work in society and the actual messages and texts produced thereby (Adedimeji 2007). Eco's definition reveals the methodical and classical idea of semiotics by seeing meaning as context-dependent.

Semiotics, according to Bock (2013), refers to the study of all sign systems, and how these signs are combined and used to communicate meanings. Bock's definition further buttresses the fact that signs must depend on other feasible signs to complement meaning. To Semetsky (2007:180), semiotics is a "branch of philosophy where verbal and non-verbal signs were taken to be representations of the true nature of things". Sign is perceived to be an entity that cannot be understood directly but also connects with another entity, by virtue of our experience.

The study of semiotics ensures that everything one performs is a sign, and everything one sees connotes signs. The study gives attention to how meanings are created via various diversified components. The affairs of semiotics fall within

the conveyance of meaning through different possible mediums. Semiotics basically focuses on decoding of meanings from significations; interpretation of the significations which eventually leads to the semantic consequence. By virtue of the fact that semiotics focuses on how meanings are decoded, it definitely has enormous effect on communication as every sign is used for communication. It is important to note that as signs are used to communicate, they also cannot pass through meaningful messages if the related components are not considered. In other words, meanings cannot be complete until the other premises surrounding the signs such as culture are considered.

Certain signs can be misinterpreted or misunderstood if one is not familiar with the related culture. An illustration is given to portray this: a procession of people dressed in black garments in most parts of Nigeria signifies mourning a dead person, but it is different in the Chinese culture where white is used for mourning. In this example, one can see that a critical look at black in Nigeria might symbolize mystery, fear, evil, unhappiness, sadness, remorse, anger, anonymity, mourning, death, etc. depending on the context. This is a far cry from Chinese culture where black represents unity.

Examples from other countries could be instructive. A middle-eastern honourable man from the likes of Pakistan or Iran can hold another respectable man's hand firmly in public without creating offense, but this is insulting in United States of America or England. In a word, one can intend to convey meanings through an extra-linguistic code. For instance, shaking the head up and down signals "yes" in Canada. When it is done horizontally or laterally, it means "no" (Lawal 1997), on the other hand jerking the head to the head to the right shoulder in Ethiopia conveys a "no" while throwing the head back with the eyebrows raised means "yes". Also, laughing is generally believed in most places to connote happiness. Yet, it is often a sign of embarrassment and confusion in Japan. In certain countries in Asia, it is a sign of being well-mannered for a guest invited for a

dinner to leave immediately after the meal; not leaving immediately connotes wanting more. In Europe and America and some parts of Africa, this will be considered ill-mannered and rude, an indication that the invited guest has placed the meal above the relevance of social interaction (Salupere, Torop and Kull 2013).

Several scholars in the past have added a lot to the field of semiotics which has been very useful to different audiences e.g. Ferdinand de Saussure, as well as the American philosopher, Charles Sanders Peirce (1914), Elam (1980), Barthes (1967), Hawkes (1977) and Chandler (2002) among others.

A proper understanding of sociolinguistics and semiotics has therefore generated another broad field of study in language which is social semiotics. Social semiotics shares the main features of sociolinguistics and semiotics and has developed over the years into a very interesting and relevant field of study in language. The idea of social semiotics (seeing meaning as being attached to the society) was introduced and pioneered by M.A.K. Halliday.

1.9 M.A.K HALLIDAY'S LANGUAGE AS SOCIAL SEMIOTIC

Michael Halliday is an internationally renowned linguist and scholar. From his wealth of experience, he has contributed immensely to various studies in grammar and linguistics which resulted and generated into other interesting domains. He introduced systemic functional linguistics in his seminal work *Introduction to Functional Grammar* (1985, 1994 and 2004). He digresses from the basic study of syntax to give some attention to semiotics which had a major influence on studies of meanings. Halliday is one of the linguists that views language from the dimensions of meaning. His thoughts on meaning expounded in *Learning How to Mean* (1974) lead to the idea of *Language as Social Semiotic* (1978).

In *Language as Social Semiotic* (1974), Michael Halliday describes language as a system of semiotics, not as a system of signs, but rather as a substance of meaning. He sees language as having a meaning conceived or inherent. Referring to himself as a generalist, Halliday attempts to study language from multiple dimensions. His work covers the overt and the covert of language and depicts language meaning as the creature and creator of human society.

Halliday argues for a deep connection between language and social structure but also that language maintains and potentially modifies social order. Halliday (2007:255) argues that language does not merely reflect social structure. Thus, he writes:

... if we say that linguistic structure "reflects" social structure, we are really assigning to language a role that is too passive . Rather we should say that linguistic structure is the realization of social structure, actively symbolizing it in a process of mutual creativity. Because it stands as a metaphor for society, language has the property of not only transmitting the social order but also maintaining and potentially modifying it.

Halliday argues that language and society can never be separated if meaning is paramount and is still the main reason for communicating. This implies the introduction of a semiotic approach to society and language. For Halliday (1978:39), languages emerge as systems of "meaning potential" or as sets of resources which influence what the speaker can do with language in a particular context.

The major postulations of Halliday's *Language as Social Semiotic* revolve around language and meaning. Halliday sees language as a social fact. He further opines that the essence of language cannot be realized in as much as the kinds of issues discussed are based only on the ideas conceived by linguists. He indicates also

that a language functions effectively in people's lives and that is what makes language what it is. He goes on to identify meta- functions of language:

1. Ideational (i.e. "the content function of language" (Halliday 2007: 183)
2. Interpersonal (i.e. "participatory function of language" (Halliday 2007:184)), and
3. Textual (the speaker's text structure prospective).

Hafiz Ahmad Bilal (2012) explicates the function in very clear terms. The ideational function refers to the "content function" (Halliday 2007:183 in Bilal 2012:726) and represents "situations and events in the world and the entities, actions and processes involved". The interpersonal function (Bilal 2012:726) relates to "attitudes and evaluations" and is subjected to "mood and modality". It also helps to establish a link between the text-producer and text-consumer. Textual function derives from ideational and interpersonal signification and is observed in form of information structure and cohesion. This can be likened to Kress' (1985:18 in Bilal 2012:276) notion of texts where texts operate in specific social situations for specific purposes as enunciated by the language user. As rightly observed by Kress, (1985:18) "meaning find their expressions in text... and are negotiated (about) in text, in concrete situations of social exchange".

Halliday's work has highlighted the use of semiotics discourse in societal influences. The research under study will draw its innovation from Halliday's work. Even though, Halliday does not particularly lay emphasis on "semiotic" as a study of sign, the idea of social semiotics derives from him. What is today understood by social semiotics as a feature of both sociolinguistics and semiotics might not have been in existence but for Halliday's work. This study draws inspiration from his three-fold postulations as enunciated above. Scholars such as Hodge and Kress (1994) also adopt a sociolinguistic approach called social semiotics in a more comprehensive way, thus giving further insight and

illumination to Halliday's work. Social semiotics will be discussed in broader terms in the next chapter.

1.10 GENERAL OVERVIEW OF ISIZULU AND YORUBA LANGUAGES AND CULTURE

IsiZulu is spoken by the Zulu people. While some documents (e.g. Koopman 2012 in *Zulu names*) maintain Zulu to denote both the language and the people, official post-apartheid South African documents have preference for isiZulu when referring to the language. The prefix "isi" denotes language in the isiZulu language. IsiZulu can be traced back to the origins of a chief who founded the royal line in the 16th century. Similar to other South African indigenous languages, isiZulu is also tonal; the sentence structure is governed by the noun which has a dialectal variation. The varieties are central KwaZulu, the KwaZulu coast, the Natal coast, the lower Natal coast, the south west Natal and the northern Natal, among others. In Gauteng, isiZulu is the most understood African language; it serves alongside English, as a lingua franca for many non-isiZulu speakers.

IsiZulu is one of the major languages in Africa. It is spoken by the Zulu people. The language is one of the eleven (11) official languages of South Africa. IsiZulu is a Southern African language spoken principally in South Africa. IsiZulu in 1994 assumed the responsibility of one of the nine indigenous languages to be given official language status in the first post-apartheid constitution of South Africa. According to the results of the 2001 South African population census, the calculated number of isiZulu speakers was 10,677,308 (Kwintessential 2014a). Making up 23% of the total population, speakers of isiZulu represent the widest language group in South Africa. A large number of the speakers are inhabited in the KwaZulu-Natal Province of South Africa which is the homeland of the Zulus. A sizeable number of isiZulu speakers can also be found in Gauteng and Mpumalanga provinces. IsiZulu is the most widely understood African language

in South Africa. The language is used as a medium of communication in schools and even by top government officials.

IsiZulu makes a major part of the Southern Bantu group of African languages. This group is divided into sub-groups which include the following major dialects: the Nguni and the Sotho-Tswana language groups. These two groups make up 47% and 25% of the population of South Africa respectively. IsiZulu is closely related to the other major languages in the Nguni sub-group: isiXhosa, siSwati and isiNdebele.

The first work to be documented in isiZulu language, the Holy Bible was translated into isiZulu in 1883. Smaller portions of the Bible were translated earlier. Modern Zulu New Testament was released afterwards and other notable writings have also come into existence. Newspapers such as isoLezwe, Ilanga and UmAfrika exist in the language and are gaining sizeable audiences day by day. Novelists coupled with poets of reputable standards have also added their relevance to the language by producing or writing a lot of novels and poems in the language. The first novel to be written in isiZulu was *InsilakaShaka* (1930) by John Dube. After his pioneer work in literature, other authors have all written in the language. One such prominent Zulu writer was Reginal Dhlomo who has written several historical novels such as: *U-Dingane* (1936), *U-Shaka* (1937), *U-Cetshwayo* (1952) and *U-Dinizulu* (1968).

IsiZulu literature has enjoyed a lot of relevance through other notable contributors like Benedict Wallet Vilakazi and the popular poet Oswald Mbuyiseni Mtshali. Some great literary works such as *Things Fall Apart* (1958) and *No longer at Ease* (1960) have been translated into isiZulu. The two works were translated into *Kwafagulalinamasi* (1995) and *Kwakwenzenjani* (1992) by C.T. Msimang and N.M. Makhambeni respectively. Mandela's biography titled *Long Walk to Freedom* has also been translated to *Uhambo olude oluya enkukulekweni* by D.B.Z. Ntuli. Also, in 2004, the first full length film in isiZulu was produced titled

Yesterday. The film was also nominated for an Oscar for its prominence in 2005. These literary works show the level of prominence attained by the language.

From the above discussion, one would find out that this language has gained a lot of prominence, and this eventually explains why some words in the language have made their way into the English language. Words such as “Mamba” and “Indaba” mean a “snake” and “topic/issue” respectively. They have made their ways into English successfully.

Yoruba is a language largely spoken in the south-western part of Nigeria, West-Africa (Kwintessential 2014b). It is referred to as “ede Yoruba” in the native language, which literally means “Yoruba language”. The language accounts for its origin to the Yoruba people. These people are generally believed to have descended from the great Oduduwa who is the son of a powerful god in the Yoruba culture called Olodumare. This explains why the Yorubas’ popularly refer to themselves as “Omo Oduduwa” which in translation means the “children of Oduduwa”.

Yoruba is spoken in six of the thirty six states in Nigeria: Ekiti, Lagos, Osun, Oyo, Ondo, and Kwara. It is also spoken in some parts of neighbouring countries like the Republic of Benin, and Togo. The language, according to the 2006 national population census, in Nigeria, is believed to have more than twenty-two million speakers. Features of the language have also been traced to Sierra Leone and Cuba where the language is referred to as “Oku” and “Nago” respectively. Traces of the Yoruba language have been found as far as some areas in Brazil. The language is thus a widely spoken one.

Yoruba has different dialects: Igbomina, Ekiti, Ijesha, Ondo and Oyo. These dialects can be further classified broadly into three categories depending on the geographical location. The north-west Yorubas consist of people from Lagos, Osun and down to areas such as Abeokuta, Ibadan and Oyo. The second category refers to the central Yorubas who occupy the western central parts of

Nigeria, notable areas being Ekiti and Akure, among others. South-east Yorubas are found in the mid south-eastern parts of Nigeria in places such as Ondo, Owo and Ijebu.

The “Oyo” variation is used for the purpose of writing and literature. It was developed in 1884 by Samuel Ajayi Crowther who also did a translation of the Holy Bible into a comprehensive Yoruba version from the Standard English version. The dialect he opted for in his translation has since been accepted as the standard for Yoruba language writings.

Literary works in the language abound. One of the Yoruba literary icons is D.O. Fagunwa who has written a sizeable numbers of works in Yoruba. The popular novel *Ogboju Ode Ninu Igbo Irunmale* (1938) was written by him. The novel was translated into English by the Nigerian Nobel Laureate Wole Soyinka with the title *The Forest of a Thousand Daemons* (1968). The same novel was translated by Abioye into French as “*Le preux chasseur dans la foret infestee de demons*” (1992). Books, pamphlets, bulletins and newspapers such as Akede Agbaye, Alaroye also exist in Yoruba. Other renowned Yoruba literary figures are Akinwunmi Isola, Adebayo Faleti, Laogun Adeoye, Tunji Oyelana and Amos Tutuola, among others.

Yoruba is a highly tonal language. The tone needs to be skilfully used in order to produce the right words and communicate meaningfully. The language has three types of syllables namely the vowel, consonant and the nasal. There are three types of tones associated with each of the syllabic structures. The tones are either high (/), mid (-) and low (\) tone which have also been shown by the usual signs used to illustrate them. Each syllable must have a tone. The language gives a clear distinction between the types of nouns or pronouns used for humans and non-humans. A breach on these structures might sound insulting. The Edos and Fulanis are some of the closest neighbours to the Yorubas.

In conclusion, the two languages discussed above belong to the Niger-Congo language family, otherwise referred to as the Niger-Kordofanian or Congo-Kordofanian language family (Mheta 2013). This language family is one of the major language families in the world which comprises about 1,532 languages (Mheta 2013). This in turn makes it the most spoken language family in Africa in terms of geographical coverage and population of speakers.

Lewis (2009) observes that most of the languages in Africa with the highest number of speakers belong to this same family. He estimates that about 382,257,169 speakers speak the Niger-Congo languages. Given the fact that the study was carried out about six years ago, one can view the numbers of the speakers around 400 million and above (Mheta 2013). For the purpose of this research, references will be made to some of the other languages in this family as identified by Mheta such as Igbo, Ijaw, Fulani, Swahili, isiXhosa, Ibibio, Sango, Banda, Nupe, Sesotho, Xitsonga, Ewe, Ganda, Baule, Wolof, Dyola, Mossi, Dagomba, Bassa, Luba, Seeku, Guro-Taara, Shanga, Bokobaru, Urhobo, Edo, and Mbum just to mention but a few.

Zulu and Yoruba people have a lot of cultural commonalities. They are both sociable, have extended families and organize elaborate weddings. They believe in polygamy even though monogamy is very prevalent due to the influence of modernization and Christianity. What Adeyemi (2014) says of the Yorubas in the following lines is essentially true of the Zulu people:

(Yoruba have) elaborate code of manners to bring harmony and also reduce strains of interpersonal relationships. The life of the people is regulated by various codes of manners e.g. speech, greeting, moral, religions, political and economic codes. The use of language with its paralinguistic features in daily interaction is regulated, and every action has social control mechanism.

Adeyemi says that a disrespectful use of language or action is regarded as an insult. What is different in terms of the regulated life patterns is the specifics. We would quote again Adeyemi's reference to Yoruba.

In the pre-colonial period, the male must prostrate before the senior while the female must kneel down to greet the husband and other senior persons, failure to offer such greetings is regarded as insults (sic). It is an offence to call elderly persons by their names. The second person plural of the pronoun is used in addressing elderly persons and persons in authority. It is also an insult to offer something to another person with the left hand. It is an insult for a younger person to refuse to answer when a senior person calls him or her to send on errand. When one is speaking to an elderly person, or is being addressed by a senior person, one must lower his eyes or keep them averted, to do otherwise is to show disrespect to the elders.

In the above quotation, the only commonality between the two cultures is the need for avoidance of eye contact in dyadic relations. The concept of Hlonipha (which will be discussed in more detail in chapter four) is an example of Zulu woman's regulated life vis-à-vis male elders. The two societies show evidence of patriarchy.

Both societies show respect to the aged-ones, kings, priests, medicine men and the physically challenged. They worship deities, but Islam (especially among the Yorubas) and Christianity is very widespread.

Zulu people are very gregarious just like their Yoruba counterparts. Both people have elaborate ceremonies involving dancing and singing.

1.11 ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

This section explains what goes on in the course of this dissertation. Chapter two discusses the literature review and theoretical framework of the study. Social semiotics is reviewed as well as invectives in details. Chapter three captures the research methodology, data collection method, sampling, piloting of research,

limitations and delimitations of the study, reliability, validity and data analysis. Chapter four outlines the presentation of data and analysis. Findings and interpretations of the data are done accordingly. Chapter five covers the conclusion and recommendations based on the findings of the research.

1.12 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter summarily has been able to give the background to the research. The aims and objectives, significance of the study, statement of the problem, research questions, and scope of the work have also been examined. Language has also been discussed in the chapter. The chapter has not left out the concept of sociolinguistics and semiotics as phenomena for the birth of social semiotics. Overviews of isiZulu and Yoruba languages and culture have also been done.

The foregoing leads to literature review in the next chapter.

1.13 PUBLICATIONS

Two journal articles have emanated from the course of this research and another one is currently in progress. Some aspects of the work have also been presented in seminars. Conference papers are also being prepared from the work for presentation in both local and international conferences.

- i. **Oparinde, K.M.**, Makhubu, R.L., and Bariki, I. 2015. A comparative socio-semiotic study of insults in two African languages: isiZulu and Yoruba. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*. (Under review).
- ii. **Oparinde, K.M.**, Makhubu, R.L., and Bariki, I. 2015. On the Sociolinguistic Purview of isiZulu invectives. *Southern African Journal of Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*. (Under review).
- iii. **Oparinde, K.M.**, Makhubu, R.L., and Bariki, I. 2015. Sociolinguistics and semiotics relationship: The birth of socio-semiotics. (In progress).

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Consulting literatures enables one to increase one's breadth of subject knowledge, examine the previously used methodology and helps in selecting which research methods to be employed (Briggs and Coleman 2007:69). It also helps in developing the theoretical framework for a study. This chapter unfolds by presenting a grounded conceptual framework which will be monitored by a review of related literature to the work under study. It begins by investigating what the concept of social semiotics is. The chapter also gives a brief discussion of the dichotomy that exists between structural semiotics and social semiotics. The section discusses the social semiotics ethnography as well as the ways by which texts are analysed through social semiotics. The chapter further investigates "invectives" from the works of various scholars. Invective is the basis for the construction of this study.

2.1 CONCEPTUAL OR THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1.1 The Concept of Social Semiotics

Social semiotics is a term borrowed from Halliday (1978:2) to mean the way language functions both as expression of and as metaphor for social processes of meaning making in reality. Halliday rejects the hitherto held position where language was separated from society. He sees in language factors which influence in some measure a speaker's utterances in a given social context. Social semiotics relates to various social dimensions of meaning as well as the human endeavours of signification and interpretation in shaping individuals and societies. Social semiotics centres on meaning-making practices of all nature from visual or pictorial to verbal and aural nature. In other words social semiotics

involves multiple semiotic resources such as verbal, non-verbal, etc. ones. These different systems of producing meanings are semiotic modes and their main tasks are developing analytical framework that can account for meaning making in all social contexts (Thibault 1991). In Ferdinand de Saussure's semiotic system, the structures which came under the term *langue* were unchanging. However, social semiotics delves into Saussure's *parole* to account for changing semiotic. Through *parole*, elements of creativity and variability are implied. *Parole* differs from *langue* in the sense that it deals with the way an individual uses language. The changing codes under the influences of social factors and circumstances and different individuals makes socio-semiotics share affinity with pragmatics and sociolinguistics. Having espoused that codes are not fixed for all times, the study of social semiotics extends meaning interpretation of structures to context.

2.1.2 Structural Semiotics and Social Semiotics

For the purpose of clarity, it is imperative to highlight some dichotomies between the structuralists and social semioticians approach to semiotics. The two should not be mistaken for each other; the latter emanated from the weaknesses of the former. Hodge and Kress built up the study of social semiotics by relying on the conventions of the founding fathers. Hodge and Kress (1995:17) posit that Saussure's structuralist approach excluded features of creativity, movement and change in language which they find too necessary for such exclusion. They are perplexed that Saussure left such important aspects out in his approach. In order to address Saussure's exclusions, social semiotics includes all the important aspects that will make the approach a complete one. Therefore, Saussure's structuralist submission that signs are arbitrary is not welcomed, thus, social semiotics is perceived as a feasible successor or alternative for structural semiotics.

Vannini (2007) sees social semiotics as being concerned with how meaning surfaces out of the intensive intercourse of humans with different motives, goals, and outlooks. He sees the domain within the social contexts that apprise and modify human communication. His approach to semiotics differs from the Saussurean and structuralists' perspective. He embraces semiotics from cultural studies, symbolic interactions which eventually relates to social semiotics. He highlights the following dichotomies between the structuralists' approach and that of the social semioticians:

Structural Semiotics	Social Semiotics
Focuses more on sign and codes.	Dwells more on resources.
Prioritizes signs and codes over the users and other participants in the semiotic activity; interested in how signs and semiotic rules make people.	Places the users and the participants over the resources; focuses more on understanding how people make and use signs.
Draws inspiration from the works of Saussure, Levi-Strauss and Mauss.	Draws inspiration for the writings of Peirce, Halliday, Volosinov and Foucault, among others.
Structural semioticians attribute power to meaning.	Attributes meaning to power.
Undertakes formal mode of analysis with a view to accounting for a known pattern of conduct.	Rejects all forms of linguistic and structural determinism; sees the conflict and struggle-laden process of semiosis as the origin of meaning and not deep structures.
Tends to rely more on the dyadic models of signs.	Uses more of modified dyadic models or triadic models.
Reveals a tendency to Saussure's binary oppositions (signifier/signified; parole langue)	Favours analysis of culture, society, politics, time, history, process, change, image and other semiotic systems along verbal language, among many others.

As amply demonstrated in the dichotomies, the grammar of language in a social semiotics context does not imply externally fixed codes or rules, but provides a system of resources for meaning-making. In social semiotics, meaning is sought for in “community-specific patterns and processes which distinguish that community from others” (Jacobsen 2009:360). Unlike structuralist semioticians, social semioticians do not look for meaning in deep structures, but rather focuses on social-meaning making practices in the specific context where they occur.

Halliday (1978:2) says that “the context plays a part in determining what to say, and what to say plays a part in determining the context”. Kramsch (2000) sees Halliday’s social semiotic as a social process which includes the production and reception of literary texts as well as the reproduction and critical interpretation of cultural values, attitudes, and beliefs. Ryan (2011) studies social semiotics from the perspective of writing in higher education. She includes some features from Halliday’s approach. She discusses Halliday’s approach to language as a set of semiotic system that constitutes a culture. Halliday’s view, according to her, proposes that language is a shared meaning potential which is deep-rooted with the society. In fact, language is a system of signs that symbolize the system of the society.

Kress (2010) submits in his book, *Multimodality: a social semiotic approach to contemporary communication* that communication has to deal with society since meaning arises through interaction in the society as well as the context. He argues further that this approach generates new communicative modes as a result of social development. He stresses that meanings are shaped by the society and as society changes, languages and variety of other means of communication change. By implication, meanings have the total tendency of changing. Kress refers to his approach as social semiotic because it covers the study of sign systems by making use of all modes used by humans in day-to-day

communication. People make use of their body, gesture and appearance to communicate different meanings depending on situations.

