DISCOURSE, GENDER IDENTITY AND GENDER POWER RELATIONS IN FICTION:
A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL GRAMMAR READING OF WAMITILA’S UNAITWA NANI?

BY

ASUMPTA K. MULILA-MATEI

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN LINGUISTICS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS AND LANGUAGES

2014
DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

__________________     ______________________
Asumpta K. Mulila-Matei       Date

This thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as supervisors at the University of Nairobi.

__________________     ______________________
Prof. John Hamu Habwe        Date

__________________     ______________________
Dr. Evans Murage Mbuthia      Date

__________________     ______________________
Prof. Kineene wa Mutiso       Date
DEDICATION

To my elder brother: Anthony Mbuvi Mulila, for the great sacrifice you made those many years to take me to school. To my younger brother: Nicholas Muinde Mulila, for the selfless support you have given me over the years. And to my children: Walter Matei and Anthony Matei, you are the source of my strength.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

A study of this magnitude would not have been possible without support from various people, many of whom I may not mention. I would like to thank my supervisors: Prof. John Habwe whose vast knowledge in Discourse Analysis and Pragmatics I have benefited from ever since I started my post graduate studies, Dr. Evans Mbuthia and Prof. Kineene wa Mutiso whose insightful guidance helped shape this work. I register sincere appreciation to Prof. Kyallo Wadi Wamitila who, although not directly my supervisor, has contributed immensely to this study. I remain indebted to him more specifically for providing most of the major theoretical texts that were used in the study, and for finding time whenever I needed to interview him. I am also indebted to Dr.Timothy Arege who gave me a lot of opportunities through which I was able to enhance my research skills. I thank Dr. Lillian Kaviti whose insightful advice helped shape the study in its initial stages of articulation of the research problem.

I thank my colleagues and friends: Rev. Shadrack Kasinga, you conferred on me this degree long before the completion of the study, Rachel Ngumbao, Mary Ndung’u, Leah Ngugi, William Orora, Joyce Ngei, Janeanne Kiviu, Hawa Ishmail, Amina Vuzo, and Pauline Kea for their encouragement and support. I immensely appreciate my family’s contribution to this study. Jimmy, thank you for allowing me to pursue my dream. More specifically I thank my children: Walter and Anthony for their resilience. I wonder what I would do if I had a mother who was ever present yet absent at the same time! To my nieces: Pauline, Veronica, Bernadette and Mwende, you actually have managed my house ever since I started my post
graduate studies. To my parents: David Mulila and Veronica, you have taught me the value of diligence. I am grateful to all my brothers and sister: Anthony, Sabina, Patrick, Paul, Charles and Nicholas. I particularly wish to mention Anthony and Nicholas to whom this thesis is greatly dedicated. I acknowledge with deep gratitude my indebtedness to you Anthony for the immense sacrifice you made to educate me and my siblings. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Nicholas for his unending support to me and my children. Charles, you are truly supportive, thank you! I would also like to thank my sisters in-law: Christine, Jane, Monica, Peninnah and Anne. I specifically thank Anne and Peninnah for constantly reminding me that ‘I can’. Sincere thanks to Eunice Nandama for the technical support you rendered. Thank you for the great care you took even to struggle with my ‘manly’ handwriting. May God bless you! To all my role models in academics, thank you.
ABSTRACT

The study sought to investigate how the language used by both male and female interlocutors, as well as the language used to talk about male and female characters in a literary text serves to position men and women as specific types of social actors. Specific focus was on how language is called upon to signify, produce, reproduce and contest asymmetrical gender power relations. The study also sought to unpack the gender ideologies that help sustain unequal gender power relations. Data for the study was obtained from selected representative excerpts from Wamitila’s *Unaitwa Nani?*. Reference was also made to other literary works by Wamitila, as well as literary works by other Kenyan and non-Kenya literary scholars. The study was hinged on the theoretical underpinnings of Critical Discourse Analysis. Systemic Functional Linguistics was used as an adjunct theory that provided the linguistic tools for analysis. Qualitative research design was employed in this study. A qualitative approach to the analysis of data, using Fairclough’s (1989, 2010) three tier procedure of description, interpretation and explanation was adopted. This means that the study was descriptive in nature, focusing on both micro and macro discourse analysis. At the micro or text level, analysis focused on describing the transitivity patterns, lexical choices, mood and modality structures, and other discourse strategies, interpreting the linguistic features and discourse strategies drawn upon in specific interactions, and at the macro level, explaining as well as assessing the extent to which the choice of transitivity patterns, lexical items, and mood and modality structures position male and female interlocutors in the gender power relations matrix, as well as how it confirms or challenges the dominant gender ideology and social relations of power.
Ideational, interpersonal, as well as the textual patterning of the selected excerpts revealed that power is discursively negotiated by both men and women in specific communicative events. Participants who occupied positions of power, either in the organizational hierarchy or interactionally, made linguistic choices to signify and reaffirm their status. Discursively, the more powerful participants seemed to claim longer turns in which they managed to constrain their interlocutors’ contribution, hence extensively develop their topics in favour of the kind of gender identity and gender power relations they wanted to communicate to the reader. The study also demonstrated that context invariably affected how power is conceived as well as how it is exercised, by constraining the subject positions a participant can occupy in a certain discursive event. Further, the study suggested that in Unaitwa Nani?, power is more effectively exercised through hegemony where the more powerful and indeed the author uses discursive strategies which position the less powerful and by extension the reader to interpret the world from the world view of the more powerful.

The significance of this study lies in the possibilities for future research. The study is pioneering in providing a comprehensive analysis of the transitivity patterns as well as the mood and modality structures that code Wamitila’s world view about gender power relations in Kenya.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration ..................................................................................................................................... ii  
Dedication...................................................................................................................................... iii  
Acknowledgement......................................................................................................................... iv  
Abstract.......................................................................................................................................... vi  
Table of contents.......................................................................................................................... viii  
Definition of terms........................................................................................................................ xii  

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION .............................................................................................. 1  
1.1 Introduction.............................................................................................................................. 1  
   1.1.1 Background to the study.................................................................................................. 1  
   1.1.2 Background to *Unaitwa Nani?* ................................................................................ 6  
   1.1.3 About Wamitila’s writing................................................................................................. 8  
1.2 Statement of the problem......................................................................................................... 9  
1.3 Research objectives .............................................................................................................. 12  
1.4 Research Questions.............................................................................................................. 13  
1.5 Justification of the study...................................................................................................... 13  
1.6 Scope of the study.................................................................................................................. 16  
1.7 Literature review................................................................................................................... 17  
   1.7.1 Review of Theoretical Literature on CDA................................................................. 17  
   1.7.2 Theoretical Literature on Discourse and Gender ....................................................... 20  
   1.7.3 Literature on theses and projects that have investigated discourse and gender ........ 22  
   1.7.4 Literature on SFL ......................................................................................................... 25  
   1.7.5 Literature on critical works on Wamitila’s Novels..................................................... 28  
1.8 Theoretical Framework........................................................................................................ 30  
   1.8.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)............................................................................... 30
5.2.3 Interrogative Mood.................................................................265
5.3 Modality.................................................................................274
5.4 Conclusion..........................................................................278
5.5 Discourse and contestation of power......................................280
  5.5.1 Transitivity patterns......................................................281
  5.5.2 Argumentation strategies..............................................299
5.6 Conclusion..........................................................................310

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

FOR FURTHER RESEARCH...............................................................312

6.1 Introduction.........................................................................312
6.2 Summary of Aims and Methods............................................312
6.3 Key Findings of the study....................................................315
6.4 Conclusion..........................................................................322
6.5 Implications for further research.........................................323
6.6 Recommendations for further research................................325

REFERENCES.............................................................................327
**DEFINITION OF TERMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social practices</td>
<td>These are human behaviours which involve following socially established conventions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power</td>
<td>Power is about relations of difference and particularly about the effects of that difference in social structures. Power is a form of control exercised by individuals, group or institutions over others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominance</td>
<td>This is the exercise of social power which results in social inequality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideology</td>
<td>Ideologies are attitudes, set beliefs, values and doctrines which shape individual’s and group’s perceptions and through which reality is constructed and interpreted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender ideology</td>
<td>These are beliefs, legends, narratives and myths about what it means to be a man or a woman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender identity</td>
<td>This is how one defines himself or herself as well as his or her position in relation to the opposite gender.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender power relations</td>
<td>This is the social organization of relations between the male and the female sexes, especially in regards to authority, social control and economic dominance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hegemony</td>
<td>It is a form of control which is achieved when the minds of the dominated are influenced in such a way that they accept dominance and act in the interest of the powerful out of free will.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Subject positions  Subject positions are a set of socially recognized social roles in which people participate in discourse. For instance the subject position of a teacher, pupil, father, etc.

Agency  This has to do with who is acting a certain process or who is figured in a position of power.

Members Resource (MR)  These are the socially determined and ideologically shaped dispositions that members of a discourse community bring to bear in the production and interpretation of a certain discourse.

Discourse  This is a particular way of representing some part of physical, social or psychological world. It is a way of signifying an experience from a particular perspective.

Discursive event  This is an instance of language use.

Text  This is the written or spoken language produced in a discursive event.

Discourse practice  It is the production, distribution and consumption of a text.

Genre  Genre is the use of language associated with a particular social activity.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitivity</th>
<th>Transitivity refers to the way meanings are encoded in the clause and to the way different types of processes are represented in language. It specifies different types of processes and the participants and circumstances attendant to the processes. It has to do with who does what to whom, who possesses which attribute, who senses what.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Process</td>
<td>Processes are experiences, actions, events or processes of consciousness and relations. They cover anything that can be expressed by verb; event, whether physical or not, state or relation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material process</td>
<td>It is a process of doing and is expressed by verbs that denote action.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental process</td>
<td>Mental processes are processes of sensing and are expressed by verbs that involve cognition, reaction or feeling, and perception.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relational process</td>
<td>It is a process of being and is expressed by linking verbs or copula verbs such as ‘is’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behavioural process</td>
<td>Behavioural processes embody physiological actions such as ‘cough’, ‘laugh’, and ‘breathe’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal process</td>
<td>These are processes of saying, and are expressed by verbs that denote speech, such as ‘claim’, ‘announce’, and ‘say’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential process</td>
<td>These are processes that assert that something happened. For example: There were dark clouds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participants</td>
<td>They refer to the roles of the entities that are directly involved in the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>process, i.e. the one that does, behaves, says, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circumstances</td>
<td>These are the circumstances associated with the process and are syntactically</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>expressed by adverbial and prepositional phrases.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>This is the element in the clause which serves as a point of departure of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the message.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rheme</td>
<td>It is the part of the clause which develops the Theme.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Given information</td>
<td>This is what the writer or speaker assumes the reader or listener knows.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominalization</td>
<td>Nominalization is a process through which a verb is converted into noun.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intertextuality</td>
<td>This is the presence within a text, of elements of other texts. It implies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the insertion of history into a text and contributes to a wider process of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>power.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter comprises the introductory aspects of the research. A background to the study, including the socio-cultural context against which the novel is written is given. A brief comment on Wamitila’s writing is also given. Statement of the research problem is thereafter presented, together with the objectives and research questions that define the paradigm of the study. The chapter also presents justification of the study and outlines the scope of the study. Further, the chapter reviews studies on discourse and gender, as well as studies that have employed Critical Discourse Analysis and Systemic Functional Linguistics as theoretical and analytical approaches. The argument for reviewing these studies is primarily to demonstrate how the present study is both similar and unique from previous ones. The chapter then proceeds to analyse the theoretical perspectives of the study, discussing the tenets of Critical Discourse Analysis, here after referred to as CDA, and Systemic Functional Linguistics, here after referred to as SFL, that underpin the study. A critique of CDA is done with a view of showing its significance to the study. Finally the chapter discusses the research methodology and the data analysis procedure adopted in the study.

1.1.1 Background to the study

Discourse plays a significant role in structuring social relations (Wodak 2001:4). Fowler et al (1979:1-5) note that language not only embodies social power but it is also an instrument of control. This control is effected by regulation and by constitution. That is, it is achieved
by explicit manipulation and by creation of an apparent ‘natural world’ in which unequal relations and processes are presented as given and inevitable. It is also notable that in the process of meaning making, particular discursive practices with particular ideological investments are sustained over other alternative practices (Fowler et al ibid; Coates 2004: 216; Jaworski and Coupland 2006). Power may also be viewed in terms of differential distribution of discursive resources which enable certain participants to achieve interactional effects which are not available to all, or are differentially available to others in the context (Yieke 2007). Discursive resources such as turn taking process and topic control may place constraints on the discourse options available to actors and speakers in a specific communicative event (Holmes 2005). As Kress and Fowler (1979: 63-79) further note, communicative relationships are generally asymmetrical in the sense that one participant has more authority than the others. For instance, interpersonally the addressee by virtue of being the holder as well as the transmitter of knowledge.

In the same vein, the addressee can also enact power through control of the context of the communicative event (Van Dijk 1993; Remlinger 2005: 114-135). He or she chooses the topic, who participates in the communicative event and in which subject positions (Fairclough 1989; Van Dijk 1995, 1998). Control through language has also to do with whose ideas are emphasized or de-emphasized. For instance, interpersonally, an addressee, apart from selecting a topic, has the prerogative of directing a communicative event in a way so structurally designed that no information that is not consistent with his or her perception is introduced (Figueiredo 2004:218). This is what Van Dijk (1998, 2003) terms as control of
knowledge; and is examined in this study to reveal which knowledge about the identity of the man or the woman the reader is exposed to and which one is concealed or suppressed. Speakers act out and restructure their socially ascribed roles and relations through their linguistic choices. Language use is not only a means of establishing and maintaining relations, values and identities, but also of challenging routine practice and contributing towards social changes (Fairclough 1989, 1995, 2010; Litosseliti 2002: 130). From this notion, it can be argued that one’s use of discourse not only interpersonally positions him or her, but it also reveals one’s affiliations.

Discourse also allows interlocutors to be perceived in a certain way by their addressees (Morrish 2002). It is also drawn upon by addressers to regulate ideas and behaviour of others (Fowler and Kress 1979; Toolan 1992: 206-207; Adendorff 2004: 202-212).

Arguably, investigation of transitivity\(^\text{1}\) patterns, features of modality, and vocabulary under a CDA rubric is significant in interrogating which gender is depicted as more powerful in specific contexts. The choice the author makes of one process type over the other has to do with the author’s intention to project certain type of meaning or identity over the other (Burton 1982; Halliday 2004; Simpson 2004), as well as to construe one participant as more powerful or less powerful than the other. Participants in different clauses are seen as having various degrees of power accruing from their roles in the clause (Fairclough 1989: 125; Lazar 2005; Haig 2011). The more participants an entity affects, the more powerful it is. Actors in material clauses for instance, are seen as having most power above all, specifically when they act upon other participants, termed as Goals or Beneficiaries, as evidenced in the

\[^{1}\text{Transitivity is about who does what to whom; who is what or whom; who has what attribute; who says what to whom, etc (Halliday 1985, 1994, 2004; Butler 1985,Halliday and Fawcet 1987; Simpson 2004; Fawcet 2008).}^\]
following prototypical example: *Mosoti took his family to the city*, where Mosoti is inscribed as the Actor or Agent of the process: *took*, and *his family* as the Goal. In the words of Kress and Fowler (1979: 77), if one was to assign the two participants roles on the scale of power, it is evident that the role of Goal: *family* is closer to the ‘minus’ end than that of Actor: *Mosoti* whose material process seems to transform the life of his family. Similarly Mosoti would be grammatically construed as less powerful in the sentence: *Mosoti went to the city*, in which Mosoti is not acting on any animate or inanimate entity.

Investigation of gender identity and gender power relations in a text is about which attribute, for instance of the female gender is foregrounded as given information by being the Theme of the clause (Francis and Kramer -Dahl 1992: 72-77; Lassen 2004: 270), as well as what is backgrounded by being the Rheme of the clause. Interrogation of gender power relations and gender identity has also to do with who is included or excluded, when, in what contexts, and linguistically how (Sunderland 2002:302). Van Lauween 1996: 391) proposes two devices of exclusion: suppression and backgrounding. These may be linguistically realized through structural transformations such as passivization, agent deletion and nominalization (Fowler and Kress 1979: 207). While suppression excludes social actors or agents completely, in backgrounding, although the social actor may not be mentioned in the specific utterance, the addressee can infer who they are. For instance, in the prototypical example: *Nina was sexually abused*, the Actor of the process: *abused* is dissimulated, perhaps to deflect the attention of the reader from the person culpable and focus more on the victim and the act.
Similarly, investigating gender identity and gender power relations focuses on the degrees of
certainty as well as the attitudes interlocutors in different communicative events have about
the propositions they express about themselves and others and the kinds of commitment or
obligation that interlocutors attach to their utterances (Simpson 2004: 123). The higher the
degree of commitment to a proposition, the more authoritative it is, and the more likely it is
for the interlocutor to influence the minds of his or her interlocutors. For instance,
Fairclough (1989, 2010) argues that modal auxiliaries can be used to express speakers’
social and economic relationships with their addressees. For example, ‘must’ signals
obligation and can be used by a more powerful participant to overtly impose his or her
perception over a less powerful participant or the reader. In the same vein, exclusive
pronouns such as you, those and your can be employed by interlocutors to dissociate
themselves from other participants, giving a distancing effect, and allocating category (Ward
2004: 280). This categorization consequently specifies the particular kind of behaviour,
(including linguistic behaviour) and material and symbolic power that participants of each
group have to comply with, or possess.

Lazar (2005:1-16) contends that linguistic structures that communicate power differential
are also used to contest, reconstruct and deconstruct gendered relations of power. It is
therefore significant in this study to interrogate the discursive strategies that Wamitila
employs to legitimize and contest unequal gender power relations. The study interrogates
for instance, what the transitivity patterns, mood and modality structures and lexical choices
communicate about the identity of both male and female characters in the target text;
whether the male characters are always inscribed as Actors, and whether the female
characters are relegated to the position of Goals in certain processes or activities, and what such roles communicate about the gender power relations matrix. It is also significant to interrogate whether the way male or female characters are named translate to their powerlessness in specific contexts, or whether the types of attributes ascribed to the male characters translate to their status or authority. Of significance is also the investigation of how participants who possess power accruing from their institutional roles reflect, reinforce and reproduce it, and more importantly, how interlocutors who may not even possess institutionalized power in specific contexts gain interactional power in certain communicative events.

1.1.2 Background to Unaitwa Nani?

*Unaitwa Nani?* is an example of a post colonial African novel, reflective of, and critical of the political, social and cultural structures of post colonial Kenya. Among the socio-political and cultural issues that Wamitila addresses is the theme of globalization, and its adverse effects on business enterprises in the domestic economy. The author also addresses the state of poverty and hopelessness occasioned by unemployment, poor governance and moral decay. The novel is also reflective of, and critical of the patriarchal structures in Kenya, it is replete with discourses which affirm male dominance and sustain female subordination; discourses that some women contest. Marriage takes a central role in the novel and has been presented as a major site where patriarchal structures are sustained. In terms of structure, *Unaitwa Nani?*, although a novel, comprises a series of short stories. The stories, whose themes are largely on the Kenyan experience, encapsulate distinctive characteristics of Kenyan communities historically, geographically, socially and culturally. Many of the
stories and narrative incidences are largely anchored on the Kamba culture from which the author originates. However, the author draws intertextually on discourses from other cultures in Kenya such as the Luo, Kikuyu and Luyhia. Reference is also made to cultures from the Orient, such as the Asian cultures.

In terms of authorship, it is interesting to note that although the text is written by a male author, half of the stories are told by a female narrator and the other half by a male narrator, referred to in this study as the female patient and the male patient respectfully. Arguably this has an ideological implication and can be seen from the onset as a signification of asymmetry. It is significant to investigate for instance, how the male and female narrator position both women and men in the gender power relations matrix. Of significance is also the representation of male and female identity through the two doctors, referred to in the study as the male doctor (Dr. Homo) and the female doctor (Dr. Thetis). What is even more significant is that apart from the title of the text being interpersonally an interrogative: *Unaitwa Nani?* (What is your name?), the narrators, who narrate the stories from their hospital beds, cannot remember their names. The blurb of the book notes:

*What they can remember is their gender…*

The title is cataphoric in that it points to the need to interrogate discursive representation of gender role signification in the text. Indeed the blurb of the text further notes that the stories are told in the narrators’ quest to understand themselves as well as their society. It is this kind of background that makes *Unaitwa Nani?* a suitable site for a CDA analysis. As Fairclough and Wodak (1997) note, CDA seeks to address social and political questions.
1.1.3 About Wamitila’s writing

Professor Wamitila is a scholar, an author and a literary critic. A widely published author, Wamitila has published a lot of papers in journals in Africa, Europe, America and Asia. As a Swahili Scholar, Wamitila has extensively published in all the literary genres. Most of his major literary works are in Swahili expression. Some of his literary texts include novels such as *Msimu wa Vipepeo* (2006), *Msichana wa Mbalamwezi* (2011), *Tikitimaji* (2012); plays such as *Pango* (2003); an anthology of short stories: *Mayai Waziri wa Maradhi na Hadithi Nyingine* (2004), and an anthology of poems: *Tamthilia ya* (2005), among many others.

When I interviewed him, Wamitila opined that in most of his works, he adopts a feminist stand which defends women against social institutions and structures that impede attainment of their goals. He argues that what is depicted in his fictional works emanates from what he sees in the society and what he has read from other works of other cultures. Commenting on gender power relations and the issue of equal access to opportunities, Wamitila argues that the institution of marriage is a site where patriarchal ideology is kept alive. He argues that although in Kenya many issues concerning gender power relations have changed, with women gaining access to opportunities in the public sphere which has hitherto been a province of the masculine gender, patriarchal structures are still dominant; there still exist procedures of discrimination. The society, and more specifically men, is still fighting for status quo to remain in some areas, especially the family. Women’s struggle for power is therefore faced with a lot of hostility, and at times repressive power is applied by men to sustain the patriarchal ideology. Wamitila argues that there is need to change the patriarchal
ideals that govern gender relations, in line with changes in the society. It will be interesting to investigate whether the language he uses in *Unaitwa Nani?* transforms or sustains the existing gender power relations.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The overriding research problem that this study addresses is that one of the important issues contributing to gender-role differentiation is the ways through which social actors are represented in media, including literary texts (Sahragard and Davatgarzadeh 2010:87). Within language and gender research, there has been a wealth of research working either within the difference or dominance frame of reference whose aim is to demonstrate empirically that women and men use different speaking strategies (Trudgill 1983; Mills 2003: 166; Cameron 2006: 419-420). Proponents of the dominance approach argued that the language used by women as well as the language used to describe women had an overall effect of submerging a woman’s personal identity (Fasold 1990:103). It is argued that women’s identities are submerged because they are denied the means of expressing themselves strongly, encouraged to use language that suggests triviality, and to use forms like tag questions which present them as unsure of their opinions and thereby as not holding opinions that count (Cameron 1985, 2006; Fasold 1990; Swann 2002; Mills 2003; Coates 2004). In contrast to this, male speech was characterized as direct, forceful, and confident, employing features such as unmitigated statements and interruptions (Mills 2003:165). The approach argued that men’s assertive and aggressive communication strategies are not ‘mere’ cultural differences between the sexes but manifestations of male dominance over female (Holmes 2005; Jaworski and Coupland 2006: 474-475).
While it is appreciated that linguistic choices are called upon to the manifestation and maintenance of asymmetrical power relations, the present study makes a strong statement on the need for interrogating context specific manifestation of power. The study contends that different discourse strategies do not uniformly create dominance or powerlessness. There is need to interrogate meaning in relation to context, the conversational styles of the participants, and the interaction between different speakers’ styles and strategies (Tannen 1993). Only then might it be possible to interpret such strategies as interruption, directness, tag questions or indirectness as indicative of power or powerlessness (Cameron 2006; Holmes 2006). The present study argues for an analysis of gender and power that focuses less on unchanging unequal relations between men and women, but rather that focuses more on the resources available to speakers in particular positions to draw upon strategically to construct themselves as specific types of individuals and to exercise power, one’s biological sex notwithstanding. From this perspective, individuals are said to perform gender, and gender identity is perceived as an effect of language (language communicating gender) rather than a priori factor that determines linguistic behaviour (Butler 1988, 1990; Christie 2004:34; Coates 2004:6); Lazar 2005; Remlinger 2005: 114).

A considerable number of studies have been done on the role of fictional and nonfictional texts in the construction of gender identity and gender power relations. Notable among them are works of Ndungo (1998), Mandillah (2006), Okot (2007), Ooko (2008), Nyaosi (2008), Ndambuki (2010), Kinyua (2011) Mwaniki (2011), Muindi (2011), Mosha (2013), among others. Little research, on Swahili fiction, more specifically on the Swahili novel, has however focused on how transitivity patterns, mood and modality structures and lexical
choices display the power mechanics that define the two genders. Moreover, Critical Discourse Analysts have usually analysed shorter texts such as conversational analysis and formal interactions such as meetings (Yieke 2007) and political speeches (Ndambuki 2010). Analyses of longer Swahili texts such as the novel, and indeed written Swahili fiction under CDA rubric, to the best of the researcher’s knowledge are rare. Yet it is appreciated that fictional texts are a form of highly stylised language use and sites with the ability to promote certain ideologies and certain forms of gendered behaviour while suppressing others. Further, the Swahili novel has largely been an object of literary criticism and literary stylistics. Notable among the critics are Kitsao (1982), Nyaosi (2008) and Kinyua (2011). While these studies have made insightful interpretations of the stylistic and thematic aspects they investigated, none has addressed the transitivity patterns employed by the authors to encode their meanings.

It is notable that Abdulaziz’s study (1996) on transitivity patterns of spoken Swahili clause has made insightful contribution to the investigation of the relationship between the elements of clause structure and their semantic features. However, Abdulaziz’s study does not concern itself with the role of transitivity in representing participants as specific types of people. Yet transitivity is significant in interrogating how social actors are ideationally represented. The present study therefore seeks to fill the gap by investigating the male and female identities conveyed by the transitivity patterns, lexical choices, as well as the mood and modality structures, and other discourse strategies that Wamitila employs to reinforce and/or challenge gender inequality in specific contexts. The study seeks to establish for instance, whether the transitivity patterns that describe female characters in Unaitwa Nani?
ascribe to, or deny them the range of attributes that reflect individual strengths and capabilities ascribed to men, or whether the transitivity patterns represent women in disenabling discourses which fail to confer upon them any real positions of power. *Unaitwa Nani?* is a modern text, written at a time when in some contexts women and men are now competing for the same kinds of power and status (Magalhaês 2005: 182), with new identities evolving and new power relations being created. It is therefore important to focus on the new ways in which female and male identities are textually mediated in the text in this context of social change. Previous studies on language and gender are not adequate in linguistically examining this old and new dynamics in gender power relations. Moreover, proponents of CDA, notably Fairclough (1989, 1995, 2010), Van Dijk (1995, 1998, 2001, 2003) and Wodak (2001) have based their assumptions on Western/Indo-European languages on European context. An obvious bias is therefore evident in terms of language and context. The present study therefore applies CDA to the interrogation of gender identity and gender power relations on a Swahili novel written in an African context.

### 1.3 Research objectives

The study sought to:

i) Analyse the meanings constructed through the language used by both men and women, as well as the language used to describe female and male characters, and to investigate how those meanings construct gender differences in *Unaitwa Nani?*.

ii) Investigate the lexicogrammatical features and other discourse strategies used by male and female interlocutors to assert and contest power in *Unaitwa Nani*?.

12
1.4 Research Questions

The paradigm of the research is defined by the following questions:

i) How do the male and female characters in *Unaitwa Nani?* project their gender through their speech?

ii) What lexicogrammatical choices and other discourse strategies do the male and female interlocutors use to enact and contest power in *Unaitwa Nani?*?

iii) How do the lexicogrammatical choices and discourse strategies enhance gender inequality in *Unaitwa Nani??*

iv) Is power and gender identity always overtly marked in *Unaitwa Nani?*?

1.5 Justification of the study

The impetus for considering this text for analysis was the notion that one of the important issues contributing to gender power asymmetry is the ways through which female and male characters are figured in textbooks, including literary texts. The study takes the view that literature is a discourse that does not reflect reality in a neutral manner, but helps to interpret organise, and classify this reality (Fowler 1996). It is argued here that the Swahili novel, and more specifically *Unaitwa Nani?*, far from being a passive reflection of the society, it is an ideological response to the socio-cultural world views of the society in which it is
produced. It is notable that literary texts, in addition to transmitting knowledge, they may be used as influential tools to impose certain normative identities and differential power relations which readers or learners may take as an unchallenged truth. The study further argues that if readers and learners don’t resist the ‘naturalized’ identities and unequal power relations, and if no alternative discourse is provided in the literary text, asymmetrical power relations are reproduced through the text. As such this study has great implication in making these asymmetries in literary texts more tangible; it lends in creating awareness to readers and learners who may ‘innocently’ internalize the thematic content of the text unaware of its ideological intent.

The study argues that one way of intervening to reduce gender discrimination is to facilitate the reader’s understanding of the gender ideologies and the discourses that sustain them. Available research on Swahili fiction and more specifically on the Swahili novel however indicates bias towards theme and style as evidenced in the works of Mbatia (2003), Karanja (2005), Bertoncini (2006), Nyaosi (2008) and Kinyua (2011). Admittedly, Mosha’s recent study (2013) on textual representation of gender-based violence in selected Swahili novels in Tanzania is perhaps one of the closest to the present one. Mosha uses Foucauldian discourse analysis to uncover the strategies employed by the novelists to reflect, reproduce and sometimes challenge dominant discourses of violence against women. While this study has made insightful contribution to the present one, it is slanted in favour of theme; it does not isolate the linguistic features or discourse strategies that underpin asymmetrical gender power relations, a lacuna that the present study seeks to address.
It is also notable that in linguistic research, studies that have addressed gender power relations in fiction making reference to CDA and SFL, and especially using data from an African language and context are scanty. Indeed, even Abdulaziz’s study (1996) on transitivity patterns of the Swahili clause does not concern itself with how native speakers of Swahili make choices of process types to exercise power or present themselves as specific types of social actors. This study is justified in filling this gap, and testing the applicability of CDA and SFL in analysing gender power relations in the Swahili novel in general, and in particular Wamitila’s Unaitwa Nani? The findings of the study will therefore have implications for the application of transitivity, mood and modality to the study of power relations in general and more specifically to the study of gender power relations. The study adds to the existing literature on investigating Swahili grammar through a semantic-syntactic model.

