

his direct message of avoiding polluted water in a story illustrating the effect of the consumption of unboiled water on the intestines. The natural attempt for presenting personal experiences along with theoretical statements results in unconventional, creative language use that is however, no less natural.

The methodology enabled me to explain some effects of creative language use in relation to indigenous factors of conventional patterns of language use. The use of ideophones in a case history that is presenting explicit information involves the audience since it alludes to the community-involved communication that fourth-cluster forms in Budu express, while it also summarises the symptoms of the explained disease very concisely, characteristic for explicit information. It seems to be erroneous to disregard this unconventional use of ideophones as unnatural.

As the situation of language use changes this leads to needs that are addressed creatively by emerging innovations. These creative innovations relate to the changed situation of language use, while they arise within the existing dimensions of communication. The needs that are addressed by innovations were also illustrated in an excerpt of *drama* with its caricatured language use. This caricature apparently indicates the same tensions as were observed with an MD approach. Some genres display an intertextual gap with previous genres that are distinguished for the same dimension of variation. In that case the use of creative language that bridges such gaps is only natural. Natural language use seems to include such 'reparations.' More specified it includes ways of 'repairing' the less socially-acceptable innovations that language users perceive in the language use they are exposed to. If particular strategies for 'reparation' are replicated by various language users, this gives an indication of the need for the modification of less acceptable expressions.

If various creative genre modifications can be observed with similar 'reparation strategies,' suggestive of the development of a new prototype, future research should focus on the analysis of these cases in relation to conventional patterns of co-occurrence as can be established by MD approaches to variation. A comparison of such creative language use might indicate the intertextual gaps that a creative user apparently attempts to solve with a more natural language use than the acculturated alternative.

Hopefully future investigations of what entails 'natural language use' will include the interpretation of creative innovations as possible continuations of conventional patterns of language use, since that seems more fruitful than focusing on conventional patterns in either the first language or in the acculturating language representing literate model genres. It seems important to notice that literate models in fact are only perceived from the perspective of the indigenous factors of communication that determine language use variation, including the selection of novelties that might be adopted.

9.2. Summary

Chapter 1 –Creative Use of Genre Features, Introduction

In this dissertation the creative use of genre features is researched in Budu, a Bantu language in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Creative language use is discussed with a focus on innovation and change. A combination of several theories concerning genre²³ and concerning language use variation (Biber 1988; 1995) facilitates comparisons between creative language use and conventional patterns of communication. Biber's work emphasises the importance of co-occurrences of linguistic features and their shared distribution in large text corpora. These form the empirical basis for postulating dimensions of communication that determine language use variation.

²³Gumperz (1982); Bakhtin (1981; 1986); Hanks (1986); Bauman and Briggs (1992); Bauman (2001); (Berkenkotter and Huckin (1995); Miller 1984; Giddens (1984); Paltridge (1999); Halmari and Virtanen (2005) and Östman (2005).

While Biber's dynamic genre categories are situation-bound, his MD approach assumes some prototypical text types that are characterised by formal linguistic features. Mature speakers of a language use these prototypes as cognitive points of reference while interpreting real language use. Biber (1995) and Romaine (1994) assume that literate model genres may influence the development of genres in languages with an emerging literacy.

My main question is whether the creative use of genre features may be interpreted in relation to conventional patterns of language use, or more specifically whether innovations may be interpreted as possible continuations of existing patterns. A theoretical problem with a similar interpretation in MD approaches is that genre features normally co-occur with other features. The use of a feature by itself has no function comparable to its function in patterns of co-occurrence, where prototypes can apparently be activated by the presence of various members of the same cluster in one text.