Kress believes that semiotics is the study of signs and sign processes. His position is that the social perspective should never be detached from the semiotic theory. His view of social semiotics captures the analysis of texts in a multimodal processes which he highlights as writing, image, number and colour. He argues that social semiotics is also concerned with the function of each of these modes and is interested in the meaning the combined modes posit. He sees the social semiotic theory as a sign which is a fusion of form (signifier) and meaning (signified). Social semiotics focuses on the position of the sign-maker, the environment, the meaning and the semiotic/cultural resources. Kress sees signs as an ambiguous entity; he creates the assumption that signs are always newly made in social interaction and that signs are motivated by instances which make them a mode of metaphor. Kress rejects the view that signs are created in arbitrary relations of meaning and form.

Holland (2011) states that meaning is not merely inter-textual; instead, meaning is negotiated in the discourse of interpretive communities. Social semiotics acknowledges the importance of the flow of discourse in constructing meanings around texts. We cannot assume that texts produce exactly the same meanings and effects that their users hope they will produce. It is implicit in the social semiotic model that social conventions made by people can be changed by people. This is akin to what Jacobsen (2009) meant when he said that the grammar of language in a social semiotics context does not imply eternally fixed codes or rules, but provides a system of making meanings. However, these conventions are governed by social relations of power.

Bezemer and Kress (2010) see social semiotics as a field of study that assigns meaning to various modes of communication such as image, writing, colour,

typography and layout. Rodriguez (2009) rightly observes that this approach captures the fact that verbal language is regarded to be too limited for meaning production as meaning is seen pervasively strong in other systems of meanings e.g. visual, aural and behavioural codes. The field regards signs of all kind as indicating the appeal of the makers of these signs. Bezemer and Kress further explain signs to be elements in which meaning and form are attached in a relation designed by the interest of the sign-maker. They caution that signs are made and re-made using the resources of modes. They explain mode as a set of socially and culturally shaped resources for making meaning. Modes can be used to connote the situation of the world, how people are socially related and how semiotic entities are connected (Kress 2010).

Van Leeuwen (2005) in his work *Introducing Social Semiotics* sees social semiotics as a study that monitors the ways in which various aspects of modern society combine to create meaning through semiotic resources. He identifies the semiotic resources to be obvious modes of communication surrounding people such as language, gesture, images and music. In social semiotics, apparently less obvious resources such as food, dress and other everyday objects carry cultural value and significance. Randviir (2004) studies socio-semiotics from a mainly cultural perspective. Social contexts are best appreciated within cultural contexts. His examples present to an audience the knowledge of what the theory of social semiotics is basically about. The need to be able to analyse and also produce successful multimodal texts and designs is also portrayed in his work. It emphasizes the social semiotic resources and explains how the resources can change over time for different reasons such as context. He changes the focus of semiotics from signs through social semiotics to the way people use semiotic resources to produce communicative artefacts and events with a view to interpreting them in the context of specific social situations and practices.

Van Leeuwen maintains that even though social semiotics is a theory, it is still not a pure theory neither is it a self-contained perspective. It is not a self-contained field in that it does not engage a comprehensive social theory. It only comes into its own in its application to certain circumstances. An absolutely essential feature of social semiotics is its self-immersion into other disciplines. Van Leeuwen's position can be challenged from one simple perspective: there are numerous other theories that may not be considered "self-contained". Even clearly defined disciplines such as pragmatics and translation draw strength from other disciplines and cannot stand firmly and entirely on their own. Transdisciplinarity is a common feature in theories. The array of available literature in social semiotics does not seem to uphold Van Leeuwen's view.

Social semiotics is a form of enquiry as it does not offer ready-made answers. It offers thoughts for producing questions and ways of searching for the relevant answers. Van Leeuwen goes on to discuss ways by which social semiotics generates meanings with what he terms semiotic resources. He defines semiotic resources as the actions and objects used in communicating regardless of the way they are produced. He notes different ways by which they can be produced. For instance, a physiological way will mean the use of vocal apparatus (muscles, facial expressions and gestures, etc.) while recourse to technologies could mean the use of pen, ink, paper, fabrics, machines, computer hardware and software, etc. He refers to these actions and objects in their entirety as "signs" through which meanings can be understood in the context of semiotics. Halliday's (1978:192) notion that "the grammar of a language is not a code, nor a set of rules for producing correct sentences, but a resource for making meanings" resonates in Van Leeuwen's writings.

Van Leeuwen sees the word "resource" as a suitable one in the field of social semiotics, because it does not give the impression that what a sign stands for is in a way pre-determined, and not affected by its use. Through Leeuwen's

writings, it was now clear that social semiotics has metamorphosed from sign to the way people use their resources to produce, interpret, and regulate communicative artifacts and events within the context of specific social situations and practices.

Signs are invented from almost everything we do or make, they are resources for meaning-making; everything can be done or made in different ways. This therefore allows the articulation of different social and cultural practices into meanings. Van Leeuwen cites the example of walking which may appear to be a non-semiotic behaviour, but meanings can be derived from the different ways people walk. He however cautions that the belief that resources have no objectively fixed meanings does not give the impression that meaning is free-for-all. In life, people persistently fix and manage the use of semiotic resources as per the purposes of communication. Holland (2011) confirms this notion by saying that semiotic resources have a “meaning potential” (term earlier used by Halliday 1978:39), based on their past uses, and a set of affordances based on their possible uses. The sign-maker is almost deliberate in the use of these semiotic resources. The meaning is however actualized in definitive social contexts where their use is subject to societal circumstances.

Pinnow (2011) also supports the above argument that social semiotic theory places priority on social roles in human meaning-making. Meaning-making is not the outcome of memorizing and executing structural codes within a society or culture, but rather it is the consequence of choices made from available semiotic resources. Resources such as speech, writing, gesture, gaze, images, space, symbols, etc. are highly regarded when it comes to meaning-making.

Aiello (2006:101) expands slightly the scope of social semiotics by incorporating aspects of power and ideology into the discipline. She sees semiotics as a discipline “concerned with how visual resources are and can be mobilized to act

and work on the viewer. It benefits from integrating considerations about the perceptual qualities of images into analysis aimed at revealing culturally and historically situated ideological implications". She believes that social semioticians see all semiotic actions as focusing on the syntactic relations between the elements of a visual text. According to her, the social semioticians believe that texts do not occur by accident (Iedema 2001). The field of social semiotics is embedded in and affected by prevailing cultural values and power structures with emphasis on the semiotic resources that are portrayed in a text.

Aiello (2006:90) further highlights the areas left uncovered by the structuralists approach to semiotics which social semioticians have incorporated into their studies. Structuralists were only concerned with deconstructing texts in order to identify codes that are agreed within a given cultural system. However, social semioticians assess how textual strategies are constructed to create meanings. Thus, she writes:

social semiotics replaces the idea of code in semiotics with resources. Unlike codes, the notion of resource accounts for change and power imbalance in the visual signification process as defined by its two ends: representation (encoding) and interpretation (decoding).

Aiello believes just as Jacobsen (2009) does that meanings are not fixed permanently. Instead of laying emphasis on the rigid structure of unchanging codes and relationships among signs, social semiotics is basically about "the social aspect of signification i.e. where meaning is construed as semantic value produced through culturally shared codes that are themselves formed through social processes" (Holland 2011:363). Holland reiterates that signs are resources that have the potential to be used in a social process of meaning-making in that "meaning is not transmitted to us, we actively create it".

On their part, Hodge and Kress (1995) assert in their book *Social Semiotics* that social semiotics comprises the study of how people design and interpret meanings and texts. The study of how semiotic systems are shaped by social interests and ideologies and how these ideologies change when the society changes is also a great concern for social semiotics. Their study gives details of the variables involved in the practice of semiotics by also emphasizing how individual creativity, historical circumstances, new social identities, and projects can affect patterns of design of meanings. Hodge and Kress see the notion of social semiotics as a dynamic process that addresses meanings determined by rigid structures or certain relative cultural codes. They differ from Saussure's structuralist semiotics which refuses to attach relevance to creativity, movement and change in language. They rather align with Peirce's more elaborate idea and see meaning as a "process" that continues. In their view, the action of sign is a limitless process where one idea and its meaning result in another process as a matter of change. Hodge and Kress posit that social semiotics addresses how societies and cultures maintain or shift conventional bonds between a signifier and signified. They have contributed immensely to socio-semiotics. Through their contributions, the general framework of socio-semiotics has been catapulted above its basic linguistic origins to account for the growing importance of both sound and images.

In social semiotics, meaning is basically context-dependent and cannot be treated in isolation without recourse to the culture of the users. A social semiotic perspective sees meaning as not being fixed to a particular code or design but as resources that people use and adapt to so as to make meanings. In this regard, signifiers are designed in the context of a specific society and are socially adapted to it. Social semiotics is an extension of structural semiotics. Rather than studying meaning from signs only, it goes ahead to associate the society with all meaning-making modes as meanings cannot be decoded without a prior

knowledge of the culture. Machin (2011) agrees that this approach is concerned with the way communicators use semiotic resources to achieve particular goals e.g. communicating ideas, attitudes and identities. The approach is interested in exploring the repertoire of sign/meaning potentials upon which they can be drawn in order to communicate, and how they are used in combinations, to communicate particular meanings in the society. In effect, the social dimensions cannot be detached from semiotic systems.

Hodge and Kress (1995:23) acknowledge the need for a branch of semiotics to account for the relationship of semiosis and reality i.e. the “material world that provides the objects of semiosis and semiotic activity”. They make a case for “society and the sign” by declaring that material and societal interference is essential to semiotic analysis.

The synopsis of the ideas reviewed reveals that social semiotics is fundamental to social discourse, and a discussion on invectives can benefit immensely from it. But clarifications need to be done by highlighting differences between structural semiotics and social semiotics.

2.1.3 Analysis of Texts through Social Semiotics Approach

Hodge and Kress (1995:4) introduce a simpler way and guide to analyse texts or discourse through a social semiotic approach. They analyse a billboard advertisement for Marlboro Cigarettes which serve as the illustration to the guide. Their guide started with what they refer to as the logonomic system. They see the logonomic system as the combination of meaning-making constraints which are defined as a set of rules prescribing the conditions for production and reception of meanings. A logonomic system designs these set of rules in relation to the conditions for production and reception of meanings (Nordquist 2014). This system according to Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress implies a theory of society, an epistemology and a theory of social modalities. Thus, a logonomic system “is

a set of messages, part of an ideological complex in discourse, but serving to make it unambiguous in practice” (Hodge and Kress 1995:4).

Hodge and Kress claim that in every text or discourse, there are logonomic rules that guide the logonomic system. To Norquist (2014), these logonomic rules are norms regulating discourse in a particular setting. These rules specify “who”, “what”, “when” and “where” meanings are initiated, as well as “under what circumstances” and “with what modalities” (Ilano 2013). Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress (1998) in Jacobsen (2009:361) had earlier written about particularities of context: “within specific contexts logonomic systems prescribe and proscribe the conditions under which meanings are produced, distributed and consumed”. Logonomic systems also specify who has legitimacy to produce meaning and for whom meaning is intended.

From the logonomic system and rules, Hodge and Kress (1995) move on to discuss context as they believe that a social semiotics account must be without a naïve text-context dichotomy. The next guide is the ideological complexes. Ideological complexes occur to sustain relationships and maintain social order of both power and solidarity. These complexes take two kinds of models, namely:

- i. Relational models (classifications of kind of social agent, action, object, etc.).
- ii. Actional models (specifications of action and behaviours required of, permitted or forbidden to kinds of social agents).

Furthermore, to analyse a text socio-semiotically, studying the relevant social semiotic resources (visual, verbal, aural, image and text etc.) is paramount. The availability of these resources is perceived to be an integral part of the analysis. Lastly, the need to consider the level of discourse is also of high esteem as that is the only way to fully understand the ongoing flow of semiotics.

2.1.4 Social Semiotic Ethnography

Socio-semiotic ethnography was first introduced by Lofland 1995; Snow, Morill, and Anderson 2003 in (Vannini 2007:122) as “a form of critical and analytical research strategy seeking to combine fieldwork and theory in an attempt to systematically understand and interpret social processes”. Drawing from the comprehensive contribution of Vannini (2007) on the ethnography of socio-semiotic, this study presents a concise discussion on the concept of social semiotic ethnography and how it is employed in analysing data.

Ethnography is perceived as the representation of the customs, norms and cultures of people. By socio-semiotic ethnography, we mean the way by which cultures of people are observed in relation to their society and context. It includes the verbal and non-verbal aspects of the culture which could be spoken, written, symbols and signs. The ethnography of the socio-semiotic surpasses the inclusion of non-verbal communications only. The postmodern moment ethnography refers to any representation of lived experience of cultural meaning (Vannini 2007). It particularly refers to any representation of how people experience, use, practice, talk about, contest, critique, understand and in general, interact with polysemic meanings of semiotic resources. A great deal of socio-semiotic ethnography lies so much on the social and cultural aspects evident in it.

The Zulu are fond of singing as well as dancing. These activities promote unity at all the transitional ceremonies such as births, weddings, and funerals. These activities coupled with the family structure of the Zulus developed the Ubuntu (humane) philosophy which would mean “share what you have”. The Yoruba culture is so rich that proverbs and adages form an important part of everyday language. Such proverbs can come in form of advice or insult. Having given an insight to the cultures under study, it remains to be seeing how socio-semiotic can be used to analyse culture through the study of invectives. Vannini (2007)

notes that socio-semiotics never loses view of its critical, humanistic, moral, and richly descriptive engagement with lived experience. Socio-semiotic ethnography seeks to capture lived experiences of meaning by examining the semiotic and exo-semiotic constraints of everyday life in thickly descriptive fashion. The socio-semiotic ethnographer understands that “culture has to be viewed as a domain of struggle where the production and transmission of knowledge is always a contested process” (Kincheloe and McLaren 2003:441) and that “everything ideological possesses semiotic value” (Volosinov 1973:10). Socio-semiotic ethnographers must openly acknowledge that their texts and discourses are but interpretive practices selected amongst a multiplicity of perspectives.

It is worthy to note first that socio-semiotics ethnography is not a method of data collection but rather an interpretive or descriptive strategy (Van Leeuwen 2005). As such, socio-semiotic ethnography offers no answers, it only “offers ideas for formulating questions and ways of searching for answers” (Van Leeuwen 2005:1). In carrying out the interpretive and descriptive aims of socio-semiotics, one can then employ a combination of different data collection modes such as unstructured interview, discussion, observation and textual materials (Vannini 2007). These modes will be further discussed in the next chapter as the current research will make use of them. It is also important to note that socio-semiotic is different from socio-semiotic ethnography. Vannini (2007) argues that the former solely dwells on systemic relations amongst semiotic resources, their producers and users. The latter instead is concerned with the study of lived experience of meaning and with the actual, practical use of semiotic resources. It focuses on how actual social agents (individually or in groups) produce, create, exchange, distribute, use, consume, or interpret semiotic resources in specific exo-semiotic contexts. It is primarily interested in the functions that semiotic resources play in social contexts.

Vannini's understanding of socio-semiotics clarifies the study of Hodge and Kress as discussed above. The paramount things for the analysis of invectives in this research are the *semiotic resources* as rightly pointed out of by Van Leeuwen (2005) above. Semiotic resources vary, from speech, writing, gesture, gaze, images, space, symbols, etc. when it comes to production of meaning. The ethnography of semiotics is only interested in the roles these resources play in social contexts in order to understand the actual semiotic potential. The important goal is to study how resources are used by people under specific circumstances (Vannini 2007). Vannini stipulates that these resources can be gathered through interviews, observation and so forth. The socio-semiotic ethnographer must then make inventories of past, present, and possibly even future resources and their uses. It is always important to consider how various interpretive communities may assign different meaning to different/same resources (Vannini 2007). This research would analyse different invective-related resources in isiZulu and Yoruba ranging from past usages of invectives to present as well as the related interpretation to the data collected.

Furthermore, Vannini asserts the essence of "modality" after the semiotic resources have been gathered. Jewitt and Oyama (2003:151) observe that it is the "reality value in socio-semiotics". In other words, socio-semiotic ethnographers must be concerned with how semiotic resources are used to express truths and with what kinds of modality are used to achieve truth. This largely means that the resources gathered must be a true representation of what it is, be it linguistic, sonoric or visual resources. In a nutshell, socio-semiotic ethnographers must pay close attention to how resources achieve truth-value. Semiotic transformation should be put into consideration when analysing socio-semiotically as meanings of resources can change over time. The researcher understands that some invectives have only recently become insulting, were formerly insulting but have not remained insulting, or have become less insulting because of semiotic change. Semiotic transformation can be quite difficult to

study. This is because change may occur with some groups but not others or subject to contestation and resistance (Vannini 2007).

Vannini (2007:124) cautions that the ethnography of social semiotics is an interpretive strategy which attempts to associate symbolic interactionism with cultural studies. He submits that “socio-semiotic ethnographers should understand that the moral goal of maximizing the inclusivity of their interpretive practices can only be achieved by way of ontological, theoretical, epistemological, methodological and methodical polyvocality”. He advises that the ethnography of social semiotics should not be mistaken for social semiotics itself. He states that social semiotics is only concerned with lived experience involving the actual practical use of social semiotic resources. In other words, the ethnography is only interested in the roles the resources play in social contexts in order to understand the actual semiotic potential.

Social semiotics has been referred to in many variables by different scholars. While scholars like Hodge and Kress (1995) refer to it as social semiotics itself, Randviir (2004) opts for an agglutinated form “sociosemiotic”. Ping (1996) makes use of another variable, though also compounded but hyphenated. Ping’s allusion to semiotic translation cannot be considered into the mainstream of socio-semiotics. His approach looks confused. The option of orthography chosen in this work is the compounded hyphenated version; the variable is socio-semiotic. His approach focuses on translation and is not directly relevant for the purpose of this study. All these variables have interrelated ideas.

In discussing a socio-semiotic approach to research, it is imperative to stress the fusion of text (language), context (linguistic and non-linguistic) and social structure into one entity. It is also important to emphasize what Adeosun (2012a:25-26) considers to be the most important aspect of socio-semiotic approach: “The dynamics of the interrelation of language and social context; which ensures that, in the micro-encounters of everyday life where meanings are

exchanged, language does not only facilitate and support (sic) other modes of social action that constitutes its environment, but it also creates an environment of its own, so making possible all the imagination modes of meaning...". Adeosun (2012a:26) further states that context is crucial in determining our utterances and vice versa.

There are a variety of ways of describing the context of a situation. In her studies on social semiotics, Ryan (2011) makes allusion to some of them as earlier postulated by Halliday: field, tenor and mode of discourse. As these three features of interpreting social context are pertinent to this study, it behoves us to give some details.

Field refers to the subject matter of a text with all its inherent situational features, arena activities, participants and world knowledge. The locations of the interaction are the arena/activities. The inherent features of the participants are "their physical and mental attributes and knowledge they bring to bear on the setting and events" (Leckie-Tarry in Adeosun 2012a:9). Characteristics such as race, gender, age, class, wealth, participants' background knowledge, etc. form part of the attributes. The participants are instrumental specific cultural and linguistic choices harnessed from the broader potential meanings offered by the context of culture. The arena can predetermine the participant and consequently their cultural and linguistic background. For instance, in a political setting (e.g. a rally, convention), the participants are likely to be politicians whose language and choice of words (e.g. invectives) will impact on the situation. The components of field present the most fundamental aspect of context of situation.

Tenor deals with the participants and their characteristics in a discourse or social event. It also touches on the social relations between participants in the situation. Adeosun (2012a) makes a clear distinction between field and tenor in the following words:

While elements in the field of discourse refer to characteristics within the situation, elements of tenor depend on the social construction of these elements by the participants... (who) use their situational knowledge, derived from the context of culture, to interpret element of field and so construct variables in tenor category.

Mode in linguistics relates to format or genre in discourse and captures the “part language is playing, what it is that the participant are expecting the language to do for them in that situation: the symbolic organization of the text, the status that it has, and its function in the context, including the channel (...spoken or written or some combination of the two) and also the rhetorical mode, what is being achieved by the text in terms of such categories as persuasive, expository, didactic...” (Adeosun 2012b:112).

Field, tenor and mode are best appreciated within the context of culture and context of situation. The context of culture is the broad network of background knowledge system that defines or influences the participants’ action in the context of situation. The context of situation depicts the immediate environment which draws its “legitimacy” from the context of culture. In a nutshell, the various elements of field, tenor and mode are fused into a mutual interaction.

Due to the absence of relevant literature – which is a limitation to our research – observed insults were mainly oral. A few Yoruba and Zulu songs have been chosen in addition to isolated words. While texts bring out more pungently the features of field and tenor, it should be appreciated that the insults even in non-contextualized situations conjure in the minds of the speakers of the languages potential and relevant contexts of culture and situation that make no one in doubt as to the meanings.

2.1.4.1 Analytical Process in Current Research

The analysis will be two-fold: analysis of “texts”, i.e. written out invective songs in isiZulu and Yoruba given by speakers of the language; and isolated words, proverbs or sayings. Some of the Yoruba invective songs are folktales while others have political bias.

For the purpose of the analysis of the translated “texts”, Adeosun’s (2012a) proposed socio-semiotic model for analyzing Yoruba written poetry will be used. Adeosun’s (2012a) socio-semiotic model takes care of the salient areas that are of interest to socio-semiotics: meaning, text, field of discourse, tenor of discourse, mode of discourse and context of culture. Allusion would be made from time to time to Bariki’s insult typology. The strength in Bariki’s typology is the frequent occurrences in insults. Detailed discussion on Bariki’s typologies will be further discussed in this chapter. Most of the typologies were identified in the two languages. Adeosun’s (2012a) model is hereby reproduced with explanations. For the purpose of our analysis, the poem in Adeosun’s model is replaced with insult just as text is given an extended meaning to encapsulate any meaningful and insulting utterance or sign.

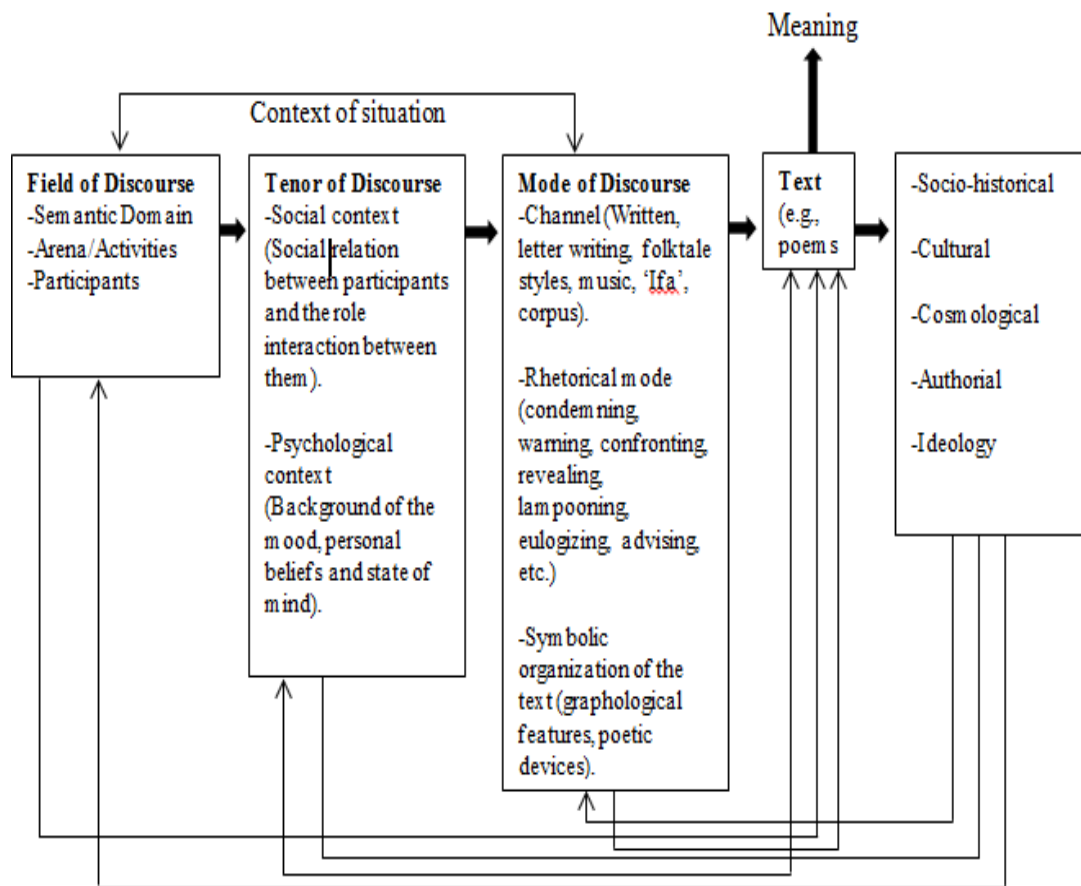


Figure 1: A proposed socio-semiotic model for analyzing Yoruba written poetry (Adeosun 2012:50).