Further, as noted in section 1.2, early studies on language and gender posit that men and women speak differently due to the way they are socialized and due to male dominance over female (Cameron 1985, 2006; Tannen 1993; Christie 2000; Mills 2003; Coates 2004). Whereas it is appreciated that language can be used as a tool for domination and representation of identities, the present study argues that power relations are discernable in specific contexts. A study such as this shifts the focus away from a simple cataloguing of differences between men and women’s speaking styles, to a subtler and more complex inquiry into how people use linguistic resources to produce gender differentiation (Butler 1988; Cameron 1992; 421). Finally, the study has implications on pedagogy; more specifically on the teaching of literature in Kenya. As a teacher of Swahili language and
literature in Kenyan secondary schools, I realized that the teaching of literature in schools in particular has been thematic and stylistic. The study however demonstrates that a linguistic model can be used to explore power relations in a literary text.

1.6 Scope of the study

The study used tenets of CDA as discussed by Fairclough (1989, 1995, 2010). Reference was also made to works of other CDA theorists such as Van Dijk (1995, 2001) and Wodak (2001). The study however concerned itself only with those tenets and principles of CDA which are relevant to the research questions, as summarised by Fairclough and Wodak (1997). The study employed the analytical tools of Systemic Functional Linguistics as analysed by Halliday (1985, 1994, 2004), making reference also to other theoretical studies on Systemic Functional Grammar. Specific reference was made to Halliday’s model of transitivity, mood and modality patterns and naming analysis, or as Halliday (2004:40) terms it, ‘lexical connotation’. The study however largely analysed the principal process types: material, mental and relational processes. Other process types: verbal, behavioural and existential processes were only analysed when they occurred in the selected representative excerpts. Although the Thematic Structure is discussed in the theoretical section, reference to it was made only when the Theme –Rheme structure was a salient feature in the manifestation of power in the selected excerpts. Further, since CDA is a discourse analytic approach (Wodak 2001), other discourse strategies such as narrativization, summarizing, argumentation, turn allocation and topic control were analysed when evident in the selected extracts. The study analysed selected representative excerpts in *Unaitwa Nani?*. However, reference was also made to other literary texts by Wamitila and
other literary works by Kenyan and non-Kenyan authors. There may be other power relations in *Unaitwa Nani?*. The concern of this study however was gender power relations. Reference was made only to those sections of the text with discourses that communicate certain gender identities, as well as those that create, support and resist asymmetrical gender power relations. The study also gave a thematic overview of the types of gender ideologies linguistically constructed in the text.

1.7 Literature review

This section reviews pioneering studies on CDA and SFL, language and gender, and on critical works that have analysed language, gender identity and gender power relations. A review of critical works on some of Wamitila’s novels is also done.

1.7.1 Review of Theoretical Literature on CDA

The study draws heavily on Fairclough’s approach (1989, 2000, 2010), who is considered as one of the most authoritative linguists in CDA. This approach sees language as a significant tool for creating, maintaining and changing social relations of power. Drawing examples from daily encounters in formal and informal contexts such as hospital, police interviews and schools, Fairclough investigates how language is manipulated in everyday talk in the construction of identity and manifestation and contestation of power, how ideology impacts on language use, as well as how language as a carrier of ideology both constructs and reproduces the dominant ideology in specific contexts. The approach adopted by Fairclough is based upon a three dimensional conception of discourse. He views discourse as a social practice, contending that there is a dialectical relationship between discourse and society,
with society lending content to, and constraining language use, and linguistic features acting as pointers to value systems and world views associated with the social and cultural setting in which texts and discourses are produced and received. This relationship can be elaborated by the three values or functions of language outlined by Fairclough (1989, 1995, 2010): the experiential function which takes texts as traces of, and cues to knowledge, positing that interlocutors’ world view is coded in the lexicogrammatical choices they make, and that incidences are worded from the perspective of the dominant ideology or dominant view. The expressive function of language has to do with how participants use language to construct their identity, while the relational function of language has to do with how language is used to enact and maintain certain social relations of power. These relations, as Fairclough further opines, can be overtly or covertly marked in language. Fairclough’s approach advocates for a micro analysis (textual or linguistic analysis) and macro analysis (social and cultural practices that give rise to communicative events) of texts. This approach largely directs the present study in the investigation of transitivity patterns, mood and modality structures and lexical choices that depict specific gender identities and gender power relations, as further demonstrated in section 1.8.

Further to Fairclough’s work, Van Dijk (1995, 2001, 2003) uses a socio-cognitive approach to the study of discourse and power. He analyses power as a form of control or dominance which can be exercised through mental models of positive self representation and negative representation of other. He outlines coercive power which is based on force, as well as power accruing from access and control of specific types of discourse where those who have more control over specific discourses can dominate the less powerful through mind control,
by controlling the knowledge disseminated to them and even the way the knowledge is disseminated. Control through discourse, as Van Dijk (1995, 1998) further argues, involves also control of context by defining the communicative event, deciding on the time and place of the communicative event, the participants who must be present and who must not. It also involves the roles or subject positions played by each participant, what knowledge or opinions they should have and indeed how they should express those opinions. Most of Van Dijk’s critical works focus on the production and reproduction of ethnic prejudices and racism in discourse and communication, showing how ethnic prejudice is expressed in everyday talk and through news report discourse. Although Van Dijk’s works are not on Swahili corpora, the critical perspective they adopt guides the study in investigating for instance, how process types construct discourses that emphasize the dominance of one gender in one context and de-emphasize the other gender.

Wodak’s Discourse Historical Approach (2001) also lends insight to the present study. This approach, like Fairclough’s approach, acknowledges the dialectic relationship between discourse and society. According to Wodak, language involves power and ideology, and in any interaction power relations and norms and values have a relevant role, with language gaining power by being used by powerful participants. Further the approach, like Fairclough’s approach, asserts that readers and listeners interpret texts differently depending on their background knowledge and information, and their positions. This notion is drawn upon to account for the variability of gendered identities in the target text.
1.7.2 Theoretical Literature on Discourse and Gender

Language and gender is an area of discourse analysis in which power, dominance and control have been major agenda-setting issues (Jaworski and Coupland 2006). As noted in section 1.2 and 1.5, some theorists of language and gender have argued that women are linguistically dominated by men whose assertive and aggressive communication strategies are not just cultural differences between sexes, but manifestations of male dominance over females (Tannen 1993; Coates 2004; Mills 2003). It is argued for instance, that interruption in conversation is a strategy for asserting conversational dominance, and that conversational dominance in turn supports global dominance (Mills *ibid*). While it is appreciated that linguistic choices are called upon to the manifestation and maintenance of asymmetrical power relations, the present study makes a strong statement on the need for interrogating context specific manifestation of power. The study maintains that both men and women may draw upon linguistic strategies traditionally associated with each gender to assert power. As Mills (2003: 174) asserts, when interlocutors engage in an interaction, they are at the same time mapping out for themselves a position in relation to the power relations within communities of practice and within the society as a whole. Mills (*ibid*) terms this as interactional power, distinguishing it from the socially ascribed roles that an interlocutor may have accrued from his or her class position, institutional role, or even gender. Thus it is possible for someone who has been allocated a fairly powerless position institutionally to accrue to themselves, albeit temporarily, a great deal of interactional power by their verbal dexterity, their confidence and their linguistic directness (more stereotypically masculine gender). An interlocutor can also gain interactional power through employing seemingly more feminine linguistic displays of cooperative approach. The study therefore views
interactional power as a set of resources which is available to all participants regardless of their institutional rank, and which one may decide whether to draw on or not in particular contexts.

In investigating gender identity, the present study draws heavily on Butler’s (1988, 1990, 2006) notion of gender performativity. Butler argues that gender or gender identity should be conceived as a performed identity. She argues that gender should not be seen as a stable identity or locus of agency from which various acts proceed, but rather, it is an identity tenuously constituted in time, an identity instituted through a stylised repetition of acts (Coates 2004:6). Significantly, if the ground of gender identity is the stylised repetition of acts through time, and not a seemingly seamless identity, then the possibilities of gender transformation are to be found in the arbitrary relation between such acts, in the possibility of a different sort of repeating, in the breaking or subversive repetition of that style (Buitler 1988: 520). This notion lends insight to the present study which understands linguistic choices not only as constituting the identity or position of the interlocutor, but as tools that can also be employed to subvert the status quo and transform identity. This notion is further emphasized by Cameron (2006: 420-421) who argues that feminine and masculine are not what we are, nor traits we have, but effects we produce by way of particular things we do. The performative model sheds an interesting light to the phenomenon of gender identity and gender power relations investigated in this study. It guides in investigating the multiple identities performed by characters in the said novel, since it acknowledges instability and variability of gender identities.
1.7.3 Literature on theses and projects that have investigated discourse and gender

There is a significant body of research on discourse and gender under CDA rubric. Among such studies is Ndambuki’s (2010) which investigates discursive representation of women’s interests and needs by politicians in Makueni district in Kenya. Focusing on linguistic features such as pronouns and modality in the construction of identity, the study reveals that women use a combination of both active and passive voice to construct their agency. The study has demonstrated that women present their issues as if they are uncertain and not in control despite the fact that they have accomplished a lot in their women groups. The politicians on the other hand, in their political speeches use passive voice to represent women as powerless, illiterate and ignorant about their own issues, while they present themselves as the dominant group; all-knowing, intelligent and contented. These constructions seem to perpetuate unequal power relations, portraying women as under privileged and politicians and other community leaders as the privileged. The study further establishes that women resist this state through forms of action such as formation of women’s groups and composition of songs. Ndambuki’s study is done on an African context which may bear resemblance to the socio-cultural context of the target novel of the present study. Although it does not analyse Swahili data, it greatly informs the present research.

Further to Ndambuki’s study, Muindi (2010) does a CDA analysis of sexist language in selected Kamba Popular Songs, here after referred to as KPS. Analysing pragmatic aspects such as inferences, presuppositions, implicature and topicalisation, the researcher contends that through sexist inferences, women are portrayed as proud, dirty, sexually promiscuous, exploitative, unreliable and being subservient to men through marriage. On the other hand,
men are depicted as cruel. Muindi’s study is one of the closests to the present one since it adopts a CDA perspective to the representation of gender in a literary work. However her study does not concern itself specifically with gender power relations, despite the fact that sexist language is crucial in the construction of gender identity and gender power relations.

Other researchers who analyse gender relations include Ndungo (1998), Mandillah (2006) and Mwaniki (2011). Ndungo examines the portrayal of women in selected Gikuyu and Swahili proverbs, revealing that women are portrayed as weak and inferior compared to men who are depicted as strong and powerful. Division of labour in Gikuyu and Swahili, as in many other African languages, has also been shown to be gender based, with light duties such as cooking and cleaning for instance, being performed by women while men perform heavy duties such as clearing the fields and breaking virgin land. Ndungo’s study is akin to the present study since it analyses gender identity in a literary genre-short form (the proverbs). However, the present study analyses a novel from a CDA perspective. Further to Ndungo’s research, Mandillah (2006) uses a Sociolinguistic orientation to interrogate gender perspectives in the language of advertisements in print and electronic media in Kenya. From the above study, it is noted that in the adverts men predominate attributes such as leadership, power to protect, and ability to act skilfully and authoritatively, while attributes such as ‘love’ and ‘care’ are associated with female characters or female target audience. Prestigious and challenging occupations such as medicine, banking, and building construction, the study further observes, are taken up by male characters, while on the contrary female characters take up roles like nursing or being housewives, which are deemed less challenging by the target society. An obvious power differential is therefore evident. This study bears
resemblance to the present one. However it is on media discourse, different from the present study that investigates written Swahili fiction.

Mwaniki (2011) on the other hand does a Post-Colonial Feminist reading of 1 Corinthians 11:1-16, arguing that this text has not only reinforced the existing gender biased patriarchal attitudes, but also it excludes women from the image of God. The Bible, as the source book of Christian faith, she further argues, is a powerful means for defining women’s place in the society, including justification of their subordination to men. Mwaniki therefore posits that the text under investigation does not only legitimize the subordination of women at the level of the text but has also been appropriated in the Christian tradition as divine sanction for the subordinate status of a woman. The study has also shown that women have contested ideologies of domination through strategies such as composition of songs and mimicry. Mwaniki’s study differs from the present one since it interrogates gender from a Post Colonial optic whereas the present one adopts a CDA perspective. Further, while Mwaniki discusses institutionalized power, she does not demonstrate how even interlocutors who may not possess institutional power may negotiate and wield interactional power in a communicative event.

The most recent study that is akin to the present one is Mosha’s (2013). Drawing on Feminist Poststructuralist and Audience Reception Theories, and using the analytical principles of Foucauldian discourse; Mosha does a textual analysis of fifteen Kiswahili novels published in Tanzania between 1975 and 2004. She interrogates the discourses that reflect, reproduce and sometimes contest dominant discourses against women. Mosha’s
study reveals that textual representation of gender-based violence in Kiswahili novels demonstrated that the dominant male power of the perpetrators was the main reason offered for the violence against women depicted in the novels. This study noted that rearticulating discourses that exonerate abusers while punishing victims, made Kiswahili novels generally fail to challenge the dominant discourses that maintain oppressive social relations in Tanzanian society. This study lends insight to the present one since gender-based violence is indeed an overt manifestation of power, a notion investigated in the present study. However, while Mosha describes the theme of gender based violence, she does not interrogate the linguistic features or discourse strategies that communicate this violence; a lacuna that the present study seeks to fill.

1.7.4 Literature on SFL

Research on Systemic Functional Grammar has received considerable attention, more specifically from Western/Indo-European scholarship. Halliday’s (1971) work is recognized as one of the most significant studies in stylistics conducted under SFL rubric. Halliday analyses William Golding’s novel: The Inheritors, exploring among other things, the linguistic patterns which encode the ‘mind-styles’ of the various Neanderthal peoples who inhabit the story (Simpson 2004). Halliday analyses two passages, one told by Lok and the other one from the tribe’s point of view. He notes that the narrator (Lok) depicts the tribe’s behaviour as both discontinuous and aimless. Physical action rarely affects objects in the immediate environment. Ideationally, Lok’s language is consistently marked by material processes which realize an Actor but no Goal. In transitivity terms, these Goal-less processes make the actions specified seem self-engendered even when it is clear from the narrative
context that they are caused by external agency. Halliday observes that Lok’s language creates an atmosphere of ineffectual activity, where although people move, only the mover is affected, nothing else changes.

Using both quantitative (frequency counts) and qualitative techniques (linguistic description), Halliday analyses transitivity patterns in the passage told from the tribe’s point of view, noting that in this passage, more than half of the clauses are transitive material clauses, with a significant increase in material processes in which human Actors are acting on external Goal. Halliday argues that the difference in transitivity patterns in the two parts of the novel is a reflection of the disparity in the cognitive ability of the Neanderthal people and their invaders. Although Halliday does not necessarily analyse power, his study lends insight to the present study in analysing how transitivity patterns can reveal dominant ideologies and how dominant ideologies influence the choice of transitivity patterns.

Abdulaziz’s study (1996) is close to the present one in the application of SFL to describe transitivity structures in an African language. Relying on his native-speaker intuition, and that of other native speakers of Swahili, Abdulaziz investigates transitivity patterns of spoken Swahili within Systemic Functional Grammar framework. Abdulaziz’s study is akin to the present one since it discusses transitivity patterns of Swahili clauses within the framework of process types. However, Abdulaziz does not address himself to the role of the choice of process types in the manifestation and reproduction of asymmetrical power relations, a problem that the present study addresses.
Burton’s study (1982) and Dooga’s study (2009) are the closest to the present study in the application of SFL to the analysis of power relations. Using a stylistic approach and drawing upon Halliday’s transitivity model, Burton explores relations of power in a passage from Sylvia Plath’s semi-autobiographical novel: *The Bell Jar*. Burton’s analysis is based on four participants in the clause structure; namely the doctor, the nurse and the patient. The narrator, who is the patient, presents her experience of an electronic shock treatment of severe depression. Burton’s interest is Plath’s use of disenabling syntactic structures which depict a concept of helpless victim (P. 188). The study reveals differential presentation of participants. The entire doctor’s and the nurse’s processes for instance, are transitive material processes which portray them as deliberately carrying out determinate actions in the physical environment. Electricity is also figured in terms of transitive material processes. This translates to the three participants being in control of the processes that take place. The narrator on the other hand is cast as a helpless Goal of the doctor, nurse and electricity, who not only affect her, but also other entities around. Her actions affect no other entity apart from herself. Burton’s study informs the present one in interrogating how transitivity patterns are employed to grammatically construct characters as more powerful or less powerful as well as in examining how transitivity patterns can be drawn upon to sustain asymmetrical power relations by representing one gender in deficit discourses.

Further to Burton’s study, Dooga (2009) uses Systemic Functional Linguistics approach to do a comparative study of linguistic representation of gender power asymmetry in Emeka’s novel: *The Carnivore* and Mohammed’s short story collection: *A love like a Woman’s and Other Stories*. While the former text is authored by a man, the latter is written by a woman.
Dooga’s analysis demonstrates that the transitivity patterns employed by the female author present female characters in relation to male characters as so strongly disadvantaged, marginalized and oppressed. A similar portrayal is noted in the male authored novel: *The Carnivore*. Dooga notes that although the two Nigerian authors are new, they, like the older generation male writers, have depicted women as reductive, thus perpetuating popular myths of female subordination. In the words of Dooga, the micro-analysis of the two literary texts validate the claim about male writers, but may also be extended to some female writers, such as Mohammed in Dooga’s study, that African fiction writers seek not to change existing ideologies but to entrench and perpetuate popular myths of female subordination. The present study, similar to Dooga, does a micro-analysis of linguistic choices in *Unaitwa Nani?*, a novel authored by a male writer, in order to interrogate discourse strategies that sustain or subvert dominant discourses that subjugate women’s interests to those of men.

### 1.7.5 Literature on critical works on Wamitila’s Novels

Notable among scholars who have analysed Wamitila’s novels is Mbatia (2003) who uses a Practical Criticism Approach to critique theme and form in Wamitila’s *Nguvu ya Sala*. Karanja (2005) also does a thematic interrogation of the role of religion in today’s society as exemplified in Wamitila’s *Nguvu ya Sala*, Katama Mkangi’s *Walenisi*, and S.A Mohamed’s *Babu Alipofufuka*. Further to the above studies, Bertocini (2006) uses a Contemporary Literary Theory approach, specifically Post Modernism and Intertextuality to study the theme of globalisation in Wamitila’s *Bina-Adamu*! and S.A Mohamed’s *Babu Alipofufuka*. The above studies significantly deviate from the present one, not only as regards the samples and variables investigated, but also the theoretical underpinnings. Notably, the closest
studies on critical works on Wamitila’s novels to the present one are Nyaosi’s (2008) and Kinyua’s (2011). Nyaosi uses Feminist Theory to interrogate the depiction of the institution of marriage in Wamitila’s *Msimu wa Vipepeo* and M. S Mohammed’s *Kiu*. The study investigates how the society denigrates women and prevents them from reaching their goals. Marriage has been depicted as a tool for female subjugation. Indeed, some female characters in *Msimu wa Vipepeo*, for instance, Mellissa, and Mira see marriage as imprisonment. Patriarchal system has been sighted as the cause of the problems facing women in the novel. While men seem to wield great capacity for repressive power in both novels, women are largely denigrated. The study however reveals that in both novels and more specifically in *Msimu wa Vipepeo*, women have liberated themselves from oppressive marriages and economic dependence through divorce, education and formal employment.

Kinyua’s study (2011) bears semblance to Nyaosi’s and indeed the present one. Kinyua uses Feminist Theory, specifically African Feminism to interrogate the theme of liberation of women in Wamitila’s *Unaitwa Nani?* The study investigates the role of patriarchy in the oppression of women, revealing the role of women, not only in their own emancipation, but also in the emancipation of the entire society. However, it is notable that although the two studies, more specifically the latter, may be said to interrogate gender relations, they are thematic in nature. Further, while the above studies investigate gender inequality, they do not concern themselves with the role of discourse in the production, reproduction and contestation of these inequalities. The present study seeks to fill this gap, its major concern being, as Lazar (2005:5) argues, to critique discourses that sustain a patriarchal social order
which systematically privilege men as a social group and disadvantage, exclude and disempower women.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

As noted in section 1.1, the overarching methodological framework for this study is Critical Discourse Analysis. Systemic Functional Linguistics is used as an adjunct theory that lends the study the necessary linguistic tools.

1.8.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

This section outlines the general principles of CDA and presents a brief critique of the theory with a view of showing its significance to the present study. Critical Discourse Analysis can be defined as a discourse analytic method whose main focus is on the way in which social power, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted in text and talk in the social and political contexts where they occur (Van Dijk 2001:352, 2003; Fairclough 2010). CDA also aims at uncovering the ideologies which are encoded in language and which make the unequal distribution of power seem natural and given (Young and Harrison 2004:3). By uncovering these ideologies, CDA makes them unnatural so that people can see and probably challenge or even reject them (Lazar 2005). The central concerns of CDA therefore are the relationship between language, power and ideology, the relationship between discourse, social identity and social change, and the role of discourse in producing and maintaining inequality (Weiss and Wodak 2003; McGregor 2011:4)). These roles have been summarised by Fairclough and Wodak (1997) into eight principles as follows: CDA addresses social problems, power relations are discursive, discourse
constitutes society and culture, discourse does ideological work, discourse is historical, the link between text and society is mediated, CDA is interpretative and explanatory in intent. From the foregoing, one can argue, as Haig (2011) posits, that although there are considerable variations in CDA approach to the study of discourse, two key features of CDA are evident. Firstly its focus on the relationship between language and power, and secondly its commitment to critiquing the role of language and language use in creation and maintenance of unequal social relations. Paltridge (2006: 179-183) further summarises these principles into the following tenets of CDA which guide this research.

1.8.1.1 Discourse, Social and Political issues

Fairclough and Wodak (1997) argue that CDA addresses social and political issues and examines ways in which these issues are constructed in discursive practices (Paltridge 2006:180). Following this principle, Fairclough (1989, 2010) argues that since discourse is a social practice, there is a dialectical relationship between discourse and the social structure (e.g. gender power relations); with social structures impinging on discourse patterns and realities, and discourses reflecting societal norms and beliefs. It can therefore be argued that linguistic choices are drawn upon in the representation of reality and also in the maintenance of that reality. To use Fowler and Kress’ words (1979:185), there are social meanings in a language which are precisely distinguished in its lexical and syntactic structures and which are articulated when we write or speak. There is no discourse which does not embody such meanings.
1.8.1.2 Discourse and Power Relations

CDA examines the structure of spoken and written texts in search of politically and ideologically salient features which are constitutive of particular power relations, often without being evident to participants (Jaworski and Coupland 2006:474). Power is the central tenet of CDA and discourse is perceived as a major site in which power imbalances are portrayed, perpetuated and reinforced explicitly or implicitly (Van Dijk 1993:249; Fairclough 1995; Wodak 2001; Holmes 2005:33). Discussing the role of discourse in indexing power, Fowler and Kress (1979) note:

Language serves to confirm and consolidate the organisations which shape it, being used to manipulate people, to establish and maintain them in economically convenient roles and statuses, to maintain the power of state agencies, corporations and other institutions... This is effected partly by direct and indirect speech acts, partly by more generalised processes in which the theory or ideology of a culture or a group is linguistically coded, articulated and tacitly affirmed. (P.188)

This notion is significant to the present study since, through transitivity choices, certain power relations, in this case gender power relations, are reflected and enhanced, while others are criticised or even contested. Investigation of types of processes and clauses may reveal for instance, whether the power relations are in favour of male or female participants, as illustrated in the sentences: Jackline raised her children alone. Jackline moved on. The material processes: raise and moved ascribe to Jackline power as an Actor. However, the choice of transitive material process in the first sentence grammatically constructs her as affecting an animate entity: Her children, who in this case are the Goal. Jackline is hence ideationally positioned as in control of the outcome of the lives of her children, unlike in the
second sentence where the process is self engendered, depicting Jackline as just having the capability to do something- move on.

CDA views power and dominance as not always repressive, as already accruing to specific individuals and not others. Power is determined by participant’s institutional role (e.g. leader), their socio-economic status (e.g. doctor) as well as gender (Fairclough 1992). In this regard, social relations of power pre-exist the text or talk itself; power is already there as a regime of truth (Foucault: 1980; 131). CDA thus examines how those who possess power reflect, reinforce and reproduce it in linguistic exchanges. Power is also interpreted as discursive control (Van Dijk 1988). This control is insofar as who has access to, and control of the various types of discourses, who can and cannot talk to whom in which context, and about what circumstances. The more powerful a participant, the larger his or her possibilities in discourse becomes (Van Dijk 2003). It is therefore notable that power is exercised both overtly and covertly; the more discourses or genres one controls, the more powerful one becomes, since access makes one control the very discourse as well as its context (the place, the participants and what each is allowed to say, for how long, the knowledge disseminated and how it is presented (Fairclough ibid), hence gaining more agency through distribution of power, and exercising power in a manner that is not necessarily overtly repressive. This study argues that even those who do not possess power accruing from their institutional or social roles can negotiate and wield interactional power in different communicative events. It also argues that the linguistic choices used to reflect and enact power can also be used to contest it. Speakers for instance, can choose to align themselves with dominant (or hegemonic) discourses of masculinity, or can choose to resist those discourses (Coates 2004: 216).
1.8.1.3 Discourse and Social Relations

This principle examines the role of discourse in the construction of identity. Language reflects how people come to define themselves or to be defined as members of a social group or social category (Fairclough (2010). It can therefore be argued that participants constantly construct and reconstruct different identities through the discursive choices they employ in different contexts. In Halliday’s words (1978:2), by their everyday acts of meaning, people act out the social structure, affirming their own statuses and roles and establishing and transmitting the shared systems of value and of knowledge. This study therefore maintains that through linguistic features such as modality, one can affirm his or her status in relation to the other, or make claims about his or her propositions. For instance in the prototypical sentences: *Christina may do well in Mathematics. Christina is as brave as her father. Surprisingly Christina has a car*; it is notable that the use of the modal: *may* not only mitigates Christina’s competence in Mathematics but it may also presuppose that Christina, and by extension girls are not normally good in Mathematics. In the same vein it can be argued that the use of the relational process: *is* and the attribute; *brave as her father* makes a categorical assertion about Christina’s capacity. However, a delicate analysis reveals that the identifying mode: *like her father* seems to collocate bravery with men, seemingly playing down Christina’s bravery, and notably presupposing that women are not brave, hence an obvious bias in allocation of strength. The use of the textual Theme in the third sentence is interesting. The thematic position given to *surprisingly* makes it the point of departure of the message of the clause (Halliday 1985; 1994); hence given information (Brown and Yule 1983) that it is unusual for Christina to own a car, presumably due to lack of material power or due to being a woman.


1.8.1.4 Discourse and Ideology

Ideology can be defined as a system of concepts and images which are a way of seeing and grasping things, and of interpreting what is seen or heard or read (Trew 1979:97). In CDA, ideology is seen as an important means of establishing and maintaining unequal power relations (Trew 1979; Fairclough 1995; Rojo and Esteban 2005). Ideology directs the use of language since it is the dominant ideology which determines what issues or ideas are given prominence, which ones are downplayed, as well as the meanings associated with the linguistic choices employed to express the ideas (Van Dijk 2003). In a CDA perspective, language is manipulated to express the interests of the dominant group by representing its ideas as natural and emanating from common sense (Fairclough 2010). The choice of lexicon and the structure of a sentence for instance, can foreground or background a certain perception about gender, as observed in the sentence: *Justina governed that company professionally like a man.* While Justina is ascribed power as an Actor of the material process: *governed*, the circumstantial elements of manner: *professionally, like a man* discursively locate capacity in corporate management in the masculine gender, distancing the feminine gender from such capacity.

Since ideology is centrally about power, some participants in discourse are seen to have more power to impose their views on others, and at the same time this power is drawn upon to prevent the less powerful from getting knowledge or perspectives which are inconsistent with the view of the more powerful (dominant ideology) (Fowler and Kress 1979). A significant way through which power is exercised is through hegemony. Hegemony is about enacting power through constructing alliances and integrating rather than simply dominating.
subordinate classes (Fairclough 2010:61). Simply put, hegemony is enacting power through creation of consent. This can be achieved by discursively constructing things as normative or natural (Fairclough 1989), hence making them appear unchallengeable. The argument of this study is that although gender ideologies can be naturalized through linguistic choices, they can also be contested through the same linguistic choices.

CDA is used in this study to interrogate transitivity patterns, mood and modality structures that construct certain gender ideologies and gendered identities, as well as those that produce, reproduce and contest unequal gender power relations. The choices are subjected to Fairclough’s (1989, 1995, 2010) three tier framework of doing CDA: description, interpretation and explanation, in order to establish their ideational, interpersonal and textual functions.