In psychology it has been established²⁴ that a partial representation of prototypes may activate a mental representation of the entire frame. Östman (2005) illustrated the intentional obscuring of parts of collocations in texts for manipulation of the addressees. In fact he illustrates that partially represented frames are used in attempts to activate 'persuasion' in the minds of readers of propaganda. I argue that his suggestion can also be applied to the creative use of single genre features since I use Östman's theory of 'implicit anchoring' with Biber's patterns of co-occurrence. When some features of such patterns of co-occurrence are creatively used in texts in allusion to a different prototype than the one being presented in the text, this can be interpreted as 'implicit anchoring' of the dimension of communication that is featured.

The creative use of linguistic units for individual goals can be an important arena for language change (Biber 1994:27). Assuming that the creative use of single members of Biber's clusters may occur, the question that remains to be answered concerning Budu is what dimension of communication could be 'implicitly anchored' in texts with creative language use and why this could be the case.²⁵

Chapter 2 – The Community of Budu Speakers

Language change is understood in this dissertation as introduced by Crofts (2001 ch. 7). When existing language use is 'replicated' differently, an 'altered' meaning may develop. This altered replication only develops a 'differentiated meaning' when all users of a language adopt it as their norm. This language change or 'propagation' consists of the 'differentiated replication' of some language use.

In the past the Budu network of language users was not very open to external influences and its situations of language use remained virtually unchanged. Their political organisation in co-belligerent lineages and their economic autonomy as palm oil and salt manufacturers fostered a strong development of conventions for language use. In contrast to most surrounding groups the Budu were never integrated in the Zande and Mangbetu kingdoms and unlike subsistence farmers they did not develop client-patron relations with Pygmies either. Therefore their network was not very open to cross-cultural influences other than musical exchanges and trade. Strong patterns of co-occurrence developed fixed metalinguistic functions featuring particular dimensions of communication.

Unconventional language use is only replicated by more members of the same community if its altered meaning makes sense in a particular social context. When the situations of language use of a closed network of language users remains virtually unchanged, altered meanings risk being ignored as irrelevant.

²⁴Bartlett 1932 introduced the notion of mental 'frames' or 'schemata'; Rosch 1977 developed them as 'prototypes,' as Paltridge summarises it (1997:53).

²⁵Virtanen and Halmari refer to euphemism and persuasion, (2005:231), suggesting that socially less desirable communicative goals tend to be veiled by creative language. In analogy one could ask the question: "What socially less desirable goals could Budu speakers want to veil?"

However, from 1885 onwards the invasions by Zanzibari slave traders in the Wamba district, military expeditions and agricultural exploitation of the extremely fertile area seems to have weakened existing structures of religio-political leadership. In the 1920s the health services of the Red Cross and the introduction of Mission schools and services in the area represented a transition to a socially stratified society with paid specialists. Social concerns started to be centralised in new institutions such as the church. In the 1940s the development of new denominational networks went hand in hand with the establishing of an infrastructure for the transport of cash crops, opening the network and exposing Budu speakers to variations of language use, including external influences of the acculturating institutions of school and hospital. By the 1990s the situations of language use had changed drastically, new conventions had developed and were adopted throughout the extended network of Budu speakers.

Altered meanings might start to be replicated as relevant alternatives, resulting in the same utterances with a differentiated meaning. Only when an entire community considers the differentiated meaning as the 'normal' meaning of the utterance, has a change of language use taken place according to Crofts' (2000) definition of 'propagation.' While Vansina (1990) and Aunger (1996) mention the exceptional openness to change of the Budu in relation to the end of former traditions,²⁶ this research attempts to investigate indigenous factors that contributed to changes as they can be observed from the dimensions of communication that determine language use variation in the researched corpus.

Chapter 3 – Elements of Language Use; a Sketch of Budu

Budu is a Bantu language with two particular features that characterise it as a so called border Bantu or Forest Bantu (D) language (Grégoire 2003:343): it has special phonological properties such as vowel harmony throughout phonological words and rising tone while it also tends to have a lexical rather than morpho-syntactic TMA marking. Several characteristics contribute to the possibility of tagging the recurring morpho-syntactic categories in texts. Since the root of each word determines its pronunciation in terms of Advanced Tongue Root value, the vowel quality contributes to the recognition of boundaries between phonological words. Lexical TMA distinctions are also very helpful since the varieties of tonal melodies in each lineage make the observing of syntactic TMA differences that are indicated with High and Low tones impossible in a large corpus. Rising tone is conditioned phonologically by depressor consonants in earlier stages of the language, contributing to the difficulties in observing tonal differentiation.