In Adeosun’s model, the text is viewed from two broad perspectives: the context of situation and the context of culture. Under the context of situation, the interrelated areas of field, tenor and mode of discourse give an idea of the intended signification. The arena and participants are encapsulated in the field of discourse. The physical and mental attributes of the participants and their background knowledge will reflect on the situation. The tenor of discourse will reveal the social status and social roles of the participants. It considers the attitudes participants bring to bear on the situation. The tenor of discourse

touches on the social context of the insult which cannot be divorced from the context of culture. The mode of discourse is the channel of communication and the rhetorical disposition. The process of realization of meaning shows constant overlap and interaction of elements vertically and horizontally. Horizontal interaction implies equal or near equal social status, while a vertical one portrays power play based generally on age, social or financial status. For the purpose of clarity, we draw out our modified model of Adeosun's (2012a) own.

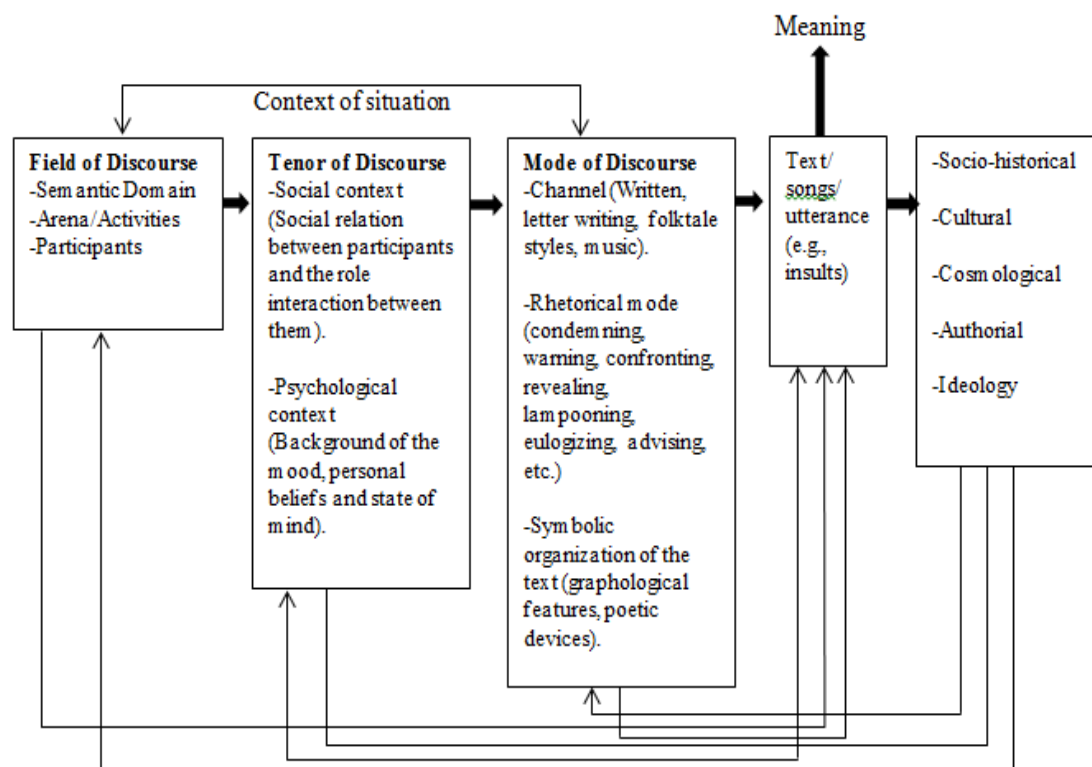


Figure 2: Proposed socio-semiotic model for analyzing insults based on Adeosun's model of analyzing Yoruba poetry.

Using this model, it is evident that insults can best be understood in a cultural context. Adeosun's model gives the reader a good opportunity of decoding an insult exhaustively in a given situation. In a nutshell, our socio-semiotic analysis will reveal what the insults are, how and when the insults are made, and why the

meanings of the insults are reconstructed using the three variables of field, tenor and mode of discourse.

2.2 INVECTIVES

According to Gabriel (1998:1331), invective otherwise referred to as “ukweyisa” and “eebu” in isiZulu and Yoruba respectively is a “behaviour or discourse, oral or written, which is perceived, experienced, constructed and, at times, intended as slighting, humiliating or offensive”.

Korostelina (2014a) observes that domains such as invective and insult are a frequent action in interpersonal relations; but surprisingly the paucity of references in the academic literature is glaring. Invectives are many things to many people in many fields. Feinberg (1985) broadly groups these different insults into four: calumny, factually based put-down, symbiotic dominance claim and pure insult. While some classify invectives as mere impoliteness, some think it is a direct attack on another person; others often feel that invectives can be politely used in some contexts. Invective is a synonym of insult, but the two words have different nuances. Invectives or insults occur as: denunciation, tirade, accusation, berating, blasphemy, castigation, censure, condemnation, obloquy, vilification, scurrility, reproach, vituperation, revilement, blame, blasphemy, abuse, accusation, swear-words, cursing, indictment and tongue-lashing, among others. It is interesting to know that invectives totally capture and operate within these aforementioned synonyms. This section will review invectives and their variables through the works of some scholars.

It is imperative to add that due to the fact that works on invectives are very limited and rare to come by, the closest synonyms will be reviewed along with invectives i.e. insults, swear words, abuse and so on. These synonyms are closely related to the data under study and are also very relevant if invective must be dealt-with in a broad sense. Scholars writing on invectives or insults (e.g. Korostelina

2014a) agree that intellectual discourse on the subject is still in its infancy. However, authors have applied diverse frameworks in their study of insults. While the approach of some are socio-political (e.g. Korostelina (2014 and Kwame Asamoah et al (2014), others are sociolinguistic (Bariki 2009, 2011), literary (Kodah 2012) and psychological (Gabriel 1998). Others (e.g. Largogette (in Bariki 2011) touch on a broad range of domains: linguistics, history, law and philosophy.

Invectives are expressions meant generally to hurt or offend someone. Invectives can therefore be mean or harsh speeches that directly inveigh against a person, mostly intended to cast opprobrium, censure or reproach . Orbach (1978) investigates the perception in the victim's behaviour as a result of the verbal attack. Orbach concludes that the victim's perception would be impacted by four evaluations:

- i. The victim's level of aggressiveness
- ii. The attacker's perceived level of aggressiveness
- iii. The attacker's status, and
- iv. Retaliation threat for counter-attack.

Bariki (2011) does a comparative linguistic study of insults in French and Yoruba. He identifies the use of certain linguistic forms in the two languages: elliptic forms, metaplasm, deformation, etc. However, the work relies purely on secondary documentary sources. Bariki asserts that insults can best be appreciated with a clearly defined context as apparently innocuous statements could turn out to be very offensive. Bariki makes use of two French words to refer to insults namely "injure" and "insulte" and he opts mainly for "injure". His work shows that there had been few works on invectives done in Belgium notably by Dominique Largogette: *Les Insultes en francais: de la recherche fondamentale et ses applications (linguistique, literature, histoire, droit)* in 1970. Largogette's studies influence scholars like L. Rosier and Lafont have all presented insults from the

perspective of their own field. Bariki (2010:35) gives different examples at first to illustrate that even innocuous words can be regarded as invectives. For instance, quoting from the dictionary, he states that as harmless as the word “old” appears to be, it could be insulting. Words like “elderly”, “old” should be avoided in preference for older people, retired people or even seniors.

2.2.1 Typologies

Bariki (2009) further recalls the three broad types of French invectives highlighted by L. Rosier and Lafont which are:

- i. Ethnotypes: refer primarily to racial, ethnic and/or national identity.
- ii. Ontotypes: portray ontological traits of individuals.
- iii. Sociotypes: based on one’s profession.

In an attempt to simplify and broaden this categorization, Bariki introduces different typologies of insults common to both French and Yoruba: ethnophaulisms, animalisation, sexotypes, insults involving hidden parts of the body, physical appearance, moral traits and political insults. The importance of Bariki’s work derives from its pioneering nature, in French/Yoruba comparative studies but it is not sufficiently detailed and critical to include such areas as impoliteness, solidarity insults and the result of asymmetrical power relations between people in society. Besides, it does not treat gestures and paralinguistic features on insult. Hence, the relevance of our theme: social semiotic dimensions of invectives. Bariki’s typologies are explained below:

- i. Ethnophaulisms: this has to do with racial insults or nationality insults. E.g. the word “sale” or “macaque” in French language both have a racial connotation used to insult Arabs, just as Nègre (Nigger) is an insult on blacks.

- ii. Animalization: this type has to do with comparing a person to an animal. E.g. “Ajá ni obìnrin náà” in Yoruba language means literally “this woman is a dog”. The sentence connotes promiscuity. However, a dog does not have such a negative cultural meaning in French. This points to how insults are culturally influenced.
- iii. Parts of the body: this is concerned with using the parts of the body to insult a person. These parts of the body could be physically visible outside or physiologically hidden. e.g. “Orí e ò da” in Yoruba is literally translated as “your head is not correct”. It connotes derangement. The parts of the body also include those that are covered by nature such as faeces.
- iv. Moral or physical traits: this has to do with insults that attack the moral values of a person or his/her physical look. E.g. an abnormally short person is referred to as “dwarf” which is actually an insult in some contexts.
- v. Filial insults: this type of insult can be considered as an indirect insult. In other words, the addressee has not done anything bad to warrant insults but for the deeds of some other persons. A typical example is the word “bastard” which refers to a child born illegally. The child considers this as an insult even though the child is not the cause but the parents. “Cocu” in French language is used to insult a man whose wife is not faithful.
- vi. Political insults: these occur between opposition parties or individuals partaking in politics. They use harsh words on each other in order to provoke the wrath of a second party. For example, referring to an opposition party member as “leper” or “lacking moral” is considered insulting. In other respects, words like “socialist” or “communist” can also be insulting depending on the context.

The merit in Bariki's categorizations is their simplicity. Our choice of these typologies was informed by the examples of insults we observed in the field.

2.2.2 Literary Approach

Kodah (2012) treats invectives from a literary perspective. The merit of his work is the properly contextualized situation given by the literary setting. Kodah deftly identifies different degrees of invectives in the literary characters. He recognizes three forms of invectives in Ahmadou Korouma's novel *The Suns of Independence* and examines the sources and consequences for their use leading to the aesthetic significance in discourse. He studies the aesthetics of invectives as relating to all instances of abusive language use in the production of literary and thematic effects in the novel. He argues that the use of invectives result from frustration. Invectives serve as a psychological window for expressing disappointments and annoyances as a defensive mechanism against efforts on one's personality or credibility. True to the literary tradition of analysis, Kodah identifies implicit and explicit recourse to insults which are aesthetically presented in form of metaphors, pronies, humours, comparisons and symbols.

Kodah's study identifies the following forms of invectives in the novel: (i) descriptive (ii) attributive (iii) symbolic. Descriptive invectives, according to him, refer to abusive language use in pictorial forms that can provoke emotional outburst and lead to physical confrontation. Descriptive invectives are associated with deprecating and contemptuous descriptions which can cause emotional, psychological and physical harm to an individual or a group of persons.

Besides the example cited above, Kodah (2012:3) adds that descriptive invectives also occur through explicit comparative description. This type occurs when a person or person's behaviour is likened to that of an animal or things. He cites the simile "like a pack of rutting dogs" as an example in that aspect. He finally submits that descriptive invectives "aim at depreciative realism through a

conscious combination of carefully chosen linguistic tools and syntactic constructions to evoke perceptible imagery in a derogatory form". These examples are akin to Bariki's examples of animalization earlier referred to.

Kodah (2012) moves on to the attributive invectives which refer to all instances of syntactic constructions pertaining to adjectives. In attributive invectives, adjectives or participles function as pre-modifier to nouns and become an inherent part of those nouns. They produce intensifying effects on the nouns. This type is mostly distinguished by the use of disparaging attributive adjectival and prepositional phrases, attributive adjectives and participles that are used in sneering at people and situations. He identifies examples such as "sneering bastards" and "damned adulteress" among many others. Kodah stresses the combative impact of these invectives that derive from their tensed succinct and concerted nature. Attributive invectives are noun phrases when considered syntactically. They are mostly one, short and concise word but are loaded with venom and hatred noun phrases.

Kodah's last form of invective reflecting from the novel is the symbolic invective distinguished by a metaphoric replacement of characters with animals or things. This technique, according to Kodah, helps the novelist to deny characters of their human features and replace them with animal characteristics. Consequently, the characters affected are vulnerable to general ridicule and derision. He gives an example of the title of the novel's opening chapter which reads: "The mastiff and his shameless way of sitting". Kodah (2012:7) explains a mastiff as a "large, strong dog with drooping ears, much used as a watchdog". Symbolic invectives are very pugnacious, provoking and revolting because of their metaphorical inferences.

Perhaps Kodah could have fused his three categories into two. Some of the examples he gives in descriptive insults using simile are basically similar to the

symbolic examples which entail the replacement of characters of animals and things. Similes and metaphors are both comparative and by implication descriptive figures of speech. The only difference being that “simile” is more explicit in comparison with use of “like” or “as”.

The focus of Kodah’s study differs fundamentally from ours, but its relevance to social semiotics can be perceived. A novel is a society of its own and the language used in contexts of situation and context is informed by other dynamics derivable from factors that are of concern to social semiotics.

2.2.3 Socio-political Approach

Korostelina (2014) remarks that insult is an inevitable aspect of the social relations that face people on a daily basis. She analyses insults from the insights of social identity theory and theories of power. She studies the complex dynamics of insults in connection with the problems associated with the growth of national identity and legitimacy of power in Russia.

To Gabriel in Korostelina (2014a:3), “insults are behaviours or discourse, oral or written which are perceived, experienced, constructed and at times intended as slighting, humiliating or offensive”. Korostelina argues that insults take different forms: verbal or facial expression, gesture or an action. She submits that the effects of insult can ignite and trigger social transformations and radical change as well as revolutions. Insults entail perpetrators and targets; the targets want to fight back as a sort of revenge which eventually leads to acts of aggression. Insults are formed, maintained and transformed as a result of social relations.

Korostelina (2014a) emphasizes that culture determines the context of insult. Insults are social acts generally assembled by social groups on the boundary between them. They are consistently redefined in various cultural contexts. She opines that insults have a lot in common with other social phenomena such as

impoliteness, humiliation, embitterment, revenge, and incivility. These phenomena rely on interpretations and context to make meaning; thus, insults can only become offensive through interpretations.

Korostelina's (2014a) pioneering study focuses on insults between large social groups, and their complex interrelation of social identity and power. It discusses case studies of international events and proffers suggestions for conflict resolution of politically-motivated insults. Korostelina categorizes insults into six:

1. Identity insults attempt to restore self-esteem of the insulter
2. Projection insults try to suppress the negative features of the in-group by trying to project them into the out-group.
3. Divergence insults emphasize dichotomies between groups by making references to the obstructive attributes of an opposing group.
4. Relative insults deny the group being insulted its right or privilege.
5. Power insults manifest in the prosperity of a group to decrease the power of the insulted group.
6. Legitimacy insults portray a group's attempt to delegitimize another group.

Korostelina sees legitimacy insults as typical case of insults that derive from power relations. To the extent that Korostelina relates insults to social relations and cultural contexts, it can be safely concluded that her social theories should be of interest to social semioticians. Certain fundamental facts can be deduced from Korostelina's analysis of insults: an insult begets an insult; an insult may be an extrapolation of linguistic or extra-linguistic data.

2.2.4 Moral and Pedagogical Sexotypes

Murphie (2004) studies the use of insults among college students using sex-oriented insults. Murphie categorizes insults into two forms: good-natured teasing or serious. Murphie sees the good-natured insults as a form of satire, not totally

threatening to the target and the intent is fairly straightforward. In some measure, these insults can be compared to solidarity or mock insults as highlighted earlier by Bariki. This type occurs among people that have a close relationship as it is literally a form of play. Serious insults are the purposeful use of derogatory, offensive and annoying terms that reveal prejudices and anger. Her study finds out that children use the serious insults more than adults mostly as a result of a desire to retaliate or express dislike and bad mood. Under the serious insults, mostly, target responses are expected. The target loses his/her temper due to provocation which is highly likely to result to in a physical assault.

It should be noted, however, that most of the examples offered by Murphie may not be applicable in African societies. Some of them (e.g. “kiss my ass” and “asshole” are certainly considered too vulgar for Nigerian languages where direct references to the female genitals are “circumvented”. Euphemisms are professed culturally. The result is constant use of circumlocution.

Anderson (2001) notes that verbal abuse is usually hurtful and it attacks the nature and abilities of the victim. It is always manipulative controlling and insidious in nature. It can lead to a gradual and unconscious diminishing of self-esteem on the part of the victim. Another feature of verbal abuse is its unpredictability; it can occur at any time even in trivial situations.

2.2.5 Pragmatic Approach

Mateo and Yus (2014:1) note that insult is one of the major devices used by humans to interact. It is a powerful device that reinforces the intentional force of communication dramatically. It occurs as utterances and gestural movements mostly with the possible objective of hurting an addressee emotionally. They argue that insults are distinguishably human. They are emphatic manifestations of human intentions, evidence of human feelings and very often a clear exhibition of human aggressive nature. In essence, insults are code-breaking, etiquette

violators that are likely to ignite a swift response from the addressee and are connotative linguistic devices used with denotative explicitness. They are usually described as dirty words, obscene talk or verbal abuse, etc. and can be used to attack and/or defend. Mateo and Yus further note that insults deal with an interactive discourse where a speaker (insulter) uses words in a language with the intention of morally hurting an addressee (insultee). They also observe that there is an intellectual way of insulting which only intelligent people can detect. They give an example of cases where articles or cartoons are published in newspapers to mock a government or politicians without the government realizing it. It may be added that even when governments or politicians want to take action against the publishers, they may not have concrete evidence for successful prosecution. However, totalitarian regimes may not tolerate cartoons that portray them in a negative light.

Mateo and Yus (2014) believe that ethnologists see insults as an improved way of revealing certain portions of aggressiveness without particularly resulting to force and physical violence. They believe that most insults have their referential meanings which are probably derived from animals, actions, institutions and people. These insults might not even have an original insulting quality because instances have occurred where insults have emanated from nothing in particular.

Mateo and Yus discuss the major reasons why humans would have recourse to insults. They argue that these might be a sort of catharsis or a way to relieve one of tension during moments of stress and high emotional strain. They maintain that insults are of different kinds. Swearwords such as shit! Fuck it! Bloody hell! are mostly self-directed i.e. the “insulters” are also the “insultees” or directed at no specific recipient. Insults can also be other-directed too. They include a second party that is the target of the insults. In this kind, the “insultee” is present with the “insulter” even though it could also be in the midst of some other audience. The addressee(s) is/are present and can hear the uttered expletives e.g. “you are

foolish”, “son of a bitch”, etc. Yet a third category of insults, refers to the use of utterances without any deliberate intention to insult anybody. Those insults can be seen as a sign of camaraderie and are usually followed by the right gestural of paralinguistic mechanism to avoid unwanted interpretations.

Yus (2014) broadly defines insults as an unfriendly action in which speakers say something rude or insensitive in order to affront their interlocutors. In this vein, insults are seen as semantic items (words or phrases) revealing the communicative intention to hurt or injure another person psychologically. Considering that Yus actually studies the taxonomy of insults through an intercultural pragmatic approach, he observes that insults are interpreted based on the intentions behind the result and the insulter’s use of language in a particular context. Yus studies this from a translation point of view and identifies four qualities that determine how insults are produced and interpreted. The qualities are:

- i. The conventional or innovative quality of the insult
- ii. The underlying intention, which can be either to offend, praise, or establish a social bond
- iii. The (in)correct outcome of the interpretation of the insult
- iv. The addressee’s reaction or lack of it.

Yus further treats four variables of insults:

1. Conventional vs innovative insults

To Yus (2014), conventional and innovative insults are words or sense that are systematically used with an insulting intention. These words are conventionalized within a speech community and this is applicable to all languages. This in essence implies that the words are readily available for the speaker’s use whenever they are needed in a particular context. These are conventional words

or expressions which are usually used by all speakers in similar situations to insult. Nevertheless, a major consequence of the overuse of conventional insults is that they might end up losing their hurting potential. In order to avoid this loss, users try to sort for alternative or new expressions to provide the same degree of offense which have been lost due to overuse. Hence, the reason for innovation is that it plays an important role in creating new insulting utterance. In this regard, skilled insulters devise highly innovative expressions to execute their offense perfectly.

2. Underlying intention: offense, praise or social bond

Yus (2014) identifies three basic reasons for the purpose of intention and insult:

- i. Speakers may want to offend the other party
- ii. Speakers may paradoxically be trying to praise the other party by using an insulting expression
- iii. Speakers may wish to reinforce a social bond.

Yus (2014:2) argues that “although, the main purpose of an insult is to release a strong emotion and channel it to a target, the intense relationship established between the two parties can paradoxically be used for other goals”. As regards the intentions of the speaker, one can see that insults depend on the context of the usage; they can also perform purposes other than “offensive” ones. Intentions are often buttressed with paralinguistic cues, gestures and so on as insults are normally accompanied by hand signals, fierce face expressions and a general state of bodily agitation. In a more educated setting, they can be conveyed by means of indirectness in form of ironies or sarcasms.

3. Good or bad interpretation of the insult

According to Yus (2014), the process of insulting involves at least two participants and sometimes an audience. In order for the insulting situation to occur, it is paramount for the person insulted to recognize the insulter’s intention by

acknowledging the correct interpretation communicated with the utterance. In some insulting situations, the intention for the insulter's explicit manifestation becomes evident to both interlocutors. In this regard, the ostensive stimulus displayed by the insulter is clearly interpreted by the insultee. There are nonetheless situations where the interpretations might be partially clear or not clear at all. Thus, Yus (2014:3) writes:

In this case, the proposition expressed disguises the real intention or requires complex additional cognitive operations to infer the insult correctly. The resulting interpretation cannot be perceived straightforwardly by its target as an insult. Innovative insults, insults masked in ironies or even in elevated language may make the understanding of the insult a rather complicated inferential task. Understanding or misunderstanding insults may have other causes: not having a good knowledge or command of the language used or the cultural setting involved in the insult. On other occasions, the interlocutors do not interpret the insult as such, do not take it seriously or simply ignore it.