1.8.2 Criticisms of CDA

Among the critics of CDA are scholars from the field of Conversational Analysis and Text Linguistics in general. Notable among the critics is Schegloff (1997), cited in Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999:7) and Paltridge (2006: 195). Schegloff argues that CDA often applies sociological categories to discourse when formal analysis (Conversational Analysis) does not justify doing so. He further argues that CDA imposes its own preoccupations on discourse on a ‘kind of theoretical imperialism’ which runs roughshod over the preoccupations of the participants of discourse. However, as Chouliaraki and Fairclough (ibid) assert, all forms of formal analyses are theoretically informed; there is no possibility of a formal analysis which excludes the analysts’ theoretical preoccupation. While the
concern of Conversational Analysis (CA) for instance, is in showing how a conversation makes sense in its own terms, that of CDA is with social problems, showing how discourse (including conversation strategies) is called upon in the manipulation of power. Moreover, it can further be argued that despite their different orientations, CDA and CA are not necessarily in conflict. Some CDA oriented studies use conversations as data, and analyse it, at least partially, by using Conversational Analysis. Indeed some researchers such as Yieke (2007) have used both Conversational Analysis and CDA to study power. Similarly, some Conversational Analysis work addresses social and political issues such as gender and racism. Such studies include the one conducted by Remlinger (2005). The two approaches can therefore be regarded as complementary rather than contradictory.

CDA has also been criticized as being overtly political, a feature that makes a CDA based research lack ‘objectivity’ and ‘scientificity’ (Widdowson (1995), cited in Lazar (2005:2). Widdowson contends that a CDA analyst is likely to interpret linguistic data according to his or her own ideological presuppositions. One can appreciate that this is true, as it is for all the other fields of research, be it qualitative or quantitative. It is notable that there hardly exists an entirely objective research. In the words of Fairclough (1989:5), people researching and writing about social matters are inevitably influenced in the way they perceive, as well as in their choice of topics and the way they approach them by their own social experiences, values and political commitments. However, as Lazar (ibid) asserts, the political approach adopted in CDA not only informs the approach to social problems or social justice but it also makes linguistics more accountable, responsible and more responsive to questions of social equity. Neutrality in a research, as Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) further opine,
fails to recognize that all knowledge is socially and historically constructed and it is based on values. Fairclough (1989) argues that CDA lacks the linguistic tools of analysing the manifestations of power in discourse, it not being a linguistic theory per se. However, CDA studies can be enhanced through a more detailed linguistic analysis of the text. Fairclough (1989, 2000, 2010) proposes, and indeed uses Systemic Functional Linguistics as an analytical tool. This approach is also adopted in the present study. Despite the foregoing criticisms, review of literature on CDA as well as the description of its theoretical underpinnings has demonstrated that CDA provides a useful framework for investigating the variables selected for this study.

1.8.3 Systemic Functional Linguistics

Systemic Functional Linguistics is a semiotic approach which examines the functions that language has evolved to serve (Young and Harrison 2004:1; Lehtonen and Varis 2009). Three theoretical perspectives that SFL and CDA share are significant to the present study. Firstly, both CDA and SFL view language as a social construct, looking at the role of language in the society and at the ways in which society has fashioned language. Secondly both CDA and SFL argue for a dialectical view of language in which particular discursive events influence the contexts in which they occur and contexts are in turn influenced by these discursive events (Fowler et al 1979; Young and Harrison ibid). Thirdly, both CDA and SFL emphasize the cultural and historical aspects of meaning (Graham 2004:33-35). Systemic Functional Linguistics argues that language is a resource for making meaning and that meanings reside in systemic patterns of choice (Halliday 2004: 23; Simpson 2004). In analysing texts, Systemic linguists consider the linguistic choices made by interlocutors
within the context of other potential choices available to the user. Systemic Functional Linguistics posits that it is when one relates what has been said to what the speaker could have said that he or she gets a better understanding of the meaning of the actual linguistic choices made. This notion of choice is relevant to the present study since, as Simpson (2004) posits, language functions ideationally to produce preferred meanings. The study maintains that enactment of power is about what is foregrounded or backgrounded by the linguistic choices, and more specifically the process types and choice of mood and modality made over others.

Systemic Functional Linguistics, as noted earlier, emphasizes on the functional basis of the linguistic system. In the functional approach, the structure of language is expressed in terms of functional categories and not of classes such as nouns and verbs (Abdulaziz 1996:46). Using the functional view for instance, nouns and verbs are described according to their semantic roles (Halliday 1985; Abdulaziz ibid). This type of analysis helps uncover clauses which, viewed from a purely syntactic approach, would be classified as having similar syntactic structure yet from a semantic-syntactic rubric they have significant differences. This can be exemplified by the following sentences:
Using the Functional model, Halliday (1985, 1994, 2004) outlines three overarching areas of meaning that guide this study. He refers to them as metafunctions of language (Halliday and Hasan 1976; Hastert and Weber 1992; Young and Harrison 2004). These are similar to Fairclough’s (1989) experiential, relational and expressive functions of language mentioned in section 1.7.1 of this work. According to Halliday’s Systemic Functional Grammar, the ideational component of meaning postulates that speakers or writers use lexicogrammatical features to construct patterns of experience or create their perception of the world (Litosseliti 2002). It views language as a resource for the representation of the objects, events, states, etc, of the external world, and also those of the inner world of consciousness, thoughts, feelings and perceptions (Halliday 1985; Abdulaziz 1996; Simpson 2004). This metafunction is realized through transitivity patterns discussed in this section.

The interpersonal component views language as a resource for enabling its users to establish, negotiate and assume their roles in social relationships. It is, in the words of
Fowler and Kress (1979), Halliday (1985), and Abdulaziz (1996:47), a function that language serves in expressing the speaker’s own involvement in a communicative event, the various roles he or she adopts and assigns to his or her interlocutors through making statements, asking questions, making requests and the like, and also his expression of feelings, judgements and expectations. In this function, language is viewed as a form of participation rather than as a means of representation (Abdulaziz 1996:47. This metafunction is realized through patterns of mood and modality, also discussed in this section. The textual metafunction is the resource which enables the ideational and interpersonal meanings to come together in coherent text (Litosseliti and Sunderland 2002). This metafunction views the clause as a tool for the construction of the message through the thematic structure. Thematic structure is realized through the configuration of two structural elements; Theme and Rheme. The Theme and Rheme, as I will argue in this section, have to do with which concept is given prominence and which is de-emphasized. Three theoretical notions of Systemic Functional Grammar are therefore significant to this study: transitivity patterns, mood and modality, and thematic structure. These are discussed below.

1.8.3.1 Transitivity

Language structures experiences as semantic configurations consisting of processes, participants and (optionally) circumstantial elements, which comprise its transitivity system (Halliday 1985: 101-102). Transitivity therefore refers to the way meanings are encoded in the clause and the way different types of processes are represented in language (Simpson 2004:22). Simply put, transitivity has to do with who does what to whom; who is what or whom; who senses what or who has what attribute (Halliday 2004). Processes are the goings
on, doing, feeling, being (Halliday 1985: 101). Typically the process is realized in the clause structure by the verb phrase. On the other hand participants are entities, animate or inanimate, associated with the process and are realized in the clause structure by noun phrases. The circumstances refer to the place, manner, time or instrument used to perform a process. Circumstantial elements are realized by prepositional or adverbial phrases (Halliday 1985, 1994), which grammatically form the adjunct element in the clause structure.

Halliday 1994: 106) argues that people use transitivity patterns to constitute mental picture of reality. However what is significant in this study is why one type of process should be preferred over another. The study maintains that choices are motivated, albeit unconsciously, and that they have a profound impact on the way power relations are realized in a text Simpson (2004:22). For instance in the following prototypical examples: Munai *took* Rosalia to the city. Munai *went* to the city with Rosalia; although Munai still remains the logical subject and in SFL rubric Actor in both sentences, the choice of the processes: *took* and *went* gives the sentences different meanings. The first sentence uses a transitive material process: *took* which gives the sentence a Goal: Rosalia, and in a CDA perspective, Munai is ideationally ascribed the power to affect the actions of Rosalia who is grammatically relegated to the less powerful position of the Goal .The use of intransitive material process: *went* in the second sentence however grammatically and ideationally positions Munai as less powerful since he does not direct the actions of Rosalia, the process is self engendered. There seems to be a likelihood of equal power relations Munai and Rosalia are positioned as co-Actors of the process: *went*; Rosalia may just have accompanied him without Munai necessarily influencing her choice.
1.8.3.2 The Role of Transitivity

It is notable that speakers and writers make choices regarding process types depending on what kind of reality they wish to portray as illustrated in the following prototypical examples: *Justus educated Maria. Maria is educated. Justus loves Maria. Justus bought Maria a book*. In the first sentence, Justus is the Actor and Maria the Goal. While to a CDA analyst Justus is ideationally portrayed as having material or even symbolic power (to facilitate education through financing or instruction), Maria is portrayed as a Goal or Beneficiary (See discussion below.). In the second sentence, Maria is now a carrier of the attribute: *educated*. In the third sentence, Justus is a Senser and Maria the Phenomenon (See discussion below.). The use of mental processes: *loves*, which is an internalized act constructs Justus as lacking power to determine actions of Maria, which he otherwise has, as an Actor in the first sentence. In the last sentence, Maria is now a Beneficiary of the actions of Justus, the Goal being a *book*. This sentence, just like the first one, grammatically shows unequal power relations, constructing Justus as having material power (to buy a book), and Maria as a Beneficiary of Justus’ power.

From the foregoing discussion, it can be argued, as Halliday (2004:56) asserts, that the grammar of the clause ascribes varying degrees of agency to people as well as objects and concepts depending on where they are placed in the clause, and the choice of the process type. This degree of agency is important to the analysis of power relations, since in CDA one of the assumptions about power is that a powerful participant is able to act or even compel others to act in pursuit of his or her interests, or can intervene in a number of events in order to affect their outcome (Fairclough 1995; Van Dijk 1995, 1998, 2001. Thus the
participant represented by the grammar of the clause as being able to affect the outcome of events or actions of others for example, will also be ideationally represented as having great agency, hence in a CDA perspective, a great degree of power. Halliday distinguishes six types of processes which in turn determine and correspond to the types of clauses that represent the processes. These are: the material process, the mental process, the relational process, the verbal process, the behavioural and the existential process, which are discussed below.

1.8.3.2.1 Material processes

Material processes are used to depict actions and events (doings and happenings) (Halliday 1985; 2004:180). Material processes have two inherent participant roles which are the Actor or Agent, an obligatory role, and a Goal, a role which may or may not be involved in the process (Simpson 2004:77). The Actor expresses the person or an object that does the action and influences the course of events (Halliday 2004:179). The Goal expresses the entity, animate or inanimate, affected by the process (Fawcet 2008). In the grammar of the clause, the role of Goal can also be taken by a Beneficiary. Beneficiary is a Recipient or one who benefits from goods or services, as evidenced in the sentence: Dickson build a house for his family, where Dickson is inscribed as Actor or Agent, house as Goal and his family as Beneficiary. In this study, Beneficiary will be used to include Patient Halliday (1985), or what Abdulaziz (1996:116) calls Maleficiary participant, against whose interest the process is undertaken as evidenced in the sentence: The leaders demolished Koru’s house; where Koru is the Maleficiary participant. A material clause, like any other clause can also have a circumstantial element. The circumstance provides an additional information on where, how,
when and why the process happened. Halliday (2004) and Simpson (2004:22) argue that circumstantial meaning is subsidiary in status to the process since it expresses supplementary information; they are less important for stylistic analysis. This study however contends that the choices of circumstances may not be neutral and need to be analysed for any ideological representations.

Investigation of material processes is significant in this study since in transitivity terms, the person performing an action is conceived to accrue more power than the one who just perceives, or who is a carrier of an attribute. Further, a person who is acting on an entity; animate or inanimate, is construed to have more power than one who is just acting on himself or herself. Material processes are analysed to establish for instance, whether the male characters are always identified as Actors; whether women are always relegated to the position of Goals or Beneficiaries; whether the material processes in which male characters are inscribed as Actors translate to their status or authority, confidence, independence, capacity and dominance over women; whether the material processes in which female characters are inscribed as Actors portray them as lacking confidence, independence and incapable of influencing the actions of others; how lexicon used by male characters to refer to female characters who are their Beneficiaries, as well as lexicon used by women to refer to men who are their Beneficiaries portray each gender; whether women as Actors are inscribed in similar material processes as men. Here sentences such as the ones below are interrogated:

1. Billy trained Mercy on public relations.
2. Mercy wrote about public relations.
Although Mercy and Billy are Actors, the choice of the material processes: *trained* and *wrote* constructs them differently and ideationally accrues to them different degrees of power. *Trained* depicts Billy as a competent professional, the author of the knowledge that he passes on to Mercy, hence emphasizing his ability. *Wrote* on the other hand does not necessarily show any professional competence. As an Actor Mercy may just have been an executor of an assignment she had been given. Such representations make the power relations between Billy and Mercy in the discourse of public relations unequal. This kind of discourse is significant to the present study since for example, in the above sentences, one can argue that there is a presupposition that men are more competent in public relations than women. In this study Actor and Agent are used interchangeably.

### 1.8.3.2.2 Mental processes

Mental processes refer to the inner experience of our states of being, our reflection on, or our reaction to our ‘outer experience’ (Halliday 2004: 170). Mental processes are represented by verbs that relate to feelings (e.g. love), cognition (e.g. contemplating), and perceiving (e.g. hearing) (*ibid*: 198-199). Two participants are involved in mental processes: the Senser, or in Butler’s (1987) words, Experiencer, and the Phenomenon. The Senser is the entity capable of, for example, understanding, sensing or tasting. The Phenomenon on the other hand is what is, for instance, felt, thought or perceived by the Senser (Simpson 2004; Haig 2011). It is the entity that exerts power by virtue of being capable of impinging upon the consciousness of other sentient participants, albeit non-volitionally (Haig 2011). For instance in the sentence: *The man knew her weakness, the man* is the Senser, *knew* is the mental process of cognition and *her weakness* is the Phenomenon (what is conceived or
known). Since the focus of mental clauses is on the Senser and what he or she thinks or feels (Halliday 2004), they can be said to have a propensity of constructing a person’s opinion or perception of others as more important, hence representing himself or herself positively. They can therefore be used as a tool for mental control. The choice of mental clauses, in place of, for example material clauses is significant to a CDA analyst. In a mental clause the Senser is constructed as lacking the kind of power that the Actor in a material clause has to affect the course of events (Lehtonen and Varis 2009; Haig 2011). Further, the kind of Phenomenon that impinges upon the Senser is indicative of the kind of identity the addresser wishes to represent. It is important therefore to interrogate the Phenomena that impinge on men as Sensers as opposed to those which impinge on women as Sensers.

1.8.3.2.3 Relational processes

The relational process is the process of being (Halliday 1994:119). It establishes a relationship between two entities (Simpson 2004: 24). According to Halliday (2004:211), the relational clause has two inherent participants which are constructed as one element in a relationship of ‘being’; with the help of such linking or copula verbs as is, was, has, or an equivalent. The first participant is the Carrier and the second is an Attribute. In a relational clause, people’s experiences are constructed as ‘being’ or ‘having’ rather than as ‘doing’, as demonstrated in sentence: Lucy is a champion; where Lucy is the Carrier, is the relational process, and champion the Attribute. Halliday (1985, 1994 2004) distinguishes three subcategories of the relational process. The intensive relational process posits a relationship of equivalence (Simpson 2004), for instance, ‘The woman’s bones are weak.’ The Circumstantial relational process engenders a relationship of; ‘one entity is at a particular
place’, for example, *Mika is in the field.* Possessive relational process depicts a Carrier who is a possessor of an entity, for instance, *Koti has strong hands.* Halliday (1985, 1994, 2004) further argues that each of the subcategories has an Attributive mode and an Identifying mode. Attributive mode constructs the participant as a carrier of some quality, as in the sentence, *Dorcas is a humble wife.* The Identifying mode constructs the participant involved as the Token or the identified element and that which identifies the participant as the Identifier or Value (1985, 1994, 2004). For instance in: *Dorcas is the leader of the group,* *Dorcas* is the Token and the leader the Value.

Relational processes are significant in the analysis of gender identity and gender power relations since, as Halliday (2004:214) argues, relational processes are an effective strategy for assigning roles, identity or class membership to entities, hence it is a central strategy for assessing and evaluating (*ibid*: 219). Further, the choice of relational processes rather than material or mental processes is important to a CDA analyst; whose one of the key interests is on the ideational representation of participants. Unlike the material process which may construct the Actor as the initiator or the source of the energy which brings about change, the relational process constructs events or change as unfolding without any input of energy, as alluded to also by Halliday (1994, 2004). The Carrier is simply assigned roles or identities or possessions that seem given and unchangeable. The relational process thus does not construe a participant who is capable of performing actions that bring change or affect the course of life; rather it depicts entities that passively carry the identities and roles assigned to them by others or even themselves. Relational processes can therefore be used by those who have the power of representation, including the author of *Unaitwa Nani?*, to positively or
negatively evaluate and represent participants, influence the reader to perceive the participants according to the values attached to them, and hence position them as more powerful or discriminate them in some discourses. Analysis of relational processes guides the present study in investigating the transitivity patterns in order to establish for instance, whether there is any gender which is privileged or underprivileged by the attributes ascribed to it and what stereotypes are implicated in the types of attributes ascribed to each gender.

1.8.3.2.4 Verbal processes

A verbal process is the process of saying and it exists in the borderline between mental and relational processes (Halliday 1994: 107). The participant who is speaking is called a Sayer and what is said is called Verbiage (Halliday 2004:252-253). The addressee to whom the Verbiage is directed is a Receiver or Target (Halliday 1985). In terms of agency, the Sayer is depicted as more powerful since his or her Verbiage can affect the life of the Receiver or Target who can metaphorically be said to be a victim or Goal of the Sayer’s Verbiage. For instance in the sentence: The Bible says that you shall not steal, The Bible is the Sayer, you, the Receiver or Target, and that you shall not steal is the Verbiage. Ideationally the above sentence depicts the Bible authoritatively as the source of the information and a behaviour regulating entity, and the Target as under obligation to obey what the Sayer says.

1.8.3.2.5 Behavioural processes

Behavioural processes are processes of physiological and psychological behaviour and they are in the borderline between mental and material processes (Halliday 1994:107). They represent both activities of doing and sensing (ibid 1994: 139; Simpson 2004:23). They
comprise physiological actions like *laughing, breathing, roaring, crying*. Sometimes processes of consciousness such as *dreaming, staring, and sleeping* are represented as forms of behaviour. The participant in this type of process is a Behaver. The role of the Behaver is very much like that of a Senser. Although the behavioural process itself is grammatically akin to a mental process (Simpson 2004:24), in transitivity terms, the Behaver is construed as more powerful than for instance, a Senser or a Carrier, since he or she is portrayed as actually acting. For instance in the sentence: *They watched the movie*, although watching can be construed as a mental process, the Behaver; *They*, is actually doing something. *Movie* is depicted as a Goal or even Target of, *They*.

### 1.8.3.2.6 Existential processes

These processes basically imply that something is existing (Simpson 2004: 25). They are processes of existing and happening. They include the word: *There*, as a dummy subject as in: *There were footsteps*. This type of process has only one participant: The Existent. The Existent is the entity, animate or inanimate, which is said to exist. For example in the sentence given above, *footsteps* are the Existent.

The study maintains that what is important to a CDA analyst about transitivity is that participants can be ascribed various degrees of agency or power depending on the choice of the process type. The speaker or writer can also determine, by virtue of the type of process, how each participant is represented through choosing a particular type of process over the other or through the type of lexis used to encode the processes and participants, or in Clark’s (1992) words, how these processes and participants are named. This study mainly analyses
the three principal types of processes: the material, mental and relational processes. Other processes will only be interrogated only when they are salient in the representative excerpts. Further, since the ideational content is realized in lexis as well as in grammatical relations (Halliday 1994: 351-352), the study also investigates how participants and processes are named in order to unpack the types of meanings constructed about a particular gender.

1.8.4 Thematic Structure: The Theme and Rheme

As mentioned in section 1.8.3, the thematic structure is the one that realizes the textual metafunction of Hallidayan Functional Grammar. In Halliday’s words (1985:38) the thematic structure is the one that gives the clause its character as a message. He further argues that a clause is organized as a message by having a special status assigned to each of its parts. He names the two structural units: the Theme and the Rheme. Halliday (1994:37) defines the Theme as the point of departure of the message of the clause and the Rheme as the part of the clause which develops the Theme (Kramer-Dahl 1992:72). The Theme is usually picked from a chunk of given information while the Rheme usually coincides with the new information (Lassen 2004: 269). Three types of Themes are distinguished: topical, textual and interpersonal. Halliday (1985) describes the topical Theme as the person or object being talked about. This kind of Theme gives information and more meaning about the matter under discussion. A textual Theme is a textual element such as a conjunction that begins the clause or sentence: For instance: in the sentence, All the same I doubt she can manage parenting alone. All the same and she are textual and topical Themes respectively. The interpersonal Theme, as Halliday (1985) asserts, refers to the item that comes before the Rheme. The interpersonal Theme indicates the relationship between participants in the text
or the position or point of view that is being taken in the clause. It can express probability, opinion, persuasion, presumption, desirability, entreaty or prediction Halliday (2004). The interpersonal Theme is important to CDA since modals such as may be, perhaps, indeed, express modality and are drawn upon in the construction of identity and assertion of power (modality is discussed below). This is illustrated in the following sentence: In any case it is possible that she will let you down. The interpersonal Theme, it is possible presupposes that the woman has previously been involved in actions that erode her credibility, and therefore she cannot be trusted.

Interrogation of the thematic structure is significant in the analysis of gender power relations and gender identity since, as Paltridge (2006) argues, investigation of power involves interrogating whose views are emphasized by being fronted as the point of departure of the message of the clause and whose views are de-emphasized by being relegated to the Rheme. The thematic structure can be used to foreground or even conceal agency. For example in the sentences: There has been rigging of elections, and: The returning officers have rigged the elections, the first sentence is realized as an existential clause, and the Theme of the clause is There. Rigging is cast as the Existent of the clause. The Agent of the rigging is concealed through nominalization where the verb, rig is turned into the noun, rigging. This gives rigging a more general and less immediate cause. As Fowler and Kress (1979) argue, nominalization is a kind of syntactic reduction which clouds responsibility or in the words of McGregor (2012:7), omits information about agents of power. What is given prominence in the first sentence is the being, and not the rigging or the Agents of rigging. However the second sentence is realized as a material clause in which the
returning officers are inscribed both as the Theme and as Actors, culpable for the rigging of the elections. Prominence is given to the perpetrators of rigging.

1.8.5 Mood and Modality

Mood and modality are the linguistic resources through which the interpersonal metafunction of language is realized (Litosseliti and Sunderland 2002).

1.8.5.1 Mood

Halliday (1985, 1994, 2004) defines mood as the speaker’s expression of his or her own communication role, and of the role the speaker assigns to his or her interlocutors. In analysing mood as a strand of meaning, Fawcet (2008:13) argues that mood represents organization of participants in speech situations. In an act of communication, there is a performer or addresser and an addressee. The addresser may be a speaker or a writer and the addressee may be a listener or a reader (Butler 1985; Fairclough 1989; Francis and Kramer-Dahl 1992). Each speaker adopts for himself or herself a particular speech role, for instance that of a provider of information in a declarative clause (Fairclough ibid). In doing so the speaker in reality also assigns to the listener a complementary role which he wishes him to adopt in his or her turn (Fowler and Kress 1979: 27-28). Analysis of mood is significant in this study since from a CDA perspective, in a declarative statement for instance, the addresser has more power both as the holder of information or knowledge and as the transmitter of information since he or she can choose the kind and even the quantity of knowledge he gives to the addressee (Van Dijk 2003). Further he or she can also control the mind of the addressee by giving what is in consistent with his or her, point of view. The
addressee, unless he or she contests the information, occupies a less powerful position as a passive receiver of information.

In a similar vein, imperatives involve a considerable power differential where control may be asserted overtly through the direct assertion of the roles of commander-commanded (Fowler and Kress 1979:28). The addresser is in the position of demanding or asking something of the addressee while the addressee is ideally a compliant actor (unless he or she contests). Unmodified imperatives for instance, can be viewed as very overt manifestations of power. In interrogative mood the speaker is asking something of the addressee, perhaps information, and the addressee is in the position of a provider of information. This type of mood translates to asymmetry of power, in terms of participant relations since, as Fairclough (1989) asserts, asking, be it for action or information is generally a position of power. Arguably the addresser wields power in the sense that he directs the interaction through the kind of questions he or she asks. Further, it is expected that he or she will ask or shift the topic in line with what is consistent with the information or point of view he wants to evoke in the addressee. The addressee, although he or she can be said to possess power as the provider of information, may not be said to hold much power since his or her response is conditioned by the addresser’s point of view. Rhetorical questions for instance, are a powerful tool for manipulation and persuasion.

The subjunctive mood expresses situations that are hypothetical or otherwise non-factual. It expresses wish, possibility, judgement, opinion or action that has not yet occurred (O’Connor 2003; Matei 2008). Simply put, subjunctive mood expresses that which the speaker regards as possible, probable or desirable, as evidenced in the following sentence: If
she was given the opportunity she would be a good leader. Subjunctive mood is significant in the analysis of power relations since, in terms of modality, a subjunctive statement does not present propositions as categorical assertions, but rather as probabilities which may or may not be realised. Hence a person using subjunctive mood is interpersonally construed as uncertain of his or her opinions, hence depicted as less powerful since he or she does not lay authoritative claim to his or her propositions. This kind of mood is interrogated in this thesis only in excerpts where it is a salient feature of manifestation of power.

1.8.5.2 Modality

As noted in 1.8.5.1 above, modality is an important linguistic tool for realizing the interpersonal metafunction and expressing social roles between the speaker and the hearer and between the writer and the reader (Halliday 1994: 352).

Defining modality, Fowler and Kress (1979:200) note:

Linguistic constructions express speaker’s and writer’s attitudes towards themselves, towards their interlocutors, and towards their subject matter; their social and economic relationships with the people they address; and the actions which are performed via language (ordering, accusing, promising, leading).

Modality allows speakers to attach expressions of belief, attitude, and obligation to what they say (Simpson 2004:123) .The above definitions lead to the two types of modality conceptualized by Fairclough 1989:126) which guide this study. Fairclough views modality as having to do with the speaker’s or writer’s authority; with relational modality showing authority of one participant in relation to the other. Expressive modality on the other hand is a matter of the speaker’s or writer’s authority with respect to the truth or probability or
certainty about the propositions he or she expresses and the sorts of commitment or obligations that he or she attaches to his or her utterances. Modality can be expressed through mood of sentences, auxiliary verbs, modal adjuncts and tense (Kress and Fowler 1979; Halliday 1985; Fawcet 2008:68-83). Analysis of modality is useful in this study since it is through modality that presuppositions or the writer’s opinions about specific gender role significations are emphasized or de-emphasized. Modals inform the reader about the writer’s stance through the use of assertion, tentativeness, and other aspects of interpersonal meaning such as pronouns. It is also a significant part of how people identify themselves (Simpson 2004:123).

1.9 Research Methodology

Qualitative research design was employed in this study. The focus of qualitative research, as noted by Kombo and Tromp (2006:118)) is on meaning. Qualitative research is also descriptive and interpretative in nature; the interest of the researcher being in making meaning of a phenomenon, as well as understanding a process by understanding words and other semiotic signs (ibid). The motivation for choosing the qualitative design is that the present study, as demonstrated by the research questions that guide it, is exploratory in nature. Qualitative design is appropriate for exploring and describing hidden phenomena, such as gender identity and gender power relations. Further, as Mugenda and Mugenda (1999:155-156) opine, human behaviour [including linguistic behaviour which is investigated in the present study] as well as attitudes and other emotions are best studied using qualitative research. Qualitative research, as Mugenda and Mugenda (ibid) further
note, is effective in addressing social issues. Gender ideology, gender identity, and asymmetrical gender power relations which this study addresses are social issues.

Data for the study was obtained from *Unaitwa Nani?*. Reference was also made to other literary works by Wamitila, as well as literary works by other Kenyan and non-Kenyan authors. Purposive sampling was used to select the target text. *Unaitwa Nani?* was selected because it has a rich display of the critical elements that are of concern to this study. The text not only indexes gender power relations in Kenyan society at large, and more specifically in the Kamba community (one of the communities in Kenya), but it also to a certain extent critiques the discourses that perpetuate gender discrimination. It is therefore a rich site for CDA analysis. Further, as demonstrated in section 1.1.2, the narrative is narrated by two narrators; male and female. This means that two parallel stories make the narrative, which again means that it is presented in double viewpoints. It is significant to interrogate whether this kind of narration leads to differential representations of reality in the said text. It is also significant to note that as mentioned in section 1.1.2, although a novel, *Unaitwa Nani?* structurally comprises short stories with a rich employment of other structural aspects such as dialogue. The complexity of narratological structure best serves the investigation of transitivity patterns, mood and modality structures, as well as other discourse strategies such as topic control that this study undertakes to do. Further, *Unaitwa Nani?* is a modern novel, written at a period when women in Kenya are competing for the same positions as men. It was therefore important to interrogate for instance, whether the novel displays discourses which still offer subordinate subject positions to women, or whether there is existence of alternative discourses that position women in agentive positions.
Upon selection, the target text was read and re-read. Representative excerpts were then selected on the basis of their relevance to the key issues addressed by the research questions. The extracts selected for analysis were translated from Kiswahili language into English in order to facilitate data analysis and interpretation. The textual analysis adopted in the study was further augmented by interviews. Cognizant of CDA’s concern in addressing the relationship between the socio-cultural and historical contexts, the researcher interviewed the author and other native speakers of Kamba, as well as native speakers of languages of other communities in Kenya from which some of the narrative incidences in the target text are drawn. This was aimed at interrogating the respondents’ interpretation of the socio-cultural issues that underpin asymmetrical gender power relations in the said communities. The interviews contacted with the author also offered insight into the other non-African cultures which are intertextually referred to in the target text. Further, the author’s knowledge about the social practices in the Kamba community specifically, and other communities in Kenya in general, was significant in helping the researcher to unpack the underlying factors that shape different linguistic constructions of gender power relations and gender identity in *Unaitwa Nani?*. The study also utilised library research. Library research involved reviewing literature on CDA and SFL which formed the theoretical underpinnings of the study. Other secondary data which was reviewed included studies on discourse and gender.
1.10 Data Analysis

The study adopted Fairclough’s (1989, 1995, 2010) CDA theoretical framework. Halliday’s (1985, 1994, 2004) model of SFL was used as an adjunct theory that provided linguistic tools for micro analysis of the selected representative samples from the target text. Specifically, transitivity patterns, mood and modality structures, and lexical choices were interrogated. These tools were chosen because they are well suited for a study such as the present one whose aim is to investigate how unequal representation of social actors is encoded, reproduced and contested in language. A qualitative approach to the analysis of data, using Fairclough’s (1989, 2010) three tier procedure of description, interpretation and explanation was adopted. This means that the study was descriptive in nature, focusing on both micro and macro discourse analysis. At the micro or text level, analysis was hinged on describing the formal features (i.e. linguistic choices and other discourse strategies) of the selected representative excerpts, interpreting the linguistic features and other discourse strategies drawn upon in specific interactions, and at the macro level, explaining as well as assessing the extent to which the choice of transitivity patterns, lexical items, and mood and modality structures position male and female interlocutors in the gender power relations matrix, as well as how it confirms or challenges the dominant gender ideology and social relations of power.
CHAPTER TWO
DISCURSIVE REPRESENTATION OF GENDER IDEOLOGY IN *UNAITWA NANI*?