The lexicon of Budu exhibits loanwords from Mangbetu, Swahili and French, confirming its canonical CVCV word structure with labio-velar and prenasalised consonants, while it also indicates the particular domains of acculturation. Budu seems to have adopted the pairing of nominal classes 5/11 from Bangala while it also exhibits *li-* prefixes, comparable with the Lingala class 10 prefixes. Budu is a clear example of a Bantu language that, being surrounded by other language families, adopted some of their lexical and phonological features while its noun class system and verb derivation continues to exhibit all core characteristics of Bantu languages including agreement. This facilitated the tagging of texts.

Chapter 4 –Relations between Genre and Use of Linguistic Forms

A hundred recurring morpho-syntactic categories were selected for the tagging of a corpus of 417 texts representing 16 main genres and 14 embedded genres with reported speech.

²⁶Vansina even assumes the tradition to be 'dead' as result of external forces, while Aunger only refers to the reduced importance of witchcraft traditions in urbanised centres.

A list of all forms tagged in the preliminary research was presented in chapter 4, while a discussion of this list clarified the reasons for disregarding some of these forms as less suitable. Formal differences are the basis for differentiating between the different forms, with an exceptional reference to the sentence position of words in case of homophones.

A list of all the main genres that occur in the labelling of transcribed texts by Budu speakers was also discussed, including remarks about the nature of these genre categories in the researched corpus and in Budu society, as observed during my stay in the area between 1995 and 1998. A mini-corpus of fourteen embedded genres with reported speech was presented as these genre names were used during my discussion of some thirty texts with a group of Budu speakers in 1998. The mini-corpus contains all the reported speech fragments. The main corpus and the mini-corpus were researched with separate quantitative tests, as if each of them consisted of autonomous texts. The selected statistical tests determine the distribution of each form in each genre, as this rather than factor analyses provides insights about the expectations of the language users that are subject of creative language use.

Chapter 5 - Conventional Language Use in the Main Genres

The relation between linguistic forms and genres of language use was described in two parts of this chapter, where shared distributions of co-occurrences are discussed after an overview of all the results of a quantitative research.

First, a correlation matrix was discussed for each of the hundred tagged forms, resulting in the conclusion that eighteen forms are used throughout the entire corpus without distinction.

Second, about sixty forms exhibit a distribution with various clusters of co-occurrence. The particular property of six clusters is their complementary distribution. Each of them can be observed as distinguishing two sets of genres with contrasting communicative dimensions. For example the cluster that entails most co-occurrences, seems to distinguish story genres from song genres, while it seems to reflect a narrative dimension of communication as it expresses chronological ordering.

It is worth noting that this cluster exhibits a significant absence of forms that describe qualities, while reported speech is used to structure the text. The second important cluster divides the corpus into explicitly presented information and genres with implicit information. Likewise, each cluster divides the genres of the corpus into two sets with complementary distribution of a particular cluster of forms. The third cluster expresses urgent appeals for a reaction with its directive language use, the fourth expresses attempts to involve the audience with expressions that assume shared knowledge such as ideophones, the fifth is related to the production circumstances since it concerns redundancy, the sixth expresses almost all politeness strategies mentioned by Brown and Levinson (1978) as language use reducing face-threatening situations.

The distinctive function of these clusters is interpreted in the first place by considering the function most widely shared by its forms. Chapter 5 represents the first of two steps, of which the second involves the similarities and differences between the genres in each set (see chapter 7).