4. Reaction or lack of it

Yus (2014) says that verbal interactions include an addresser and an addressee communicating a proposition to each other. After a process of inference, reactions in a more or less foreseeable way occur. Exchanging insults however go beyond this basic pattern, thus, exchange of insults produces four different cases:

- i. The addresser already has the intention to insult and the addressee feels insulted and reacts or not.
- ii. The addresser has the intention to insult but the addressee does not feel insulted; in this case, the addressee is not likely to react.
- iii. The addresser has no intention to insult but the addressee feels insulted and reacts or not.

- iv. The addresser has no intention to insult so the addressee does not feel insulted, and hence does not react.

Yus's (2014) extensive study on insults is based primarily on European cultures and languages. However, many of the examples can be replicated in other cultural and linguistic settings. In other words, they are valid cross-culturally even though they may differ in scope, variety or social adequacy.

The analysis given by Mateo and Yus (2014) and Yus (2014) can be tailored towards a social semiotics study. The authors have clearly shown evidence of "meaning potential" in insult-making vis-à-vis social processes, participants (insulter and insultee), field, tenor and mode of discourse. Their innovative insults backed by elevated language relate to the creative use of language and cannot be understood outside of the cultural and situational context. They are of the view that culture plays a key role in insult. They believe that the cognitive desire for insult is in everyone, but the linguistic tools differ from one culture to another. We align with this position and hope to demonstrate specific instances, situations or contexts that warrant insults in isiZulu and Yoruba.

In a nutshell, our study is also interested in finding answers to the following questions:

- i. What constitutes an insult in the two languages?
- ii. How do people insult?
- iii. When do people feel insulted?
- iv. Why do people feel insulted?

These questions remind us of Nordquist's (2014) rules and norm-regulating discourse in particular settings which negotiate meanings involving "who", "what", "when", "under what circumstances" and "with what modalities". The answers to these questions involve a wide spectrum of factors that are of great relevance to social semiotics: social context, social situation, participants, field, tenor and cultures, among others.

Our study will analyse insults by using a modified version of Adeosun's model of socio-semiotic interpretation of Yoruba poetry; we will also make allusion to Bariki's (2009) typologies for purposes of clarification. Our attempt to compare the typologies discussed was to see to what extent Bariki's typologies can be attested to in the examples we discover.

2.3 CONCLUSION

This chapter has reviewed the relevant scholarly literature to this work. The conceptual framework and the practical data have been reviewed. The chapter has established the relevance of socio-semiotics in analysing invectives. Having explained and reviewed the concept of invectives, an approach that brings in an extensive social aspect of language is considered viable for the study of invectives. The next chapter discusses the research methodology employed in this study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 INTRODUCTION

Having provided a theoretical study by reviewing the relevant literature regarding social semiotics and invectives in the previous chapter, this chapter proceeds to cover the research design adopted, sampling method, measuring instruments, data collection method, data analysis, and pilot testing. The chapter ends by discussing the limitations, validity, reliability, ethical considerations and conclusion.

3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

Research design is an inevitable part of a study. It gives the researcher an analytical approach to the coherent order of a research. In other words, it creates an avenue for a researcher to work within a laid down frame which serves as a guide to the work. According to Yin (2014:13), research design gives a logical sequence to a researcher which will in turn create a connection between the aims and objectives, questions of a research to eventually lead to the conclusion. He furthermore gives an illustration of a design as “a logical plan for getting from here to there”. “Here” in this sense means the research questions that require solution. “There” on the other hand accounts for the answers to the research questions. In this case, getting from “here” to “there” might not be an easy task because there are likely to be some hurdles to cross.

To cross hurdles successfully, there have to be some designs analyzing the steps and levels to take, in order to get to the root of the research questions. Yin points out that a research design is more than a work plan only. It is designed to make sure that the evidence gathered afterwards addresses the research questions

earlier identified. He maintains that a research design is concerned with logical problems as against logistical problems.

In other works, Flick (2009) recognizes the research design as a plan for collecting and analyzing evidence that will make it possible for the investigator to answer whatever questions he or she has posed. The design of an investigation touches almost all aspects of the research, from the minute details of data collection to the selection of the techniques of data analysis.

Research design is basically concerned with getting how an investigation is to be carried out in a comprehensive profile. This profile then assures a chronological order towards the study. It furthermore entails the mode of data collection, the instruments to be used, and the proposed means of analyzing the collected data.

There are various types of research design which have been classified under three major categories namely: exploratory, descriptive and causal designs. Other sub-categories are action, case study, cross-sectional or cross-cultural, descriptive, experimental, historical, longitudinal, observational, survey, philosophical and sequential. The only purpose of undertaking a research is to find answers to the research questions. The designs are immensely useful in getting answers to the questions.

De Mooij (2011) says that a study that is targeting or exploring specific sensitive traits in certain cultures takes majorly two approaches: the emic and etic approaches. The emic approach regard examines culturally sensitive behaviour in a specific culture. The etic approach investigates, defines and compares behaviour in different cultures using certain peculiarities that are bound in the same culture. This research has therefore been designed to explore the two cultures under study which then leads us to the concept of exploratory research.

Exploratory research, according to Monroe College (2014), is conducted to provide a better understanding of a situation. It is not designed to come up with final answers or decisions. Exploratory research is mostly used in cases where there are minimal earlier studies to make reference to. Studies on invectives have not been largely done. Politeness seems to have been given more prominence. Exploratory research is thus useful for our study as we set out to attempt to fill the lacuna of the absence of previous studies on invectives.

Eugene and Christine (2014) argue that an exploratory research occurs in an inquiry design, and it is conducted on research problems when there are few or no earlier studies to refer to. The focus of such design is to gain insights and utmost familiarity towards the problems under investigation. They further note the following as some of the goals of exploratory research:

- i. Familiarity with basic details, settings and concerns.
- ii. Grounded picture of the situation being developed.
- iii. Generation of new ideas and assumption, development of tentative theories or hypotheses.
- iv. Determination about whether a study is feasible in the future.

They further describe exploratory research in the following terms:

- i. A useful approach for gaining background information on a particular topic.
- ii. Is flexible and addresses research questions of all types (what, why, how).
- iii. Provides an opportunity to define new terms and clarify existing concepts.
- iv. Establishes research priorities.

Similarly, McQuarrie (2012) says that the nature of exploratory research is investigative as its basic aim is to gain a total understanding of research problems. Noting that exploratory research is also very intuitive, it is then definite

to be subjective at the end. Exploratory research is also discussed in Purposes of Research: Exploratory, Descriptive & Explanatory (Online 2014). It is seen as a period where a researcher has an idea or has observed something and seeks to understand more about it, and to determine if what is being observed might be explained by a currently existing theory. Exploratory research can come in two big forms: either a new topic or a new angle. Exploratory research might also involve observations and conducting interviews.

It is therefore implicit that an exploratory research is the best for this research judging by the views and perspectives of other scholars in research. The challenge for this research work is to explore isiZulu and Yoruba cultures with regards to invectives.

3.2 RESEARCH METHOD

Research methods literally are the ways by which an investigation is to be carried out. It deals with the approach by which a researcher conducts his research (Kumar 2005). A research method can be qualitative, quantitative, applied, basic, deductive or inductive. Two of these approaches have been identified to be the major ones, most popular and most used. They are: qualitative and quantitative. This research has employed the qualitative approach, viewing cultural diversity from an etic perspective as enunciated by de Mooij (2011).

3.2.1 Qualitative Research

A qualitative method was employed in this research. Qualitative research seems to be the most used in the humanities because of its flexibility. To Vibha, Bijayni and Sanjay (2013:192), qualitative research “focuses on understanding a research query as a humanistic or idealistic approach”. They argue that the method generates data non-numerically. Qualitative method is used to understand people's beliefs, experiences, attitudes, behaviour, and interactions.

It can add a new perspective to interventional studies that cannot be obtained through measurement of variables only. Qualitative research includes comments on the explicit social nature of research, the commitment to relatively unstructured data, subjectivity and reflexivity in research, detailed study of a few cases, the importance of studying natural settings, and verbal rather than numerical analysis (Parkinson & Drislane, 2011). A research which has instruments such as participant observation, interviews and discussions that result in descriptive account of a setting or practice is a qualitative research project (Parkinson & Drislane, 2011). Altinay and Paraskevas (2008:168) opine that qualitative research is to “develop an understanding of the context in which phenomena and behaviours take place”. While the method is used in analyzing different reasons why people behave in a particular manner, its tendency to “subjective assessment of attitudes and behaviours” (Dhingra and Dhingra 2012:23) cannot be overlooked. This approach was employed in this research in order to understand the depth of invectives in both Zulu and Yoruba culture.

3.2.1.1 Advantages of Qualitative Research

The following advantages of qualitative research are derived from Leedy and Omrod (2010):

- i. It enhances a comprehensive understanding of the focus participants in getting the audience’s view on certain situations or scenarios.
- ii. It realizes the reasons behind peculiar behaviours. This is as a result of using language and behaviours of the participant rather than analysing numbers.
- iii. It enables a great deal of flexibility.

3.3 TARGET POPULATION

In research, a population refers to the entire group of people, events, or things of interest that the researcher wishes to investigate. It is basically understood as a group which possesses specific characteristics that a researcher is interested in (Brynard, Hanekom and Brynard 2014:57). Sample to Sekaran (2003) is then a subset of a population which consists of the members selected from it. This study targeted the Zulu people in the KwaZulu-Natal province of South Africa and the Yorubas of the South-western Nigeria.

3.4 SAMPLING

This research adopted a simple random sampling. Creswell (2008) sees sampling as the system of selecting portions of a population with some common defining characteristics for study. To Sparkes and Smith (2014), sampling comprises creating informed and strategic decisions about which people are best for gaining data that need to be addressed to research questions. Sampling is a process through which a researcher selects representatives or participants from a total population in order to be studied for their topic (Altinay & Paraskevas, 2008). This will enable generalizing the conclusion as regards the whole population with the hope that the conclusions drawn are a true reflection of the total population. Sampling in qualitative research, according to Alasuutari (1995), in Altinay and Paraskevas (2008:101) “aims at gaining an in-depth understanding of the topic or phenomenon under study”. There are two types of sampling, namely probability and non-probability.

Probability sampling ensures that every member of the population has a probable opportunity of being selected. This type of sampling has other sub-types which are: simple random, systematic, cluster and stratified. Non-probability on the other hand does not involve random selection and has the following sub-types: convenience, judgmental, quota, snowball and self-selection. This research

made use of a simple random sampling under the auspices of probability sampling so as to enable all members of the Zulu and Yoruba population have equal chance of getting selected. The major advantage of this method is that it is unbiased in surveying because every object can be surveyed on a non-specific basis (Sekaran 2003).

Through the use of simple random sampling, the researcher selected a total of hundred participants (50 each) randomly across the two cultures under study. Sekaran (2003) understands the fact that when a research investigation involves hundreds and thousands of elements (in this case millions), it would be totally impossible to collect data from every element. Even if it were possible, the time, economy, inaccessibility reasons would hinder the possibility (Coldwell and Herbst, 2004). Sekaran (2003) adds that studying a sample rather than the whole population would even provide more reliable results. This is because fatigue would be reduced and not many errors would emanate from the process of data collection and analysis. If a smaller sample is well chosen using the correct procedure (in this case simple random sampling), it is possible to generalize the results to the whole research population and have accurate findings (Sparkes and Smith 2014). For this study, it would have been difficult to study the total population of the Zulu and Yoruba population. The researcher does believe that the sample size selected would be representative of the general population.

In justifying the sample for this research considering the large number of elements dealt with, Greene and McClintock (1985) advise using different methods of data collection in order to account for similarity of information collected. In this light, this research made use of four collection techniques (interviews, observation, discussion and documentary sources) as will be discussed below (section 3.5). Devers and Frankel (2000b) also encourage the use of social networks in securing basic information. This is an aspect of the documentary sources employed in this research. In line with this fact, the findings

of this research are not confined to information gathered from interviewees only but also validated by the other techniques used in collecting the data.

Oppong (2013) also acknowledges the impossibility of studying the whole population. This situation then places limitation on the researcher to collect a certain proportion as the sample of study. This highlights the notion of adequate sampling wherein Oppong (2013:209) argues that a holistic way of getting a sample of study in a qualitative research “is by starting with a small sample size and after completing the study with the restricted sample, the researcher includes additional cases over time”. This is exactly what this research has done, starting by interviewing and discussing with 50 participants. Further information was sought and earlier information validated through the use of observations and documentary sources. Below is the discussion on how the participants were managed.

3.5 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

Data were collected through the following four major parameters: interviews, observations, discussions and documentary sources. These parameters are discussed below. The collection majorly starts with interviews and discussions which were held with the participants who were all selected through a random sampling.

3.5.1 Interviews

Interview is a major aspect through which data are collected in a qualitative research. Interviews are a useful method of research in the social sciences because they can go to the depth of the people (King and Horrocks 2010). Sparkes and Smith (2014:83) describe an interview as “a craft and social activity where two or more persons actively engage in embodied talk, jointly constructing

knowledge about themselves and the social world as they interact with each other over time, through a range of senses, and in a certain context”.

There are various types of interviews in qualitative research such as structured, unstructured, semi-structured and focus groups (Rubin and Rubin, 2012). This research employed the unstructured type of interview in getting the data. Unstructured interview is used when a researcher has a general issue in mind to research on. Thus, specific but unplanned questions “spring up” in the course of the interview, but the questions are not formulated right from the beginning. The questions are formulated in response to what the interviewee says. Unstructured interview allows the interviewee to answer at length and in precise details. In this research, the questions were not formulated from the start, but the researcher had a clear idea of the themes and relevant questions to ask. The themes are simply: background of invectives, opinions on invectives and the knowledge of invectives as exhibited by the interviewees. The questions were spontaneously asked having these themes in mind. Some of the questions that mostly emanated during the course of the interviews are attached at the end of this research.

Sparkes and Smith (2014) see the unstructured interview as occurring with an open-ended question. Due to the nature of this type of interview, the interviewer has a broad range of topics expected to be covered. Open-ended questions generally give room for a free flow of ideas from the participants. As the ideas raised by the participants unfold, the messages are followed up to make the analysis. Sparkes and Smith (2014) further assert that such flexibility is not present in the other types of interview. They highlight the following as the strengths of this type of interview:

- i. Effective in eliciting and inviting participants’ stories; their understanding of a reality, their place in the reality, and the meanings they attach to scenarios or behaviours are detailed.

- ii. Efficient in exploring an issue in explicit terms.
- iii. Enable more extemporaneous discourse because the researcher does not have a full control over the interview.
- iv. Disallow anticipated ideas or actions in the course of the discourse since the interviewees are not sure of the exact questions to be asked.

The researcher interviewed the selected participants using unplanned but thematically developed questions in order to get an in-depth feeling of the participants. The interview was done with a team of 10 people at once (consisting of students, working class people, illiterates, semi-illiterates and so on). The interviews were simultaneously conducted and the groupings were established basically on availability of the participants. Questions were asked, answers were given by the participants and further questions were derived from the answers provided. Nearly all the answers given by each participant were supported and confirmed by other participants. The major advantage of this method was that it allowed the participants to verify the answers given by other participants and the discussions from it were very helpful. However, the weakness of this is that sometimes, the participants get too rowdy but the researcher was able to manage the participants and the sessions were indeed productive.

3.5.2 Observation

Sparkes and Smith (2014:100) acknowledge that observation is the process of perceiving the workings of people, culture and society through one's senses and then documenting or recording them. It enables the researcher to "record the mundane taken for granted and unremarkable features of everyday life that interviews were not captured". The observation method uses all the senses such as seeing, hearing, feeling and smelling in perceiving and scrutinizing an object. This helps in assembling a first-person assessment of a situation. Observation occurs in different forms as identified by Sparkes and Smith (2014:101):

- i. Complete observer: The researcher does not participate; he only observes what happens and what does not.
- ii. Observer as participant: The researcher is partially involved in the situation.
- iii. Participant as observer: Participants are allowed to participate in the process of observation.
- iv. Complete participant: The researcher does not participate in the lives of the people so as to observe them. He observes while participating fully in their lives.

The research made use of the complete observer form. Some gestures of insults as well as some words were actually observed as they were used by people in different places and circumstances (such as on campus, in taxis, in conversations and so on). These signs and words were noted and confirmed with participants. The researcher often observed them as invectives or insults after noticing the reaction of the recipients to such gestures and/or words. Some of the words and gestures gathered were actually confirmed to be invectives. Observing participants according to Rubin and Rubin (2012), developed as a more formal version of day-to-day activity of watching what others do and at times joining them in doing it. The researcher plays the role of a bystander. Being in environments where there are either Zulu people or Yorubas. The researcher automatically attained an observer status. The researcher observed several cases of invectives without actually participating. The advantages of this method are as follows:

- i. There is an easy connection between the participants and the researcher.
- ii. The observer is able to familiarize himself with the culture, environment and the language under study.

3.5.3 Discussion

Discussion occurs as casual conversations and in-passing clarifications (Rubin and Rubin 2012). Discussion occurs at different occasions of the research when the researcher and the participants come across one another and an informal dialogue takes place. Such brief unstructured conversation can result in a topic relevant to the research. The advantages of discussions are:

- i. Missing pieces of the interview and observation can be filled.
- ii. One may be able to follow up what is learnt in this informal discussion formally afterwards.
- iii. Information that has been marked to be irrelevant can be generated which might eventually serve as great relevance to the research.

This was used alongside the interview. It actually occurred before and after the interviews when one or two participants have some things to add after others have departed. Some examples used in this research were derived from such discussions which were later validated with another set of interviewees.

3.5.4 Documentary Sources

This approach involves examining documents such as newspapers, speeches, budgets, blogs, novels, letters, internet posts and blogs. It is primarily about anything that appears in written forms, as well as pictures and visual recordings. Documents should be treated as people's interpretations rather than just renditions. The researcher used this as a complementary source in collecting the data. The researcher did this by reading documented works and visiting the internet. Getting information from the internet does not just help the researcher in observing the content of websites and what they communicate, the researcher often contributes to what is observed from the internet as a recognized member

(Sparkes and Smith 2012). The advantages of this method are threefold. It enables:

- i. To link data from various sources even with some participants one does not have access to.
- ii. Some ambiguity that need to be explored and explained.
- iii. Getting related data from anywhere around the world.

Some video recordings of insults in isiZulu were also retrieved from the internet and given to speakers of the Zulu language to interpret and ascertain authenticity. This method was used in this research in getting additional information and getting some new data related to the ones already gathered. Social media is used as well as some online blogs where examples for this research are derived.

3.6 VALIDITY

Validity, according to Bearden, Netemeyer and Haws (2011), is the process of adequately ensuring that data collected through interviews and observations are accurately conducted without the fear of fraud or bias. This implies that collection of data should be free of any other intervention other than that of the respondents. Flick (2009:387) says the idea of validity can be summarized as a question of “whether the researchers see what they see”. Bonds-Raacke and Raacke (2012:84) see it as “the ability of your measurement to accurately measure what it is supposed to measure”. White and McBurney (2013:141) bolster previous assertions by saying that “validity is an indication of accuracy in terms of the extent to which a research conclusion corresponds with reality”. By validity, they mean that the researcher’s conclusion is in harmony with the actual state of the world. Typologies of validity are internal, construct, external and statistical conclusion. Efforts were made to ensure validity in this research. The sample of the interview questions are aligned strictly to the aims and objectives of the study. Review of related literature also helps in the ways, and other findings conducted

by scholars. Construct validity was adequately ensured as the main idea of a construct validity is to ascertain after the research that the results support the theory (White and McBurney 2013). At the end of the research, the conclusions drawn validate the theory of the research which is social semiotics.

3.7 RELIABILITY

In conducting research, one cannot doubt the efficacy of reliability of variables. Reliability shows that the data collected are free of errors and mistakes that do not tamper with the conclusion. In other words, the findings and conclusions should be corroborated in a subsequent research if the conditions of research remain the same (Yin 2014; Bonds-Raacke and Raacke 2012). Reliability can also be defined as the “reproductivity of consistent results of a measurement under circumstances where characteristics being measured have not changed” (Leedy & Omrod 2010:93). It is the uniformity of the same measure to present similar conclusions on different instances. This means reliability is concerned with the ability to represent the same findings over and over again. The following yardstick could be used in ensuring reliability of the collected data: test-retest, split-half method, internal consistency, parallel-forms method, inter-observer reliability. The researcher made use of the test-retest in order to ascertain the reliability of the findings. This yardstick ensures that the founded facts are established by confirming and ascertaining the facts more than just once with the participants.

3.8 PILOT STUDY

A pilot study is otherwise referred to as a pilot experiment. It is seen as a process of conducting a feasibility study towards a research in an attempt to project the effect on the research project. Yin (2014) indicates that a pilot study can help in refining data collection plans with regards to the content of the data and a chronological procedure to follow. De Vos et al. (2005) are of the opinion that

there is a need for the researcher to carry out a small scale investigation. This helps in identifying the likely risks pertaining to a research. It creates an avenue to secure a sensible knowledge of a research problem. Adequate knowledge of the research is deemed to be lacking if the pilot study did not take place (Babbie and Mouton 2006). Babbie and Mouton (2006) justify the need for a pilot study when they observe that it is paramount in cases where the study includes more than one cultural or language group. In this case, the research involved two cultural and language groups.

De Vos et al (2005:208) note that the pilot assists a prospective researcher to possible unforeseen problems which may emerge during the main investigation and prepares the researcher for possible errors that may occur. The pilot study is a little scale test that would figure out whether interview guides will adequately work in real world after being tested on a small number of individuals (Leedy and Omrod 2014). It would give the researcher a perspective on the level of information honesty to anticipate from respondents. The pilot study was exercised by getting ten Zulu and Yoruba people who were not included in the sample frame to answer the unstructured questions formulated in themes. The pilot study enabled the researcher to test reliability of the interviews. At the end of the pilot, the findings were in line with the researcher's objectives and no new information came in that required a modification of the interview questions.

3.9 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study intends to study invectives in both isiZulu and Yoruba languages and cultures. The study has made mention in chapter one that the languages are spoken of Southern Africa and West Africa respectively. However, the study has only selected the isiZulu and Yoruba native speakers of KwaZulu-Natal and South-western part of South-Africa and Nigeria respectively. The paucity of relevant literature in both isiZulu and Yoruba was a great limitation. The availability in form of poems, songs and stories would have enhanced the quality

of work. Zulu and Yoruba societies are not homogenous, but we have not distinguished clannish or dialectal differences in the two languages and cultures. Besides, the changes that have occurred due to urbanization have not been dealt with. It is also important to state that our ignorance of isiZulu language robbed us of the advantage or opportunity of personally identifying and appreciating insults in direct discourse. The examples were analysed in two broad perspectives: written songs and isolated insults. Written out songs were analysed using the socio-semiotic parameters of field of discourse, tenor of discourse and mode of discourse. The analyses were based on Adeosun's (2012) model of analyzing Yoruba written poetry.

3.10 ANALYSIS OF DATA

Words, expressions and signs of invectives were collected and studied from isiZulu and Yoruba languages. A typology of invectives was drawn up as related to the two languages. The researcher described and analysed the data gathered based on the responses of the respondents through a taxonomic classification presented in Microsoft Word format. The differences and similarities were noted and analysed. The objectives of the research were met.

3.11 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Since data collection is paramount to the successful exercise of the research, ethical issues have become a major domain in research. An approval must be sought and granted before a research can be conducted in social research because it involves the participants revealing their personal information. A research has ethical dimensions. This requires that the researcher maintains both moral and professional obligations to be guided by ethics even when the participants are unaware of the ethics (Neuman 2011). Ethical responsibilities in interview are part of a research relationship that ensures that no harm comes to the interviewees as a result of what the research entails (Rubin and Rubin 2012).