2.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates the role of language in the signification and re-signification of meaning, with specific focus on how transitivity patterns and other discourse strategies construct and reconstruct gender ideology or specific cultural views about what is male or female, and what behaviour each gender should portray. The concepts of discourse, gender and gender ideology are discussed. The chapter further discusses the types of gender ideologies that are manifest in the target text, showing the social roles prescribed to each gender. The chapter then closes with a reflective summary of the issues raised in the discussion. Investigation of the kind of ideologies that are manifest in linguistic choices is important in the interrogation of power relations. I agree with Fairclough (2010:67) and Trew (1979:94-113) that discourse practices are ideologically invested insofar as they contribute to sustaining or undermining power relations, and that it is quite possible to combat and even transform ideologies. This chapter is therefore crucial to the thesis’ argument since it demonstrates the ideologies which are significant in the enactment and reproduction of unequal gender power relations. The main thesis that guides analysis in this chapter is that ideology both controls and legitimizes the maintenance of social role prescription and relations (including gender power relations) and that this control and legitimation is indexed and maintained, at least partially, through language.
2.2 Defining Discourse

This study draws on Fairclough’s (2003) and Gee’s (2008) conception of discourse. Fairclough (2003:17) views discourse as a particular way of representing some part of physical, social and psychological world. He further argues that there are alternative and often competing discourses associated with different groups of people in different social positions. He views discourse as a form of social practice which takes consideration of the context of language use. This notion does not significantly deviate from Gee’s (2008:3-4) view of discourse. Gee posits that discourses are ways of behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, speaking, and often reading and writing, that are accepted as instantiations of particular identities (or types of people) by specific groups, whether families of a certain sort…African-Americans of a certain sort…men and women of a certain sort…Discourses are ways of being “people like us”…They are ways of being in the world. ..They are socially situated identities. They are thus, always and everywhere social, and products of social histories. Gee argues that each discourse incorporates a usually taken for granted and tacit set of ‘theories’ about what counts as a “normal” person and the “right” ways to think, feel, and behave. These ‘theories’, he further asserts, crucially involve viewpoints on the distribution of “social goods” (what is referred to in this study as symbolic capital or symbolic power) like status, worth, and material goods in society (who should and who shouldn’t have them). Such ‘theories’, Gee further argues, which are part and parcel of each and every discourse, and which, thus, underlie the use of language in all cases, are called ideologies. This conception of discourse is significant in analysing the kinds of gender ideologies that are manifest in the selected excerpts in this section.
2.3 The concept of gender

In this study the concept of gender is drawn from Butler’s (1988, 1990) notion of gender performativity; that is a model of gender as an act, or as a verb, which is enacted within specific environments and contexts. This model views gender both as something which one can perform as he or she wishes, but also as something which is performed within constraints established by communities of practice and our perceptions of what is appropriate within those communities of practice (Mills 2003:5; Coates 2004; Cameron 2006). Elaborating the concept of gender, Eckert and Ginet (2003) posit that while sex is a biological categorization based primarily on reproductive potential, gender is the social elaboration of biological sex or rather the social roles that specific cultures accord male or female social actors based significantly on cultural beliefs or ideologies about what makes one male or female and the social actors’ understanding of themselves and others as male or female. Linguistic choices and other discourse strategies often encode this gender categorization of male and female social actors as exemplified in the following example from Unaitwa Nani?.

Excerpt 1


Secondly there was skipping the rope with your eyes closed – and the rope was not supposed to touch your legs, and also throwing stones from small holes. And hand walking… We were denied that game because we were
The context of the excerpt is a school. Gender performance and gender role differentiation is evident in the above excerpt. In transitivity terms there is asymmetry in the allocation of agentive positions in material processes. Girls for instance, are inscribed as Actors in material processes such as rope skipping and throwing stones in holes. They are denied agentive positions in the material process of hand walking which is collocated with male social actors. In this example, the persona performs the traditionally ascribed roles of the feminine gender by engaging in games that are conventionally feminine. She also performs the masculine gender by engaging in a game traditionally associated with boys, and which social injunction forbids girls to engage in. This confirms Simone de Beauvoir’s (1949) view that while one is born male or female, one becomes masculine or feminine through socialization (see also Cameron 2006; Mills 2003; Hastert and Weber 1992). From the above excerpt, it can be argued that an individual may choose to perform as expected by his or her gender and keep in place the existing ideology, he or she may also choose to display characteristics that are inconsistent with the frame the socio-cultural context has of the participant, hence contest the existing ideology.

It is notable that excerpt 1 is a case of how language is appropriated in the control of behaviour and reproduction of ideologies by prescribing the appropriate or legitimate manner in which activities may be carried out, as well as the positive and negative sanctions
which are tacitly or self-consciously applicable to the activities (Meurer 2004:90). The excerpt seems to construct frames of masculinity and femininity and reproduce them through regulatory rules on appropriate behaviour for a boy or a girl. The circumstantial element of reason: *because of being girls*, attendant to the material clause: *we were denied*, presupposes asymmetry in gender role signification which is in favour of boys. This kind of asymmetry is sustained through rules or regulations, (*amri*) imposed by one of the key institutions of behaviour control: the school.

It is also significant to note that regulation of behaviour is also achieved interpersonally through the rhetorical question: *Mbona wewe msichana unapiga mangombe kama mvulana? Huoni aibu?* (Why are you hand walking like a boy. Aren’t you ashamed?) In the above Verbiage, the addressee is not demanding information from the addressee; rather, he is informing the girl that this is an inappropriate behaviour or inappropriate identity of the feminine gender. In the same vein, ‘aren’t *you* ashamed?’ is a reprimand, it is metaphorically an imperative statement telling the girl, who in transitivity terms is inscribed as a Senser of the Phenomenon: *shame*, that she should shun this masculine behaviour. Such discourse serves to reproduce differential gender relations. Notice also that the addresser calls upon the institutional power of the man in the subject position of a father to threaten the girl and perhaps dissuade her against this type of behaviour. Telling the girl that they will tell her father legitimizes the father’s social position as a custodian of behaviour regulating resources. Repressive power is also used to sustain this gender role differentiation as presupposed by the material process: *niliadhibiwa* (I was punished). Punishment, apart from being a resource for enacting power overtly, is also behaviour regulating since it
presupposes that there are specific socially instituted actions that are desirable, and any individual undertaking actions that are not positively sanctioned by a specific discourse community is liable to repressive power. These behaviour regulating resources serve to keep alive the dominant gender ideology.

It is also worth noting that although the girl in the above excerpt does not have the institutional power to hand-walk, she gains it circumstantially by contesting the status quo. The identifying relational clause: *I was the first girl in my school to contravene that rule* classifies her in her own category. Her behaviour, in the words of Hastert and Weber (1972:172), transcends the narrow bounds of her society’s frame of a girl, and hence, she is seen as subversive of masculine authority. This is why she is being threatened of disciplinary measures. Further, her hand-walking is negatively evaluated through the relational clause: *utaishia kuwa mwanamke mtundu* (*You will end up being a naughty woman.*). This relational clause can partly be seen as verbal harassment to the girl, and also a strategy geared at negative representation of the girl, the dominant reading being that hand-walking is a masculine behaviour, hence the woman has claimed a false status for herself to which she must be denied access. This gender role differentiation in *Unaitwa Nani?* is further amplified in the following example:

Excerpt 2

1. “*Unaondoka mara moja hii?*”
2. “*Ndiyo, nikae hapa kufanya nini?*”
3. “*Ukae nami na mwanao!*”
4. “*Hamwendi safari, nikirejea nitawakuta! Siwezi kukaa tu hapa. Nitakuwa mwanamume wa aina gani?*” (P. 98)
1. “You are going this soon?”
2. “Yes, what will I be doing when I stay here?”
3. “You will stay with me and your child!”
4. “You are not going to travel, when I come back I will find you! I can’t just stay here. What kind of a man will I be?”

The participants in the excerpt are a husband (Lusweti) and his wife (Kamene). Lusweti has just brought Kamene home from hospital where she has had a baby. He wants to leave immediately, making Kamene wonder why he has to leave so soon. Kamene uses the rhetorical question, “you are going this soon”, which is interpersonally a reprimand, to impinge upon the conscience of her husband to stay home. Lusweti’s responses underscore the social expectations of the masculine gender. The choice of the rhetorical question: *Nikae hapa kufanya nini?* (What will I be doing when I stay here?), which is also a reprimand, presupposes that men’s identity is not linked with the domestic sphere and this should even be given information to his wife. Further, Lusweti’s Verbiage: *What kind of a man will I be?* underpins the ideology that nurturing or caretaking duties are a prerogative of the feminine gender. A man performing such duties performs feminine gender and undermines his role prescription. One can therefore argue that the excerpt demonstrates two contending discourses: that of a man who wants both his wife and him to perform their traditionally ascribed gender roles, and that of a woman who is evidently contesting this gender role differentiation, seeking partnership with her husband in the nurturing. This kind of discourse is not significantly different from the following example from Mazrui’s (1981) *Kilio Cha Haki*:
Excerpt 3

Mwengo: Lanina, unajua...siku hizi...nakuona unachelewa kurudi nyumbani...
Mimi ndiye mpishi siku nyingine...
Ndiye ninavelea watoto...

Lanina: Na unaona ni makosa Mwengo?
Wewe kuwatazama watoto wako?
Wewe kuipikia jamii yako?

Mwengo: Yaani... yaani... si...si utamaduni wetu! (P.32)

Mwengo: Lanina, you know …these days…I realize you are coming home late…
I am the cook some days…
I am the one who takes care of the children…

Lanina: And you find fault in this Mwengo?
Looking after your children?
Cooking for your family?

Mwengo: I mean... I mean…it is not allowed by our culture!

Mwengo, just like Lusweti, feels that being an Actor in material processes such as cooking and taking care of children translates to performing feminine gender. This not only undermines his position as a man, but also contravenes the gender ideology in his society. However, Lanina, just like Kamene in excerpt 2 above, uses rhetorical questions to challenge the gender ideology that relegates the role of nurturing to the feminine gender only.

2.4 Gender ideology

Gender ideology refers to the systematic cultural beliefs containing legends, narratives and myths about what it means to be a man or a woman and suggests how each social participant should behave in the society. A society’s gender ideology is grounded largely on religious and social principles which are then used as ground to justify different rights, responsibilities and rewards to each gender (Hussein 2004:59). It can therefore be argued
that beliefs about what it means to be male or female are part of shared ideology, and assumptions about gender roles typically reflect socially accepted distinctions between the masculine and feminine gender (see also Lazar 2005). These assumptions, as demonstrated in the examples 1, 2 and 3 above, are not only reflected in the language used by female and male interlocutors, but they also constrain the kind of behaviour (including linguistic behaviour) exhibited by each gender. This is amplified by the following example from *Unaitwa Nani?:*

Excerpt 4

> “Kasekesi binti yangu, karibu hapa jikoni tunakopaswa kukaas sisi wanawake kuwasha tora mabinti zetu jinsi ya kuishi, kwa lugha ya jikoni- lugha ya mama.Barazani huko nje, wanakaa wanaume na matumbo yao yaliyowafutuka...” (P. 43)

> “Kasekesi my daughter, welcome here in the kitchen where we are supposed to sit us women to advise our daughters about how to live, using kitchen language – mother tongue. Outside in the Verandah sit men with their protruding stomachs...”

The addresser is a mother and the addressee is her daughter (Kasekesi). The excerpt reveals clearly defined gender roles. The passive form: *tunakopaswa* (where we are supposed to) presupposes a Sayer who directs the woman’s behaviour. It can be argued that the metaphorical Sayer is the dominant gender ideology which seems to relegate women’s place to the kitchen (domestic sphere) and that of men in the public domain, as evidenced in the circumstantial elements of extent or location: *hapa jikoni* (in the kitchen) and *barazani huko* (outside in the verandah), which ideationally construct separate activities for men and women.
2.5 Gender ideology and patriarchy

Defining patriarchy, Ackermann (1991:95) notes:

Patriarchy means the legal, economic and social system that validates and enforces the sovereignty of the male head of family over its other members. These members in classical patriarchal systems were the wives, children, servants and slaves. Today patriarchy describes the male dominated world that we live in.

In modern times patriarchy more generally refers to a social system in which the male is the authority figure central to social organization and the central roles of political leadership, moral authority and control of property, and where fathers hold authority over women and children. It implies the institutions of male rule and privileges, and entails female subordination. Many patriarchal societies are also patrilineal, meaning that property and title are inherited by male lineage. Patriarchy does not refer to simple binary pattern of male power over women, but power exercised more complexly by age as well as gender, by older men over women, children and younger men. The operations of power in patriarchy are usually enacted unconsciously. All are subjects; even fathers are bound by its structures. Patriarchy is represented in unspoken traditions and conventions performed in everyday behaviours, customs and habits (Shilokila 2005; Mwaniki 2011). Discourse in Unaitwa Nani? largely presents a patriarchal system which sustains male dominance over women as evidenced in the following extract:

Excerpt 5

“Kumbuka mwanamume ndiye kiongozi wa nyumba na ndiye anayekufadhili katika maisha yako; anayekuongoza kwenye mapito ya giza katika ulimwengu huu katili; anayekuelekeza unapokwenda kombo; anayekunasihi jinsi ya kuishi na wengine. Na uso wa kufadhiliwa u chini binti yangu.Mnyenyeweke
“Remember a man is the head of the family and he is the one who provides for you in your life, the one who leads you through paths of darkness in this cruel world; the one who guides you when you go astray; the one who counsels you on how to live with others. Remember a beneficiary is always subservient to the provider. Obey your husband so that your life may be smooth my daughter. I think you have read The Epic of Mwanakupona which was written by a woman, and how it explains those issues! Take care of him completely…Men from our community take good care of the woman as long as you don’t become tough headed. If you are ever punished for having being mischievous never come back to my home!”

The addresser is a father and addressee his daughter (Kasekesi). A delicate analysis of transitivity patterns in the excerpt reveals that men are elevated to a commanding position. The identifying relational clause: ndiye kiongozi wa nyumba (he is the head of the family) positions men as in charge of family leadership and indeed social control. Moreover, the transitive material processes; anayekuongoza (who leads) and anayekuelekeza (who guides), as well as the verbal process anayekunasihi (who counsels) discursively figure the man in an agentive position of giving leadership and direction to the woman. The woman on the other hand is figured in a subordinate position as a Goal and Receiver of man’s material and verbal processes. This socializes the addressee, and by extension women to dependence over men, hence reproducing the ideology of male dominance and female subordination. Notice also that, apart from the man being grammatically responsible for agency in the material processes, he is also lexically identified as a protector, through lexical choices such as: anayekufadhili (who provides for you) kiongozi (leader), since in Swahili kufadhili also
means to protect. Further, the woman is called upon to subservience by implicitly being ideationally represented as inherently weak and needing man’s help (a beneficiary is always subservient), and explicitly through the imperative: *mnyenyekke mumeo* (humble yourself to your husband). Interpersonally the imperative implies addressee obligation, further subordinating women to the men.

What is interesting is the way the addresser refers his addressee to authoritative moralizing discourse written by a woman (This is discussed further in chapter 5). This legitimizes the addresser’s ideological position. The addressee, and by extension the reader, is called upon to believe that the addresser’s utterance is not his own subjective opinion about the socially ascribed role of men and women, but rather he is speaking from the perspective of the author of the epic, and by extension the perspective of all women. Indeed the addresser casts himself in the discourse position of a transmitter of an ideology that is authored by women to control their behaviour. This naturalizes male dominance and female subordination. The addresser further interpersonally emphasises the image of men as institutional leaders and protectors through the categorical declarative statement: *Wanaume wa huku kwetu wanamtunza mwanamke* (men from our community take care of the woman). The statement, being in present continuous tense, claims an unmitigated truth about the image of man as a protector. In this declarative, the man is cast as an Agent, acting intentionally to protect the woman who is depicted in a subservient position as the Goal. The woman is further called upon to this subservient position by being reminded that she can only benefit from her husband’s material process by being obedient. The Swahili proverb: *Uso wa kufadhiliwa u
chini (a beneficiary is always subservient to the provider) further grammatically inscribes the woman in a passive position as a Beneficiary of the man who is depicted as an Actor in an agentive position as a provider.

It is evident that excerpt 5 figures the stereotype that women cannot direct themselves and indoctrinates the woman into subservience and the man into a position of social control. Further, the excerpt demonstrates that it is incumbent upon the husband to control the behaviour of his wife as evidenced in the material process, ukiadhibiwa (if you are punished) which presupposes that the woman has a weak disposition, constantly needing redirecting through punishment. The following example from Unaitwa Nani? further amplifies male dominance:

Excerpt 6

*Kila Kamene alipomuuliza kwa nini alipotea, akamwacha kwenye upweke, akaruka juu... kwa kusema kuwa katika maisha yake hajasikia “mwanmume kuulizwa alikuwa wapi.” Hata mamake... hakuwahi kumwuliza babake anatoka wapi.* (P .97)

Every time Kamene would ask him why he has gotten lost and left her in loneliness, he would jump,... saying that in his life he has never heard “a man being asked where he has had been.” Even his mother... had never asked his father where he was coming from.

Although the above excerpt comprises declarative statements, there are embedded interrogatives: *Kwa nini?* and *Alikuwa wapi?*, through which Kamene demands information from her husband (Lusweti). In the backgrounded interrogative clause: *Kwa nini unapotela na kuniacha kwenye upweke?* (why have you gotten lost and left me in loneliness?) Kamene challenges her husband’s material processes of separation; *kupotea*, (to get lost) and
kuniacha (leave me). Lusweti’s response to Kamene’s question: reveals what Mills (1992: 174) refers to as inability of people to break through the restrictive patriarchal frames. Kamene’s question is interpreted by Lusweti as transcending the narrow bounds of Lusweti’s frame or expectation of what a woman or a man should or should not do. Lusweti’s answer presupposes an internalized stereotype that in a marriage a husband has an overall prerogative over the members of his family. This stereotype is in this context challenged by Kamene’s oppositional discourse. Lusweti however appeals to traditional discourse of patriarchy to authenticate his claim, and indeed the claim of the corporate identity of men to the family leadership (his mother did not challenge the authority of his father in the home), and hence reproduces the ideology of male dominance and female subordination. This kind of dominance seems to be further reproduced in the following example from Unaitwa Nani?:

Excerpt 7

1. Tunataka kujua uliumiziwa wapi... Au ulimwotea mumeo pembe? Je, ulitaka kutwaa mamlaka yasiyokuwa yako? (P. 34)

“We want to know where you got hurt from...Or you became stubborn to your husband? Did you want to usurp power which is not yours?”

The addressee is one of the male hospital workers attending to the female patient. The last two rhetorical questions position the man as in control of his wife and dissociate the feminine gender from family leadership. Further, the patriarchal order seems to reproduce this kind of ideology through sanctions. The rhetorical question:“Did you usurp power which is not yours?’ distances the woman from being an Actor in the material process, ’leading’, further institutionalizing male authority in leadership. Further, “Au ulimwotea
“mumeo pembe?” (Or you became stubborn to your husband?) ideationally positions the husband as in charge of controlling the wife’s behaviour. It is also significant to note that this kind of discourse is reproduced in one of other literary works by Wamitila, as demonstrated in example 2 below.


Katango: Huu wakati mwingine!

Ngwese: *(He tries to move towards her in anger)* I will slap you. I see you are being disrespectful to me! You need to get married so that your husband can discipline you!

Katango: Things are different these days!

In the context of the above excerpt, a female participant (Katango) challenges the male participant (Ngwese) by telling him that his grandfather was a colonial stooge. This makes Ngwese threaten Katango. Katango’s Verbiage apparently challenges the discourse of male dominance and female subordination, making Ngwese want to apply repressive power on her, the dominant reading being that she has claimed a false status for herself. It is also notable that Ngwese’s Verbiage does not only ideationally position marriage as a behaviour controlling institution for women, but it also institutionalizes men as in charge of that behaviour control; a notion that Katango contests. Notably excerpts 5, 6 and 7 portray patriarchal discourses which emphasise meanings and values which, as (Coates 2004:216), opines, assume the superiority of males.
2. 6 Gender ideology and division of labour

Division of labour is division of activity. Activity determines such things as patterns of association, movement and even use of space. Division of labour tends to call for, and even inculcate gendered qualities (Eckert and Ginet 2003:38). Examine the following example from *Unaitwa Nani?*:

Excerpt 8

“Listen, you know their bones are frail and weak sir. Technically we say they are *pedomorphic*... They are not like those of a man which have the ability to withstand heavy tasks such as carrying sacks in the port; loading goods in vehicles and toppling each other in wrestling. And don’t imagine this begun yesterday; it is since the time of gathering in the forests during the Stone Age (I don’t know whether you did History in school?) Remember this is a scientific fact! A woman is prone to emotions, she is just flesh!”

The speaker in the above except is the male doctor (Dr. Homo) and his interlocutors are his colleagues (nurses). He is responding to his colleague’s concern about the female patient’s failure to respond to treatment. The excerpt uses both relational and material processes to emphasise the cultural belief about what it means to be male or female and the roles ascribed to each one of them. The opening attributive relational clause: *mifupa yao wajua ni dhaifu na minyonge bwana* (you know their bones are weak and frail) casts the woman as a Carrier of the attribute: *weakness*. This attributive clause is put in apposition with a possessive relational
clause: *ina uwezo wa kuhimili vishindo vikubwa* (have the ability to withstand heavy tasks) in which the man is inscribed as a possessor of strength through his bones which are cast in an agentive position with latent capacity to withstand hard tasks. It is also evident that there is overwhelming employment of transitive material processes: *kuhimili* (to withstand), *kubeba* (to carry), *kupandisha* (to load) and *kuangushana* (to topple each other), in which the man is positioned as an Actor, acting intentionally on another entity (see also chap 3 of this work). Through these material processes Wamitila emphasizes the physical potency of the masculine gender, contrasting it with the weakness of the feminine gender, further implying women’s social dependence on men. These material processes also play an important role in reinforcing and reproducing the dominant ideology which accords men such attributes as strong, competitive, risk taker and confrontational. It is also notable that the intertextual reference to the ages of gathering to describe men’s high facility in physical strength is hegemonic. In the words of Fairclough (2010:129-133), this is a political strategy of constructing alliances and incorporating the interlocutors and indeed the readers into this world view. Contending that men have been like this since Stone Age legitimizes and naturalizes the attribute of physical strength ascribed to the masculine gender.

It is also worth noting that the ideology about the capacity of men’s bones is reproduced in school which wields the institutional power to disseminate information (Fairclough 1989; Grant and Hall 2010). Further, by drawing upon scientific discourse to legitimize his proposition, the interlocutor makes his perception easy to be reproduced since very few social actors question knowledge that has been scientifically proven. Moreover, by referring
to women as: Nyamanyama tu (just flesh), the interlocutor subtly dissociates women with challenging physical activities, hence communicating the society’s view about their physical inferiority and men’s purported strength. The use of ‘basi’ (period) further interpersonally claims certainty and indeed finality to this kind of perception. This excerpt can be described as a case of determined patriarchy or what feminist theory would call biological determinism (see also Coates 2004). Biological determinism looks at humanity from a strictly biological point of view. The male testosterone hormone for instance, is known to greatly enhance risk taking behaviour. Biological determinism argues that because of woman’s biology, she is more fit to do roles such as anonymous child rearing at home rather than as leaders in battles, or in the case of this excerpt, competitive tasks such as wrestling. What is emerging from the excerpt is that although in some contexts in Kenya physical strength is becoming essentially irrelevant for job performance (in Kenya we have ladies who even drive large tracks) in contemporary society, the dominant gender ideology still locates tasks requiring unusual strength to the masculine gender. Arguably the excerpt foregrounds women’s unfitness to undertake tasks such as the one’s mentioned, relegating them to a position of dependence over men for such tasks. Such stereotypical inferiority of women can be used as a basis for limiting their access to tasks and domains requiring such physical strength, despite the fact that they may not necessarily be lacking physical strength for such tasks. This kind of depiction does not significantly deviate from the following discourse by female characters in Unaitwa Nani?:


Excerpt 9

1. “Unatafuta nguzo za nyumba...?”
2. “Eeh, Samson mtoto wa Manoa...”
3. “Unataka kuiporomosha nyumba tufe sote?”
4. “Tukutafutie utaya wa simba?”
5. “Semaa!”
6. “Tujiandae kufa?”
7. “Sema shujaa mkubwa uliye!” (P. 123)

1. “Are you looking for the pillars of a house...?”
2. “Eeh, Samson son of Manoa...”
3. “Do you want to bring down the house and have everyone killed?”
4. “Can we search for you a lion’s jaw?”
5. “Talk!”
6. “Should we prepare ourselves to die?”
7. “Talk, the big hero that you are!”

The context of the excerpt is the hospital. The speakers are the female doctor (Dr. Thetis) and her colleagues (nurses). The addressee is the male patient who tries to move his hands on his sick bed, eliciting the above utterances. Of significance is the choice of material processes: kuiporomosha (to bring down), tukutafutie (we look for) and Tujiandae kufa? (Should we prepare ourselves to die?), in which the man is inscribed as an Actor, acting intentionally on concrete inanimate and animate Goals. It is notable that the rhetorical clauses in which these processes are positioned are not only sarcastic, but they are also aimed at reprimanding the patient (he has raised his hands), and contesting men’s aggressive behaviour. However, it is also notable that by these processes, the women signify the dominant gender ideology of male dominance. In: kuporomosha (bring down), the house is the Goal and the women Beneficiaries or rather Patients (Halliday 1994; Fawcet 2008) of the man’s destructive action. In: Tujiandae kufa? (Should we prepare to die?), the man is
also cast as an Actor while the women are depicted as Goals or victims of his material actions. These processes presuppose men’s physical strength and women’s subjection to that physical strength. Further, the women reproduce this kind of ideology by metaphorically referring to the patient, though sarcastically, as Samson son of Manoah, a legend in the Bible who is said to have had the strength and bravery to fight with a lion. This is further exemplified in the following utterances by the same participants:

Excerpt 10

1. “Ehh, Mr Radi!”
2. “Unatolea sauti kubwa nani?”
3. “Unakoromea nini?”
4. “Sema, unangurumia nini?”
5. “Unadhani u simba?”
6. “Vinyoya hivi vivili vitatu usoni unadhani arufu?”
7. “Sema...!”
8. “Unadhani ndiwe Simba mla watu wa Tsavo!”
9. “Au wa Rufiji!”
10. “Aliyewala watu kwa kushindwa na kazi ya kuwinda!” (P. 127)

1. “Ehh, Mr Thunderstorm!”
2. “Whom are you producing loud voice to?”
3. “What are you croaking at?”
4. “Say, what are you roaring at?”
5. “You think you are a lion?”
6. “These two-three feathers on your face you think they are a mane?”
7. “Say...!”
8. “You think you are the Man eating Lion of Tsavo?”
9. “Or of Rufiji?”
10. “Who preyed on people because he was unable to hunt!”

Investigating the transitivity patterns in the excerpt, one realizes that the speakers employ largely behavioural processes: unatolea (producing), unakoromea (croaking), unangurumia (roaring), in which the man is inscribed as a Behaver. This construes the man as acting
intentionally to affect the lives of the speakers, who in this case are depicted as the Targets of his physiological actions. It is interesting to note the kind of lexical choices used to label the man: *Mr. Thunderstorm, Man eating Lion*. These choices depict men as not only imbued with physical strength and bravery, but also as Actors acting intentionally to affect the lives of others. Although the women seem to downplay men’s agency by using modal markers such as *unadhani* (you think), it is evident that they still locate physical strength to the masculine gender through the attributes they give to the addressee. They even relate his hairs to the mane of a lion. It is also notable that by attributing the lion’s material process: *preying on human beings*, to its lack of capacity in hunting, the women are implicitly communicating that male lions are not necessarily good hunters, arguably the female lions are. The interlocutors can also imply that indeed, male lions, and by extension men, are the ones who are supposed to perform challenging tasks of hunting or providing for the family, and failure to do that undermines their position. Extracts 9 and 10 thus perpetuate the ideology that collocates aggressiveness, physical strength and courage with the masculine gender.

It is interesting to note that these same participants reproduce the gender ideology that associates women’s activities with the domestic sphere as the following excerpt demonstrates:

Excerpt 11

1. “*Mwana...!*”
2. “*Mwana nini?*”
3. “*Ehh, aseme!*”
4. “*Semaa!*”
5. “*Mwana wa nani?*”
6. “*Ana mama?*”
7. “Eeh, muulize!
8. “Hukuzaliwa?”
9. “Hakunyonya?”
10. “Hukupanguswa uchafu wa choo kwa majani?”…
11. “Ulipasuka kwenye mkuyu kama Yunga mwamba?”