Chapter 6 - Conventional Language Use in Embedded Genres

The relation between linguistic forms and embedded fragments with reported speech genres was discussed in comment on four overviews in this chapter. Reported speech is important since it conveys which genre the reported speaker is using in a particular sequence of events. Paralinguistic devices seem mostly to be used to facilitate genre recognition.

Firstly there is a group of genre markers which seem to occur solely in certain speech genres. Several are also significant for the language use in the main genre, which means that their frequency of

occurrence in speech fragments determines the language use of the main genre. Second, about as many forms distinguish speech genres from each other, most of these also determine the language use in the main genre. The embedded speech genres seem to form clearly distinguished prototypical categories, although a remnant group of distinctions occurs occasionally in all embedded genres, whereas a fourth group is without significance for the speech genres, since it occurs too rarely. All these results provide insights regarding language use in embedded genres.

Reported-speech genres tend to contrast with main genres. While most main genres containing reported speech concern storytelling genres, genres with reported speech tend to be characterised as the opposite, namely as non-temporally connective. Furthermore the language use is less elaborate than in most autonomous genres (with the exception of *genealogies*), reflecting their iconic reference to natural, unreported speech. The iconic nature of speech fragments seems to be an important indication of the possibility of manipulating language in caricatures of natural speech, amplifying its genre distinctions. The frequent use of reported speech indicates that Budu speakers are used to playing with genre features, as Barber (1989) suggest for other African languages.

Chapter 7 – Six Main Parameters of Language Use in Budu

Following from the description of the conventional use of linguistic forms in the main and embedded genres, this chapter continues with the interpretation of the six main clusters themselves.

The second step in interpreting the distinctive function of the six clusters of co-occurring forms in the main genres is a contrastive analysis of the sets of genres distinguished by each of the clusters. Each cluster is interpreted as a dimension of communication, whose nature is deduced from the similarities and differences between the genres in those sets.

In the second dimension the explicit presentation in genres for the transmission of knowledge seems to be associated with traditional Budu-style mentoring, where experienced relatives teach younger ones, which the absence of polite vocatives still reflects. In contrast, the presentation of implicit information seems to convey shared knowledge that may consist of complex cultural issues.

About the fifth dimension, redundancy is apparently purposely exploited in some genres used with young or ignorant addressees. Therefore the parameter behind the contrast spontaneously produced/ prepared production seems to be more complex than just the circumstances of production.

In contrast to other languages where variation was researched with MD analyses (Biber 1995), the community seems to play an important role in Budu, both in celebrations where the fourth dimension expresses involvement and in the sixth dimension with performative language use. The sixth dimension of performative language seems to be used to accomplish changes for community members in transition, such as circumcision or marriage. The expressions suggest a concern for the social dignity of such members. Non-performative language does not accomplish anything, although it may describe changes.

In the second half of the chapter all text types with their formal features are described.

In the light of social changes it is noteworthy that school language and medical information are expressed in Budu in the same way as any other genre with transmission of knowledge. Unlike French schooling with its group sessions in classes, this transmission is not institutionalised in Budu society which favours private mentoring. In contrast, church-related genres are institutionalised by the use of performative features, which make them similar to circumcision songs, animal stories and other Budu institutions that express concern for the social personhood of its members. The capacity of church-related genres to involve the community when the social cohesion of village communities was weakened probably made it relevant during this period in history. It explains the relevance of changed language use in a new social context.

Chapter 8 – The Creative use of Genre Features

In this chapter conventional patterns of language use including newer genres are discussed, then some texts that exhibit deviating language use are analysed. The creative language use in the two medical texts in this chapter exhibits several similarities. That might suggest that it represents some strategy, which arose in answer to changed situations for language use with the transmission of knowledge. Fairclough (1989) suggests that 'mixed' language use may indicate attempts to naturalise new ways of speaking during a time of transition and confusion. Such a period seems to be represented in the development of medical care in the Wamba district, as discussed in section 8.1.2.