They further explain that the interviewer should seek the consent and willingness of the interviewees to participate in the research. This means the researcher is responsible for ethical behaviours and makes sure that no deceit or pressure is involved with the participants. Flick (2009) sees ethical considerations as the question of how to protect the interests of those who showed interest in participating in the research.

In order to ensure a good monitor of ethical considerations, most institutions set up a committee to oversee this section of the research. This committee is concerned with the following: informed consent, privacy and confidentiality, anonymity, benefits and risks of the research, and right to withdrawal.

Informed consent ensures that the required participants understand the nature of the research (Rubin and Rubin 2012). They are aware of the risks and benefits involved and not by any means coerced to take part in the research. They need to have been informed of the interview earlier on, and the questions to be asked. Also, they have the right to voluntary participation or withdrawal. These aspects of the ethical issues were adequately met in this research. The sample of the letter of information and the interview questions were considered and granted by the research committee.

The aspects of privacy, confidentiality and anonymity were also acknowledged as the personal bio-data were not sought. Anonymity of the participants was ensured and everything discussed with the participants were treated with utmost confidentiality. The nature of the research was not posited in a way that will put risks in the lives of the participants. Therefore, the questions of risks have been answered right from the outset.

3.12 CONCLUSION

In this methodology chapter, the research design and research method were discussed. Sampling, target population and data collection methods which include interviews, observations, discussions and documentary sources have also been discussed. The validity, reliability, pilot study, limitations of the study, analysis of data and ethical issues have not been left uncovered.

The succeeding chapter will discuss the findings of this research by analysing them as they are the concerns of the research project.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter discussed the research design for this work cutting across the research methods and other basic rudiments involved in research methodology.

In chapter two, we emphasized the fact that context of situation and context of culture are indispensable ingredients in the reconstruction of a text. We highlighted the three-fold components of content of situation as field of discourse, tenor and mode of discourse which are vital in interpreting a social context. Insults are often made within given contexts; they are not made in a vacuum. The context is also influenced by aspects of culture. Culture is a guide to context and vice versa. Culture and context are both crucial in helping us to understand the intended meaning embedded in an utterance.

This chapter sets out to present and analyze some Zulu and Yoruba insulting songs, words, phrases or sentences. There are two broad types of data to be analyzed: contextualized and non-contextualized examples. The contextualized insults include clearly defined context of situation and context of culture. This category also comprises songs chanted during festivals and ceremonies. The general or non-contextualized are derived from the linguistic repertoire. Their contexts are not clearly defined but can be surmised, understood and interpreted based on a general knowledge of the given culture.

The analyses of the contextualized examples are based on a modified version of Adeosun's (2012a) proposed model of socio-semiotic approach. The context of situation and the context of culture will be explored to determine the meanings of the songs. A quarrel between isiZulu speakers captured in YouTube was also

analyzed. On the other hand, insults with no specific contexts were analyzed using Bariki's typology of insults. The second group of insults was analyzed in line with Bariki's typologies. The broad cultural contexts necessitating the use of these insults can be understood as the insults are explained.

Some of the chanted insults are folktale songs. A folktale is a traditional story that is originally passed on from one generation to another by words of mouth. Given the traditional nature of the transmission, a lot of cultural information is embedded in them. In Yoruba cosmology, folktales are a means of passing on traditions and customs from one generation to another. The numerous Yoruba folktales can be in form of stories, riddles, fables, histories, myths, songs, proverbs, maxims, etc.

Yorubas love to sing, and their insults are not limited to folktales. Insulters can have recourse to insulting songs at virtually any time or occasion. According to Adeosun (2012a:141 *supra*), "songs play important roles in the life of Yoruba people. There is no time they cannot sing whether in the time of joy or sorrow". In the course of our research, we found out that Yorubas are fond of insulting one another through songs. They have what is called night songs or songs of insult in times of festivals. It is a semi-official programme where insulters insult people based on identifiable anti-social behavioural traits. In some situations, specific names are mentioned. In some other instances, specific names are not mentioned, but the target or insulted person recognizes himself/herself through physical descriptions and the violated social norms and values alluded to. The target must not express anger or attempt to fight back. If she/he reacts angrily, she/he faces terrible consequences. The community could fill the house of the insulted person with water or logs of wood. Below, we reproduce some contextualized invectives with a view to analyzing their socio-semiotic importance.

4.1 CONTEXTUALISED INVECTIVES

4.1.1 Zulu Folktale Chanted Insult

Ngilahle ngizwa ngendaba
Bethi ukhona u-star wami
Ngiyaqalaza angimboni
Ngibona iphepha lokushidaba

Translation

I always hear through gossip
That my man has another woman
I look around but I do not see her
I see toilet paper

4.1.2 Passengers insulting one another in Taxi in isiZulu

The following excerpt was adapted from a YouTube (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F7-Nlk62058>) video (10 minutes) of some Zulu passengers (grown up women) insulting each other in a commercial taxi. The taxi driver is unhappy about the quarrel and says Usathane ungenile - Satan is here/entered. A concerned passenger intervenes by saying Fuze ngabe tinina enikhuza izingane kodwa manje nenzanje - you are supposed to be ones who guide the children, but you are doing this. Another concerned passenger also tries to settle the fight and says Akesithandazane - let us pray. However, the fight continues and below are excerpts of the invectives:

First insulter: Fusegi ngquza - Fuck off, you pussy".

Second insulter: Wena sfebe ngzohibamba - You bitch, I will catch you.

First insulter: Wena thula nje sekwehla sibhebhanane - You just shut up, we will fuck each other.

Second insulter: Kwagugawena kwafresh unyoko - You are old, but your mother is fresh.

First insulter: Njengoba unobuso obungaka nje ngathi ididi lika Mandela - You have a big face as though it is Mandela's ass.

Second insulter: Ushiswa yigolo lakho slima ndini - Your pussy is burning you, stupid.

This goes on and on till one of the participants brings in religion:
Ngiyawakholwa - I am a believer.

But the reference to religion triggers more invectives:

Uyilehlobo ekholwa ize isangane; nithi nisindisiwe nibe nidliwa oskhotheni hobos nangu usathane okholiwebo - You, a satan believer; you are the type that believes to the point of losing her mind. You say you are saved, yet you are having sex.

The insults continue:

Uthuka inhlamba... - you are swearing... (and the other replies).

Ngipuze wena stabane ndini hambo shaya indlwabu ngoba uba tshiwe awathengwanga yini amgwaqeni?; - I took it from you, you lesbian; go and masturbate because you are on. Did they not buy you on the road?

Ngizo kazamela abantu gbazohuhlaba - I will organize people to fuck you.
The other also replies uzogximfunyolo - you will beat your mother.

Again, the first one said ubolile - you are rotten while the second replies that kubole unyoko - your mother is rotten.

4.1.3 Field of Discourse

The field of discourse is clear. Insults are hurled at each other by passengers' quarelling in a taxi.

4.1.4 Tenor of Discourse

The tenor derives naturally from the arena. The participants are quarelling and find it difficult to keep daily norms of decency in discourse. The informal and tense

situation reveals the role played by the participants. The insults are vulgar. The social context and psychological context are evidently depicted. The insults reveal an apparent similarity of status and background cultural beliefs. Some of the insulting words are fuck off, you pussy, bitch, shut up, you have a big face as though it is Mandela's ass and stupid.

4.1.5 Mode of Discourse

The mode of discourse is spoken language with the main actors (insulters) condemning each other. Some of the participants (e.g. driver) try to play a conciliatory role by appealing to the sense of reason of the insulters.

4.1.6 Yoruba Insults: Co-wives chanted insults

Below is a co-wife's invectives derived from folktales.

Ìyáálé:	Ó mọ mi lójú Kò bá mi wí Sọbọrọ mi ló n wò Ó mọ mi lójú Kò bá mi wí
Ègbè:	Ò mọ mi lójú Kò bá mi wí Sọbọrọ mi ló n wò Sọbọrọ mi ló n wò Ó mọ mi lójú Kò bá mi wí
Ìyàwó:	Mójúmójú kan ò bá mi wí Èjìkà rẹ ló n yẹwò Mójúmójú kan ò bá mi wí
Ègbè:	Èjìkà rẹ ló n yẹwò Èjìkà rẹ ló n yẹwò Mójúmójú kan ò bá mi wí
Ìyáálé:	O ó padà síbi o ti kọkọ o O ó padà síbi o ti kọkọ o Wíwò hòrò tí o n wò yíí Ilé lo fẹ tú
Ègbè:	O ó padà síbi o ti kọkọ O ó padà síbi o ti kọkọ o O ó padà síbi o ti kọkọ

Wíwò hòrò tí o n wò yíí
 Ilé lo fẹ́ tú
 O ó padà síbí o ti kọkọ
 Ìyàwó: Ó ri bíi pápánsùkù afóyánrin
 Ó ri bíi pápánsùkù afóyánrin
 Torí pé mo fọkọ rẹ ló dìjà
 Ègbè: Ó ri bíi pápánsùkù afóyánrin
 Ó ri bíi pápánsùkù afóyánrin
 Torí pé mo fọkọ rẹ ló dìjà
 Ó ri bíi pápánsùkù afóyánrin
 Ìyáálé: Ìyàwó mi, bọ bàtà sílẹ́ máa lọ
 Ìyàwó mi, bọ bàtà sílẹ́ máa lọ
 Pètẹ́ ẹsẹ́ bí a n làlùbọ́ alágídí
 Ìyàwó mi, bọ bàtà sílẹ́ o máa lọ
 Ìyàwó: Àtẹ̀lesẹ̀ pẹ̀lẹ̀nbẹ̀
 Àtẹ̀lesẹ̀ pẹ̀lẹ̀nbẹ̀
 Níbo ni pẹ̀pẹ̀pẹ̀ n fàyà rálẹ̀ lọ
 Ègbè: Àtẹ̀lesẹ̀ pẹ̀lẹ̀nbẹ̀
 Àtẹ̀lesẹ̀ pẹ̀lẹ̀nbẹ̀
 Níbo ni pẹ̀pẹ̀pẹ̀ n fàyà rálẹ̀ lọ
 Àtẹ̀lesẹ̀ pẹ̀lẹ̀nbẹ̀
 Ìyáálé: Pẹ̀lẹ̀bẹ̀bẹ̀ ẹsẹ̀
 Pẹ̀lẹ̀bẹ̀bẹ̀ ẹsẹ̀
 Níbo ni pẹ̀pẹ̀pẹ̀ n bọ wá
 Pẹ̀lẹ̀bẹ̀bẹ̀ ẹsẹ̀
 Ègbè: Pẹ̀lẹ̀bẹ̀bẹ̀ ẹsẹ̀
 Pẹ̀lẹ̀bẹ̀bẹ̀ ẹsẹ̀
 Níbo ni pẹ̀pẹ̀pẹ̀ n bọ wá
 Pẹ̀lẹ̀bẹ̀bẹ̀ ẹsẹ̀
 Ìyàwó: A bẹnu kòndú bí ẹnifí sígá ránşẹ́
 Èjìkà gègèrè bí ẹrù kọ pètẹ́ẹ̀sì
 Ojúgun réderéde bí ẹnì dirù sí tasín
 Ègbè: Bì ẹnì dẹrù sí tasín
 Bì ẹnì dẹrù sí tasín
 Ojúgun réderéde bí ẹnì dirù sí tasín
 Ìyáálé: Ajímọ́rorín aya wa o
 Ajímọ́rorín aya wa
 Ète bí à rí lọ lùbọ́
 Iwájú rẹ́ rí gbádági
 Ègbè: Ajímọ́rorín aya wa o
 Ajímọ́rorín aya wa

Ète bí à rí ọ̀ lùbọ̀
Ajímọ̀rorín aya wa
Ìyàwó: Ó ẹ̀ Ọ̀yáálé ọ̀ jẹ̀ n bú o
Ó ẹ̀ Ọ̀yáálé ọ̀ jẹ̀ n bú o
Ó ẹ̀mọ̀ kékeré o ẹ̀rù sáyà
Ìyàwó ọ̀ lásọ̀ méjì kò tó relé ọ̀kọ̀
Àfi tami d̀nù d̀dú yang̀n
Ègbè: Tami d̀nù d̀dú yang̀n
Ìyáálé tami d̀nù d̀dú yang̀n
Ìyáálé tami d̀nù d̀dú yang̀n
Ìyáálé: Abanijé, kí ni mo ẹ̀?
Abanijé, kí ni mo ẹ̀?
Ègbè: Abanijé kí ni mo ẹ̀?
Abanijé, kí ni mo ẹ̀?
O sì n ẹ̀ mí ọ̀ n gbà mí
Abanijé kí ni mo ẹ̀?
Ìyàwó: Bó di búnbú
Mo lè búgi kó wówé o
Bó di búnbú
Mo lè búgi kó wówé
Mo lè bá wọ̀n bú were
Kó wọ̀gbó ọ̀
Kóníwèrèkó mú were so
Bó di búnbú
Mo lè búgi kó wówé
Ègbè: Bó di búnbú
Mo lè búgi kó wówé
Bó di búnbú
Mo lè búgi kó wówé
Mo lè bá wọ̀n bú were
Kó wọ̀gbó ọ̀
Kóníwèrèkó mú were so
Bó di búnbú
Ìyáálé: Tínrín imú bi ọ̀pó iná
Tínrín imú bi ọ̀pó iná
Àbùkù kan aláşejù
Tínrín imú bí ọ̀pó iná
Ègbè: Tínrín imú bí ọ̀pó iná
Àbùkù kan aláşejù
Àbùkù kan aláşejù
Tínrín imú bí ọ̀pó iná
Ìyàwó: Kò le bú mi, kórí ó wú o éè
Kò le bú mi, kórí ó wú

Èyí tó ʃe pónbù lẹnu bî kẹ̀kẹ̀
 Ó ʃẹ́sí láyà bí ò̀ròmodiẹ̀
 Kò le bú mi, kórí ó wú
 Ègbè: Kò le bú mi, kórí ó wú o è é è
 Kò le bú mi, kórí ó wú
 Ó ʃe pónbù lẹnu bî kẹ̀kẹ̀
 Ó ʃẹ́sí láyà bí ò̀ròmodiẹ̀
 Kò le bú mi, kórí ó wú
 Ìyáálé: O fi sányán gbake
 À ló fi sányán gbake
 Òpònú bogún iyá è jẹ̀
 O fi sányán gbake
 Ègbè: O fi sányán gbake
 À ló fi sányán gbake
 O fi sányán gbake
 Epo tútù ni ó lo
 Àkùko gàgàrà tó n be níle yi,
 Epo tútù ni o gbe lo

Translation

Senior wife: She looks at me in askance
 It does not affect me
 She looks at my unmarked face
 It does not affect me
 Chorus: She looks at me in askance
 It does not affect me
 She looks at my unmarked face
 She looks at me in askance
 It does not affect me
 Junior wife: The one who looks at others in askance does not affect me
 She is only looking at her shoulders
 The one who looks at others in askance does not affect me
 Chorus: She is looking at her shoulders; she is looking at her shoulders
 The one who looks at others in askance does not affect me
 Senior wife: You will go back to your former husband
 You will go back to your former husband
 The way you are looking like a home breaker
 You want to scatter the house
 You will go back to your former husband
 Chorus: (The stanza is repeated in chorus)
 Junior wife: She looks like dry chaff
 She looks like dry chaff

My friendship with her husband is the reason for the feud
 She looks like dry chaff

Senior wife: My wife, drop your shoes and go away
 My wife, drop your shoes and go away
 Flat-footed as one making yam flour for a stubborn person
 My wife, drop your shoes and go away

Chorus: (The stanza is repeated in chorus)

Junior wife: A thin-footed person
 A thin-footed person
 Where is the duck going with her large chest?
 A thin-footed person

Chorus: (The stanza is repeated in chorus)

Senior wife: Flat-footed leg Flat-footed leg
 Where is the duck coming to?
 Flat-footed leg

Chorus: (The stanza is repeated in chorus)

Junior wife: Her mouth is big and thick like sending a cigarette
 Her shoulder is high like a storey building meant for loads
 Awkward leg as a loaded taxi - cab

Chorus: Like a loaded taxi; like a loaded taxi
 Awkward leg as a loaded taxi - cab

Senior wife: Our wife that wakes up without brushing her teeth
 Our wife that wakes up without brushing her teeth
 With big lips useful for grinding yam flour
 Her front head is annoyingly flat

Chorus: (The stanza is repeated in chorus)

Junior wife: Thank you, senior wife, I will not insult you
 Thank you, senior wife, I will not insult you
 She is smallish but with heavy load on the chest
 She married without having up to two garments
 Except a faded black cloth which is beyond washing

Chorus: A- beyond- washing- faded- cloth
 My senior wife, A- beyond- washing- faded- cloth
 My senior wife, A- beyond- washing- faded- cloth

Senior Wife: Slanderer, what have I done?
 Slanderer, what have I done?
 You are doing evil as if you are helping me

Chorus: (The stanza is repeated in chorus)

Junior Wife: If it comes to insults
 I can insult a tree and it will wither If it comes to insults
 I can insult a tree and it will wither I can insult a lunatic
 She will enter the bush
 Let the owner of a mad person, tie her down

If it comes to insults
 I can insult a tree and it will wither
 Chorus: (The stanza is repeated in chorus)
 Senior Wife: Very long thin nose like electric pole
 Very long thin nose like electric pole
 The proud is a victim of insults
 The proud is a victim of insults
 Very long thin nose like electric pole
 Chorus: (The stanza is repeated in chorus)
 Junior Wife: Her insult cannot move me
 Her insult cannot move me
 With a big mouth like bicycle pump
 With a tiny breast like a day old chick
 Her insult cannot move me
 Chorus: (The stanza is repeated in chorus)
 Senior Wife: She exchanges sanvan cloth with plastic
 She exchanges sanvan cloth with plastic
 A confused - minded person destroys the heritage of her mother
 She exchanges sanvan cloth with plastic

4.1.7 Field of Discourse

The field of discourse is accusative on the part of the first wife (Ìyáálé) and defensive on the part of Ìyàwó (the younger wife). The field of discourse is co-wives' insult; it encapsulates co-wives rivalry and quarrels. The first wife is "Iyaale", meaning literally the mother of the house or home. She expresses her displeasure at seeing "Ìyàwó" (wife) who is the junior wife. She calls her a home breaker who will go back to her former husband.

4.1.8 Tenor of Discourse

The relationship between the two wives is polarized. Considering the field of discourse espoused in the folktale song, the corresponding tenor of discourse is predictable. Both wives use accusative and insulting tone and language. The invectives are numerous: "she looks like dry chaff", "her head is annoyingly flat", etc. The participants' social relations in the lines indicate rivalry.

4.1.9 Mode of Discourse

The channel is spoken (oral language), the symbolic organizations shows short witty lines and poetic devices like metaphorical expressions.

The example of the song quoted above is between co-wives. Co-wives are usually engaged in invective songs. In songs, moral, mental and physical attributes of the participants are used as features of insults. The two singers point to parts of their bodies. Face, nose, lips, legs, shoulder, breasts, front head, feet, mouth and chest are likened to inanimate objects to hurt the person. The use of language in insult contains similes, metaphors, repetitions, irony, imagery and rhetorical question among others.

Examples of simile: "Shoulder like a storey-building"
a big mouth like a bicycle pump

Example of metaphor: Where is the duck going with her large feet?

The allusion to the wife as "duck" is a metaphor, while the entire insult is a rhetorical question. The wordplay poetic device in the insults is a mirror of the intensity and seriousness of the insults. The insulters carefully select words that will provoke each other and repeat them to ensure pronounced effect.

Invectives of these kinds are characterized by obscenity, dirty words, and coarse jesting, rudeness, licentiousness, unrefined humorous words. The invectives are humorously vulgar with sexual connotation. The Yoruba moral and speech codes do not approve of vulgar, filthy, sexual and obscene language in day-to-day social interactions. The genitalia and sexuality matters are considered too sacred to be openly discussed. However, these are invectives used during some festivals. The insults are meant to correct the anti-social behavior of identified people. They have "a social control mechanism" (Adeyemi 2014, Fadipe 1991). The annual Òkè Bádàn festival (Ibadan) and òrògbò festival (Èrìnmòpé Ekiti) and òpèlú in Owé allow ribald sexual vocalizations and demonstrations graphically with props

in the form of modeled genitalia. This provides the people with a luminal space for otherwise forbidden performances and interlude to recharge their ability to face again their regulated lives. Ribald language is also common among Èsà, ijálá and Èfè chanters and modern comedians who use ribald language as aesthetics of entertainment and medium of satire.

Data were collected mainly through interviews and the responses from the respondents are presented below. To simplify the collected data, the findings have been grouped in a taxonomical classification. Typologies are drawn up to represent the gathered facts. The ideas of the consulted respondents are thoroughly summarized and explained under these typologies. The classifications are broadened to encapsulate Bariki's (2009) classifications and are analysed.

4.2 NON-CONTEXTUALISED INVECTIVES: PRESENTATION OF DATA ANALYSIS ACCORDING TO TYPOLOGIES

The typologies of invectives derived are racial/tribal, dehumanization, sexotypes and physical traits. Others are moral/personality, filial, political, social, status, gender, power, proverbial and misc-solidarity invectives. Sign invectives are portrayed through the use of diagrams in line with the semiotics section of the thesis. In total, fourteen types are examined and compared within the two languages under study.

The analyses of these invectives are done using three different premises. The examples analysed are not considered to be "invectives" until at least one of the following premises is met: culturally-specific, context-dependent and humanly-determined. This is represented in the following diagram.

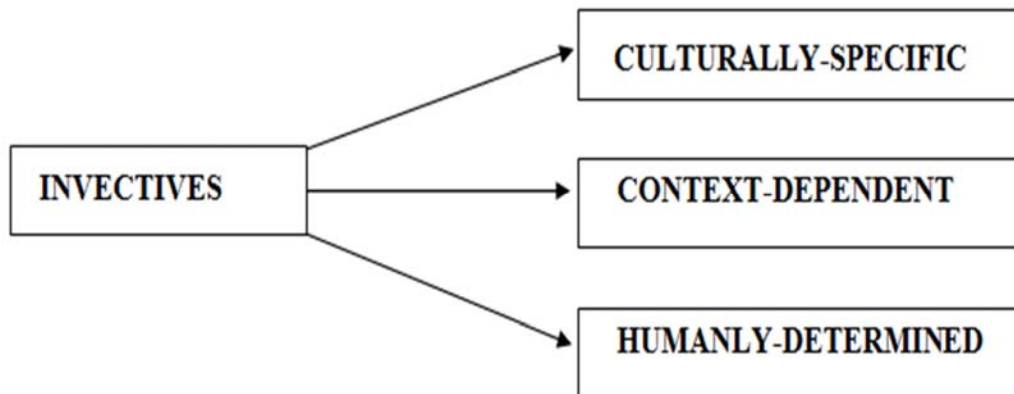


Figure 3: Premises for invectives analysis

These premises are drawn from Kodah's (2012) guide to study invectives within the society. He based his study on the particular notion that invectives have a large influence on the psychology and socio-political strife of human lives. Culture and human ego play a large role in the use of invectives. Oloruntoba-Oju (1998) coupled with the central theme of the theoretical framework which is socially-based informed the necessity to attempt the analysis in this work by using the three identified premises. Being culturally-specific ascertains that these invectives are perceived as such only because the culture specifies it to be so. Being context-dependent indicates that these invectives are only seen as such depending on the circumstances that form the setting or statement. Humanly-determined means that the invectives could be ordinarily innocuous but may be viewed by some people as offensive. Presented below are the analyses of the examples of insulting words in the two languages.

The data were collected through a variety of means: secondary data (confirmed or reinforced through observation), observations and interviews; structured and unstructured, while we had a good idea of Bariki's typologies of insult. Our main

reason for using them in this study was to confirm to what extent these typologies were applicable to insults in the two languages.