1. “Mwana…!”
2. “What son?”
3. “Ehh, let him say!”
4. “Say!”
5. “Whose son?”
6. “Does he have a mother?”
7. “Eeh, ask him!”
8. “Weren’t you born”?
9. “Didn’t he breastfeed?”
10. Weren’t you wiped human waste with a piece of leave?”…
11. Did you come from a fig tree like Yunga Mwamba?”
12. Ehh, did you give birth to yourself”

The speakers of utterances 2-12 are the female doctor (Dr. Thetis) and her colleagues (nurses) who take turns to respond to the male patient’s answer. Although the patient was trying to pronounce the word; mwanamume (man), the women discursively shift the perspective and interpret the speaker’s response as mwana (son). This shift is significant since it allows the interlocutors to develop the topic in line with the perspective they want to cultivate their readers to have. As Clark (1992:209) argues, different names for an entity are an accurate pointer to the ideology or perception of the interlocutor. It is notable that translating mwana (sex) to mwana (son) is a discourse strategy aimed at allowing the interlocutors to initiate and develop the topic on gender role prescriptions. The choice of the interrogative: Mwana wa nani? (Whose son) and the possessive relational process: Ana mama? (Does he have a mother?) is ideationally significant. One would have expected the speaker to say: Ana baba? ’(Does he have a father?) or use an even gender neutral clause:
Ana wazazi? (Does he have parents?). However, the speaker chooses to suppress the agency of the father in the ownership of children, ideationally backgrounding the father’s responsibility in giving birth so as to foreground the woman’s role prescription. Notice the material processes: Hukuzaliwa? (Weren’t you born?), Hakunyonya? (Didn’t he breastfeed?), Hukupanguswa? (Weren’t you wiped?), Ulijizaa? (Did you give birth to yourself?), in which the woman is inscribed as the Actor and the man (son) as a Goal or Beneficiary of the woman’s material actions. These material processes, which are realized as rhetorical questions, institutionalize the role of procreation and nurturing in the feminine gender and dissociate the masculine gender with nurturing roles.

It is worth noting that although interpersonally the speakers appear to be demanding for information, their speech role is that of a provider of information (Fowler and Kress 1979:185-186), thus implicitly confirming their traditional gender identity of child bearing and nurturing. Utterance 11 reiterates the Kamba (one of the communities in Kenya) mythology that the legend; Yunga Mwamba was not born of a woman; he came out of a fig tree. The material process: Pasuka (crack from, or come out of), which is in stative form, allows for deletion of agency, depicting the process as an event, and the man as having come into being through his supernatural powers. If the process would have been, Ulipasuliwa (You were removed from), it would have denoted an affected participant, construing the man as semantically subordinate rather than agentive. Ulipasuka (did you crack from) connotes man’s agency in bringing forth his own life, despite the fact that the circumstantial element of location: kwenye mkuyu (from a fig tree) constructs him as a Beneficiary of the fig tree which in this case is metaphorically the Actor (This is further discussed in chapter
4). This myth has an ideological potent of downplaying the role of women in the creation of men and defocusing men’s dependence on women, a position contested by the women in this excerpt through their rhetorical questions. Examine the following text from Unaitwa Nani?:

Excerpt 12

“Mwanamke si mnyonge unavyoambiwa.Kama si wanawake nchi hii isingekuwa huru. ... Hao ndio waliowalisha wapiganiaji uhuru” (P. 45).

“The woman is not as weak as you are told. Had it not been of women this country would not be independent. They are the ones who fed freedom fighters.

The addresser is a mother and addressee her daughter (Kasekesi). In terms of transitivity, the excerpt uses both relational and material clauses. The negative attributive relational clause: *si mnyonge* (is not weak) re-signifies the gender ideology that links women’s identity with weakness as alluded to by excerpt 8 of this chapter. *Si mnyonge* (She is not weak) can be re-written as an affirmative possessive relational clause: *Ana nguvu* (She has strength). By starting with this evaluative statement, the addresser arguably wants to deconstruct whatever prior knowledge about the identity of the woman the daughter may have been inculcated with. The marked Theme: ‘*kama si wanawake*’ (had it not been of women) foregrounds women’s role in the material action of fighting for independence. However, their agency in freedom fighting is quite telling of the dominant gender ideology. The transitive material clause, *waliowalisha wapiganiaji uhuru* (who fed the freedom fighters), although it gives women some agency and ability to affect the lives of the freedom fighters who seem to be Beneficiaries of the process, the choice of the process still locates the role of feminine
gender in nurturing and care taking as opposed to that of men who used their bravery, wit and physical strength to fight for freedom. The inference that can be made from waliowalisha wapiganiaji uhuru (who fed freedom fighters) is that women’s role was just supportive, which depletes their contribution in the entire process, largely collocating bravery and physical strength (fighting or going to war) with the masculine gender (This notion is also alluded to in chapter three of this work). This further augments Hussein’s (2004: 71) notion of the role of women as dignified and fulfilling caterers, an action that calls for negligible physical capacity as compared to the enormous strength needed in going to war. Consider the following example from Unaitwa Nani?:

Excerpt 13

“Ikiwa kwenu mambo haya yanaamuliwa na wanawake basi mmepotoka. Jamii yenu hiyo haina mwelekeo! Mshale hautafutwi kwenye kundi la wanawake” (p. 205)

“If in your community these issues are determined by women then you have gone astray. That society of yours has no direction! An arrow is not looked for amidst a group of women.”

The discourse event is a dowry negotiation. The addresser, who is male, responds to a question by the groom to be (Sir Pipo) over the position of his bride to be (Lulu) concerning the amount of dowry demanded by the representative of the family, who in this case is the addresser. The speaker opens with subjunctive mood; through the conditional sentence: If in your community these issues are determined by women then you have gone astray. Through this, he discursively represents women’s role in dowry negotiations as hypothetical, hence neither possible nor legitimate. Interpersonally women are stereotypically portrayed as lacking the ability to give guidance to the society, presumably locating this capacity to men.
Gender role differentiation is further emphasized by the choice of the proverb: *mshale hautafutwi kwenye kundi la wanawake* (an arrow is not looked for amidst a group of women). The proverb, which is used by the Kamba (one of the communities in Kenya) in the context of hunting, means that one cannot expect to find an arrow amidst a group of women since women traditionally do not go hunting. The proverb thus locates hunting to the masculine gender, further inferring that men are most suited for activities that call for risk taking, physical and mental capacity. The choice of the proverb in this context distances the feminine gender from negotiations and decisions concerning marriage. This kind of division of labour seems to be reproduced in Wamitila’s other literary works as exemplified by example 14:

Excerpt 14

Seki: *Utamaduni gani huo? Umesikia wapi wewe mwanamke ameshika mata na mshale katika jamii hii?*...Ehh, niambie hiyo elimu ya Kizungu ndiyo iliyokupa ujasiri wa kuipuza mila?  
Mama: *(Kwa sauti ya chini)* Kweli Katango mwanangu!  
Katango: *(Akicheka)* Mila gani baba? Kushika mata na mishale ndio kuna maana gani?  
Seki: Mwanamke hafanyi hivyo!  
Katango: *Kuna ubaya gani?*  
Seki: *Unawezaje kufanya jambo ambalo hawafanyi wanawake?* ... *Kitendo kama hicho kinaweza hata kukulatea nuhusi*... *(Pango Pp.18-19)*  

Seki: What kind of culture is that? Where in this society have you heard of a woman holding a bow and arrows? Ehh, tell me, is it Western education that has given you the courage to ignore our culture?  
Mother: *(In a low voice)* Surely Katango my child?  
Katango: *(Laughing)* What culture father? What does holding a bow and arrows mean? Isn’t it just a stick and arrows? In any case it doesn’t even have a bowstring!  
Seki: A woman does not do that!  
Katango: What is wrong with that?
Seki: How can you do something which is not done by women?…Such an act can even bring you bad luck!

Both Katango’s father and mother reproduce division of labour by referring Katango to culture which forbids women from performing roles (in this case hunting) that are socially ascribed to the masculine gender. However, Katango contests this gender ideology by not only holding the bow and arrow, but also by telling her father that there is nothing wrong with holding a bow and arrows, seemingly deconstructing the kind of gender identity her father constructs. It is interesting to note that this kind of discourse that relegates the role of women to the domestic sphere is reproduced even by female literary scholars as evidenced in the following extract from Mariama Bâ’s, *Barua Ndefu Kama Hii*.

Excerpt 15

*Niliwaeleza kwamba haikuwa kwelikuwa kusema kwamba mwanamke anayefanya kazi ana wajibu mdogo nyumbani mwake.Nilizidi kuwaeleza kwamba mambo hayaweza kuwa sawa kama wewe mwenyewe hukuingia jukwaani, na kuthitisha kwamba kila kitu kimekaa sawa, na wakati mwingine itabidi kila shughuli uifanye upya; usafi, upishi, na upasaji nguo.Kuna watoto wanaohitaji kuogeshwa, na mume anayehitaji kutunzwa.Mwanamke anayefanya kazi ana mizigo miwili inayolingana kwa uzito, naye anajaribu kuipatanisha.* (P. 41)

I told them that it was not true that a woman who is employed had less responsibility in her home. I further told them that things cannot be alright if the woman did not get involved, to make sure that everything is okay, and sometimes one is forced to re-do everything: cleanliness, cooking, and ironing clothes. There are children who need to be bathed and a husband who needs to be taken care of. A woman who is in employment has two responsibilities with equal weight which she tries to balance.
The above excerpt inscribes the woman as an Actor of material processes that concern nurturing. Her husband and children are positioned as Goals or Beneficiaries of her nurturing. What is even more interesting is that even women who have access to jobs in the public sphere such as Ramatulaye in the above text, reproduce discourses that locate their role in nurturing. Indeed women use discourses that position them as drawers of water, skilled tillers of land and owners of livestock as exemplified in the following example from Ogola’s *The River and The Source*:

Excerpt 16

Has anyone ever seen me gossiping with other women at the water hole? Do I always not rise early to till my lands? Have I ever begged for food from you my mother-in-law...? Do I not always have enough to eat and more left over to barter in exchange for cattle, goats and sheep? (Indeed the size of her herds had become quite impressive). (P.35)

The rhetorical questions depict the woman’s (Akoko) confidence in her capacity to provide food security to the family, a notion which is consistent with the one foregrounded in excerpt 12 of this section. Although the woman’s identity here is also linked with ownership, her possession is also located in the domestic sphere.

2.7 Gender ideology and marriage

Marriage is deemed to be one of the most important accomplishments in the society, it being an organ for the sustenance of the society through procreation (Hussein 2004). This study opines that marriage as an institution is key to the sustenance of patriarchy. Among the Kamba for instance, marriage is held with very high regard for both men and women. Indeed
it is still regarded as abnormal for a woman or a man not to get married. Such a state is derogated through proverbs and metaphorical expressions. What is however interesting is that among the Kamba, such pejorative terms seem only to refer largely to women. For example, a woman who cannot sustain or persevere in a marriage and goes back to her father’s home is referred to in pejorative terms such as mwinzyoka (one who returns home), which are aimed at stigmatizing the woman, hence discouraging the ones in marriage and those not married against this state. On the other hand, a mature woman who opts to remain unmarried is referred to as mwitusya (one who keeps herself or one who lives on her own, or one who takes care of herself) or mwiyakya (one who builds for herself). The morph {mwi} (one who does for self) depicts self engendered material processes in which the Kamba woman is not supposed to be inscribed as an Actor. Such labelling communicates the central role of marriage in the Kamba community and locates the role of protection in the masculine gender. Girls and women are therefore socialized to get married so as to get protection and by extension dignity, again reinforcing male dominance and female subordination. This central role of marriage seems to be depicted in Unaitwa Nani? as evidenced in the following example.

Expert 17

“Kasekesi binti yangu, siku moja ijayo utaolewa… Sisemi ni lazima mwanamke aolewe. La! Lengo kuu la mwanamke maishani si kuolewa! Lakini ikiwa utaolewa uusikilize ushauri wangu.” (P. 43)

“Kasekesi my daughter, one day in future you will get married… I am not saying it is a mandatory for a woman to get married. A woman’s main goal in life is not to get married! But if you will get married listen to my advice.”
The addresser is a mother and the addressee her daughter (Kasekesi). The addresser’s use of the declarative statement in her opening statement makes her proposition that her daughter, and by extension all women should get married an unmitigated fact. It would appear that the addresser contests the dominant gender ideology about marriage by reconstructing her earlier proposition (She says that a woman’s main purpose in life is not to get married.). However, the force of her contestation is mitigated by use of the conditional modal adjunct: *ikiwa* (if) which although hypothetical, gives a cue that there is a possibility that the addressee will get married as is the convention, evidently rendering the addresser’s notion of trivializing the role of marriage rather weak, and seemingly reproducing the very ideology she is opposing. This central role of marriage is further reinforced in the following utterance from *Unaitwa Nani?*:

Excerpt 18

“*Kasekesi binti yangu, siku moja itafika utakapotaka kuolewa... Kumbuka heri ndoa mbaya kuliko ujane mwema!*” (P. 47)

“The addresser in the above excerpt is a father and the addressee is his daughter (Kasekesi) through what can be termed as a counter discourse to the one used by the addresser in excerpt 17 above. The mental process of affection: *utakapotaka* (when you will want) in which the girl is cast as a Senser and marriage as the Phenomenon which positively impinges upon the girl, emphasises the merits of marriage. It is used in this context to change any negative views the addressee might have been inculcated with about marriage. *Utakapotaka* (when you will want) presupposes that the addressee will get married on her
own volition, seemingly inferring that marriage is something to be desired by every woman. One can argue that there is no certainty or expectation that the girl will get married, given that the temporality of her father’s utterance is predominantly future. However, the use of *utakapotaka* (when you will want) presents a necessity of the action in the future, implying that the girl will be required by circumstances to get married. By using the declarative: *siku moja itafika* (one day will come), the speaker interpersonally commits himself to what he says, hence presenting getting married as a norm. Moreover, in the relational clause: *kumbuka heri ndoa mbaya kuliko ujane mwema*, the addressee is conditioned to believe that a marriage, however bad, is better than good spinsterhood. This clause covertly communicates obligation or requirement which serves to emphasize the importance of marriage to both women and men. It can thus be argued that this is one of the reasons why in *Unaitwa Nani?* girls are discriminated in education because it is taken to be normative for them to leave their natal homes for marriage. Excerpt 19 further exemplifies this notion.

**Excerpt 19**

*Ya nini kujisumbua bure? Kujisumbua? Kama si kujisumbua ni kufanya nini? Mtoto wa kike unamweli mishia nini na ataishia kuolewa? Umesikia wapi mtu kutafuna nyama inayomezwa na mwingine? Hizi ni siku ambapo lazima mtu ufuate stasa ya uchumi wa ulimwengu: uwekezaji. Na mtu huwekeza kitu kinachoweza kukujaidi wewe kama mwenye mtaji...Kumwelimisha mtoto wa kike ni mfano wa uwekezaji mbaya; mantiki ya uchumi na biashara ya kibepari inakataa uwekezaji wa aina hiyo. Huko ni kutia maji kwenye mashimo ya kichuguu.* (P. 63)

Why bother yourself over nothing? Bothering yourself? If it is not bothering yourself, then what is it? Why educate a girl child and she will end up getting married? Where have you heard a person chewing meat that is being swallowed by another? These are the days when a person must follow the politics of the world’s economy: investment. And a person invests on something that benefits him as the owner of the capital...Educating a girl child is an example of bad investment; the logic of the economy and capitalist
trade is against that kind of investment. That is like pouring water into the minute openings of an anthill.

Several inferences can be drawn from the above excerpt. Firstly patriarchal gender ideology locates the sole purpose of women’s life in marriage as exemplified by the use of the clause: *ataishia kuolewa* (she will end up getting married), which presupposes that it is given information that the woman will get married, presupposedly because she needs protection from the man. Further, *kujisumbua* (bother yourself) covertly depicts an unfruitful or an unnecessary act, further communicating patriarchal view that females are destined to move out of the lineage through marriage. It also backgrounds the notion that males are more permanent members of the family. Secondly, the excerpt demonstrates how patriarchy objectifies women by categorizing them as capital and indeed commodities for trade. The persona likens educating a girl child and by extension women to bad investment, positing that it is a useless business venture since the girl will eventually get married and seemingly benefit her husband. It is evident that interlocutors take marrying off the girl as a better investment than educating her. Notice also that the interlocutors, who are men, cast themselves in an agentive position as owners while women are positioned as the attributes or capital owned by men. This validates the gender ideology that locates ownership to the masculine gender. It is also significant to note that in *Unaitwa Nani?* the central role of marriage in gender relations results to repressive power where young girls are forced into marriage. A case in point is in the following excerpt:
Kamene was kidnapped and finally plunged into the turbulent waters of marriage. Poor her, she did not even have the swimming skills. She cried but her family did not save her. Even the society did not. Instead her community began to relate similar episodes (which had occurred in the society) to one another albeit with an excitement of a hunter narrating to an animal how he killed its fellow animal. They expressed surprise at these incidences and wondered why women had failed to understand issues of that nature or even accept them (because they were rather prevalent in their society).

The thesis presented in the excerpt is that it is conventional for girls to be forced into marriage. This is underscored by the excitement with which Kamene’s kidnapping is narrated. Narration as a discourse strategy is used in this excerpt both as a tool of reflecting, as well as reproducing the importance of marriage through dissemination of this very information. It also serves to interrogate women’s contestation of the ideology, with an aim of influencing them into accepting the status quo.

2.8 Gender Relations in Marriage

Analysis in this section is guided by Fairclough’s (2010:59) notion that the determination of for instance, what positions of mother, father, and child are socially available, as well as the subjection of real individuals to these positions, are all shaped, created and recreated in the ideological process of discourse. Marriage is one of the institutions in which differential
gender role signification is enacted and reproduced. Analysing patriarchy, Simone de Beauvoir (1949) discusses two concepts which can be said to govern gender relations in marriage: the ‘Other’ and the ‘Subject’. Men identify themselves as the Subject, the absolute human type, and measuring women by this standard, relegate them to the inferior position. Women’s supposed inadequacies are then used as justification to relegate them to the position of the ‘Other’, and for treating them accordingly in different contexts. Patriarchy works through marriage and family as an institution and practice (Russell 1991; Shilokila 2005). As noted in section 2.5, the dominant gender ideology locates institutional control in the masculine gender and distances women from such roles. This kind of ideology also highlights women’s dependence over men as exemplified by the following excerpt from *Unaitwa Nani*:

Excerpt 21

“Anatutegemea sisi!... Ehh amekuwa akitutegemea tangu zamani; tangu zama za kuhemera maporini.” (P.30)

She depends on us… Ehh she has been depending on us since long time ago since the era of gathering in the forests.

Through the metaphorical material clause: *she depends on us*, the interlocutor (male) is depicted as an Actor and the woman as the Beneficiary. By this clause, the speaker does not only echo male dominance and female subordination, but he also represents women in disenabling discourse which depicts them as inherently weak and perpetually needing constant support from men. It is even more interesting to note that this kind of discourse is
not markedly different from the one used by female characters in *Unaitwa Nani?* to present themselves as subservient to men as shown below:

Excerpt 22

Truvessa akasema alichofanya ni kuolewa na mwanamume amtunze yeye sio yeye aanze kujitosa kwenye uangalizi na ulezi wa “mtu mzima na ndevu zake”. Yeye si mwanasaikolojia wa kuchanganua nafsi za wanaume. (P. 221)

Truvessa said that what she did was to get married to a man to take care of her not her to plunge herself into the caretaking and upbringing of a “grown up person and his beards” She is not a psychologist of analysing men’s souls.

Truvessa’s Verbiage, *alichofanya ni kuolewa na mwanamume amtunze* (what she did was to get married to a man to take care of her), depicts her (Truvessa) in a subservient position as a Goal or Beneficiary of her husband’s protection. The Verbiage takes the form of pseudo cleft sentence (Halliday 1985) in which ‘*alichofanya*’ (what she did) is the Theme and the rest of the clause the Rheme. ‘What she did’ becomes the point of departure of Truvessa’s Verbiage, thus presenting the woman’s dependence over her husband as given information which cannot be contested. It is also notable that the excerpt constructs the woman in an agentive position as one who takes care of young ones. This is in concordance with patriarchal notion about the virtues of a woman that the duty of a woman is to order her house, keep what is indoors and obey her husband. What is more interesting is that the woman accepts this position, confirming Simone de Beauvoir’s (1949) notion that women are sometimes complicitous in their subjugation because of the seemingly benefit it can bring, as well as the respite from responsibility it promises. The reader’s attention is drawn to the material process, *tunza* (*take care of*) in which both the woman and man are inscribed.
as Actors. What is however significant is the ambiguity of the word. Examining the instances (in excerpt 5 and 22 respectively) where the man is a participant in the material process: tunza, the image that is constructed is that of a protector or a provider. However, where the woman is cast as an Actor and the man as a Goal, the meaning constructed is that of a nurse (taking care of the man’s feelings, as evidenced in: mtunze vyema (excerpt 5), which does not necessarily presuppose provision of material welfare. In the same vein; uangalizi (caretaking) and ulezi (upbringing) (excerpt 22) which are near synonyms of tunza (take care of) depict the woman in an agentive position as a care taker, further validating the ideology that links the identity of the woman with the domestic sphere. This confirms why the nursing profession is largely a domain for women, although in Unaitwa Nani?, Wamitila uses two discourses which depict male and female nurses.

It is significant to note that the gender ideology that positions the woman as a Goal of man’s protection is arguably what necessitates wife inheritance in Unaitwa Nani? and by extension other African communities as demonstrated by excerpt 23 and 24 respectively.

Excerpt 23

*Akakumbushwa utamaduni ambao anaujua tangu hapo. Akaambiwa hao wanaume wamejia moja pale: kumrithi.* (P.81)

Then she was reminded of a culture that she already knew. She was told those men have come there for one thing; to inherit her.

Wife inheritance is practised in some African communities for the continuation of lineage and specifically for the sustenance of the name of the deceased (Ogola 1994). Apart from the excerpt showing the importance of marriage, it underscores how the gender ideology
objectifies the woman. In transitivity terms, the woman is inscribed as a Goal of the man’s material process of inheriting, depicting her as one of the man’s possessions. The material process: inheriting is also linked to the notion of male protection. Significantly, one notices that this kind of discourse does not remarkably deviate from the ones adopted by other African male writers, as amplified by Kithaka wa Mberia in the following excerpt:

Excerpt 24

Mama Lime: Natala, miaka hii yote umekuwa na mhimili thabiti katika maisha. Kwa bahati mbaya kifo kimeukata...Je, umefikiria umuhimu wa kutafuta mhimili mwingine?... Natala, fikiria watoto, fikiria malezi yao..Njia nzuri ya kuvalea bila shida ni kushirikiana na mwanamume.Unahitaji usaidizi... Ndiyo mila, mume akifa mke huolewa tena katika familia hiyo hiyo... (Natala Pp. 35-38)

Mama Lime: (Lime’s mother) Natala, all these years you have had a strong pillar in your life. Unfortunately death has cut that pillar.... Have you thought about the importance of looking for another pillar?... Natala, think of the children, think of their upbringing...A good way of bringing them up without problems is through working together with a man. You need a helper. That is culture, when a husband dies the wife is married again in that same family.

In this excerpt men are inscribed in agentive position as sources of protection as demonstrated in the metaphoric reference to them as pillars. Men are so significant in the lives of their wives and children that upon her husband’s death, the wife is encouraged to get married. While Mberia appreciates the role of the woman in nurturing, he projects her in a discourse that communicates her inability to perform the role without her husband’s support. What is even more interesting in the above excerpt is that the woman is expected to be remarried in that same family, seemingly because the family views her as part of its possession, and partly because of the need to sustain her husband’s name. This notion is echoed by Margaret Ogola, a female writer, in the following excerpt:
Excerpt 25

To be a widow and young was an untenable situation. A husband had to be found from close relatives of the dead man, but such a man had no real rights over the woman, his job being that of siring children to maintain the dead man’s name and to keep his widow from wandering from man to man (a scandal). *(The River and The Source P.99)*

It would appear that Margaret Ogola in the above excerpt represents the inheritor as not exercising any control over the widow. However, a close look at the excerpt demonstrates that the man does not only control the woman’s behaviour, but he also determines the family membership by ensuring that he sires children for his brother. Further, since inheritance can be construed as exercising power through ownership, the inheritor ensures that the widow remains as part of the family’s property. What is even more intriguing is the choice of the material clause, “wandering from man to man”. This constructs women as potentially promiscuous, hence the need for men to control them. It is thus evident that Ogola, and indeed Mberia and Wamitila, ideationally position male domination over women as natural and virtuous. The study therefore argues that both female and male African writers cast female characters in discourses which relegate them to positions of male dependence, hence reproducing the patriarchal ideology of male dominance and female subordination.

Although the gender ideology in *Unaitwa Nani?* seems to collocate the role of protection and social control with the masculine gender, female participants seem to discursively contest this view as evidenced by the following argumentation:
Excerpt 26

“…Usimtafute mwanamume kwa kuamini kuwa ni kiumbe aliyetumwa ulimwenguni kumwokoa mwanamke, labda mwenyewe anahitaji kuokolewa. Kasekesi, utaolewa siku moja!” (P. 46)

“…Do not look for a man believing that he is a creature sent to the world to save the woman; may be he himself needs to be saved. Kasekesi, you will be married one day!”

The excerpt sounds like a counter discourse through which the addresser (female) is deconstructing the dominant ideology that depicts women as needing protection from men. The choice of the material process: *kumwokoa* (to save) in which the man is inscribed as an Actor ascribes the male gender the agency as a source of security and strength, reducing women to Goals or Beneficiaries of men’s process. It can also be argued that the choice of *kumwokoa* (to save) presupposes that marriage as an institution saves a woman, further underscoring the importance of marriage to a woman. However, the female participant negates this seemingly conventional gender ideology by instructing her daughter that men are not necessarily saviours, indeed they may need to be saved. This deconstructs the traditional identity of the man as a protector, reconstructing another identity of the man as a dependant or Beneficiary of some entity which in this case is implicitly portrayed as an Actor. However, one can notice that although the female participant uses the passive form, *kuokolewa* (to be saved), she does not mention the Actor of this process. As a discourse analyst one would imagine that, since the mother has a shared background information with the daughter, and probably the reader, an automatic gap filling would occur (see Brown and Yule 1983), to infer that the saviour is actually a woman. This is quite in order since the
The concern of traditional discourse analysis is on how meanings are usually established between utterances and sentences (Levinson 1983). Further, in conventional discourse analysis the motivations of a language user are not necessarily explored; they are assumed to be neutral unless demonstrated otherwise (Chateris – Black 2004:30). However, to a CDA analyst whose view is that every discourse act is assumed to have a potentially conscious intention that reflects the relative social positions of the text producer and the recipient, the focus is on the selections that are made in the representation of knowledge, as well as on the factors that constrain and determine these selections. In the above excerpt, deletion of agency can be said to have an ideological intent. The addresser is silent on the role of, for instance, the women in saving men. It can be construed that the addresser either locates the power of salvation to the masculine gender, or she is unsure of women’s agency in the material process of salvation. In fact she uses the modal, *labda* (probably) which definitely renders her proposition uncertain. She even adds that the addressee will one day be married, despite her earlier statement that a woman’s main purpose in life is not to get married (*Unaitwa Nani?* P. 43).

It is also notable that heterosexuality dominates gender relations in *Unaitwa Nani?*. This can be said to be indicative of, as well as a strategy for legitimizing the dominance - subordination relationship between men and women. Consider the following excerpt from *Unaitwa Nani?:*

Excerpt 27

1. “*Babako ni nani?”*
2. “*Je, mume naye, unaye?”*
3. “*Maana mwanamke asiye na mume ni shamba lisilo na mbegu?’*”
4. “Au u msagaji?”
5. “Eeh maana siku hizi kuna mielekeo ya ajabu!” (P. 33)

1. “Who is your father?”
2. “By the way do you have a husband?”
3. “Because a woman without a husband is like a farm without seeds?”
4. “Or you are a lesbian?”
5. “Eeh because these days there are strange inclinations!”

The speakers in the excerpt are the male doctor (Dr Homo), and his colleagues (nurses) talking to the female patient. They take turns to interrogate the patient and indeed construct the cultural knowledge about the appropriate sexual practice. The rhetorical question: Mume naye unaye? (Do you have a husband) is not just demanding for information from the addressee, but rather it is informing the woman that it is expected that she subjects herself to the authority of her husband through marriage. Further, the question is not only directing the woman’s sexual practice but also it emphasizes the dominant ideology of heterosexual relationship which is further foregrounded in utterance 3. Of significance is the metaphorical naming of a woman without a husband as a farm without seeds. This validates the importance of a man in a sexual practice. The seed-farm-analogy can also presuppose a complementary relationship between marriage partners. While a farm is not useful without seeds, the seeds are not also useful without the farm. What the speaker of this utterance seeks to do is to create and legitimize a gender ideology that depends on heterosexual ideals and silence alternatives.

Of significance is the use of the discursively derogatory gender marked term: lesbian. Notably, this dysphemism is meant to silence the gender ideology that allows same sex marriages or same sex sexual practices. It would appear that utterance 5 demonstrates an
existence of an alternative ideology that allows same sex sexual practices. However, the speaker’s evaluation of the practice through the existential clause: *kuna mielekeo ya ajabu* (there are strange inclinations) casts this kind of practice as inappropriate, hence discursively combating it, and thus promoting the society’s negative evaluation of homosexual relationships. This notion seems to be reproduced by female interlocutors in the following example:

Excerpt 28

1. “*Mke unaye?*”
2. “*Au wewe ni basha?*”
3. “*Eeh, msenge!*”
4. “*Eeh sema!*”
5. “*Je, u mwenzake Kabaka Mwanga, kama unajua historia?*”

(P. 133)

1. “Do you have a wife?”
2. “Or you are a homosexual?”
3. “Eeh, homosexual!”
4. “Eeh talk!”
5. “Are you the same as Kabaka Mwanga, if you know history?”