A comparison of the different genres used in the transmission of knowledge suggests what Bauman and Briggs 1992; and Bauman (2001) would call intertextual gap, namely between older and newer genres in Budu. I used three points of comparison suggested in *New Rethorics* (Miller 1994, Mayes 2003) to discuss where medical information is dissimilar from previous information genres. As suggested by Halmari and Virtanen (2005) these gaps are bridged in what they call an 'intergenre' with the innovative use of features as illustrated in the two medical texts.

Although the two medical texts, are in several respects, considerably different, their similarities suggest that a felt need is answered by more overt allusions to personal acquaintance with the subject matter than are usually displayed in theoretical expositions, because in both texts a full case history is included. The use of attributive adjectives provides a much less overt allusion to experience, as these tend to be used to identify experienced members of the community in palavers since their short and witty speech is interspersed with adjectives. However, their use seems to be ambiguous in long expositions, as the excerpt from drama with a mock lesson, suggests. The 'vain' use of adjectives is ridiculed in that caricature of theoretical expositions made by teachers without practical acquaintance with the subject matter.

Furthermore the 'implicit anchoring' of performative features in these texts with non-performative, descriptive language use suggests that the authors resort to the language used for most urgent, life and death matters, as the language use in embedded genres of reproaches or moral advices. This resort could be an attempt to naturalise medical information by using institutionalised language, in line with the speech of the diviner, who used to fulfil the social role relating to medical care. However, the combination with storytelling suggests that the authors attempt to communicate at two different levels; firstly concerning some life-threatening lack of knowledge that is addressed with information, and secondly about underlying values that are addressed with well-known storytelling strategies to unveil deceit.

The creative use of these conventional patterns of language use illustrates that indigenous factors determining variation are 'very much alive,' while external influences such as the increased use of qualifications for the transmission of knowledge, are adopted only when they are in line with these factors.

Chapter 9 – Conclusion and Summary

In conclusion the integration of information facilitated by the use of print or by other technologies seems to be less important than the social organisation of a society as either hierarchical or egalitarian. While Street (1993; 1995) and Bloch (1998) assume that the distribution of knowledge and the organisation of power are the two main factors determining the development of literacy, I come to the conclusion that the communicative dimensions manifest in existing patterns of a language, as observed in MD analyses, indicate culturally-specific factors that contribute to the development of any new genres, including literate genres.

The creative use of single elements of co-occurrence patterns can be used in allusion to entire clusters. This would seem to be a possible explanation for the innovative language use that emerges in

some modern Budu genres as an attempt to solve tensions arising under acculturating influences. This might be only possible in a society that first developed extremely fixed metalinguistic connotations as this border Bantu group did, before its political and religious structures disintegrated in the life span of one person.

It seems that natural language use includes unconventional language use as long as it maintains contrasts that are also manifest in the main communicative dimensions of a language. The main dimensions correspond to indigenous factors that determine the acculturated elements that are adopted. In contact with the hierarchical cultures of model literate genres, the egalitarian organisation of Budu society seems to be underlined by the language use that emerges. Creative language use may solve tensions or ambiguities introduced by acculturating influences, thereby guaranteeing the continued use of Budu.

The main conclusion is that creativity enables language users to integrate information in no matter what form, since creativity may exploit all possible iconic and metaphorical references a particular form can make. What counts seems to be the pattern of co-occurrence in which a form occurs, since, by its particularity in a specific culture, it may activate frames of cultural knowledge.

Biber's dimensions of variation therefore seem to represent cognitive frames of reference. Single forms may activate such frames in creative applications. This is an indication of the reality of prototypical genres. The creative use of genre features also indicates the existence of culturally-specific dimensions of language use. Natural language use can be explained as a process that guarantees the continuation of existing prototypes. This process facilitates the identification of prototypical dimensions despite their disturbing representation by integration of new elements in modern communication. Future research is needed to test the usefulness of this definition.