4.2.1 Ethnophaulism

A morphological dissection of ethnophaulism gives ethno- and phaulism. “Ethno”- captures the idea of ethnicity and “phaulism” which is derived from the Greek word “φουλιζειν” means to vilify, be unjust or bad. Ethnophaulism is concerned with an ethnic or racial. It makes mockery of some identifiable features of a racial or ethnic group being derided. For instance, "nigger", an offensive word for those of African ancestry, refers to their black skin. Ethnophaulism can either be inter-ethnic/racial or intra-ethnic/racial depending on the intended recipient. According to Palmore (1962:442), racial or ethnic groups coin derogatory terms and sayings to refer to other groups. They are ethnic group’s derogatory nicknames for another. He further notes that all racial groups make use of ethnophaulisms to refer to other groups, and it is evident that there is no known group which does not use ethnophaulism.

Given the universal nature of ethnophaulisms, it is not surprising that they exist also in isiZulu and Yoruba. A few examples are examined hereafter.

4.2.1.1 IsiZulu Examples

Igxagxa: An isiZulu derogatory word for white people, igxagxa means “white trash” or “white ugly and old”. It is used to create an impression that white people easily look older than their age and they mostly look ugly. The white people are considered to have fallen between two cultures for no purpose. This example is interracial.

Ikula: The Indians were referred to as “Ikula” to mean “thing”. As for Ikula, it is argued that it comes from the word "coolie" which means unskilled labourer, especially people from Asia. The Indians were sources of cheap and forced

labour. This contemptuous word is considered to have come into place during the war that took place between the Indians and the black people years ago. During this war, the Indians ran into hiding, and when they were found in the hiding places, they are referred to as “this is the thing”. The Indians who understand the word still consider it to be a very derogatory term.

Impondo: Zulu people use this word to refer to the Xhosas. Impondo is considered to be a sub-tribe of the Xhosas and by implication, there are many other Xhosas that are not Impondos. A general attempt by a Zulu person to refer to any Xhosa as Impondo may be an invitation to wrath.

Ibhunu: Ibhunu is targeted at the Afrikaans and the white people in South Africa. The Afrikaans prefer to be called Afrikaans rather than this isiZulu terminology. The word paints a picture of wickedness, brutality and callousness.

Inzule: The word means “the person is too much of a Zulu”. This is an intra-tribal stereotype typifying to a Zulu that is considered “local”. The person is not civilized and lacks exposure. The person portrays no sign of linguistic finesse. The word is an insult on the personality.

4.2.1.2 Yoruba Examples

Mólà: Yorubas use this word (mólà) to mean “animals” in many contexts. This is a word used by the Yorubas in Nigeria to insult their counterparts from the Northern part of Nigeria popularly referred to as the Hausas. This example is intra-racial in the sense that both ethnic groups (Hausas and Yorubas) are from the black race. Thus, the word directly inveighs on the personality of these Northerners.

Ìjèbù/Ìjèshà: Ìjèbù and Ìjèshà are clans from the Yoruba ethnic group. Calling the Ìjèbùs and Ìjèshàs with the name of their clans becomes derogatory depending on the contexts. The Ìjèbùs are considered to be greedy and miserly and can go

to any length to get money. They are also believed to possess destructive charms for nefarious purposes.

Akátá: This is mostly translated as “panther” or “wild-oats” or “medicinal herbs”. It is an inter-racial slur that targets African-Americans generally. It is the Yoruba term for African-Americans to mean ancestors of slaves or cotton-picker.

Almajiri: This term refers to Hausas as people who live from hand to mouth. They are classified as beggars with no good source of income. The bias leading to this stereotype was motivated by the preponderance of Hausa beggars in the street. The word is not originally a Yoruba word but borrowed from Arabic language.

4.2.1.3 Conclusion

Racial or ethnic slurs and stereotypes are a universal phenomenon. The examples treated in the two languages are the result gathered in the course of this research. The examples presented above in the two languages were gathered during the course of this research project. This in essence shows that these two tribal groups have portrayed similarities in referring to other people from different races or tribal groups. Bariki (2009) had earlier used the word to portray racial/ethnic slurs where he gave example of “sale” or “Macaque” which are used to insult Arabs in French language.

The examined words can be inferred in relation to a possible tenor of discourse, i.e. social relations involving speakers of the two ethnic groups – Zulu and Yoruba. The social relations between the participants, that is the two African groups and their neighbours may experience unpleasant moments. The semantic domain in the words reveals the peculiar relations that can be traced to a social context.

4.2.2 Dehumanization (Animalization and Objectification)

Dehumanization explains the rebuttal of "humanness" to other people. This majorly occurs in two forms, viz: animalization and objectification. In animalization, features of animals are given to persons. This act projects people as lacking the normal human features. The recipient of this type of invective is considered to be endowed with animal tributes. The human personality or person is thus degraded. Physical and personal features are stereotypically attributed to a human being. The attributes are often arbitrary and have a cultural bias or preference. The tributes are used as a form of mockery and have no scientific basis e.g. calling a black man a monkey. Most of these features often occur through the use of simile or metaphor. For instance, words like "as" and "like" are used to do the comparison between a person and an animal. Animals connote different qualities in different languages. Some connotations are positive, while others are not. For instance, the English people call the French "froggie" just because the latter eat frog.

Objectification, on the other hand, is concerned with associating people with objects. As such, a person is regarded as not totally human. The insulted person here is likened to a non-living object, and again, the features used are primarily arbitrary even though there may be a particular distinctive feature. For instance, comparing an extremely tall person to an electric pole, or a very brave person to a lion are typical examples. Electric pole depicts negative physical features, but "brave" is a positive trait characterization.

4.2.2.1 IsiZulu Examples

Inja: This word translated as a dog could also mean "eating other people's rubbish". In the Zulu culture, a dog is categorized as being very greedy. A "dog" tries to acquire everything it sees: money, food, etc. So, in cases where a person is believed to have this character trait, the person is referred to as a dog.

Inyoka: In the Zulu culture, “Inyoka” means a snake. The Zulu environment has now shifted the meaning in certain contexts to mean a backbiter. A backbiter is a person who speaks spitefully and slanderously about other people. “Inyokas” have the reputation of attacking others through the act of defamation of character. Snakes are wild and their venom can cause the death to humans and animals. The backbiter is thus seen metaphorically as a snake whose venom can cause death.

Inkawu: Used in derogatory reference to albino, inkawu is translated as “monkey” in isiZulu. The reason for its stereotypical reference to albinos is still quite uncertain but there is a thin link between albinos and monkeys. Monkeys are believed to have dull colours and are shortsighted and often squeeze their faces to enable the eyes have power for long distance sight. This feature of monkeys seems to corroborate why albinos are referred to as monkeys.

Ingulube: Ingulube just like “elédè” in the Yoruba language is referred to as pig which is also associated with dirt and filth. The victim of this sort of dehumanizing invective is considered to be disgustingly dirty. This dirtiness ranges from human hygiene (taking bath, brushing, etc.), to dressing or even manners. Thus “ingulube” portrays both physical and moral traits in a very negative way.

Ikhanda lakho limise okukajeqe: Here, this sentential example means “your head is like home-made steam bread” and which is also an example of objectification. It portrays the victim as having a badly-shaped head which has been moulded wrongly. The home-made steam bread can be moulded to any shape depending on the type of bowl used in the moulding. Generally, this invective applies to people with big heads.

4.2.2.2 Yoruba Examples

Ajá: Ajá means dog in Yoruba language and connotes promiscuity with particular reference to women. A woman that engages in adultery and fornication is seen

as a dog. Yoruba society frowns at promiscuity and uses this animalization to drive home its moral values. This is an evidence of animalization in the language. This is very much unlike the English culture where a dog is considered to be a valuable pet within the house.

Elédè: Elédè is translated as pig in English language. In the Yoruba environment, pig is characterized as the most dirty and filthy. This animal drinks dirty water and rub its body with dirty water. This explains the aversion of Yorubas to this insult. This animalization is a perfect equivalent of the isiZulu *ingulube*.

Ewúré: In Yoruba, “ewúré” means goat and is seen as the most stubborn animal. Stubborn and troublesome people are referred to as goats.

Enu e bí enu eye: This is translated as “your mouth looks like that of a parrot”. This is animalization emanating from the use of simile which is a figurative expression. It is a full sentence invective. “Enu” means “mouth”, “e” is a pronoun in Yoruba meaning “you”, “bí” means “like” while “eye” means “bird (parrot)”. The victims are compared to parrots because parrots always make sounds. It is implied that the person referred to is talkative and loquacious. The victim is seen as a busy body.

Orí e bí ibépe: This example of objectification means “your head is like pawpaw”. It is also a full sentence invective. “Orí” means head, “e” as “you”, “bí” means “like” and “ibépe” as “pawpaw”. The person’s head is likened to a pawpaw to capture the idea that he/she has a big but shapeless head.

As can be seen in the Yoruba folktale songs, parts of the human body are often targeted during insults. No part of the body is “indemnified” from insults. The head, eyes and legs appear however to be “favoured” in insults.

Wo ojú è bí ojú òwìwí
Orí è ò dára!
Orí e bàjé!

Orí e ò pé!
(Bariki, 2009:39)

Translation

Look at your eyes like owl's (bird) eye
Your head is not correct
Your head is spoilt
Your head is malfunctioning

4.2.2.3 Conclusion

Dehumanization is also very present in the two languages. It is used for the purposes of mockery and humour. Dehumanization can be likened to Kodah's (2012) descriptive invective which he sees as an explicit comparative description. It occurs when a person or person's behavioural trait is likened to that of an animal or things. Given the arbitrary nature of the stereotypes, the words (animals and objects) are appreciated differently by different cultures. Evidence of linguistic relativity abound in the use of animals. For instance, dogs in the English culture are not seen as promiscuous but rather as close pets (friends) and in a nutshell, the connotations are culture-bound. It is also imperative to observe that the insults take different linguistic forms: metaphors, similes and full sentences.

4.2.3 Sexotypes

Sexotypes are basically concerned with the male and female genitalia and their functions and society's perceptions of their use. They are naturally related to gender stereotypes. Elements of promiscuity, adultery and fornication all come into play under this type. Examples in English are: cum eater, doo-doo chaser, gay ass, lesbo, scrotum licking bastard, etc.

4.2.3.1 IsiZulu Examples

Isifebe: Isifebe is directly translated as a bitch, animalizing the female specie. This is a highly pejorative term for a person especially a female that is seen as unreasonable, malicious, a control freak, or rudely intrusive. The vulgar word is to insult women believed to have high sexual desire that is comparable to that of

a dog. According to Luvono (2004:23), a woman who has more than one boyfriend is called *isifebe*... (however) a man who has more than one girlfriend is referred to as “*isoka*”, a Zulu name which is a compliment to the behaviour of a man”. Other words that denigrate women are *iyamba* (barren woman), *isimelindwa* (a woman who sleeps around). As pointed out by Luvono, there are no corresponding equivalents for men.

Unondindwa: This word shares the same features with “*isifebe*” but is maybe less provocative. *Isifebe* portrays a woman as a whore. However, *unodindwa* only portrays an adulterer. It indicates a woman with multiple sexual partners. The cultural implication connotes that the Zulu society frowns at women committing adultery.

Umfaba: This means an impotent person, a man who suffers from erectile dysfunction and therefore incapable of having sex.

Mdidi: *Mdidi* means anus, the orifice used to fart and defecate.

4.2.3.2 Yoruba Examples

Óti fi abé jóná: This can be translated as “you have burnt/wasted your sexual organ”. It is a filial invective used metaphorically to mean that the insulted person’s offspring is useless. It is used in cases when a child does not add any value to the family, the child is just considered as the black-sheep of the family. An equivalent of the meaning portrayed here in isiZulu language is “*ukubola amathumbu*” which means “rotten intestine” for parents with “useless’ children. The insulting isiZulu is filial but no sexist language is implied due to the reference to the intestine.

Olóbo wèrèpè: This can be translated as “the owner of a vagina that does not rest” – an invective used for harlots or whores. It literally means the “vagina of a girl is infected with *wèrèpè*, i.e. a kind of plant that causes itching.

Anímásahun: This is satirically used and it means a “free-giver”. In this sense, it means a woman who exercises no sexual control or discrimination. She freely and readily “gives” or “donates” to even a person that has not asked for it.

Apèrè ajádi: This is literally translated as a “basket without an underneath”. Connotatively, this means the basket has been overused by everyone to the extent that it has no value again. It is also used for promiscuous women who show no “class” restraint in sexual matters.

Òkóbó: This word is translated as “impotent” (abnormally unable to achieve an erection or orgasm). This in the Yoruba culture is used for a man who lacks libido. This is a highly derogatory word. Such a person is an object of ridicule in the Yoruba society.

In Yoruba, direct reference to the sexual organs is not common despite the examples given above. The direct reference to the organs therefore portrays the pungency desired by the speaker in a particular context. To capture a general attitude towards direct reference to these organs, Ajiboye (in Bariki 2010b:217) says the following about Yoruba:

Yoruba language has an interesting way of preserving morality as conceived for centuries. It distinguishes between overt and crude moral reference through manipulation of language forms. As a convenient façade for shielding speech from censure, language passes from speech plan to metaphorical, from prosaic to poetic, from direct expressions to circumlocution. In Yoruba out of sheer sense of decency, people hardly refer to certain sexual phenomenon except in very special and roughly outlined circumstances.

One of the very special circumstances permitted by the culture is when there is need to make strong impact through insult. It should, however be observed that modernization and the use of English have contributed to a greater direct reference to the genitalia.

4.2.3.3 Conclusion

The examples show the similar traditional patriarchal values and gender stereotypes in the two societies. The two societies frown more at devalued female values than those of men. Men indulging in premarital or extra-marital sex are admired in many instances for exercising their manhood and manliness. Women who do the same thing are seen to be debasing their culture.

4.2.4 Physical Invectives

Physical invectives capture the easily noticed physical traits of humans. The invectives have to do with the victim's physical features, dress habits or body accessories. These insults are based on physical actions or attributes that are connected with a person's body. They are related with the outer body as opposed to the spirit or the mind.

4.2.4.1 IsiZulu Examples

Tikoloshe: In Zulu mythology, this word means a "dwarf-like" water spirit that is known for engaging in witchcraft for destructive reasons. The spirit is believed to be mischievous and completely evil. Because of the short size of the spirit, dwarfs or naturally short persons are referred negatively to as "tikoloshe".

Inxuge: This word connotes a disabled person who limps. The victim has difficulty in walking due to a damaged or stiff leg.

Indlobho: The literal meaning of this word is "one-eyed person". The insult portrays the one-eyed man as being incapable of seeing very well due to the challenge he/she faces.

Isishawa: Isishawa is derogatorily used to refer to albinos. The victims here have their skin and hair all white in a way that is basically different from others. The

physical difference is viewed from a negative perspective and is used as an invective. The word implies that albinos are victims of God's punishment.

Magwala ubhavu: These words refer to people that have a high percentage of calories in them. In other words, the example is used for fat people. It indicates that they are so fat that they can fill a bathtub up with their size. Taxi drivers often use the word when a big passenger exhausts the spaces of their seats.

4.2.4.2 Yoruba Examples

Kùkùtè: This word refers to a tree that has been cut down but still retains its lower part. Basically, the tree cannot grow again. The targets of this stereotype are compared to dwarfs who have obtained their growth limit.

Òpó iná: Translated literally as "electric pole", the words are used as a direct opposite to "kùkùtè" to refer to a very tall person.

Aro: This is a term used for the disabled ones (arms or legs). Even though these disabled persons already know their disability, they still do not want to be referred to as being disabled because this is a very derogatory word to use for them. There are other non-derogatory ways by which they could be referred to without creating an offense.

Afójú: This word which means "the blind one" is a very disparaging term to use for visually-impaired people. The visually impaired ones do not take kindly to such a reference and would say that blindness is not their choice.

Órí bí ìgbálè: A simile and a sentential invective, the words liken the looks of the recipient to a "stick of broom". The example is used for slim or slender people, but it does not go with the positive connotation of slender. The person is considered to be skinny.

4.2.4.3 Conclusion

Physical invectives here have been analysed according to the evidences gathered from the isiZulu and Yoruba native speakers. These invectives are generally very offensive to the recipients who are in the position of being mocked by the society.

From a linguistic perspective, the examples alluded to are sentential, adjectival or nominal. Some are simile while others are metaphors. There are numerous examples of cross-cultural similarities.

4.2.5 Moral/Personality Invectives

Moral/personality invectives have to do with the intellectual standard of a person. Each society has its norms and cherished values which are not meant to be breached. These moral values are sometimes culture-specific. They commonly occur in power relations; in that case, there are certain behaviours expected of a young person in his/her relationship with an elderly person. Also, behaviours from a worker to the boss are a good example of sources of moral/personality invectives. This type of invective can also be exercised through power relations. Power relation argues for dominance and submission i.e. some are dominant over others and have certain control over the dominated ones. By virtue of this, the subordinate ones need to be submissive to their superiors.

4.2.5.1 IsiZulu Examples

Ihlongandlebe: The example here makes allusion to an immoral and disrespectful person. The victim here is considered to be very wayward and difficult to control. The target has perverse behavioural traits which are attributed to his/her background.

Isimukanandwendwe: In Zulu culture, this is a term used to refer to ladies who are seen around with males. She hardly keeps the company of females. She is

more at home with different males mostly for the purpose of sexual intimacy. The example here connotes a woman who lacks moral values due to the absence of home training. The Zulu community regards such a lady as demeaning herself. The cultural implication is that the victim lacks adequate training from the parents who should have taught her to preserve her dignity.

Indodana yolahleko: This example connotes a prodigal son which is generalized for anybody that is prodigal in nature. In this example, son is implied but when the prodigal nature refers to ladies, “Indodakazi yolahleko” is used to mean a prodigal daughter. The words are used for wasteful children with a penchant for hedonistic values. The Zulu culture’s perception of a prodigal son can be perceived to be a replica of the biblical prodigal son who squandered his father’s money.

Isilima: Isilima is translated as a fool, a person who acts very unwisely. This example showcases the victim as being silly and stupid and devoid of sound judgment and sense.

4.2.5.2 Yoruba Examples

Alàilékó ilé: It means the recipient lacks home moral values to behave appropriately in the society. This is a very derogatory term to use for someone in the Yoruba environment. The recipient’s lack of these values is attributed to his/her home. For instance, a male child is supposed to greet elderly ones by prostrating as a sign of respect. If he does not do that, it is assumed that the child lacks moral values. Moral values are highly esteemed culturally among Yorubas.

Aláinírònú: This means someone who cannot think and do the right thing at the right time. In other words, the victim needs to be spoon-fed to take decisions. This implies that the person was not given proper care and mentoring by the parents when he/she was young. It is solely attributed to the person’s background because whatever one does in the Yoruba environment is accounted for in the

light of his/her home training. Morals are generally culturally-determined behavioural traits that are inculcated in the child by the parents.

Aláraibalè, olóri àrùn: These words can be literally translated as “the weightiest of all diseases is being restless/impatient”. This example portrays a person who is restless and always impatient. This type of person does things out of order and most times is regarded as being abnormal in the society. This person behaves in an extremely unpleasant way and virtually cannot do things in the right order. The societal implication is that the person is left out of community issues and is not reckoned with in decision-making because it is assumed that nothing good comes out of such a person because of his/her repulsive behaviour. Every Yoruba child is expected to have learnt how to behave from home. Bad behaviour is considered to be indicative of the absence of home training. The insult is weighty because the parents too share in the blame.

Adàgbà mádanú: Translated as “an old fool”, the insult refers to an old, yet immature person who behaves in a childish manner. The Yoruba society actually frowns at an old person behaving in an irritating way. There are many other synonyms here such as “òpònú” and “aláìgbón” to show that the society does not condone stupid people. The weakness is often traced to the background provided by the home.

Arungún/àpà: These are literally translated as “inheritance squanderers”. They could also mean a prodigal person. The society presents these persons as highly irresponsible. The target displays wasteful and extravagant propensity in terms of money, belongings or other materials. The victim does not consider anything worth maintaining. He/she damages material things either consciously or unconsciously to the point of no correction without any reason but for the fact that his/her moral upbringing was very bad. By implication, the child was not taught how to preserve things and maintain valuables.

4.2.5.3 Conclusion

The examples cited show that both Zulu and Yoruba cultures place much premium on good manners and home training. Both societies frown at prodigality.

4.2.6 Filial Invectives

Filial invectives are indirect invectives where the addressee has not done anything bad to warrant the insults. The targeted person is insulted for the misdeeds of a close relation. Filial insults can be traced to physical and negative moral traits of close relations.

4.2.6.1 IsiZulu Examples

Ivezandlebe: This is akin to what Yorubas refer to as an “illegitimate” child, a child born out of wedlock. The recipient is seen as despicable because his/her birth is as a result of immoral sexual behaviour. The “recipient” is being insulted for the deeds or misdeeds of the parents.

Ingane yempumputhe: It is translated as “the child of the blind”. The example is also an equivalent of one of the Yoruba examples. This word is derogatorily used for children whose parents are visually impaired. In Yoruba culture, physically challenged people are not to be addressed in direct reference to their physical impairment. This is a direct contradiction to the Hausas of Nigeria who go to the extent of not only recognizing the deformities, but also by calling them names bearing the nature of the challenge.

Ingane yesithulu: Another equivalent for the Yoruba word that means “the child of the deaf”. A deaf person is a person with partial or full hearing loss. The victim of deafness can be insulted through the child.

Ingane yomgulukudu: This is translated as “the child of a thief”. The Zulu community frowns a lot at thieves and so a child of a renowned thief would not want to be referred to by the deeds of his/her father. The victim is portrayed as associating with someone that steals. Zulu people detest thievery.

Ingane yohlanya: The meaning of this example is “friend of a lunatic”, used in reference to someone who has a friend that is not mentally stable.

4.2.6.2 Yoruba Examples

Omo àlè: This can be literally translated as “an illegitimate child” in what is commonly referred to as a “bastard”. It is the Yoruba equivalent of the Zulu Ivezandlebe. This word is negatively weighty especially when the person concerned truly has no known father. The child considers the use of “omo àlè” as a big insult. Korostelina (2014) also make a case for legitimacy insults and this could also be in line with Korostelina’s idea.

4.2.6.3 Conclusion

Filial invectives as portrayed by the isiZulu and Yoruba examples are mostly parents-children related. A Yoruba child would prefer to be insulted directly rather than associating the insults to their parents. In both languages, filial insults have to do with people considered to be very close to the victim. It is either a family member or a close friend who is referred to. In Yoruba, the mother is often the victim. Most of the examples pointed out here are nominal phrases.

4.2.7 Political Invectives

Political parties are known for hurling political invectives at other political parties. They use harsh words on one another in order to provoke the wrath of other parties. They occur in all phases of politics: in Parliament, during traditional chieftaincy politics, amongst students. Political insults have been in existence for a long time in all languages. It is important to note that some of these insults might not look political at the surface but still they are politically motivated.

4.2.7.1 IsiZulu Examples

Uklova: The word depicts members of the Inkatha Freedom Party as barbaric and non-civilized. Zulu people in the most popular political party of South Africa

which is the African National Congress address the opposition party (Inkatha Freedom Party) using the name. The use of the word has arguably led to fighting in many times. The implied insult is their lack of civilization; their party cannot contribute anything new to the situations of South Africa. Their party would not serve any good purpose because the party is not civilized.

Impimpi/Igundane: Impimpi is a word used by different political parties in the Zulu community to refer to a spy. The word shares almost the same meaning with “Igundane” which literally means a “rat”. It connotes a backstabber in Zulu political setting. The two words are politically motivated. The words depict a person that belongs to a political party who is involved in espionage. Such a person would get facts from the political party and relay it to his or her root party. In political cases, the recipient is deliberately planted in the opposition party in order to get undue advantage over the opposing political party. When the target is eventually caught, he/she is referred to as Impimpi/Igundane. In other instances, even during “labour strikes”, the non-conforming person who goes to work while others are on strike is also referred to as “igundane”.