The addressers are the female doctor (Dr. Thetis) and her colleagues (nurses), and the addressee is the male patient. While the addressers’ rhetorical questions seem to foreground a discourse that opposes homosexuality, there is neither explicit marker of their negative evaluation nor contestation of this kind of sexual practice; there is no express reference to it as unconventional as it was for lesbianism in excerpt 27. This differential representation of lesbianism and homosexuality arguably confirms two defining features of patriarchy. Firstly women’s sexuality is more likely to be treated negatively, and secondly women are more misrepresented in media and popular culture (see also Remlinger 2005). It is however
notable that excerpts 27 and 28 depict how language is used to impose heteronormativity (Coates 2004:219). Heteronormativity, as Coates (ibid) further notes, is a term used by queer theorists [for detailed analysis of queer theorists refer to Coates (2004) and Remlinger (2005)] to refer to a system in which heterosexual identities, relationships and practices are seen as the norm against which all sexuality is judged. The discourse of heteronormativity in the above excerpts discursively validates heterosexuality and ‘others’ lesbianism and homosexuality.

Simone de Beauvoir (1949) argues that in patriarchy, marriage is one of the key institutions that perpetuate female oppression, given that it positions and elevates the man to a position of, not only controlling his wife, but also owning her. Marriage in Unaitwa Nani? is depicted as a site where repressive power is exercised over women as demonstrated in the following example:

Excerpt 29

_Haukupita muda mrefu mzuka uliokuwa umezikwa kwenye ubongo wa Kamene ulifyatuka ghafla... akaamua huo ndio mwisho wa ndoa yake na mchekeshaji wake.... Vile vita vya kisaikolojia vya mtu kunyamaziwa bila ya sababu .... kudharauliwa....ule wivu.... na kushutumiwa.... Kugeuzwa mtumwa. “Mwanamke hafanyi hili!”... Na, “wahenga walisema...” “Mimi siwezi kuliridhia jambo ambalo linanihasiri .... Mamangu aliishi maisha hayo nami siwezi kuyaishi...” Alihama alikoishi na mchekeshaji wake... Siku iliyofuata Kamene aliandamana na rafiki yake hadi zilipokuwa ofisi za Union Against Domestic Violence... za mwanamke aliyejulikana kama Lulu. Alishasoma kisa cha mwanamke aliyeteswa na mumewe kwa miaka kadha... mgongo una alama alama za michapo na minyuko ya mumewe.... “Lazima Lusweti ajue kuwa haya hayakuwa mzaha tena. Lazima pia alipie gharama za utunzaji wa watoto.” Kila mtu atauchukua mzigo wake mwenyewe,” akaambiwa. _ (Pp. 105- 107)
It did not take long before the ghost which was buried in Kamene’s brain suddenly went off … She decided that was the end of her marriage to her humorous one… Those psychological wars of somebody not being talked to without a reason… being despised… that jealousy… and being blamed… Being turned into a slave, “A woman does not do this!”…. And “the, ancestors said…” “I cannot accept something which is harmful. My mother lived such a life and I cannot live it…” She moved from where she used to live with her humorous one. The following day Kamene accompanied her friend up to where there were offices of Union Against Domestic Violence…. owned by a woman called Lulu. She had read a case of a woman who was oppressed by her husband for many years…. her back had marks from beatings and scratches from her husband. “Lusweti must know this is not a joke any more, he has also to pay for the upkeep of children. Everybody must carry his own burden,” she was told.

This is the second marriage Kamene breaks (see P. 91 of Unaitwa Nani?). Analysis of process types reveals overt manifestation of repressive power over the woman. The behavioural process: kunyamaziwa (not being talked to), the mental process of affection: kudharauliwa (to be despised) and the verbal process: kushutumiwa (to be blamed) metaphorically construe Kamene as a victim of her husband’s psychological torture. Further, metaphorically referring to Kamene as a slave presupposes an asymmetry of power where the woman is depicted as a victim of men’s dominance. The material processes: michapo (beatings) and minyukuo (scratches) in which the woman is cast as a Goal are overt markers of repressive power. As Mills (2003:167) notes, physical violence or the threat of it, is an obvious and crude way of wielding power in patriarchal societies. One also notes that the woman’s behaviour is regulated and policed by rigid social norms (Cameron 2006:421). There are actions that the woman is not allowed to perform mwanamke hafanyi hili (a woman does not do this). This behaviour regulating is vividly a form of male dominance. Kamene however challenges this male dominance by leaving the oppressive marriage. The formation of the feminist group is also indicative of repressive power. Union Against
Domestic Violence bears semblance to the women groups discussed in chapter 5 of this work. The organization, which in this context acts as a tool for regulating and policing men’s behaviour, represents women’s collective voice and response to patriarchy, as also alluded to by Ndambuki (2010). Notice also that apart from the excerpt signifying repressive power, it communicates the gender ideology that links the identity of men with protection. The onus of ensuring the material well-being of the family is on Lusweti; he is supposedly to pay for the upkeep of children.

Although patriarchy largely ascribes institutional power to men, this study maintains that women still exercise dominance over men in the subject position of the mother and wife. This can be exemplified by the following excerpts Unaitwa Nani?:

Excerpt 30

Kamene mwenyewe tangu hapa alikuwa na hofu kubwa kutokana na uhusiano uliokuwako kati ya Lusweti na mamake. Mama mtu, mwanamke aliyekuwa mfanyibashara, alikuwa anamwendesha huku na kule kama farasi aliyetiwa hatamu. La kushangaza zaidi ni kuwa kila waliposafiri kwenda mashambani, Lusweti aliihishia kufanyiwa kila kitu na mamake, hata kuoshewa nguo zake tena zote kabisa... Na hayakuisha hapa. Chochote alichtotamani kufanyiwa, hata kiwe ghali kiasi gani, au kiwe kinahusisha mshahara wake wote, Lusweti hakuweza kumvunja moyo mamake... (Pp. 95-96)

Kamene up to now had great fear due to the relationship between Lusweti and his mother. The mother, who was a business woman, was driving him here and there like a horse which has been put a bridle ... What was more surprising was that every time they travelled upcountry his mother ended up doing everything for him even washing his clothes – all of them... And it did not end there. Anything that she desired, however expensive it was, even if it needed his whole salary, Lusweti was unable to deny his mother anything...
Gender ideology ascribes the social identity of mother or parent to Lusweti’s mother, and a child or son to Lusweti. In the family hierarchy, a mother wields more power than the child, his or her age notwithstanding. Examining the transitivity patterns in the excerpt, one realizes that the mother (metaphorically depicted as a horse guide) is cast as an Agent acting intentionally to affect Lusweti (metaphorically depicted as a horse) who is cast as a Goal. The mother is positioned as overtly exercising power through controlling Lusweti’s movements, washing all his clothes and controlling his expenditure. Lusweti on the other hand is reduced to a passive Goal of his mother’s material processes and manipulation. Lusweti is also depicted as lacking the capacity and the maturity to contest his mother’s dominance despite the fact that he is a married man. This is consistent with Okot’s (2007) notion that female power still exists and dominates the life of every man. Okot opines that the life cycle of men from cradle to grave may be divided into three phases each of which is defined by the form of female power which dominates him; mother power, bride power or wife power. He presents five pillars of female control over men: control of the womb, control of the cradle, the psychological immaturity of male compared to female, and the male tendency to be deranged by his excited genital. Okot argues that women use these characteristics to ‘enslave’ men. Arguing that patriarchy is just a facade of authority, Okot posits that behind the scenes power lies with the women who wield it subtly, covertly and effectively to control men. This can further be exemplified by the following excerpt from *Unaitwa Nani*?:

Excerpt 31

“Basi mwanangu nataka kukuanchulika siri. Mwanamke ni kama kibuyu cha maziwa, unajua kina nini unapoyaona maziwa yenye... Ni kiumbe mzuri kwa nje lakini mjanja mkubwa... Ni kama bafe... anapolala unaweza
So my son I want to reveal to you a secret. A woman is like a gourd of milk, you know what it has when you see the milk itself... She is a good creature on the surface but very cunning... She is like a puff-adder... when it is asleep you can look down upon it, and even confuse it with a log, especially on looking at the colour of its skin. But dare touch it with your hands; you will be bitten until you cry for your father! It will leave you with lasting scars!”

The addresser in the above excerpt is a father and the addressee his son. He is advising his son about marriage. Women’s dominance over men is represented through negative evaluation. The kind of naming she is given (gourd of milk, puff adder, cunning) depicts her as a schemer of destructive material processes aimed at affecting and controlling man’s life. The man on the other hand is inscribed as a Goal of the woman’s destructive action. The addressee in this excerpt, and by extension other men are warned about this destructive power of women so that they can control her. Notice also the use of: Basi Mwanangu nataka kukufichulia siri (So my son I want to reveal to you a secret). This is a kind of discourse strategy called proclamation (Adendorff 2004: 208). By this discourse strategy, an interlocutor interpolates himself or herself directly into a text as the explicit source of the utterance (ibid). In this excerpt, the father uses proclamation to clearly assert his authority over the evaluations he makes about the woman, closes the topic, and positions his son, and by extension the reader to evaluate women according to his point of view. Women’s dominance over men is well exemplified by S. A. Mohamed in the following excerpt:
1. Maimuna aliguna, akamwekea Mshihiri mikono kiunoni na kumbekulia jicho.
2. ‘Unataka pesa ennh?’
3. ‘Naam,’ aliitikia Ashuru.
4. ‘Pesa? Mimi pesa kuliko pesa.’ (Utengano P. 150)

1 Maimuna put her hands on her waist, and looked straight at the Arab.
2 ‘You want money ennh?’
3 ‘Yes,’ replied Ashuru.
4 ‘Money? I am more than money itself.’

Through the attributive relational process: I am more than money, Maimuna not only validates the objectified identity of women, but she also seemingly confirms the woman’s socially ascribed identity as a sexual receptacle of the male libido. What is even more interesting is that in this context, Ashuru depicts male tendency to be deranged by sexual excitement, and Maimuna is quick to use this male identity to exercise her control over him. She manages to prevail over him and later gets goods free of charge.

2.9 Gender ideology and Procreation

One of the cardinal criteria for determining one’s femaleness or maleness among many African communities is the ability to procreate (Hussein 2004; Okot 2007). In patriarchal societies such as the ones represented in Unaitwa Nani?, although women can be said to lose power through marriage (having to leave her natal home and live in a place where she is almost a stranger), such women can be said to gain some power through child bearing. The dominant gender ideology in Unaitwa Nani? locates the role of procreation and sustenance of the society in the feminine gender as demonstrated in the following example:
Excerpt 33

... “Hao ndio wanaoizaa jamii hii. Mwanamke ndiye nyumba na jamii isiyokuwa na nyumba inacharazwa na mvua ya mawe kwenye mbuga za maisha. Hamkufundishwa hilo shuleni?” (P.45)

“They are the ones who give birth to the society. The woman is the house and a society without a house is hit by hailstorm in the forests of life. You were not taught that in school?”

Examination of the transitivity patterns in the excerpt reveals that the woman is positioned as the Actor of the material process: wanaoizaa (who give birth to), giving her capacity as the cradle of humankind, and further implying that she has the ability to influence the very existence of the society. Notice also the identifying relational clause: mwanamke ndiye nyumba (the woman is the house), which metaphorically depicts women as providers of security as further evidenced in the relational and material clause: jamii isiyo na nyumba hucharazwa... (a society without a house is bitten). In this clause, the society is depicted as a Beneficiary of women’s material process of protection. This ideationally constructs a gender ideology which also locates the role of ensuring security in the woman. This kind of ideology is emphasized interpersonally by the addresser (woman) through declaratives and personal pronouns. Ndio wanaoizaa jamii (They are the ones who give birth to the society), and Mwanamke ndiye nyumba (The woman is the house), are not only categorical assertions, but they are also expressed in timeless simple present tense (Fairclough 2010; Simpson 2004: 123-124) which allows the speaker to confidently represent what she says as a universal truth. It is also notable that the pronoun; hao (they) places the onus of procreation on the corporate identity of the feminine gender. This kind of ideology is perpetuated in institutional discourses as evidenced in the rhetorical question: Hamkufundishwa hilo...
shuleni? (You were not taught in school?) This is discussed further in chapter three.

Consider the following example from Unaitwa Nani?:

Excerpt 34

1. Mumewe akaja juu kwa maneno ya kila aina ya kumlaumu, Mbona hazai?
2. “Mwanamke gani wa kuitwa mke ambaye hazai?”
3. “U mwanamke mwenzangu, mbona kuninyumbua bila huruma jinsi hii?”
4. “Mimi sio mwenzio ati, mwenzio gani na najua uchungu wa kuzaa?” Mwenzio gani na nimekopoka watoto; midume ya kisawasawa?”
5. “Sasa wewe kikaramba huna chochote; huzai, una faida gani?”

1. Her husband came up with all sorts of words to blame her, why doesn’t she give birth?
2. “What kind of a woman to be called a wife and yet she does not give birth?”
3. “You are my fellow woman, why denigrate me mercilessly like this?”
4. “I am not your fellow woman. How I can be your fellow woman and I know the pain of giving birth? What fellow woman and I have given birth to children: real men?”
5. “Now you useless and old woman you have nothing: you don’t give birth, of what value are you?”
6. “What kind of a world is this where the value of a woman has been pegged on her ability to give birth only? Have I become a factory to be evaluated through the goods I produce?”

Mwanamuka has been married for three years and has not given birth. The speaker of utterance 1 and 5 is Mwanamuka’s husband while utterances 2 and 4 are Kenzi’s (Mwanamuka’s sister in law). Analysis of the above rhetorical questions draws upon Hastert and Weber’s (1992:165) notion of frame of femininity and masculinity. Frames are clusters or ‘families’ of our background assumptions which we draw upon in order to infer meaning.
They are mental structures which shape the way we see the world (Brown and Yule 1983: 239; Fairclough 1989:159; Hastert and Weber 1992:164; Bloor and Bloor 2007:11). Framing is significant in the analysis of gender ideology and indeed power and authority, since frames affect the way we view identity, social groups and authority. The rhetorical question: *Mbona hazai?* (Why doesn’t she give birth) for instance, is a presupposition trigger (see Brown and Yule 1983; Levinson 1983), presupposing that a constituent feature of the frame of a married woman is to give birth. Not giving birth undermines Mwanamuka’s capacity as a woman, giving her less self worth, and arguably making her less powerful than her sister in law. Of interest are the inclusive pronouns *mwenzangu* (my fellow woman) and *mwenzio* (your fellow woman). The choice of *mwenzangu* (my fellow woman) does not have as much distancing effect as *mwenzio*. Mwanamuka is evaluating Kenzi using the frame of biological sex (which is common knowledge to both) which makes both of them accrue the same kind of power and identity. Kenzi however evaluates Mwanamuka from the frame of what a married woman is considered to be according to conventional, generalized and patriarchal conceptions. The rhetorical question distances Mwanamuka from Kenzi’s identity and status in society. Indeed Kenzi prescribes the frame of a married woman to Mwanamuka: *kukopoa watoto* (to give birth to children), further presupposing that presence or absence of children in a family is the woman’s culturally prescribed role, and Mwanamuka’s failure to get children undermines this role signification (see also chapter 3 of this work).
It is also significant to note that although becoming a mother seals the woman’s identity as a woman and indeed a wife, being a mother of boys ascribes her more power, raising her status even among those who have girls. Kenzi’s utterance helps to perpetuate this sexist attitude against Mwanamuka and indeed other women who cannot give birth. Notice that Mwanamuka’s failure to perform according to the dominant ideology leads to disparagement by her husband as demonstrated by the relational clauses: *wewe kikaramba* (useless old woman) and *Una faida gani?* (Of what value are you?). It is also significant to note that the dominant gender ideology objectifies the woman as a means of production (factory). However, through rhetorical questions (utterance 6), Mwanamuka challenges this subject position proffered to the woman (as a producer of children) by the dominant discourse. It is also notable that gender ideology in *Unaitwa Nani?* perpetuates discrimination against female children as demonstrated by the kind of vocabulary Kenzi uses to name her sons. She calls them ‘real men’. This kind of ideology is also discursively reproduced in works of other African writers as evidenced in Ogola’s: *The River and The Source* (1994). She notes:

> The baby yelled so lustily on its first gulp of acrid air, that the chief strolling around unconcernedly as befitted his station and manhood, thought with satisfaction, ‘Another rock for my sling, by which he meant another son. Actually he had already covered himself in considerable glory by siring seven sons. However, this time he was wrong because for the first time he was the father of a daughter. Later he would say wisely with something of a turnabout that a home without daughters is like a spring without a source. (P.11)

The baby’s performance of the masculine gender makes her father proud because he presumes he has sired another son to add on to his glory. The metaphorical reference of sons as rocks communicates how the African parent, in this case Luo, finds empowerment in male children; who are in this excerpt depicted as a significant source of social support.
(another rock for my sling). The birth of a daughter however deconstructs the chief’s perception about women. Indeed the chief now recognizes women’s role in creation and procreation by metaphorically referring to daughters as sources of the spring. While it is appreciated that men play a role in procreation through siring, this role seems to be downplayed by female participants in *Unaitwa Nani?* as demonstrated in the following example:

**Excerpt 35**

1. “Ehh, kuna kile kisa cha Wangu wa Makeri... Hamkuambiwa kisa hicho shuleni?”
2. “Hicho tuliambiwa...Na kwamba wanaume waliwazima wanawake kwa kuwatunga mimba!”

1. “Ehh, there is that story of *Wangu wa Makeri*... You were not told that story in school?!”
2. “That one we were told.. And that, men toppled women by impregnating them!”
3. “Yes, Kasekesi my daughter... Impregnating yes! And you know what? That does not need brain. Any useless man loitering like a stray dog can do that. You hear, just any useless man!”

The opening statement alludes to the discursive strategy of narrativization. Narrativization is a process of legitimation which involves telling a story so as to provide evidence of acceptable, appropriate or preferred behaviour (Fairclough 2003:99). The addressee (mother to Kasekesi) intertextually refers the addressee to the legend of *Wangu wa Makeri* who is believed to have been a Kikuyu female political leader (Wamitila 2003). The addresser further expects the school to reproduce this knowledge through institutional discourse. It would appear that the addresser presents an alternative discourse that presents women in
leadership roles, along with men. However the excerpt demonstrates exercise of repressive power by men to exclude women in positions of social control. Men impregnate women, thus incapacitating their leadership. This confirms Hussein’s assertion that one predicator of males’ sustained dominance in the patriarchal society is to overpower women (2004: 131).

While the addresser in excerpt 35 projects both men and women as Actors in the material process of creation, she ascribes more agency to women by depicting giving birth as needing skill and capacity which is lacking in siring children. This validates the dominant gender ideology which locates the role of procreation and sustenance of the society in the feminine gender. The notion can further be illustrated by the following statement from female interlocutors: “Sasa anatutegemea kama alivyotutegemea kuja ulimwengu huu.” (“Now he is depending on us the way he depended on us to come to this world”) (Unaitwa Nani? P. 140). The choice of anatutegemea reduces the man to a mere Beneficiary of women’s processes. It is however significant to note that in the context of this utterance, the interlocutors locate the position of women in nurturing (they are wondering whether to shave the male patient’s hair). This partly confirms Simone de Beauvoir’s (1949) argument that in patriarchal ideology, women, instead of transcending through work and creativity, are forced into monotonous existences of having children, tending the house, and being the sexual receptacles of the male libido.

2.10 Conclusion

This chapter interrogated the types of gender ideologies indexed and perpetuated through the linguistic choices employed in selected representative samples of the target text. Analysis
has demonstrated that Wamitila, and other literary scholars referred to in the analysis, use discourses which keep in place a patriarchal gender ideology which largely upholds male supremacy and female subordination. While men are depicted as Actors in material processes that concern institutional and political leadership, women are cast as Actors in processes that largely concern care giving and procreation. The analysis has also revealed that although some gender roles such as procreation can be said to overlap, they have been discursively represented as a prerogative of one gender. The role of offering social security for instance, has been located largely on the masculine gender, while that of ensuring food security has been bestowed upon the feminine gender. The dominant gender ideology of male dominance and female subordination is constantly re-enacted and circulated not only through women’s and men’s habitual differential participation in social practices but also through institutional discourses which not only present it as commonsensical and natural, but also lay sanctions on the types of roles to be performed by specific gender. Further, the chapter has demonstrated that the target text uses discourses which impose heteronormativity. Further, institutionalization of male dominance over women has led to exercise of repressive power by men over women in order to sustain the status quo. Women have also, not only contested patriarchy, but also exercised dominance over men in their subject position as mothers and wives. The analysis has further demonstrated that dominant gender ideology constrains how individuals come to define themselves in relation to other social actors. Individuals can define themselves in consistent with the socially ascribed roles as Kenzi does in this chapter. They can also go against gendered expectations and re-define their roles. This is the concern of the next chapter.
CHAPTER THREE
LINGUISTIC CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER IDENTITY IN UNAITWA NANI?

3.1 Introduction

This chapter further develops the argument on gender ideology discussed in chapter two by investigating the linguistic choices used in the definition of women’s and men’s social roles in Unaitwa Nani?. Data analysis is hinged on the principles of SFL and draws on the theoretical underpinnings of CDA to describe the transitivity patterns, i.e. the material processes, mental processes, relational processes, as well as lexical choices in the selected excerpts, interpret what the transitivity structures in which both men and women are inscribed reveal about them, and explain or assess the extent to which the transitivity choices confirm, restructure or challenge the identities traditionally associated with specific gender (Adendorff 2004:205). As demonstrated in chapter two, the stereotypical roles of women as home makers and men as in charge of social control is still being perpetuated in many current textbooks including Unaitwa Nani?. The chapter therefore investigates whether and how both women and men negotiate and restructure multiple identities as they interact linguistically in different social contexts. The analysis is in concordance with Sunderland and Litosseliti’s (2002:8) notion that each individual has multiple identities which are unlikely to be equally salient at any particular moment in time; one or more may be foregrounded at different times. Before analysing the linguistic choices that are called upon in the construction of gender identity, salient features of gender identity are highlighted.
3.2 Defining gender identity

Identity refers to the way people see themselves in relation to others (Bloor and Bloor 2007:20). Analysis of gender identity in this study however adopts the concept of gender identity as being performative (Butler 1988; 1990; 2006; Mills 2003; Coates 2004; Cameron 2006: 421-424). As already noted in chapter one and two, gender identity has to be constantly reaffirmed and publicly displayed by repeatedly performing acts in accordance with the cultural norms which define ‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity’ (Cameron ibid). Analysing gender identity in this perspective entails an inquiry into how people use linguistic and non-linguistic resources to produce and reproduce gender differentiation. It also obliges one to attend to the ‘rigid regulatory frame’ within which people must make their choices, i.e. the norms that define what kinds of language (or actions) are possible ... and appropriate resources for performing masculinity and femininity (Cameron ibid). This approach is significant to the present study since it acknowledges the instability and the variability of gender identities, and therefore of the behaviour (including linguistic behaviour) in which those identities are performed. Cameron (ibid) notes that while Butler rightly contends that gender is regulated and policed by rather rigid social norms, she does not reduce men and women to automata, programmed by their early socialization to repeat forever the appropriate gendered behaviour, but treats them as conscious agents who may—albeit often at some social cost—engage in acts of transgression, subversion and resistance. Butler’s approach presents men and women as active participants who may use their awareness of gendered meanings that attach to particular ways of speaking to produce a variety of effects or identities.
The chapter therefore argues that female and male characters in *Unaitwa Nani?* perform or construct particular identities through their use of language and other ways of expressing themselves in their interactions with others. Mostly, as Paltridge (2006:32) argues, gender identity construction is done unconsciously as we repeat or reproduce acts such as gestures, movements and ways of using language that signify or index a particular identity. The chapter is thus significant to the thesis argument since the way people are defined or the way they define themselves in relation to others is significant in defining their position in the gender power relations matrix. The argument advanced by this chapter is that the linguistic choices made do not just encode gender identity concepts but they are also actively involved in the very process of constructing the kind of power culturally or circumstantially ascribed to each gender. This chapter specifically focuses on transitivity patterns and lexicalization.

### 3.3 The Grammar of transitivity

As noted in chapter one, transitivity is the grammatical facility used to capture experience (Simpson 2004: 22). Transitivity is significant in the investigation of gender identity since language functions ideationally to produce preferred meanings (Halliday 1985, 1994, 2004). The grammar of transitivity allows for varied and significant models for the presentation of events as well as in identification of individuals’ roles in their interaction with others (Kress and Fowler 1979:199; Sahragard and Davatgarzadeh 2010:74). Of significance in this analysis is interrogating how Wamitila manipulates transitivity structures to project specific meanings about female or male characters above other meanings. The study takes the position that part of our perception of what a person is like derives partly from what sort of participant roles are ascribed to that person. Process types are therefore interrogated to
highlight for instance, which gender is ascribed which attributes, which gender is cast as having the capacity to act upon the other, and which gender is depicted as lacking the capacity to perform certain tasks. Such representations will help make explicit the hidden identities associated with or discursively constructed about each gender. The principal process types: the material, the mental and the relational processes are interrogated.

### 3.3.1 Material Processes

As noted in section 1.8.3.2.1, material processes involve processes of doing and happening. In a material clause, the Actor is capable of not only performing an action and perhaps bringing change through what Halliday (2004:179) refers to as input of energy, but also is capable of affecting the course of life of another participant in the clause, referred to as the Goal or Beneficiary. Material processes can be used to present different perceptions about people as evidenced in the following examples from *Unaitwa Nani?:*

Excerpt 1

1. *Kitu cha kwanza nilichokiona ni sura ya mwanamume... Alikuwa amesimama kama anayekagua kitu fulani, kama mwinyi anayetamani kununua mtumwa au bucha anayemkagua mnyama sokoni. Alivalia va zi jeupe. Anafanana na daktari.* (P. 3)

   The first thing I saw was the face of a man… He stood like a person inspecting something, like a feudal lord desiring to buy a slave or a butcher inspecting an animal in the market. He wore a white garment. He resembled a doctor.

The narrator is the female patient in hospital. She wakes up from a comma, still dazed and confused and the first thing she sees is a man. She describes the man using material processes which give prominence to action. ‘Standing’ for instance, is a concrete and a more
directional action. In the same vein ‘inspecting’ and ‘buying’ are transitive material processes in which the man is inscribed as an Agent, acting intentionally upon animate entities: ‘slave’ and ‘animal’ respectively. This positions the man as an entity which is not only taking control of what is happening, but also affecting the physical phenomena around him. Notice also the circumstantial element of location or place: sokoni (market) attendant to the material process: anayemkagua (inspecting). The circumstantial element ideationally constructs a competitive scenario in which the man is positioned in an agentive position, presumably as a bidder. The man as an Actor affects the lives of both the slave (in the subject position of feudal lord) and the animal (in the subject position of a butcher). It is also interesting to note the names the woman gives the man. Mwinyi (feudal lord) is a symbol of ownership and its use in this context links ownership with male identity. Butcher can also be linked with ownership and aggression. This kind of identity can be contrasted with the one depicted in the following example from Unaitwa Nani?:


I started seeing mist. In that mist there were creatures who wore white garments. I must have been in paradise or heaven….

The narrator is the male patient in hospital. He has woken up from a comma. What is significant in this analysis is the naming of the Phenomena which affect both the man and woman in examples 1 and 2 respectively. The Phenomenon: viumbe waliowalia magwanda meupe (creatures who wore white garments) affects the man as a Senser. In a later context in the text (P. 121), the male patient categorizes the creatures as ‘hurulaini’ (sylph or beautiful women believed to live in paradise). On the other hand in example 1 above, the woman as a
Senser, is affected by a man. What is more interesting is that the man in example 2 describes the woman (represented by sylph) according to the way she adorns herself or the clothes she wears, whereas the woman in example 2 describes the man according to what he does. Although the woman talks about the man’s garment, she first foregrounds his material actions. This ideationally links the corporate identity of men with industry, further signifying the ideology that positions men as doers. The woman on the other hand is described in terms of her beauty; seemingly as a passive object of male admiration. Examine the following excerpt from the target text.

Excerpt 2


All of them are laughing at me. Eh! I whom they turn into a wood carving. A wood carving that they carved through their world views and beliefs… A wood carving that, like a drawing cast on a wall, … does not have the ability to respond. A mute carving.


Identity is a ‘negotiated experience’ in which we define who we are by the way we experience our selves… as well as by the ways we and others reify our selves.

In the above excerpt, the narrator, who is the same female patient in excerpt 1 example 1, constructs her identity and that of men through self evaluation. This evaluation is coded through the use of emotive lexis such as the behavioural process, “wananicheka” (they are
laughing at me), *kinyago* (wood carving), and *kinyago bubu* (mute wood carving). In transitivity terms, the man is depicted in an agentive position as a Behaver while the woman is cast as a Target or victim of men’s laughter. She is also a Goal in the transitive material process: *walichochonga* (which they have curved), where the man is inscribed as an Actor. This positions the woman in a weak status as compared to the man. It is also notable that the narrator heightens self evaluation through grammatical parallelism (Francis and Kramer-Dahl 1992:80), by employment of structures such as *kinyago walichochonga* (a wood carving they have carved) and *kinyago ambacho...* (a wood carving that…) which, as overtly evaluative devices, construct the woman as a helpless victim of men’s negative actions. It is also significant to note that the way the woman comes to evaluate or identify herself in this excerpt is partly determined by the way she is described by members of her speech community, its world view and cultural belief about what it means to be a woman as evidenced in the material clause: *walichochonga kwa mitazamo yao* (which they have curved through their world view) in which she is inscribed as a Goal or metaphorically as a Phenomenon of men’s evaluation. This view is in consistence with what S. A. Mohamed opines in the blurb of *Nyuso za Mwanamke* (2010). He notes:

**Excerpt 3**

*Wananamke kama dutu la udongo wa mfinyanzi huumbwa na kuumbuliwa na jamii kwa namna mbalimbali. Kama kinyonga, uso wake unabeba rangi tofauti tofauti kulingana na mikondo ya maisha na mapigo ya wakati.*

The woman, like a piece of a potter’s clay is constructed and deconstructed by the society in different ways. Like a chameleon, her face carries many colours according to different phases of life and changes in time.
Excerpt 3 thus alludes to the variability of gender identity as well as the institutionalized identity of the feminine gender as evidenced by the use of: *is constructed and deconstructed by the society*.

Gender identity can be defined by the role prescriptions that the society accords each gender. Role prescriptions are privileges or rights and duties or responsibilities associated with specific social identities (Meurer 2004:87). Identities are to a great extent oriented by regulations; i.e. they greatly depend on what human agents are expected to do and how they are expected to carry out specific activities ensuring positive and/or negative sanctions (*ibid*). Such identities are partly presented through linguistic choices as evidenced in excerpt 3 above and as further demonstrated by excerpt 4 below from *Unaitwa Nani?*.

Excerpt 4


  Laughing at me for not being able to remember a name they gave me. Oh yes, a name I was given by my father, a man like them (*my mother was not allowed to do that*). Therefore a men’s name.

The female patient cannot remember her name and she feels that the male hospital workers are laughing at her because of this. In this excerpt the man is the Actor of the material processes: *walilonipa* (the one they gave me) and *nililopewa* (which I was given), and the woman is the Beneficiary since she is the recipient of the name that men, specifically her father, gives her. This means that performing certain kinds of activity, in this case name
giving, constitutes the corporate identity of men. It can then be argued that in the society being depicted, one of the identities traditionally associated with men is that of identifying their children through naming. This is further foregrounded in this excerpt by the speaker’s proposition that the mother was not allowed to give the name. Further, the use of the causative modal adjunct: *kwa hivyo* (therefore) has a summarizing effect (Holmes 2005; Fairclough 2010), arguably presupposing that part of the woman’s identity is decided by men. It is interesting to note that the female character terms her name as, ‘men’s name’. By this utterance, she distances women from this role signification, locating the capacity and responsibility of naming to the masculine gender; a role she seems to contest through her Verbiage (therefore men’s name), and which is further emphasized in the example 2 below.

2. *Mama akampokea mtoto wake aliyejaliwa na Muumba wake baada ya kukabidhiwa na wakunga... akaamua kumpa jina la Kamene (babake ambaye kitamaduni ndiye aliyepaswa kupendekeza jina lake hakujali ataitwa nani).* (Pp. 89-90)

The mother received the child she had been blessed with by her creator after having been given by the midwives... she decided to call her Kamene (her father who traditionally was the one who was supposed to suggest a name did not care what name she would be given).

The above example can be said to reveal a case of role re-signification. The role of child naming, which as demonstrated in example 1 of excerpt 4 is traditionally ascribed to the masculine gender, has been played by the feminine gender. This is in concordance with Magalhães’ (2005:184) notion of instability and variability of identities. The woman in this excerpt takes up the role of child naming since the father is annoyed that the child is a girl
and not a boy as he had hoped. Taking up the role of child naming presupposes that child naming as a social practice is not necessarily a male specific identity in this particular context. Examine examples 1 and 2 of excerpt 5 from *Unaitwa Nani?*.

Excerpt 5


My wife called me lazy. Why can’t I get a job like other men? What do they have that I don’t have? What kind of a man am I if can’t *sustain* my family. Am I a man just due to my trousers? As for those trousers, is it not better for me to just remove them and walk naked?

The narrator is a man who has been retrenched. He narrates what his wife told him after his retrenchment. The gender concept of the man as the protector and provider of his family’s material needs is implicitly manifest in the material process: *sustain*, in which the man is positioned as an Actor and his family the Goal. Further, by using rhetorical questions, which in this context carry the meaning of reprimands and accusations, the woman claims more authority to her assertions; she is committing herself to the unmitigated fact that her husband has to fulfil his traditionally assigned duty. Failure to provide for his family undermines the husband’s authority and identity as a man which seems to be hinged on his capacity to provide for his family. That is why his wife disparages him, preferring that he stops wearing trouser’s since that alone does not identify him as a man. Removing trousers designates the man’s failure to fulfil his culturally assigned role in gender power relations. The role of men
as providers is further discursively reproduced in the following utterance from the same female character:

2. “Ufanye nini, uliponichukua kwetu ulisema nini? Hukusema kuwa utanitunza?”
   (P. 159)
   “Are you asking me what you should do? When you took me from my parent’s place what did you say? Didn’t you say that you will take care of me?”

The utterance is an explication of how women use discourses to reproduce gender ideology that subordinates them to men. Analysing the above utterance, one realizes that interpersonally the rhetorical question: *Hukusema kuwa utanitunza?* (Did you not say you will take care of me?) is not demanding for information, rather it is a reprimand, the interlocutor is reminding her husband and by extension the reader, of men’s socially ascribed role of a provider, and pointing out to her husband’s failure to perform this socially constructed identity. It is notable that the woman is portrayed as a Goal of the material processes: *uliponichukua* (when you took me from) and *utanitunza* (you will take care of me) in which the man is inscribed as an Actor. Through her Verbiage, the woman relegates herself to a subservient position and associates the male identity with the image of protector. Notice that the material process: *uliponichukua* translates to “when you brought me to your home”. The man is hence discursively constructed as the home owner and subsequently provider of a home to the woman. A home can be viewed as a symbol of security. It is no wonder that the woman is feeling insecure, and hence poses the above rhetorical questions to remind the man of his socially unmitigated role as provider of material well being and security. Seemingly, the man cannot be a successful husband if he does not live up to the representations of hegemonic masculinity constructed by the institution of family which
emphasizes the man’s gender role as a breadwinner, money maker and someone capable of action on behalf of himself and his family. The excerpt hints to what Sunderland and Litosseliti (2002:8) call ‘crisis of masculinity’ discourse which represents men as suffering from a sense of being ‘deprived’ of both expectation that they will be the family breadwinner, and of the opportunity to be so. They note:

To the extent that, and where, such a crisis exists, it is indeed a crisis of identity – the most obvious contradiction being, between ‘being a man’ and ‘being the breadwinner’ when these two identities of masculinity co-occur for a man but do not correspond to that man’s lived experience (ibid).

It is interesting to note that Wamitila reproduces the identity of man as a provider of protection in his other works as evidenced in the following utterance by a female character (Julia) in Msimu wa Vipepeo (2006):

3. *Je, Kanda atasema nini baada ya miaka yote aliyoshindwa kukigaramia japo chakula cha mara moja kwenye hoteli ya maana? Atasema nini akijua kuwa wapo wanaume wanaojua jinsi ya kwatunza wake zao? Atasema nini mwanamume huyo? Phoo!* (P. 10)

What will Kanda say after all those years he could not afford even once to buy her food in a prestigious hotel? What will he say when he learns that there are men who know how to take care of their wives? What will that man say? Phoo!

In example 3, Julia is comparing her life with her second husband (Mkurutu) and her life with Kanda (her first husband). Kanda’s failure to provide the kind of life Julia wants undermines his socially prescribed identity as a man, making Julia to leave him as soon as she meets a rich husband. Indeed Julia shows her disgust on the failure of her first husband to perform his institutionalized identity as the provider of protection through the use of
Phoo, a kind of exclamation used to show contempt. It is also notable that the material process: *kuwatunza*, (to take care of) in which men are inscribed as Actors and women as Goals positions men as in charge of protection. What is more interesting in excerpt 5 is that women themselves reproduce the identity which relegates them to subordination, hence confirming Simone de Beauvoir’s notion that the woman may not lay claim to status of Subject because she feels the necessary bond that ties her to the man and because she is often well pleased with her role as ‘the Other’ (1949: xxiv-xxv).

3.3.2 Mental Processes

In contrast with material processes which have their provenance in the physical world, mental processes involve consciousness, specifically cognition, reaction or perception (Halliday 1985; Abdulaziz 1996). They enable language users to express opinions, thoughts and tastes that help identify their definitions of reality (Halliday 2004:174; Simpson 2004:23). Interrogation of mental processes is significant in this section since it is through the different ways that characters in the selected representative samples think and perceive things that they may be classified as having a specific identity. Because of the propensity of mental clauses to construct a person’s opinion or perception of others as more important than the actions themselves, they are important for establishing the interlocutors’, and indeed the author’s evaluation of each gender. Consider excerpt 6 from *Unaitwa Nani*?.
Excerpt 6

Part of my breasts, a part I protect very much, and the one I value very much as a (human) being, was uncovered. Now I have known. That man must be looking at them. What am I really? Something to be looked at? A wood carving for pleasing man’s eyes, a zombie (worthless thing) for satisfying the desire of his eyes?

The narrator, the female patient in hospital, realizing that she is not properly covered starts to evaluate her identity as a woman. Five mental processes in this excerpt are significant to the construction of identity in this context: ninayoithamini (the one I value), anayaangalia (he is looking at them), kutazamwa (being looked at), kuyafurahisha (to please) and kukosha (to satisfy). Ninayoithamini, (the one I value) a mental process of affection or reaction (Simpson 2004:23), depicts the woman as concerned with the appearance or state of her body parts; in this case her breasts. When one values something, it is important to him or her and perhaps others. One can argue that apart from the breasts forming part of the woman’s biological identity, they are also significant in defining the way she defines herself and the way she is defined by others. This is amplified by the speaker’s use of the mental processes of perception: anayaangalia (he is looking at them) and kutazamwa (to be looked at), in which the woman is inscribed as the Phenomenon that affects the man as a Senser. The choice of the above processes discursively constructs a commodified identity of the woman. Arguably, the man is looking at the woman because he perceives that part of the woman’s
identity is to attract and satisfy the desires of his eyes, as the woman herself subtly implies in her rhetorical questions.

It would also appear that the mental processes of affection: *kuyafurahisha* (to please) and *kuyakosha* (to satisfy) metaphorically construct the woman as an Agent of pleasure. However, a close analysis of the mental clause reveals that the woman’s body is objectified under the male gaze, making her a Goal or object of man’s gaze. Notice also that *anayaangalia* (looking at them) and *kutazamwa* (to be looked at) are more of behavioural processes than mental processes. The man is therefore inscribed as Behaver and the woman a Target of that behaviour. Of significance also is the kind of naming the woman adopts. In Kiswahili, *kinyago* connotes something which is worthless. It also means a mask or something that makes people laugh. *Dubwasha* on the other hand is a worthless thing. The rhetorical questions in which the above lexical items are embedded depict and resist how patriarchy objectifies the woman by placing different demands on her body as demonstrated by the woman’s use of *dubwasha la kukosha uchu* (a zombie for satisfying desire). Interestingly, this kind of objectification of the woman’s body can also be seen in discourses of other African writers as exemplified in the following extract from S A. Mohamed’s *Utengano*.

Excerpt 7

*Pili, anaichukia nafsi yake – nafsi iliyolemaa na kuridhi siku zote kumpembejea mwanamume ambaye ni kiumbe kama yeye.... Alikuwa kashughulika kujipamba kwa ajili ya kumfurahisha mwanamume. Kinyume cha mambo, anaichukia lakini anafanya.* (P. 1)
Secondly, she hates her soul – a soul that has been crippled to always accept to please a man who is a human being like her…. She was adorning herself to please a man. Ironically, she hates it, but she does it.

The woman (Kazija), like the female patient in excerpt 6, seems to contest her socially ascribed identity. However, what is interesting is that she reproduces her identity as an object of admiration by masculine gender through her discourse. Her beauty is metaphorically cast as a Phenomenon to be admired by a man who is cast as a Senser. She reproduces this kind of identity by repeatedly performing it. Examine excerpt 8 from Unaitwa Nani?.

Excerpt 8

“Mtafute mwanamume ambaye anakuweshimu kama kiumbe, anayekuthamini kama kiumbe mwenye hisia, na hisia kama hujui ni chanzo cha uhai wenyewe. Itakuwa kazi kubwa kumpata mtu wa aina hiyo, labda adimu kama ua la mkuyu… Wanaume wengi sio wazuri. Mtafute anayekuthamini kama binadamu!... Wanaume wa huku kwetu na mipini yao wanamchukulia mwanamke sawa na ardhi ...ni kiumbe wa kulimwa! ... Mwanamume asiye kuona kama mtu wa ku heshimiwa mwachilie mbali.” (Pp. 43-46)

“The addresser, Kasekesi’s mother uses mental processes which discursively form her frame of what she considers as a good husband for her daughter, or in that matter a good marriage; since in an earlier utterance she tells the daughter (Kasekesi) that one day she will get married. Her Verbiage consists of mental processes of affection in which the addressee is
inscribed as a Phenomenon and the man as a Senser. The argument of this study is that the perception backgrounded by these mental processes is that marriage should be imbued with love, caring and affection. The choice of mental processes of affection constructs the woman’s identity as one whose concern is for feelings. Indeed the addresser amplifies this notion by telling the addressee that feelings are a source of life. A careful analysis of the transitivity patterns in this excerpt also reveals that the woman is metaphorically cast as the object or Goal of her husband’s future action (respect, and recognition); and consequently an object of the husband’s evaluation. This suggests that one of the attributes that describe the identity of a woman is her desire to be valued, respected and accepted by her husband. It is also argued here that the interlocutor uses these mental processes of affection to contest the dominant gender ideology that denigrates the woman. Indeed her contentstation is heightened by her use of the relational clause, “It will be hard to get such a person” (i.e a man who respects a woman), the dominant reading being that women are largely denigrated in this society.

It is also notable that the addresser’s choice of the mental clause: *asiyokuona kama mtu wa kuheshimiwa*, (who does not see you as a person to be respected) constructs the woman, who is the Phenomenon in this case, as a Beneficiary of the man’s respect and recognition, and the man as the possessor of these attributes which he may choose whether or not to extend to the woman. Notice also the mental process of perception: *wanamchukulia* (they take the woman), in which the man is cast as a Senser and the woman as a Phenomenon. Being viewed as a piece of land presupposes a property owner - property relationship. This again
construes a commodified identity of the woman, further depicting male dominance and female subordination. It is significant to note that by these mental processes, which are realized as imperative clauses, the speaker does not only signify the gender ideology which promotes female subordination, but she also contests it, and calls upon the daughter to contest it by not getting married to a man who perpetuates such gender power relations. The following utterance by Kasekesi’s father does not portray a significantly different identity of both genders.

Excerpt 9


“Look for a man who values culture. The one who knows that he who deserts his customs is a slave and that a woman needs to be well clothed so that she can be good looking, just as a banana plant needs weeding. A man who does not see you as a woman leave him completely. He should be a man who recognises the woman’s weakness and how to live with her.”

This text can be viewed as a counter discourse to excerpt 8. While the father (to Kasekesi) addresses the same issue addressed by the mother in excerpt 8, his conception of a good man or husband, and indeed a good marriage is different as evidenced in his choice of Phenomena. The mental processes in the excerpt are related to affection, cognition and perception. Although anayekuthamini (who values) is a mental process of affection, the Phenomenon (culture) that the man values has nothing to do with feelings. As a Senser, the man is detached from intimacy and attached to other issues such as perpetuating the cultural
values and acting upon or improving the woman’s identity. This is evidenced by: 

*mwanamume anayethamini utamaduni* (a man who values culture) and *Yule anayejua kwamba mwacha mila ni mtumwa na mwanamke ni nguo mgomba kupaliliwa* (The one who knows that he who deserts his customs is a slave and that a woman needs to be well clothed so that she can be good looking, just as a banana tree needs weeding.). This metaphorically constructs the man in an agentive position, actively involved in the sustenance and improvement of his physical and cultural world. The woman on the other hand is objectified as part of the physical world to be improved. The passivisized form ‘*kupaliliwa*’ (to be weeded) construes the woman as a Goal of man’s processes, both material and mental, which further links her identity to subservience. It is interesting to note the mental clause, *asiyekuona kama mwanamke* (who does not see you as a woman) in which the woman is inscribed as a Phenomenon and the man the Senser. The above clause presupposes some inherent attributes or weaknesses in the character of a woman that a man must know, presumably so that he can control or improve on them. Indeed, the mental clause of cognition ‘*anayetambua unyonge wa mwanamke*’ (who recognizes the woman’s weakness) further emphasises this notion. This again is in concordance with Aristotles’s view, which is alluded to in chapter two, that links female identity with imperfection. In excerpt 9 the woman is cast as a passive Beneficiary of man’s good will, and the man sympathetically construed as Senser who seemingly has to cope with the woman’s weaknesses. Such discourses emphasize women’s natural weakness and dependence on men. Notice how a male character in *Unaitwa Nani?* further constructs male identity in excerpt 10.
Excerpt 10

Nilipokuwa kijana mdogo nilipenda mcchezo wa kuiga sauti za ndege, na sio hilo tu, niliweza kujua ni ndege gani anayelia kwa kuisikiliza sauti yake tu. Basi niliamua kuutumia ujuzi wangu wa sauti kuzipambanua sauti za ndege waliokuwa wakiongea. Mawimbi ya sauti zao yaliponifikia nikawa nayaingiza ubongoni, kuyapindua na kuyageuza huku na kule na hatimaye kuyatathmini. Woo…te walikuwa wanawake. Ndege! (Pp. 120-121)

When I was a small boy I liked the game of imitating the voices of birds, and not just that, I was able to know which bird was producing sounds by only listening to its voice. So I decided to use my knowledge of voices to distinguish the voices of the birds which were talking. When the waves of their voices reached me, I would engage them in my brain, change and turn them here and there and finally evaluate them. All of them were women. Birds!

The narrator, the male patient in hospital, constructs his identity by deployment of mental processes of affection, perception and cognition. Although he uses ‘likes’ which is a mental process of affection, it is important to note the Phenomenon he likes: ‘the game of imitating the voices of birds’. He thus ideationally constructs himself, and indeed all men as active participants, linking the image of male identity with adventure. The narrator further enhances man’s capacity by using a mental process of cognition: kujua (to know) which is modulated by the modal auxiliary: niliweza (I was able to), thus interpersonally constructing his ability to recognize birds (or character) as an unquestionable truth. Moreover, the choice of the mental process of perception: kuisikiliza (listening to) gives him even more agency since, as a Senser, he can recognize birds through hearing and not even seeing. The man’s capacity is enhanced even further through the use of the mental processes of cognition: kuzipambanua (analysing) and kuyatathmini (evaluating) which ideationally position him as actively engaged in processes of evaluating and discovering. Indeed, the narrator seems to
have attained the desired level of mastery of his skill (recognizing voices of birds) in the ultimate act of recognizing that the people talking in the present context are women.

It is also notable that recognition, though a mental process, accords the man more agency as a ‘serious’ thinker, especially when it is used in the context of the material processes. *Nayaingiza* (I engage them), *kuyapindua* (turn) and *kuyageuza* (change) involve mental action which metaphorically cast the man as an Actor. As a Senser, the person in this case is not just listening, he does something to what he is hearing. Although the excerpt constitutes what Fairclough (2010) calls self promotional discourse, it can be argued that this is the identity of a man that the interlocutor wants the reader to construct. The excerpt communicates the stereotype that men act more as opposed to women who seem to feel or perceive more, as demonstrated by excerpt 6 of this chapter.

### 3.3.3 Relational Processes

The relational process is a central grammatical strategy for classifying, identifying, assessing and evaluating people, objects or concepts (Halliday 2004: 214; Simpson 2004: 25-26). In this section relational processes are investigated to establish for example, how male and female participants are classified through the range of attributes ascribed to them, and the meanings attached to those attributes, whether there are necessarily any negative attributes associated with any gender and what identity they construct of that gender. It is argued in this section that relational processes are part of what Fairclough (1989) terms to as classification schemes. He notes:
Classification scheme constitutes a particular way of dividing up some aspect of reality which is built upon a particular ideological representation of that reality.

(P. 115)

Examine the following example from *Unaitwa Nani*:

Excerpt 11

1. “Listen, their bones are weak … and frail…Technically we say they are *pedomorphic*. Not like a man’s which have the ability to withstand heavy tasks such as carrying sacks in the port, loading luggage on vehicles and toppling each other in wrestling And don’t imagine it started yesterday, it has been like that since the era of gathering in the forests, the Stone Age times (I wonder whether you learnt History in school). Remember this is a scientific fact! The woman is just weak emotionally… Just flesh, period! May be even that children’s game… ‘nyamanyama’ its correct response is ‘woman’. In college you did not read Sigmund Freud?... These ones are very weak people, weak in all fields and not because of any other reason; it is because they have a certain deficiency. And if you don’t know Aristotle, the father of all professions, said that, long time ago!”

2. “Really?”

3. “Eeh, he said that and years later Friedrich Nietzsche, that great philosopher from Germany added. What dominates these ones are feelings, feelings and feelings ;that is eross!!!”
The addresser is the male doctor (Dr. Homo) and the addressees are his colleagues (nurses). One of the nurses has asked the doctor why the female patient has taken long to respond to treatment. The doctor responds by evaluating women’s physical strength. Analysis of the above excerpt reveals that although the speaker employs both relational and material processes, material processes are more prominent. The choice of the relational clause of attributive mode: *their bones are weak and frail* is significant. The clause which is interpersonally realised as a declarative clause has a generalizing effect which presents the weakness of the woman’s bones as a general truth in the past, present (current) and possible future state of activities (Harrison and Young 2004: 239), hence making it natural. The clause presents a disenabling discourse which constructs women’s identity as including lack of, or deficiency in physical strength. Notice that the speaker asserts authority of his proposition by drawing upon professional discourse through the Verbiage: *Kitaalamu tunasema ni pedomorphic* (technically we say they are pedomorphic). The Verbiage positions professional or scholarly discourse as the Sayer, a strategy that defocuses the reader from taking the utterance as a subjective proposition, thus presenting the speaker’s proposition as an unchallengable fact, that indeed feminine gender lacks in physical strength. It is however interesting to note the possessive relational process used to describe men’s bones which is put in apposition with the attributive process where the woman is a Carrier of a negative attribute. The process positions the man not just as a Carrier of the attribute ‘strength’ but rather as a possessor of that strength. Further, he is not just depicted as a passive Carrier of potent energy, but as an Agent, acting intentionally on an inanimate Goal as evidenced in: *kubeba magunia* (carrying sacks). This, as argued in chapter two, links physical strength to male identity.
Notice also that in this excerpt, the actions associated with the man are, in experiential or ideational terms, carried out through the intercession of his bones. This is what Simpson (2004: 76-77) terms as meronymic agency. Meronymic agency is a type of transitivity process which involves positioning a human body part rather than a whole person, in the role of an Actor; Senser; Sayer, and so on. Meronymic agency stands in contrast to holonymic agency where the participant role is occupied by a complete being (ibid: 76-77). Meronymic agency in this context serves to construct men’s physical strength as part of his biological or physiological composition, hence naturalizing it. One also notices that the excerpt demonstrates excessive use of material processes: *Kuhimili* (to withstand), *kubeba* (to carry), *kupandisha* (to load) and *kuhemera* (to gather), all of which position the man as an Actor, actively engaged in actions that can alter the course of his life and that of others, unlike the woman who as mentioned above, is just a passive carrier of an attribute. The material processes discursively reproduce the dominant ideology that links male identity with action and female identity with passivity, an identity also reproduced through conventional Swahili metaphors such as the following:

*Mume ni kazi, mke ni nguo.* (Arege and Nyanje 2011: 270)

A man is recognized through his work and a woman through the way she adorns herself.

This proverb, apart from linking male identity to the achievement of tasks, it is used to remind men of their role to protect their families. What is even more interesting in excerpt 11 is that in transitivity terms, men’s physical strength is realized as an Existent as exemplified in the metaphoric existential clause: *it has been like that since the era of*
gathering in the forests, in which men’s capacity in physical strength is ideationally represented as a permanent natural quality.

Of significance also is the circumstantial element of location: *kwenye miereka* (in wrestling), attendant to the material process: *kuangushana* (toppling each other). Here the reader’s attention is drawn to the invocation of discourse of competition encapsulated in the material process: *Miereka*. Other than being a game that requires a lot of physical strength, *miereka* (wrestling) constructs the participants as Actors who are acting on each other. This again casts men as not only action oriented but also aggressive and courageous, linking the identity of man to courage and aggression. It is also significant to note the circumstantial element of cause: *kwa sababu ya* (because of) which the addresser uses to legitimize his proposition, presenting women as weak due to some natural deficiency. This is in consistent with what Fairclough (2010) calls ‘naturalized’ ideological representations, i.e. ideological representations which come to be seen as non-ideological ‘common sense’. He notes:

> It is taken as given that persons have, or do not have, capacities for particular types of behaviour irrespective of changes in time, place or conditions. (P.33)

It is interesting to note that in the above excerpt, the ‘truth’ about the woman’s deficiency in physical strength is represented as unmitigated and further amplified by drawing upon Sigmund Freud’s, Aristotle’s and Friedrich’s view that they have some deficiency. Drawing upon Sigmund Freud’s, Aristotle’s and Friedrich’s philosophy here is, in the words of Van Dijk (1998: 18), a strategy of manipulation and legitimation aimed at manufacturing consent and influencing the minds of the readers to the interest of the powerful, (in this case the producer of the information), that the woman lacks in physical strength, and foregrounding
the view that men are endowed with physical strength. This study takes the position that if this kind of discourse remains unchallenged it may end up being anchored in the psyche of the community and women may take physical weakness as their natural identity, hence legitimate their exclusion in tasks that require physical strength.

Of interest also is the pseudo cleft sentence: *Kinachowatawala hawa ni hisia* (What dominates these ones are feelings), in which ‘*Kinachowatawala hawa*’ is thematised. This foregrounds women’s lack of facility in physical strength, as well as their concern for feelings only, presenting it as given information which cannot be challenged. The woman’s lack of physical strength is therefore presented as a static quality, a negative evaluation which is significant in analysis of power since it affects the allocation of resources, both material and symbolic, to each gender, hence leading to further asymmetrical gender power relations. Examine how a female character uses relational processes to construct her identity in the following excerpt from *Unaitwa Nani*?.

Excerpt 12

“*Mwanamke si mnyonge unavyoambiwa. Kama si wanawake nchi hii isingekuwa huru. Hao ndio waliowalisha wapiganiaji uhuru. Hao ndio wanaoiza jamii hii. Mwanamke ndive nyumba na jamii isiyokuwa na nyumba inacharazwa na mvua ya mawe kwenye mbuga za maisha... Wanawake walikuwa hata watawala!*”

(P. 45)

The woman is not as weak as you are told. Had it not been of women this country would not be independent. They are the ones who fed freedom fighters. They are the ones who give birth to the society. The woman is the house and a society without a house is hit by hailstorms in the forests of life... Women were even rulers!”
Interpersonally the addresser in the above text is a mother addressing her daughter (Kasekesi). These utterances are meant to influence the daughter on how she comes to evaluate herself as a woman. The choice of the identifying mode indexed by the two forms of the copula verb; ndio and ndiye is significant in not only distinguishing the feminine gender from the masculine one, but also indeed in categorizing the feminine gender. In: hao ndio waliowalisha wapiganiaji uhuru, (they are the ones who fed freedom fighters) Hao (they) is the Token and waliowalisha wapiganiaji uhuru (who fed freedom fighters) the Value (Halliday: 1985). The relational process: ndio (are) is accompanied by material process: waliowalisha (who fed). In these transitivity patterns women are depicted in an agentive position as providers of security, in this case, food security. This, as noted in chapter two, construes a caring identity, further confirming Mills’ (2003: 187) notion that femininity has often been associated with the private sphere and the values associated with that sphere. She notes:

Therefore caring, concern for appearances, emotional excess, incompetence in relation to non-domestic tasks have all in the past been markers of feminine… (ibid)

It is however significant to note that although caring is an important aspect of femininity, in the case of the relational clause: ndio waliowalisha (they are the ones who fed), the caring identity is based not only on the fulfilment of the needs of others and selflessness, but also on the fulfilment of the women’s own desire to feel valuable (Mills ibid). The woman in this excerpt is not just discursively confirming and reconstructing her culturally ascribed role, but rather she defines herself, and other women in a way which is of value. In transitivity terms, women are inscribed as Actors in the material process of freedom fighting through
ensuring food security to the freedom fighters. Moreover, the woman ideationally positions herself in an agenteive position as a protector of life by metaphorically referring to herself, and indeed other women, as a house (this is also discussed in chapter 2). She goes on to highlight the crucial role the house as an Actor plays in protecting the family against hailstorm. Here we see the woman’s value as a protector of her family from upheavals (inacharazwa na mvua ya mawe- it is bitten by hailstorm). Further, metaphorical reference to the woman as a house confirms her identity as the cradle of family since in Swahili, and indeed Kamba language, a house as a collective noun means a family. This excerpt thus demonstrates that while the role of bringing forth the society is linked to the feminine gender, the role of protection is complementary. While the man can protect through physical strength, the woman does so through provision of home care.

It is also worth noting the attributive mode used in: walikuwa hata watawala (they were even rulers) which classifies women in the category of leaders; presupposing that leadership is one of the traits that defined the identity of women just as it does define the identity of men today, as evidenced in the example below:

\[ Kumbuka mwanamume ndiye kiongozi wa nyumba (Remember the man is the head of the family.) (Unaitwa Nani? P. 48). \]

What is however interesting is the contrast between: Hao ndio wanaoizaa jamii (They are the ones who give birth to the society) and Wanawake walikuwa hata watawala (Women were even rulers). One realizes that while the former is in present continuous tense, the latter is in past tense. Hodge et al (1979: 91) note that tense has a distancing effect. The past tense in: walikuwa hata watawala (they were even rulers), places the utterance in a remote
tense. This, as Hodge et al (ibid) argue, has the effect of making the utterance less immediately applicable. The tense thus ideationally distances state leadership from the feminine gender identity, arguably locating it more in the identity of the masculine gender. However, in: Hao ndio wanaoizaa jamii, the speaker (mother) gives an indication of certainty by describing the role in the present continuous tense and indeed habitual aspect, which makes her utterance not only applicable in the immediate context, but also in future. In the words of Fairclough (1989:128) this tense is one pointer of expressive modality, a categorical commitment of the speaker to the truth of her proposition. In other words, what the mother is implying is that procreation and protection of life through nurturing is one of the socially ascribed roles of the feminine gender. This role is discussed in chapter 2 and further exemplified in the following examples from Unaitwa Nani?.