4.2.7.2 Yoruba Examples

Egbé PDP fé sòjóró ibi: This sentential invective means “the People’s Democratic Party wants to rig elections”. People’s Democratic Party (PDP) was until recently the most successful political party in Nigeria. But recently, the All Progressive Congress (APC) has dislodged PDP from power. Prior to the elections there were claims that People’s Democratic Party attained power through election rigging. This has prompted replies from PDP in the example we have next.

Egbé APC òníkan se: This is also a full sentence example which could be literally translated as “All Progressive Congress party does not have anything to do”. In other words, APC is not a serious party. All Progressive Congress (APC)

is considered to be the direct opposition party to PDP, and when accusations come to PDP, they generally emanate from APC. This serves as a reply to the above example from PDP which means “All Progressive Congress does not have any focus”. This counter-insult is given to show that the then opposition party is only aimed at tarnishing the image of the PDP and not ready to do anything for the citizens.

Àkúkú ijoyè, ó sànjú enu mi ò kálú lo: This is a sentential invective that means “not being in any government is better than being there and making no impact”. This insult is directed at government officials who are mere figure heads. These public figures occupy positions and bear titles, but have no real authority or responsibility.

Aláimòkan-mòkàn ni Jonathan: Yet another sentential example, this insult is translated as “Jonathan knows nothing-nothing”. This is derived from attempts by the former Nigerian president’s opponents to frustrate him by referring to him as being clueless. The then opposition party (APC) believed that a lot of things were going wrong and the president of the country had not done anything to address the situations. The then opposition embarked on personality insult by portraying the president as clueless. The repetition of “mokan” in the insult is meant to stress the degree of cluelessness.

Egbé àwòn olè: Meaning, the “party of thieves”, this is used by parties to insult the ruling party. It is an invective that tries to portray the other party as being populated by self-serving men and women.

Yoruba songs feature very prominently as political insults. Two examples are hereby reproduced and analysed.

Inú igbó lope ngbé (bis)
Enìkan kí kólé adètè sí ìgboro
Inú igbó lope ngbé

Translation

The forest is the natural habitat of the palm tree
No one builds in the town (as it is meant for lepers)
The forest is the natural habitat of the palm tree

This was a popular song of the 1960s sung by members of the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (N.C.N.C.). It was directed at their arch rivals the Action Group (A.G.). The party symbol of the A.G. was the palm tree. The A.G. would retort in an equally metaphorical manner by referring to the symbol of N.C.N.C. which was the cock.

Epo tutu ni o gbe lo (bis)
Akuko gagara t'o n be nile yi
Epo tutu ni o gbe lo (bis)

Translation

It is cold oil that will carry it away (bis)
The gigantic cock in this environment
It is cold oil that will carry it away (bis)

There is a play of words here. Epo tutu which literally means “cold oil” was a deadly disease. The song implied that the A.G. would destroy their opponents the N.C.N.C.

4.2.7.3 Conclusion

Political insults feature in both languages and cultures. The invectives range from inter-party and intra-party levels to individuals. We observed a major difference in the channels of insults: songs are a prominent part of political invectives in Yoruba.

4.2.8 Social Invectives

This type has to deal with the societal perception towards the personality of the recipient. It comprises the views of the community or society regarding a particular person. These views, in most cases, are uniform and are considered to be true because they represent the general perception of the society. These

invectives are informed by the recipient's behaviour which is perceived as inconsistent with the norms of the society.

4.2.8.1 IsiZulu Examples

Uskhotheni: The example here means a "bush person". The recipient has been confined to very local villages and is not exposed to town or city life. By virtue of this fact, certain characteristics considered to be negative are found in them. They exhibit traces of violence in their behaviour. The behaviour they project involve physical force, intention to hurt, damage or kill. The society attributes their violent manners to their upbringing in a rural setting. The victims are likened to wild animals. People with this outlook have a hard time making friends.

Umgulukudu: Umgulukudu means "a hardened criminal", a person who has committed several offences which are punishable by law. The target loses all respect in the society. Because of the nature of the crime, the society would always have a negative perception of the "criminal". Parents do not want their children to be seen in the company of such a person whose influences could be negative. This general perception of the society makes it a social invective. The victim himself/herself would also not feel comfortable in the society again as his/her personality has been dented.

Uhobo/umahlalela/ujikanelanga: These insults mean a "hobo", a migratory worker or homeless vagabond. The target is believed by the society not to have a house. He/she sleeps anywhere and as such lacks the respect of the society. The victim is not associated with a particular family or house and cannot easily be traced back to his/her source. The Zulu society frowns at homeless people because they are likely to be associated with questionable character. It is believed that the hobo has decided to remain homeless so as to perpetrate evil acts in the society.

Uscabha: Translated literally, the word means “a sliding door operator”. Uscabha is a derogatory term used in referring to bus (taxi) conductors in isiZulu language. This word is very insulting to taxi conductors. Zulu taxi conductors feel highly insulted when addressed as uscabha and would not hesitate to engage in a combat.

Umahosha: Umahosha is translated as a “prostitute”. This is a woman who engages in sexual activity for pecuniary gains. The society frowns at the person for putting her abilities to an unworthy use just for the sake of money. The lady involved is deemed to be living below the dignity required of a lady.

4.2.8.2 Yoruba Examples

Eniburúkú: This is literally translated as a “bad person”. The invective is used in addressing a person perceived by the society as having odious behaviour. The recipient does a lot of unspeakable things which make the society lose utmost respect for him/her. He/she is disliked because of his/her nefarious activities and so, people do not want to associate with such person. In the Yoruba society, it is believed that friends of a bad person are actually bad persons themselves. This is akin to the English proverb which says birds of the same feather flock together.

Alábòsí: This can be translated as a “hypocrite” or a “back-biter”. The victim here is perceived by the society to lack the ability of keeping secrets. The decision to divulge secrets of others is borne out of envy of the greatness of others or a simple inability to keep secrets. Alábòsí in the society is considered as very dangerous. Their actions could lead to slander or smack of hypocrisy. When this recipient is confronted with society’s perception of him/her, he/she believes that his/her personality has been inveighed on.

Àjé: This is translated as a “witch”. In some cases, the word is used to describe an inexplicably wicked person. The society assumes that a person is a witch based on certain premises. For example, a childless person or a person who

constantly loses her children may be thought to be a witch. The word is extended to incorporate women with evil magic powers.

Aláròró/olójúkòkòrò: “Alaroro” is a “miser”, while “oljukokoro” is a “greedy person”. The two go hand-in-hand because the Yoruba society believes that a greedy person is bound to be miserly and vice-versa.

Olè/Gbájúè: Olè is a thief and gbájúè is a cheat or fraudster in what is generally referred to as “419” in Nigerian parlance. The two generally go hand in hand. “Oles” and “gbajues” are known for stealing, shop-lifting or using cunning ways to dupe people of their money or property. People who operate in these vices become elements of ridicule in the society. Even thieves do not want to be identified as such.

4.2.8.3 Conclusion

The social invectives here have been portrayed exactly the way the society perceives them and in most cases, they are a reflection of values of the society. The Zulu and Yoruba societies share fairly common norms in matters relating to social invectives.

4.2.9 Status Invectives

Status invectives are based on the social, economic or professional standing of the target. These invectives relate to social positions of the recipients from a negative perspective. The examples in this regard portray a wretchedness that is dehumanizing in some respects.

4.2.9.1 IsiZulu Examples

Isichaka: Isichaka is translated as poor. It depicts a “broke” person having little or no money. The standard or quality of the target’s very low economic status is viewed with pity and sympathy. The victim has poverty written all over him/her.

Where someone lives can easily communicate the economic status of the person. Isichaka is a status invective used by the privileged people on the less privileged. The rich use the word to insult the poor.

Isihlupheki esikhangeza emgwaqweni: This example depicts a beggar, person who lacks sufficient money to live comfortably in the society. They beg people around for money, food, or material things that they can sell in order to fend for themselves. Such persons hardly think of using money for other valuable things. Our research was unsuccessful in getting a word that captures the exact meaning of a beggar in isiZulu and this example is only an explanation of the term “beggar”.

Isigqila: Isigqila is translated as a slave. The invective refers to a person who works so hard for other person’s benefit. The recipient is the legal property of another person and is consequently forced to obey all their commands whether right or wrong. An isigqila is strongly influenced or controlled by someone else. The recipient here does not have his/her own freedom and that has created room for the invective.

Imbungulu: This can be literally translated as a “parasite”. Biologically, a parasite is an organism that lives, feeds, and is sheltered by another organism while virtually contributing nothing to the survival of its host. This feature is transferred to a person who lives by depending on other people to survive. They depend on the rich and so put all their responsibilities on the rich who could be a friend or a family member. When someone refers to the dependant as “Imbungulu”, it has an express purpose to insult.

Ukuceba ngokuthwala: The example here is used in insulting rich people who are thought to have acquired their wealth from illegal means. The victim suddenly becomes rich without a known good source of income. A person perceived by the society to be dealing in illegal things for wealth is referred to as “kuceba ngokuthwala”.

4.2.9.2 Yoruba Examples

Olòsì: This word can be translated as “miserable person”. The person is considered to be wretched in all ramifications. The person is bereft of ideas and is viewed with disrespect and indignity. The recipient is assumed to be miserable and wretched even in intellectual realms and his/her sense of reasoning is beclouded by and in misery.

Tálákà: This means “the poor”. It is used for someone living in abject poverty. This is a very derogatory terminology used by the rich to refer to the less-privileged. The recipients epitomize poverty which is discernible in what they do, wear, eat, etc.

Alágbe: This is literally translated as “a beggar”, a typically homeless person who survives by begging for money or food. No one reckons with such a person because his/her status is extremely low. The level of wretchedness of “alagbe” surpasses that of “tálákà” or “olòsì” i.e. the two examples treated above.

Erú/Ìwòfà: These words mean slave/servant. They are people contracted to do serious work for the rich. In most cases, they are not even paid for their services, they are just given food to survive and make them work better. They are unskilled labourers that dare not go against the will of their bosses. In the Yoruba setting, some of these slaves come from slave families just like the kings come from royal families and these slaves will continue to be slaves. There is a nuance in the two: “erú” are engaged right from time to serve royal and rich families till their freedom while “ìwòfà” are bought with money to work for the rich.

Olówó igbó: “Olówó igbó” can be literally translated as “owner of bush money”. This is an invective targeted at the rich as against the previous ones used for the poor. The word portrays the rich people as amassing wealth through acts of illegality such as cultism, rituals, robbery, drug dealings, etc.

4.2.9.3 Conclusion

Status invectives as portrayed by the examples have indicated that the two cultures under study have more economic status invectives than class status invectives. The societies always show a clear disparity between the rich and the poor. They also value wealth that is legitimately acquired. Ill-gotten wealth is seen as depravity.

4.2.10 Gender Invectives

Gender invectives are associated specifically with the gender of the recipients. They are invectives that are gender-selected as they cannot be used for the opposite sex. The words carry natural gender information. Examples of these in English like: mama's boy, needle-dick, player, etc. are used for males. And grandma, little slut, fucking bitch, virgin are used for females. Gender invectives are closely related to sexism and sexotypes.

4.2.10.1 IsiZulu Examples

Isiyoyoyo: This example depicts a man whose wife beats and controls him. The man in his home does not have any iota of authority to exercise simply because the wife has taken over the authority of the house. At times, the wife even beats the husband up and the man takes responsibilities of domestic works. There is a reversal of traditional roles of authority and discipline. The husband takes over the house-hold chores. The Zulu society frowns seriously at husband's being henpecked. When the roles of the wife and the husband have now been reversed, the man is called "isiyoyoyo".

Wopha ngomlomo: "Wopha ngomlomo" literally means "women have periods underneath but those men have their periods in their mouth". It could also mean "women put their pads underneath but those men put theirs in the mouth". The example here is also basically used for men especially the loquacious ones. In

the Zulu society, loquacity is attached to women, not men. Loquacious men are referred to as “wopha ngomlomo”. Such men are so intrusive as to poke their noses in women matters that do not concern them. This example puts the recipient in the position of a woman.

Umfazi Oyisidwedwe: “Oyisidwedwe” is a “useless cloth”. The degree of pejorative nuance is intensified with the addition of “umfazi” which is a very impolite way of referring to women. “Unkosikazi” is a better way of referring to women. Zulu culture sees an umfazi oyisidwedwe as an immoral or worthless woman who lacks integrity or dignity.

4.2.10.2 Yoruba Examples

Gbèwùdání: This full sentence invective literally means “hold my clothes for me”. Yoruba is basically a patriarchal society. The man is the head of the family. He is the master, boss, commander, and leader of the family and has the sole responsibility of breadwinner for the family. But in situations where the reverse is the case, the man is bound to be subservient to the wife, a situation that runs counter to Yoruba culture. The man in that situation is regarded as “gbèwùdání”; a married man who is supposed to be the commander but instead helps the wife to dress up for occasions and washes her clothes and underwear and so on. This reversal of traditional role presents the man as totally lacking in manliness.

Atèyìntò lásán-lásán: It is literally translated as “an ordinary being that urinates from behind”. This invective is targeted at women. This portrays women as useless in some serious aspects of life. It reduces the value of women. The words are used when a man feels disgusted or humiliated by the fact that a woman wants to surpass him in some activities. A man uses the words to express utmost intolerance to a woman outshining him.

Òdóko: This can be literally translated as “someone that fucks a dick”. Its use is confined to women. This word is used for promiscuous women. The word presents a promiscuous woman as a thing of ridicule in the society.

4.2.10.3 Conclusion

Gender invectives from the two cultures tend to stress male supremacy. The images and traditional values produced are stereotypically sexist in favour of men.

4.2.11 Misc-Solidarity Invectives

This is a fusion of the words “miscellaneous” and “solidarity” This comprises multifarious usages. Not particularly associated with types, examples are: piss off, shut up, and so on. An aspect of this insult might occur as a joke; in other words, the words are insulting but the parties involved do not perceive them as such. For example, friends can insult each other with words that are considered to be jovial but can be construed to be very insulting in other contexts.

4.2.11.1 IsiZulu Examples

Uyahlanya: “Uyahlanya” means “you are mad” or “you are crazy”. This is a misc-solidarity isiZulu invective which could be used among friends. It is a mock insult that connotes comradeship. It is necessary to note that the inoffensiveness is determined by the context and relationship of the participants.

Fusegi: Fusegi as an invective literally means “fuck off”. It often serves the purposes of saying “get-off”, “get-away” or “shut-up”. Because of the solidarity factor embedded in this example, the parties involved take no offense when they are told “fusegi” i.e. “keep shut” or “stop talking”. The word is used in a comic sense. It is also a way of portraying dismissal of something. The word is generally perceived to be rude but the context and the solidarity effect of it makes it innocuous.

Udakiwe: Udakiwe is translated as “you are drunk”. This invective in isiZulu language is used by close relations to depict an utterance as “nonsense”, nonsensical or irrelevant to the subject matter. The invective is used on the recipient solely because a drunk is always believed to say irrelevant things.

Unamanga: This word in isiZulu means “a liar”. It is used for people who say false things to feel important and respected. The word is not perceived as offensive when used among friends.

Ungijwayela kabi?: This is a sentential interrogation which could be used among friends. The derogatory nature is reduced due to the friendship factor. It is used in a context where a friend feels his/her closeness with another has created contempt. It reminds one of the English saying that “familiarity breeds contempt”. The friend may ask “ungijwayela kabi?” meaning “do you tend to disrespect me because of the close familiarity?”. Basically, the sentence is considered highly insulting but the relationship will help to attenuate the offense, if any.

4.2.11.2 Yoruba Examples

Gbénusòùn: This is literally translated as “shut-up”. In some cases, it could mean “fuck-off” just to indicate that one is not very interested in what a second party’s involvement or utterances. Gbénusòùn in many contexts occurs as a mock insult. Friends can say it to each other without creating offence.

Olódo: This is translated as “dumb head”. In most contexts, it is just considered as a joke despite the inherent negative connotation. The word does not imply that the insulted party acts perpetually as a dullard. The “insult” is limited to the situational context.

Mùmú: It means an idiot, a senseless person or a fool. This represents a person that acts daft at a certain point in time. It implies that the insulted party has

behaved below the standard expected of him/her. The person can be referred to as “mùmú” in such a context.

Omo játi-jàti: This can be literally translated as a “nonentity”, used among friends the words carry with them a hyperbolic tinge.

Atúrótà/oníró: This means a liar. This word portrays a liar. He/she fabricates stories to catch attention.

4.2.11.3 Conclusion

Misc-solidarity invectives present the trivial and frivolous side of invectives. They generally lack the offensive touch basically because of role-relations and contexts. Murphie (2004) says these types of insults are unavoidable or unintended insults.

4.2.12 Power Invectives

Power invectives relate to a violation of society and culturally valued status, age or gender norms. They are evident in words, actions and signs. They are understood in cultural terms.

In both cultures, it is perceived to be disrespectful for a much younger person to establish direct eye contact with his/her superior while talking. De Kadt (1995) in Rudwick (2008:153) confirms this with respect to Zulu people:

De Kadt also recalls that Zulu students sit down (in the office of their lecturers) without being offered a seat. The reason is that they feel culturally uncomfortable when they feel culturally uncomfortable when they (the inferiors) talk to their superiors in status who (while seated) occupy a lower position physically. The contrast with Yoruba is clear: an inferior person would be asked to sit down before he does. Any contrary behaviour will be seen to be insulting.

4.2.12.1 Regulation of Behaviours by Conventions

An important cultural phenomenon of the Zulu people is Hlonipha. It is a kind of socio-linguistic phenomenon where a particular restricted communication style is observed in relation to certain relatives. Among the Zulu people, this linguistic style of speech is called isiHlonipha. In the traditional setting, it is more common with married women who are not expected to call the names of their husband's relations. Rudwick (2008) "identifies two types of linguistic hlonipha: "deep" variety of isiHlonipha and "soft" variety of Hlonipha. The deep variety "comprises of (sic) a large corpus of lexical items which are synonyms for the expressions which carry syllables that need to be avoided. The "soft" variety... can be understood as the simple avoidance of the names of individual".

Some of the notions captured in hlonipha are viewed similarly in general Yoruba culture. The following description of hlonipha gives a broad/description of Yoruba social behaviour also (Rudwick 2008: 155)

Social hlonipha actions are fundamental to traditional Zulu life and what is considered "proper" behaviour within the community. Among traditional Zulu people *ukuhlonipha* (italics in the original) (to respect) as a social action, reinforces a complex value system which is based on the social variable of age, status and gender. Hlonipha actions entail conventions regulating and controlling posture, gesture, dress code and other behavioural patterns, but also align with the status based on privileges of material nature.

Yorubas do not have the hlonipha phenomenon, but situations abound when appellations, actions, posture, gesture and behavioural patterns are regulated by conventions. In asymmetric relations, the agent or inferior person must show deference... there are linguistic and paralinguistic forms of showing this asymmetric relationship. Every action or utterance to the contrary constitutes an insult. Some people are not addressed directly by name. Children must never call

their parents by name. They must not call elders by name. Like in isiZulu, adult men are addressed as baba or mama (also iya in Yoruba) as a mark of respect. A younger person addresses an older person – friend, relation – by adding “auntie” or “broda” to the name. Women with children are generally called by the name of their first child e.g. Iya Iyabo (mother of Iyabo). Ordinarily, a wife would address her husband okoo mi (my husband) or olówó orí mi (the one that paid my dowry). A violation of these norms constitutes insults.

Yorubas have very elaborate codes of social life. The codes of manners form a composite whole and affect virtually all aspects of life: greetings, religious, economic and political behaviour. Acceptable and regulated paralinguistic features accompany these actions if insult is not intended.

A symmetrical situation in Yoruba requires culture-specific linguistic, extra linguistic and paralinguistic intervention. A very important linguistic aspect of insult avoidance is the use of “E” (you plural) to address an older person, the “O” (you 2nd person pronoun singular) form is reserved for younger persons or persons of lower social and/or professional status. The respect is even retained in the absence of the superior person by the use of a third person plural pronoun. A wife insults her husband by referring to him as “iwo” (you singular) instead of Eyin (you plural). These instances can be viewed from the perspective a tenor of discourse or discourse style which refers to the degree of familiarity between interacting partners. Halliday in Fried et al (2001:22) qualifies institutional role relationship as “stabilized” pattern of tenor of discourse”.

However, in Yoruba, refusal to greet an older person with the required gesture or posture is considered to be insulting. Yorubas greet endlessly. It is hard to find an occasion where a Yoruba would not greet. Yorubas have different greetings for different occasions; when it rains, when someone passes on, when someone

has a visitor, when someone embarks on a journey, when someone is sitting down, standing up, etc.

Zulu people too have recourse to paralinguistic features while greeting even though urbanization has brought about a hybrid cultural and socio-semiotic realities that are not in consonance with the traditional Zulu values. This can also be said of Yorubas.

4.2.13 Proverbial Invectives

Here, the crucial role proverbs play in Yoruba invective is examined as we could not find serious invective instances in isiZulu. Few possible examples found in isiZulu were not considered directly inveighing enough by speakers of isiZulu, and as such, they are not categorized as invectives in this research. However, this research has discussed some possible/likely ones below.

Yoruba People use proverbs to drive home their point. Older people are particularly fond of them. Invective proverbs abound. The proverbs have the “power” of making the recipient to think and reflect on their action. It also has the force attenuating the sharpness or poignancy of the insult.

À ní rí e l'á ní pè ó, bí ò sí o mó, à ó pe elòmíràn: “We are calling you because we see you, if we do not see you again, we will call someone else”. This is to show no one is indispensable. The recipient should therefore not overrate his/her importance.

Omo osè ní kó pónpó bà íya rẹ: “The fruit on the orange tree makes the tree to get beaten”. This proverb observes a filial insult. The parent is insulted because of the children’s misbehaviour.

Àlùwàlá ológbò, à ti kó erán je ni: “All the righteousness of a cat are geared towards stealing meat”. The target has ulterior motives, he is a hypocrite.

Ìgbàí l'àárò, arúgbó nko igba: “An old woman is making 200 heaps in a farm”. The target is meant to do this when she was much younger. It is an insult targeted at someone who did not carry out an assignment at the appropriate time.

The proverbial invectives cover all typologies: filial, social, moral, etc. They carry a lot of cultural and metaphorical images. There are also traces of power insults and patriarchy in them.

Some related examples found in isiZulu are “**Ukhamba Lufuze Imbiza**” which would mean “**you resemble your parents**” and can be used in pejorative ways at times. *Another example is “Ikhiwane Elihle Ligewala Izibungu” which would mean “Beautiful on the outside, not beautiful on the inside”*. However, these examples may not directly inveigh on a personality.

4.2.14 Visual Invectives

This is where the term semiotics comes into play directly. These types of invectives are manifested through the use of signs, and these signs vary depending on cultures. Signs do not convey a universal semantic import. A sign that is not offensive in a culture might become seriously offensive in another. Here, a comparative analysis is done between isiZulu and Yoruba and these invectives are presented through diagrams. They are neither oral nor written, they rather occur through gestures, countenance and other visual resources. In this, section attention is diverted towards non-verbal invectives and some signs are employed to signify that here. Other instances like behaviours and manners that can translate to insult are abstract phenomenon, as such, may not be represented through diagrams here.

4.2.14.1 *IsiZulu Examples*

4.2.14.1.1 *Swinging the index finger at the sides of the head*

This visual invective occurs when the insulter raises his/her hand up and use the index finger to swing around the side of the head. This is shown in the diagram below:



Figure 4: Diagrams showing Zulu insulter saying the insultee is crazy or bereft of common sense.

Cultural explanation: It could also mean the recipient is crazy. This has a similar interpretation in the English culture. The implication of this is that the insulter is telling the recipient that his/her head is not functioning very well.

4.2.14.1.2 *Tongue out*

The insulter attempts to deliberately spite someone by bringing out his/her tongue. This action is often accompanied by scornful facial expressions.



Figure 5: An isiZulu visual invective where the insulter pushes his/her tongue out.

Cultural explanation: This visual invective is embedded with elements of mockery. The insulter looks at the insultee in a highly contemptuous manner with a view to ridiculing the target.

4.2.14.1.3 *Index fingers on the lips*

The index finger points upwards while it is placed on the two lips to show that the lips are sealed and when lips are sealed. Words cannot be produced through sealed lips.

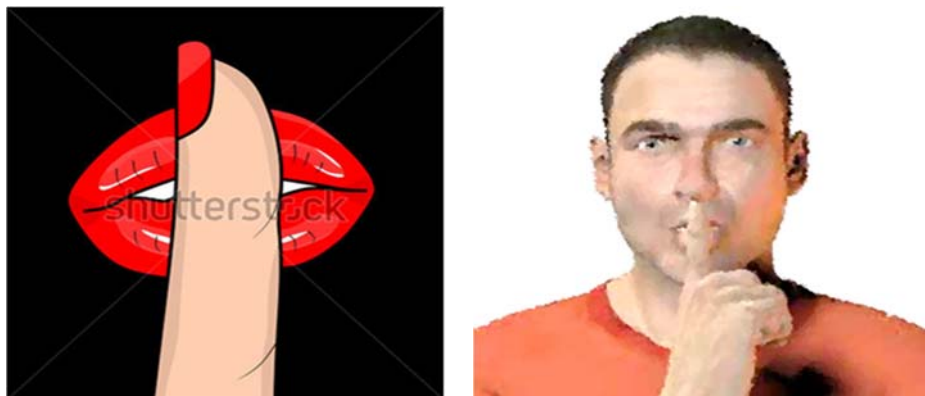


Figure 6: Diagrams showing an insulter telling the target to “keep quiet” in isiZulu context.

Cultural explanation: This is a way of telling a speaker to keep quiet or shut up. It is always rudely used to mean “your opinions are inconsequential and irrelevant”.

4.2.14.2 Yoruba Examples

4.2.14.2.1 Hand to head

This example reveals cross-cultural semiotic synonymy as it has the same sign and meaning with the isiZulu one explained above.



Figure 7: Diagrams showing a Yoruba visual sign which means that the other party lacks common sense.

Cultural explanation: It is implied that the cerebrum is malfunctioning, and is consequently deprived of good judgement.

4.2.14.2.2 Shooting out the palm with stretched-out fingers

As it is shown in the diagram below, the palm is shot out directly at the target with the five fingers stretched out.



Figure 8: Diagrams showing a Yoruba invective insulting the target's mother.

Cultural explanation: This is an insult on one's mother. It is a filial insult with a very weighty cultural implication. Most Yorubas would prefer being insulted directly rather than their parents. It should be observed that this can be a solidarity insult also depending on the role relations and context. It does not however cancel the fact that the word is very insulting when the parties involved have no close relations. Some friends would not tolerate this sign even in a context of comradery.

4.2.14.2.3 *Leaf in the mouth*

The insulter gets a leaf of any kind and holds it with his/her teeth. The lips are opened so the victim would see the leaf and recognize it.

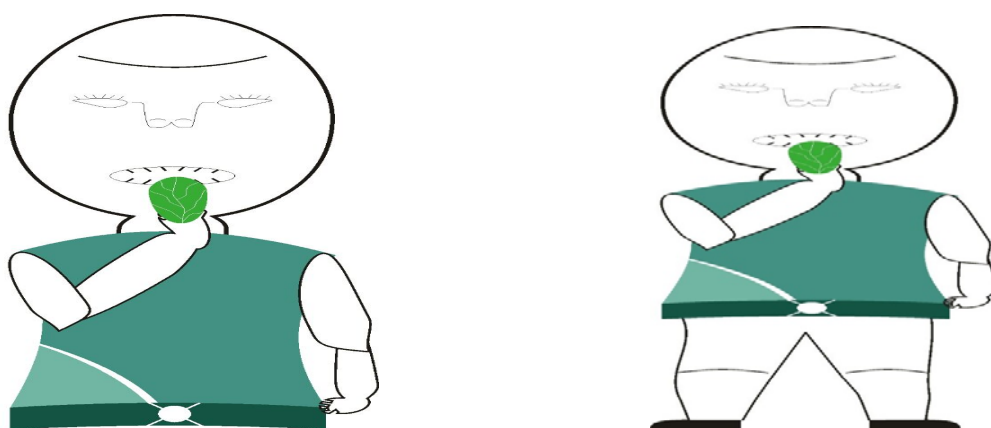


Figure 9: Diagrams showing how to abuse a dumb person with signs in Yoruba.

Cultural explanation: This is a highly offensive sign to depict a dumb person. This insult is very provocative and can result in a physical combat.

4.2.14.2.3 *Hands up on the lips*

This shares the same feature with that of isiZulu example. The index finger is pointed upwards and placed on the lips while the other fingers are folded.



Figure 10: Diagrams showing an insulter telling a recipient to “keep shut” using Yoruba visual signs.

Cultural explanation: The sign bears the same meaning with the isiZulu example: “shut up”, “keep shut” or “keep quiet”. It is a very derogatory way of saying stop talking.

4.3 CONCLUSION

The examples reproduced from texts are analysed using a modified form of Adeosun’s proposed socio-semiotic model of analyzing Yoruba poetry. The non-contextualized examples are treated generally in line with Bariki’s typology. Our examples are enhanced to include power insults which are absent in Bariki’s typology.

This chapter presented the analysis of the data gathered from the two languages and has analysed accordingly. The two cultures/languages under comparative

study have a lot of similarities emanating from invectives. It is evident from this analysis that some of the invectives are either linguistic or paralinguistic or a combination of the two. Some of the invectives are interwoven and interrelated and fit into more than one category. But this research work has tried to classify them into typologies in order to enhance a better understanding of this work.

The next chapter presents the findings, recommendations and conclusion for this work.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.0 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapters have presented the general introduction, literature review, research methodology, and data analysis. This chapter presents the general conclusion to the whole work.

The basic objective of this research is to highlight the behavioural and sociolinguistic traits of isiZulu and Yoruba languages in order to enhance cross-cultural integration. In accomplishing this goal, it became necessary to study the two languages in relation to their cultures (Zulu and Yoruba) and to identify the examples in the cultures. Given the symbiotic relation between language and culture, a lot has been known about the latter through discussions on the former. While examples may not be fully identified, the study has revealed great similarities in terms of broad typologies. The findings are hereby encapsulated with the “+” sign indicating the presence of the typology. This chapter presents the findings of the research work, and offers recommendations to serve as guide for further researchers and lastly, conclusion to the work.

5.1 FINDINGS

S/N	TYPES OF INVECTIVES	ISIZULU	YORUBA
1.	Ethnophaulism	+	+
2.	Dehumanization	+	+
3.	Sexotypes	+	+
4.	Physical Invectives	+	+

5.	Moral/Personality Invectives	+	+
6.	Filial Invectives	+	+
7.	Political Invectives	+	+
8.	Social Invectives	+	+
9.	Status Invectives	+	+
10.	Gender Invectives	+	+
11.	Misc-solidarity Invectives	+	+
12.	Power Invectives	+	+
13.	Visual Invectives	+	+
14.	Proverbial Invectives	+	-

Figure 11: Similarities and dissimilarities between isiZulu and Yoruba invectives.

In the previous chapter, the different types of invectives from the cultures and language under study were examined. The table above shows the similarities between the two cultures and language. It is inferred that, with one exception, all the typologies examined are present in the two cultures even though in some cases, the same example from the two cultures are diametric semantic opposites. The proverbial examples in isiZulu cannot be totally categorized as invectives in this research.

This work finds out that Zulu and Yoruba cultures are broadly related regarding the ways invectives are used and the purpose for which they are used.

The major findings of this work are that:

- i. Zulu people and Yorubas both make use of invectives and that negative axiology plays a lot of roles in their daily activities. Through insults, a lot can be said about a people, its language and culture. This notion resonates in Britten (2012):

... insults are markers of collective identity. This is why I started collecting South African insults back in 2004. I wanted to understand what makes us who we are, and insults are one prism through which the national self can be viewed...

- ii. A study of this nature can enhance cross-cultural inter-ethnic or international relations and help to bridge some gaps between different peoples. It further contributes to disseminating intercultural proficiency and building intercultural awareness among different cultures.
- iii. The study has identified social processes of meaning making in the two languages by making reference to field of discourse, tenor of discourse and mode.
- iv. The study has drawn up a comparative typology of invectives in the two languages under study.
- v. Behavioural traits and sociolinguistics facts can be gleaned from the Zulu people and Yorubas through this work. For instance, it is easy to note that Zulu people and Yorubas use invectives to scold, discipline, slight, and offend. Invective words can also be used as a form of humour or joke.

Examining the broad varieties of insults, it is likely that the three other types of insults identified by Freinberg (1985) apply to both isiZulu and Yoruba insults: calumny, factually based put-down and pure insults. What may differ perhaps in the two societies is how the two societies would react. Both Zulu and Yoruba societies are not homogenous. They have also undergone cultural modifications or hybridity. However our analyses are done with the general societies in mind without delving into peculiarities and changes that have occurred over the years. Socio-semiotics does emphasize the importance of context and meaning

potential. Meaning should be understood in terms of field of discourse, tenor of discourse and mode of discourse. In no area can this be clearer than in solidarity insults or in what Murphie (2004) terms good-natured teasing. Our interviews and documentary sources revealed that the worst type of invective can be tolerated in an atmosphere of camaraderie backed up by appropriate paralinguistic features. Examples are “fusegi” and “gbenusoun” in isiZulu and Yoruba respectively. Both implies “shut up!”.

However, our recourse to socio-semiotics has brought to the fore one major limitation of our study: the absence of innovative insults as identified by Yus (2014 supra). As a non-isiZulu-speaking researcher, we were forced to be limited primarily to conventionalized insults (Yus 2014 supra). We were thus deprived of practical innovative insults which give a good picture of the dynamics of a society and relationships. They would have added colour to our study. Even though the researcher is not an isiZulu speaker, the researcher sought the assistance of a translator in interpreting isiZulu invectives especially within the Zulu cultural contexts and the study was able to maintain its socio-semiotic background.

As observed by Mateo & Yus, even though “all societies have developed elaborate mechanisms for insulting”, “cultural constraints operate forcefully in the insulting paradigm of any language”. An example could be invectives based on homosexuality. The concept of homosexuality is for now unthinkable in Yoruba culture. Thus, to insult someone with respect to homosexuality is certainly too harsh to contemplate in Yoruba. Homosexual insults can be broadened to further explain aspects of sexual orientation in South Africa and Nigeria in general. South Africa legalized gay marriage as far back as 2006, but it is a serious offence in Nigeria. Offenders are liable to a 14-year jail term.

Looking at power-related and sexism; in these two patriarchal societies, people are taught to conform to norms of speech and behaviour through folktale stories. Behaviour that is contrary to these norms will be considered insulting. Among the Zulu people the concept of isiHlonipha, is a typical case in point despite the

changes it is experiencing due to modernization. Unacceptable sociological and linguistic behaviour constitute an insult.

Age, sex and status are important factors in dyadic relations. In dyadic relations (i.e. relation that involve correlated statuses), the speaker's linguistic and paralinguistic behaviour is informed by socially agreed codes of behaviour. The discursive strategies differ depending on whether or not the interlocutors have common status or are differentiated by age and social distance. For instance, among the Yorubas, the agent (i.e. the socially inferior person) shows deference to the referent who is the superior person. This fits into Lakoffs (1983) notion of "language deficit". This is also similar to the insults classified by Feinberg (1985) as "symbiotic and dominance claim".

Our study of political insults touched only partially Korostelina's social group-based insults. It dealt with political insults which covers part of Korostelina's divergence insults where one (political) group took exception to another through invectives.

At the linguistic level, it is interesting again to observe broad similarities: the use of nominal, phrasal, sentential and metaphorical insults. A few of the sentential examples in Yoruba are proverbs or maxims. Yoruba society attaches much premium on proverbs or witty utterances. Proverbs when used as insult often portray an asymmetric relationship, and are used for corrective purposes. It is almost unthinkable for a child to insult an elderly person with a proverb. That would be a double violation of the established codes of power relations. Even in normal day to day discourse, younger ones would particularly acknowledge the presence of the elders around when using them. We found no instances of proverbs for the purpose of insulting in isiZulu.

The two cultures chant insults using folktales as the mode of discourse. Both cultures enjoy singing, but perhaps chanted insults are more pronounced in Yoruba. For instance, in Yoruba, co-wives can resort to insults in virtually any

informal occasion. The folktale songs could be for the purpose of correcting the anti-social traits of some persons in the society. The humorous ritualized chants with melodic patterns are a source of joy to participants with perhaps the exception of those who are being indirectly insulted.

Chanted conflict songs can generally be summarized thus:

S/N.	Field of discourse	Tenor of discourse	Mode of discourse	Context of culture
1.	Social vices of people in the society	Instructive and cordial role relation in the society	Use of metaphorical expressions	Use of cultural metaphors e.g. animalization and objectification.
2.	Existence of socio-political	Unpalatable social relations between wives	Rhetorical mode of insulting, confronting, and condemning and correcting	Use of folktale songs, proverbs.
3.	Quarrels between co-wives			

Figure 12: A tabular summarization of chanted conflict isiZulu and Yoruba songs.

The conventionalized or pre-assigned insults were analysed using Bariki's typologies. Our research shows that Bariki's typologies present elements of universality to the extent that they feature in many other cultures. The universality, to a large extent, can be observed in the review of invectives above, there are evidences of insults in Nigeria, French territory, English territory, South Africa, Ghana and so on. They were used to see the extent to which they could be deemed to be relevant to isiZulu and Yoruba. Studies in insults in English (Oloruntoba-Oju 1998), French (Bariki, 2009, 2010), etc. reveal their prevalence in other languages. Bariki's typologies did not however include the modes of

insult. In our research, we discovered interesting invective songs in which are embedded rich cultural information and rhetorical devices.

An overview of the taxonomy of insults discussed is hereby presented diagrammatically.

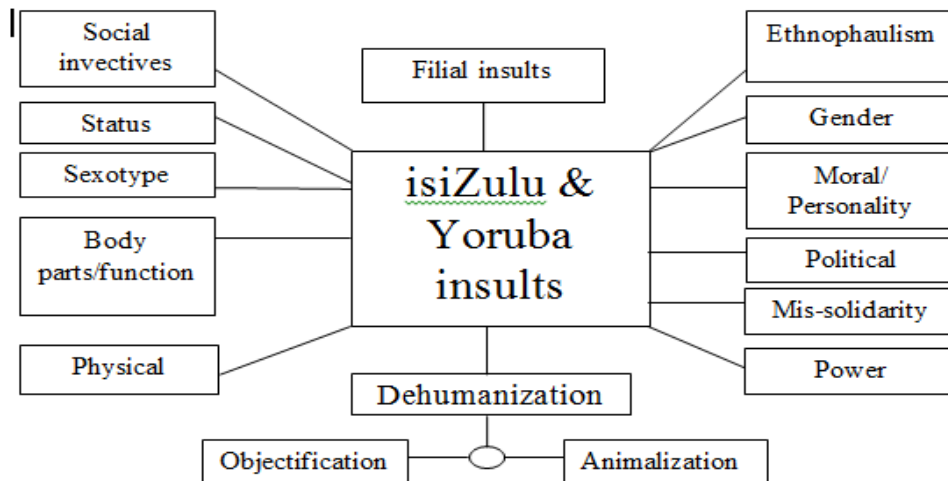


Figure 13: A diagram overview of the taxonomy of isiZulu and Yoruba invectives. Some of the categories are very similar or overlap one another e.g. sexotypes and gender stereotypes. They have however been grouped into different categories for the purpose of clarity and emphasis. The modes of invectives in songs and visual representation are not captured here. Chanted invectives and gestural insults can capture all the typologies listed above. They can be treated as modes or styles of invectives.

5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are made to assist further researchers, research bodies and research support bodies:

- i. Studies could be done through a solely semiotic approach.

- ii. There could be other systematic reflections of invectives in other South African languages
- iii. Other studies could look at negative axiology from the perspectives of education, psychology, pragmatics, semantics and linguistics.

5.3 CONCLUSION

The objectives of this research and the research questions have been adequately answered. The aims of the research have been highlighted and the need for researches like this are well spelt. This chapter has summarized and presented in a tabular form the findings of this research, recommendations.

Given man's mobility and the consequences of globalization, coupled with the cultural and linguistic divergence in the work, studies in invectives and related issues are good means of enlightenment and could be useful in reducing intercultural miscues, misrepresentations and avoidable communication breakdown.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

SAMPLE OF INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Questions are only related to isiZulu and Yoruba languages in respect to the cultures.

1. What do you understand by an invective? / Iyini inhlamba kuwe? / Kinni a le peni eebu siyin?
2. How do you use invectives? / Uyithuka kanjani inhlamba? / Bawo ni a se ma n lo eebu?
3. How do you feel when insulted? / Uzizwa kanjani uma uthukiwe? / Bawo ni o se ma n ri lara yin ti won ba bu yin?
4. In what contexts can invectives be used? / Inhlamba ingasetshenziswa uma kwenze njani? / Awon asiko wo ni a lee bu eebu?
5. Are there signs that can be used to portray invectives? / Zikhona yini izimpawu ezingasetshenziswa eziyinhamba? / Nje aworan wa ti a lee fi bu eebu?
6. What parts of the body are often used to insult? / Yiziphi izitho zomzimba ezivame ukusetshenziswe uma kuthukwa inhlamba? / Awon eya ara wo ni alee fi bu eniyan?
7. What are the roles of invectives in discourse? / Inamthelela muni inhlamba uma kuxoxwa? / Kinni awon iwulo eebu?
8. Which is more insulting (a) oral insult or (b) sign insult? / Yikuphi okuyinhamba kakhulu (a) okushiwo ngomlomo noma (b) okushiwo ngophawu? / Ewo ninu awon wonyi lo ma n duni ju (a) Eebu afenuso abi (b) Eebu aphi eya ara so?
9. Can an invective be used for humour? / inhlamba ingasetshenziswa uma kudlalwa na? / Se eebu le jeyo lati ara yeye abi awada?
10. Are there racial or ethnic insults? / Ngabe ikhona yini inhlamba yokucwasa ngebala noma ngokobuhlanga? / Nje eebu wa to nise pele eya abi ilu?
11. Can one insult a person by comparing to an animal or objects? / Ngabe ikhona inhlamba lapho umuntu ethukwa ngokuqhathaniswa nesilwane noma nento? / Nje eebu wa lati fi eniyan we eranko abi nkan miran?
12. If yes to 11, which animal or objects? / Uma kunguyebo ku-11, yisiphi lesilwane noma iyiphi leyo nto? / Ti o ba ribe, iru eranko abi nkan wo?
13. Are there political insults? / Ngabe ikhona inhlamba kwezombusazwe? / Nje orisi eebu kan wa fun oselu?

14. Are there insults that are parent related? / Ngabe ikhona inhlamba lapho uthukwa ngomzali? /Nje eebu wa to nise pelu obi to bi eniyan?
15. Are there moral insults? /Ngabe ikhona inhlamba eshiya imibuzo ngemvelaphi yakho? / Nje eebu wa ti o ni se pelu eko ile?
16. Do insults have levels or degrees of gravity? / Ingabe izinhlamba ziyahlukana ngokwezinga? / Nje eebu ni bi osele dun eniyan to?
17. Give examples of insults that you know in your language and their meanings in relation to the various types mentioned above. / Yisho izibonelo zezinhlamba ozaziyo ngolimi lwakho nokuthi zisho ukuthini uma uziqhathanisa nezinhlobonhlobo ezingenhla / So orisi eebu ti o mo ni ede re ati awon itumo won ti o si lo pelu awon orisi ti a ti fi enu ba.



Appendix B

INFORMATION LETTER

18, Heswall Road,
Durban,
4001.

21451827@dut4life.ac.za

10 November 2014

The Participant

Dear Sir/Ma,

My name is **Mr 'Kunle Musbaudeen OPARINDE** with student number (21451827), currently registered for the **MTech: Language Practice** degree in the department of **Media, Language and Communication** at the **Durban University of Technology**.

I am conducting a research with the topic titled: "*A comparative socio-semiotic perspective of invectives in isiZulu and Yoruba languages*". As part of my research, I am required to interview participants in order to fulfil the requirements for my studies, hence my request that you be part of the study. Note that the research findings are obtainable and should you require any further information regarding my research, you may liaise directly with my supervisor Dr RL Makhubu at makhubu@dut.ac.za or (031) 373-6718.

Your co-operation is highly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

K.M. Oparinde (Mr)
Researcher

Appendix C
THE CONSENT FORM

Consent Form/ Ifomu lokunika imvume/ Foomu itoro aaye.

You may answer the questions either in English, isiZulu or Yoruba. / *Ungaphendula imibuzo ngesiNgisi, ngesiZulu noma ngesiYoruba/ E le dahun awon ibeere naa ni ede oyinbo abi English, isiZulu abi Yoruba.*

Research conducted by K.M. Oparinde for the completion of MTech: Language Practice/ *Ucwaningo olwenziwa nguK.M. Oparinde ekuphohleni i-MTech: Language Practice/ Ise K.M. Oparinde lati le pari eko re ti o n se MTech: Language Practice.*

This study is conducted under the Department of Media, Language & Communication at the Durban University of Technology./ *Lolu cwanningo lwenziwa ngaphansi koMnyango i-Media, Language & Communication e-Durban University of Technology/ Ise yii jeyo lati isori Media, Language ati Communication ti ile iwe Durban University of Technology.*

Am I allowed to conduct this research with you? (Yes/No)_____

Uyanginika imvume yokuba ngenze lolu cwanningo nawe? (Yebo/ Cha)_____

Se egba mi laye ati tesiwaju pelu ise yii? (Beeni/ Rara)_____

Are you aware that you are free to withdraw from this project at any time if you so wish? (Yes/No)_____

Ingabe unalo ulwazi ngokuthi ukhululekile ukuhoxa kulolu cwanningo noma yinini uma uthanda? (Yebo/Cha)_____

Nje e mope e le ma darapo mo ise yii mo ni igbakugba ti e ba fe? (Beeni/Rara)_____

Do you grant me your permission to publish the findings? (Yes/ No)_____

Uyanginika imvume yokuba ngishicilele imiphumela? (Yebo/Cha)_____

Se e gbamilaye lati te esi ise yii jade? (Beeni/Rara)_____

Initials & Surname/Izinhlamvu zamagama neSibongo/Oruko:

Date/Usuku/Ojo:

Signature/Sayinda/Aamin pelebe

If you have further queries regarding the project, please feel free to contact the supervisor Dr R.L. Makhubu via email at makhubu@dut.ac.za

Uma unemibuzo mayelana nalolu cwaningo, ngicela ukhululeke ngokuba uxhumane nomeluleki uDkt R. L. Makhubu nge-imeyili ku- makhubu@dut.ac.za

Ti e ba ni ibeere kan abi omiran to n jeyo lati ibi ise yii, e le kan si alamojuto mi ni igbakugba lori ayara bi asa yii: makhubu@dut.ac.za.

Thank You/ Ngiyabonga/ Ese