Excerpt 13

1. Mwanamke gani wa kuitwa mke ambaye hazai? ...
2. Umwanamke mwenzangu, mbona kuninyumbua bila huruma jinsi hii?
3. Mimi sio mwenzio ati, mwenzio gani na najua uchungu wa kuzaa: ....? (P. 69)

1. What kind of a woman to be referred to as a wife and yet she does not give birth?...
2. You are my fellow woman, why denigrate me mercilessly like this?
3. I am not your fellow woman, how can I be your fellow woman and I know the pain of giving birth?...

The participants in the above discursive event are Mwanamuka and Kenzi (her sister in law). Kenzi’s relational clause: wa kuitwa mke (to be referred to as a wife) is significant in analysing the feminine gender identity. It equates being a wife to having the capacity to give birth, each being mutually inclusive; i.e. one is identified as a wife only when she has given
birth. The rhetorical question that carries this clause interrogates Mwanamuka’s womanhood, distancing her from the socially ascribed feminine gender identity, as also alluded to in chapter two of this work. It is also significant to note that both Mwanamuka and Kenzi have different perceptions about what it means to be a woman. These perceptions are drawn from different discourses, or as Fairclough (1989) would term it, Members Resource (MR). The study argues that Mwanamuka defines being a woman according to what Eckert and Ginet (2003:10) term as biological sex; a combination of anatomical, endocrinal and chromosomal features. Kenzi on the other hand chooses one of the biological features of sex—reproductive potential—to define a woman. Mwanamuka’s and Kenzi’s definition of the identity of a woman is in harmony with Butler’s (1988) notion who notes:

> When Beauvoir claims that ‘woman’ is a historical idea and not a natural fact, she clearly underscores the distinction between sex as a biological facility and gender as the cultural interpretation or signification of that facility. To be female is according to that distinction, a facility which has no meaning but to be a woman is to have become a woman; to compel the body to conform to an historical idea of ‘woman’; to induce the body to become a cultural sign, to materialize oneself in obedience to an historically delimited possibility, and to do this as a sustained and repeated corporeal project. (P. 522)

It is notable that although Kenzi and Mwanamuka are female, (note Mwanamuka’s use of the inclusive pronoun: mwenzangu—my fellow woman), if one draws upon Kenzi’s discourse (Mimi sio mwenzio— I am not your fellow woman) and Butler’s view, it is only Kenzi who bears the identity of a woman. Mwanamuka’s failure to perform her gender can therefore be construed as failure to perform her socially prescribed identity. This leads to punishment. Kenzi for instance, excludes Mwanamuka from her category because she lacks the identity
of an agent of procreation and sustenance of life. Simply put what Kenzi covertly points out is that to be defined as belonging to the category or class of wives or women, one should be able to get pregnant and bring forth life. This confirms Magalhães’ notion on female gender identity who notes:

One of the deeply-rooted identities constructed for women in traditional contexts has been that related to nurturing and looking after children in the capacity of a mother or in such occupations as that of a teacher. Motherhood is highly valued and women are considered to be responsible in bringing up children. (P.186)

What is even more interesting is that women reproduce this kind of identity through their discourses. A look at the following examples from Wamitila’s *Msimu wa Vipepeo* (2006), and Timmamy’s ‘Uteuzi wa Moyoni’ (2004) demonstrates this.

Excerpt 14

1. *Moyoni hakuacha kuilaumu jaala yake iliyomfunga kizazi na kumnyima nafasi ya kumpata mtoto wa kuikidhi kiu ya mwanamume huyu. Julia amekulia katika jamii ambayo imemwaminisha kwa muda mrefu kuwa mwanamke hanq usalama katika ndoa asipojaliwa kumpata mtoto; mtoto ni kama kiwekezo ambacho mwanamke anawekeza katika ndoa yake.* *(Msimu wa Vipepeo (P.116))*

In her heart she never ceased to blame her destiny which blocked her ability to give birth and denied her the opportunity to have a child and quench this man’s thirst. Julia has grown up in a society which for a long time has made her believe that a woman has no security in marriage if she does not manage to get a child; a child is like an investment that a woman invests in a marriage.
2. “Hata kuzaa hakuweza. Basi kama hata ulezi hakuweza ataweza kufanyia watu lipi?” (“Uteuzi wa Moyoni” P. 16)

“She could not even manage to give birth. Then if she could not even manage parenting, what will she accomplish for people?”

These two examples are significant in analysing gender identity. Firstly, apart from the narrators of the two excerpts being male and female respectively, example 1 is from a male author and example 2 a female. One would expect different portrayal of the woman by the female author. However, a close analysis of transitivity patterns reveals that both authors ideationally depict women who cannot give birth in disenabling discourses, presupposing that giving birth is a central attribute of female identity. Both examples cast the woman as an Actor in the material processes of procreation and sustenance of life. In example 1 Julia’s failure to give birth makes her blame herself. Just like Mwanamuka in excerpt 12, Julia’s identity as a wife is undermined by her not giving birth. Indeed a child is important in the sustenance of a marriage as demonstrated in the kind of naming Wamitila gives it: investment. In example 2, Zena’s failure to give birth and sustain life dissociates her both from the identity of women (her fellow women treat her as ‘other’ since she has not given birth nor parented) and also from political leadership (in the story they refuse to elect her as a member of parliament). Another dimension of gender identity is examined through the following excerpt from Unaitwa Nani?:

Mwanamuka alikuwa mke wa Kitonga, mfanyibiashara maarufu wa kcko na mlezi mkuwa wa wanasingwa wa wilaya nzima... Kitonga alikuwa mtu wa kwanza kwaao kujenga nyumba ya ghorofa kijiji na mwanakijiji wa kwanza kusomea Uingereza... Babake alikuwa tajiri wa kwanza kununua gari la kukokotwa na ng’ombe....Kitonga alipata mali yake kutokana na biashara yake ya kuuza dhahabu ya Angola, almasi ya Mwadui na vito vya Kongo.... Mwanamuka alikuwa msichana wa jamaa ya kimaskini.... (P. 62)

Mwanamuka was the wife of Kitonga, a renowned businessman from his neighbourhood and a big sponsor of politicians in the entire district... Kitonga was the first person from his neighbourhood to build a storeyed house in the village... and the first villager to be educated from Britain... His father was the first rich man to buy an ox driven wheel cart.... Kitonga got his property from his business of selling Angolan gold, diamond from Mwadui and precious stones from Kongo.... Mwanamuka was a girl from a poor family.

In terms of transitivity, the excerpt can be analysed as having both attributive and identifying relational processes. Of interest however is the kind of relational clauses in which both Mwanamuka and Kitonga are inscribed. Mwanamuka seems to be defined in terms of her kinship as evidenced in the following identifying relational clause: ‘Mwanamuka alikuwa mke wa Kitonga (Mwanamuka was Kitonga’s wife) in which Mwanamuka is the identified or Token, and ‘mke wa Kitonga’ (Kitonga’s wife) is the identifier or Value (Halliday 1985: 115-116). In this example, Mke wa Kitonga fixes Mwanamuka’s identity by specifying her function or how she is valued. The clause constructs Mwanamuka’s identity as partly determined by her being Kitonga’s wife. However it is significant to note the identifying relational clauses which describe the man. Kitonga alikuwa mtu wa kwanza kujenga nyumba ya ghorofa kijiji na mwanakijiji wa kwanza kusomea Uingereza” (Kitonga was the first person from his neighbourhood to build a storeyed house and the first villager to be educated from Britain), identify Kitonga with the
feat he has accomplished and not in relationship with his wife. This kind of description is what Sahragard and Davatgarzadeh (2010:72) call functionalisation, in which social actors (in this case Kitonga,) are referred to in terms of what they do. Through the material processes embedded in the identifying relational clauses, the man is represented as an active dynamic force in concrete activities such as building and learning. This is further evidenced in the identifying clause: Babake alikuwa tajiri wa kwanza kununua gari… (His father was the first rich man to buy a car), which positions Kitonga’s father, not only as having the attribute of a rich person but also as an Actor who accomplishes a feat – the pioneer of using a wheel cart as a means of transport. This constructs him, and by extension the masculine gender identity as innovative, while the woman is cast as a passive carrier of an identity that is indeed provided by the man.

Notice also the employment of the relational clauses: mfanyibiashara maarufu (renowned businessman) and mlezi mkubwa (a big sponsor) to describe Kitonga. The clauses ascribe men value and significance as Actors. Mfanyibiashara and mlezi represent material processes – kufanya biashara (to engage in business) and kulea (to sponsor), which again have to do with accomplishing tasks other than just having attributes. Wamitila goes on to topicalise men’s industrious and adventurous nature by discursively constructing Kitonga as an Actor, engaged in material processes even across his country’s border. Men are thus metaphorically constructed as more action oriented and capable of influencing the course of their lives and that of other participants, for instance the politicians who are cast as Beneficiaries of Kitonga’s patronage. This kind of depiction of the man stands in sharp contrast with the way his wife is depicted in the identifying relational clause: Mwanamuka
alikuwa msichana wa jamaa ya kimaskini (Mwanamuka was a girl from a poor family) in which the woman is described in terms of her kinship.

It is even more interesting to note the way the narrator foregrounds Kitonga and de-emphasizes Mwanamuka. It is evident that although the excerpt starts with Mwanamuka, the subsequent clauses largely give information about Kitonga, and Mwanamuka is backgrounded. The information given is therefore predominantly about Kitonga’s accomplishments. The reader is therefore persuaded to define Mwanamuka in relation to the description the author makes of Kitonga instead of defining her as an entity capable of acting on her physical environment to bring change. Examples 1, 2, 3 of excerpt 16 from Unaitwa Nani? are not significantly different from the above description.

Excerpt 16

1. Nyakor, mwanamke mwenye ngozi ya rangi nyeusi iliyoshiba Uafrika - ule unaong‘aa kama ngozi ya jongoo, macho ya kikombe, midomo iliyotuna siha, meno meupe venye mwanya katikati, vidu usoni, pua pana, ndonya ya kipekee, shingo ya mwanzi na masikio ya wastani, alitokana na kizazi cha Mwanamke wa Ziwa. (P. 72)

Nyakor, a woman with black African skin – the blackness that shines like a millipede’s skin, big beautiful eyes, healthy lips, white teeth with a gap in the middle, dimples on her cheeks, wide nose, an exceptional upper lip plug, a bamboo neck and ears of standard size, was a descendant of the Woman of the Lake.

2. Kaminda Mwana’a Pasta, mvulana mwenye wajihi wa kuvutia, macho madogo, pua tapanya na midomo ya chenzi na kwapa zilizotoa harufu ya ndimu... alipendwa na watu tangu utotoni... Babake, mwanamume mrefu aliyetembea kwa kupinda huku kama mtu anayeguchia, alikuwa mhubiri maarufu. (P. 161)
Kaminda Son of Pastor, a handsome boy with small eyes, a wide nose, and lips like a tangerine, and armpits that smell like lime … was loved by people since childhood…. His father, a tall man who walked bending sideways like a person limping, was a renowned preacher.


Zahra, like her name, was a girl who had an appealing beauty, Venus itself! When you see her laughing, smiling and forming dimples on cheeks that have defied age, her eyes ever watery, like a person wanting to cry although may be he(she) has not gotten the actual reason to, eyes that made her appear small like a young child, completely young, you will love (like) her. In short, she was beautiful. And may be all she had was that beauty.

Examples 1 and 3 focus on the physical attractiveness of the woman. The possessive relational processes: mwenye (with) … and ‘aliye na’ (who had) construct the woman as a Carrier or rather owner of appealing beauty. When something is appealing it has the capacity to attract or interest. In example 3 the woman’s beauty is likened to parts of nature (Venus) and thus objectified. In both examples the parts of the woman’s body are lovingly described. In short the identity portrayed in example 1 and 3 is that of an objectified or commodified entity. The use of the mental process of affection; ‘utampenda’ (you will love her) in example 3 for instance, casts the woman as a Phenomenon and the man as a Senser, positioning women as objects of men’s desire. The woman is thus evaluated as an entity whose main purpose is to attract men. In fact in example 3, the author emphasizes this in the the relational clause: Na labda ni huo urembo aliokuwa nao tu (and may be all she had was that beauty). This gives
the impression that the woman in this context is defined in terms of what she is in terms of appearance, and not necessarily what she does to change the course of her life and that of her physical world.

It is also significant to note the summarizing strategy Wamitila employs in example 3 to topicalise his notion of the feminine identity through the textual Theme: *kwa ufupi*. This foregrounds the author’s claim to the physical attractiveness of the woman, closes the topic, and calls upon the reader to share in this opinion. As Fairclough 2010: 180-181) contends, summarizing as a discourse strategy is significant in the negotiation of one’s perception or world view. The author thus uses it to manipulate his audience or to re-contextualize the information he gives according to his principles and point of view.

Of more interest is the way in example 3 Wamitila topicalises the issue of women’s age through: *mashavu yaliyogoea umri* (cheeks that have defied age) and *macho ambayo yalimfanya aonekane mdogo kama mtoto mdogo, mkembe kabisa* (eyes that made her appear small like a young child, completely young). It is believed that women lose beauty as they age (Muindi 2010:50). Although aging is a natural phenomenon for both men and women, in my community (Kamba) for instance, the notion of women losing beauty with age is overemphasized. There is a close relationship for women, between appearance and identity, hence, aging triggers loss of social esteem and hence depreciation of their identity and arguably value as women. Example 3 seems to signify that the younger women look regardless of chronological age, the more highly they are valued in terms of beauty. It is interesting also to note the contrast between example 2 and the rest. In example 2 Wamitila
gives ‘dry’ facts about how the male characters look like. He does not make use of any lexicon which may trigger the presupposition that men’s physical appearance is objectified. One can thus argue that the author in example 1 and 3 accentuates the female physical attractiveness and constructs it as an essential part of their identity. It is also notable that the depiction of female identity in example 1 and 3 in the above excerpt is not remarkably different from the following example from Wamitila’s *Msichana wa Mbalamwezi*.

Excerpt 17

*Alikuwa mawanamke, ngozi yake changa iliufutika umri wake mpevu mwilini na kumpa umbile la kisichana, mwenye macho ya kusinzia...* (P.46)

She was a woman, her young skin hid her advanced age under her body, giving her a stature of a girl, with eyes that make her look like she is dozing.

In the above discourse, Wamitila not only links female identity with physical attractiveness, but he also implicitly constructs being young as giving women more value.

### 3.4 Naming Analysis

The hypothesis guiding analysis in this section is that writers can structure their texts in order to predispose their readers to establish certain links and not others, creating predominant readings which rest on specific taken-for-granted propositions that are part of the implicit meaning of the text (Fairclough 1995, 2010). Naming or labelling involves how one refers to a person or a process (Clark 1992: 209). Naming analysis helps to uncover implicit beliefs and assumptions of the speaker or writer. This study argues that the names used to refer to people and objects can serve to classify or assign specific identities and roles.
to these people or objects. Different names for the same entity represent different ways of
perceiving it (Fowler and Kress 1979: 210; Fairclough 1989; Figueiredo 2004:218;
Remlinger 2005:120). Naming can take the form of selection of personal details of the
participants such as name, age, appearance and marital status. One can also be named
according to his or her occupation or even in terms of the material actions he directs to other
participants. Whatever the choice of name the speaker picks to describe an entity depends on
what notions about for instance, gender identity the speaker intents to negotiate among the
participants or readers in a particular discursive event. As Halliday (2004: 37-40) notes,
somebody can have different names according to the context. This same person can acquire
various identities, sometimes without his or her consent, based on the words used to encode
people’s evaluation of him or her, or the qualities and attributes they ascribe to him or her.
In transitivity terms, these names become the person being referred to, since they take the
place of the given name in the grammar of the clause and replace it with lexical units that
represent the real person only partially (Halliday ibid). For instance, referring to the female
patient in hospital as hurulaini (sylph) in Unaitwa Nani? (P. 121) represents ‘women’ only
partially. Naming of entities, whether animate or inanimate can also involve metaphoric
reference to the entities as will be demonstrated in this section. In this work naming is used
interchangeably with lexical choices. Examine the following texts from Unaitwa Nani?:
“Tunachotaka ni jina ehh... Tunataka jina kama la wanawake tunaowajua. Na yapo majina mengi ya aina hiyo! Majina wanayopewa wanawake kama Hawa, Jezebel, Delilah au Pandora... Hayo ni majina tunayoweza kuyaelewa na hata visa vya wanawake hao tunavifahamu kabisa. Jamii inavijua pia na inavimulia kwa msisimko mkubwa... Hapa, kimazoea, unaweza hata kusema kitamaduni, tunapenda majina yanayoweza kukutambulisha, tukakujua na labda hata tukaujua wasifu wako maana kutokana na jina tunaweza kuwepo wewe ni mtu wa aina gani... Sisi tunaamini katika uwezo wa majina...” (P.15)

“What we want is a name ehh... We want a name like that of women we know. And there are many names of that sort! Names that women are given, like Hawa, Jezebel, Delilah or Pandora... Those are names that we can understand and we even understand the stories of those women completely. The society knows them and it narrates them with a lot of enthusiasm... Here, normally, you can even say traditionally, we like names that can identify you, so that we are able to know you and may be know your character, since from a name we can know what kind of a person you are... We believe in the power of names...”

Interpersonally, the addressee in this excerpt is the female patient. Her name is: Mwanamke (woman), a name she repeats four times, presupposedly to emphasize her identity (Pp. 14-15). The patient categorizes herself as a woman, hence identifies herself in terms of sex or gender. By doing so she not only assigns herself the role of a woman but she also confers to herself all the attributes associated with women in the context of her society. However, her addressee and more significantly the author, wants to assign her other qualities and attributes; by assigning her names that are traditionally associated with women, and which emphasize other role-significations or identities de-emphasizing any prior ideas.

2 In Greek mythology Pandora is believed to be the first woman on earth. She was given a box full of gifts from gods and warned not to open it. It is believed that Pandora, out of curiosity, opened the box and all the illnesses and sufferings that the gods had hidden started coming out. Hope however remained inside because it was Zeus will that people suffer because of their disobedience (Graves. & Patai 1964).
about feminine gender identity the woman or the reader might have. The labels the addressee gives the woman largely have marked negative evaluation of women. Hawa for instance, is cast in the Bible as one who caused Adam to eat the fruit forbidden by God, causing separation, pain and death. Delilah is depicted in the Bible as the cause of the fall of the legendary Samson as further alluded to in *Unaitwa Nani?* (Pp.172-173). She uses deceit to persuade Samson to tell her where his strength comes from. She is compromised with money by Philistines to betray her husband. Jezebel on the other is depicted in the Bible as a cause of death, pain and suffering as further demonstrated in *Unaitwa Nani?* (P. 60). In the same vein, in Greek mythology Pandora is cast as a symbol of stubbornness, deceit and cause of suffering.

It is significant to note that as alluded to by Halliday (2004), one of the characteristics of names is that they function as narrow barriers, narrowing the scope of roles and identities that the carriers are able to assume and hence the kind of information the reader or listener has about the carrier of the name. The names in this excerpt stereotypically depict the image of the woman as evil, manipulative, deceptive unreliable, and having destructive power, a notion alluded to also by wa Mutiso (2005). In the context of such labels, the reader is narrowly focused on the woman's negative material power, and any other identity the woman might have is dissimulated or suppressed. It is also worth noting that such identities are discursively reproduced in the social context where *Unaitwa Nani?* has been produced; through oral narratives as evidenced by the use of the verbal process: ‘*inavisimulia*’ (it narrates them). Examine how female interlocutors depict male identity in the following excerpt from *Unaitwa Nani?*:
Excerpt 19

1. “Tunataka majina…!”
2. “Tunayoyajua…!”
3. “Adolf…!”
4. “Idi…!”
5. “Duvalier!”
6. “Noriega!”
7. “Nikolae!”
8. “Pablo…”
9. “Escobar mwenyewe!”
10. “…Or that man from Austria who, built a jail in his house, for many years, he put eight doors leading to the jail and then locked his daughter – I don’t even know whether he had brains – then he sexually abused her. To make matters worse he is locking her up because of being jealous of her because of enjoying her youth!”
11. “Josef Fritzl….”
12. “Wanaume wenzako hao!”

1. “We want names…!”
2. “The ones we know…!”
3. “Adolf!”
4. “Idi…!”
5. “Duvalier!”
6. “Noriega!”
7. “Nikolae!”
8. “Pablo…”
9. “The real Escobar!”
10. “…Or that man from Austria who, built a jail in his house, for many years, he put eight doors leading to the jail and then locked his daughter – I don’t even know whether he had brains – then he sexually abused her. To make matters worse he is locking her up because of being jealous of her because of enjoying her youth!”
11. “Josef Fritzl…”
12. “Those are your fellow men!”
13. “Those are your names!”

In this excerpt, the female doctor (Dr. Thetis) and her colleagues (nurses) take turns to assign different names or identities to men. They have asked the male patient his name and he has repeatedly named himself, ‘a man’, causing them to tell him the types of names they
expect him to have. In the rubric of naming analysis, the names in this excerpt serve to assign particular roles, as well as specific identities to men. By narrowly naming the man for instance as Idi, the speaker emphasizes specific attributes associated with Idi and by extension men, and de-emphasizes other attributes the addressee or the reader may have of men. Assigning the man the name, Idi discursively represents him as a symbol of dictatorship, human rights abuse, political repression, extra-judicial killings, nepotism, corruption and gross economic management. These are the vices that characterized Idi Amin’s rule in Uganda. In the same vein, Adolf Hitler (who was a chancellor of Germany) is characterized as one of the history’s most notorious dictators. Moreover, Duvalier discursively represents men as embodying the characteristics represented by Duvalier (President of Haiti 1957-1971). His rule and indeed name is linked with repressive power through dictatorship, political assassination, intimidation and expulsion of his opponents. Duvalier’s rule is said to have been punctuated by brain drain from which the country has not recovered up to now.

In a similar thread, naming the patient Noriega (of Panama) casts men in an agentive position as causes of money laundering, gun trafficking, torture, murder and betrayal. Noriega is said to have sold US information and technology to Cuba and Eastern European governments. Naming the patient Nikolae (Nikolae was king of Romania) on the other hand ascribes to men such attributes as repressive power through dictatorship, disintegration (Nikolae’s rule saw Romania becoming more politically isolated from the rest of the world), and violation of human rights. Similarly the name, ‘Pablo Escobar (a Columbian drug Lord) discursively links the identity of men with negative material power such as corruption and
murder. In utterance 10 the man is inscribed as an Agent acting intentionally on his daughter who is the Goal of his destructive, material processes. The material processes ‘locked her up’ and ‘sexually abused’ her labelling the man as a fiend, further constructing male identity as an embodiment of repressive power.

The speaker’s attitude towards the man’s negative material actions is highlighted by her evaluative statement. ‘I don’t even know whether he had brains’ which depletes men’s intellect. Notice also the circumstantial element of cause, ‘kwa kumwonea wivu wa kufurahia ujana wake (for being jealous of her because of enjoying her youth)’. This further serves to construct gender ideology of male dominance and female subordination. Simply put, utterance 10 presents men as agents of repressive power and women as victims of this repressive power. The excerpt links the identity of the masculine gender with aggressiveness, repressive power and dominance. Indeed, the female interlocutors in this excerpt lay categorical claim to these attributes through the relational clauses embodied in utterance 12 and 13, which not only distance female identity from such attributes, but also depict it as normative for men to have destructive character. Consider the following examples from *Unaitwa Nani?*.

**Excerpt 20**

The situation was hard. I felt as if my body was being burnt by something I did not know. Perhaps fire. Aaah! I have realized! This must be hell itself. I am in hell! I decided to listen to the words of the devils who were talking.

The narrator is the female patient in her hospital bed. The male doctor (Dr. Homo) and nurses are talking. She likens the hard situation she is in with fire. Fire is a symbol of pain and in fact in many cultures, one of the associative meanings of fire is pain or danger. The patient makes categorical propositions about men’s repressive power and dominance over women through declaratives such as ‘Lazima hii ndiyo jehanamu (This must be hell.) and ‘Niko jehanamu’ (I am in hell.). Hell is a place believed by Christians to be an abyss of torment and eternal separation from God. Further, the men talking are named as izraili (devils). *Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*, (2010: 400) asserts that according to Christian, Jewish and Muslim religions, the devil is the most powerful evil being. One who is devilish is unpleasant, cruel or evil or morally bad. Apart from referring to men as izraili (devils), the woman juxtaposes them with the negative material process unachomwa (is being burnt), hence constructing herself as the Goal or victim of men’s evil actions and classifying men in the category of agents of destruction. It is significant to note that while this female patient names the men as devils, casting them as Actors with the latent power of destruction, the male patient names women differently as seen in the following example:

2 *Woo... te walikuwa wanawake. Ndege! Nikaukumbuka wimbo wa zamani: Tausi..i ndege wangu Ndege wangu wa fahari Ndege ulokwisha kazi... Mbona wanisumbua...*
Ahh, basi lazima. Ni hurulaini Wanawake warenbo kupita wote wengine waliowahi kuishi ulimwengu. Kumbe niko ahera tayari!... Hii lazima ni paukwa pakawa ya burudani kabisa... Upeo wa burudani... Karibu nidondokwe na mate... (P. 121)

All of them were women. Birds! I remembered a song sung long time ago:

Peacock my bird  
My proud bird  
A bird that has lost value  
Why are you troubling me?

Ahh, then it is a must. These are sylph, women who are more beautiful than all the women that ever lived on earth. So I am already in paradise!... This must be a story of real entertainment ... The climax of entertainment... I almost dripped saliva (from my mouth).

It is interesting to note that the names given to the woman emphasize her physical appearance and behaviour. The woman is first named as a bird. *Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* (2010:135) posits that the slang meaning of bird is a young woman. It further posits that informally, ‘bird’ means a person who is strange or unusual in some way or not important or practical. However, what is even more significant is: *tausi* (peacock). Peacock, though a hyponym of the super-ordinate word ‘bird’, it is male and has long blue and green tail feathers. In Kiswahili, the figurative meaning of the word ‘tausi’ is pride. The choice of ‘tausi’ (peacock) after *ndege* (bird) is a case of relexicalization; referred to also as relabelling by Fowler and Kress (1979:210) and as rewording by Fairclough 1989:115). Relexicalization is the provision of new set of terms to refer to an entity. It is employed in this context to promote and negotiate a new perspective and a new dimension of the identity of women to the reader; that apart from the woman being strange, she is also beautiful and proud. It is also worth noting that the woman is described in terms of her beauty; the persona points out on the depreciation of her beauty (*ulokwisha kazi*), further linking female identity...
with physical attractiveness. The name, ‘hurulaini (sylph) further serves to locate female identity in her beauty.

Notice also that in contrast with example 1 where the man is juxtaposed with hell, the woman is juxtaposed with paradise, which, as the narrator argues, is the epitome of entertainment, The female character is thus constructed in a narrow manner, calling attention only to her identity and role as an entertainer and thus suppressing, or in Ndambuki’s (2010) words, dissimulating the variety of her other roles and identities. Similarly, the designation: *women who are more beautiful than all the women that ever lived on earth* limits the woman’s identity to that of a beautiful entity, which in transitivity terms is a Phenomenon that impinges upon men as Sensers. This kind of naming, as also discussed in chapter two, objectifies the woman as an object of male desire, as amplified by the male character’s notion that saliva almost dripped from his mouth. Examine another dimension of female identity in the following text from *Unaitwa Nani*?

**Excerpt 21**

1. *Jamaa zake Agusto walisema kuwa nilihusika katika kifo chake. Kwamba mimi ni mchawi, natokana na ukoo wa uchawi; kama sivyo nikatae kwamba sina babu ambaye zamani alikuwa na uwezo wa kujiweza kuwa kunguru... Kakake akasema kuwa nilipoolewa na Agusto alikuwa na mali nyingi; kwamba mali yake iliyeyuka tu kama umande wakati wa kiangazi;kwamba lazima mimi ndiye niliyezikung’uta fedha zake na kuzifuta kabisa kama mchuna ngozi anayefanya jiu chini kuhakikisha hakuna kipande cha nyama kinachobakia ngozini. “Unajua Agusto wetu alikuwa akitu saidia sana wewe?... Alikuwa kama shamba letu la mzabibu!”* (P. 57)

2. “*Kiwanga ndicho hiki! Kichawi hiki! Kimaliza ukoo!*” “Huyu ni Jezebeli wa pili.” alisema Pasta. (P. 60)
Agusto’s family said that I was involved in his death. That I am a witch, I come from a clan of witchcraft; if it is not true I refute that I have a grandfather who long time ago had the power to change himself into a crow. His brother said that when I got married to Augusto, he had a lot of property; that his property dissipated like dew in hot season, that I must be the one who squandered his money and finished it completely like a person skinning (an animal), who tries as much as he can to make sure that no piece of meat remains on the skin.”Do you know our Agusto used to assist us very much?... He was like our vineyard.”

2. “This is the repulsive witch! This is the witch! Destroyer of clan! This is the second Jezebel,” The pastor said.

Halliday (1994:351-353) posits that ideational representation of people and events can be realized by lexis; arguing that the words an interlocutor chooses express an objective quality of an entity, such as white, black, sunny etc. Further, he argues that there are words that denote the speaker’s subjective attitude towards an entity, or those that may arouse a particular image in a reader or hearer; for instance, beautiful, evil, valuable. Halliday (ibid) terms the latter type of vocabulary as Attitudinal Epithets, ‘serving an ‘attitudinal function’. They may also be called emotive terms (Halliday 1985). This study uses Halliday’s Attitudinal Epithets to analyse excerpt 21. The narrator, a woman (Kasekesi), is categorized in the class of witches; women believed to have magic, especially to do evil things (Advanced Learner’s Dictionary 2010: 1707). The author employs the strategy of overlexicalization to represent the woman variably as ‘kiwanga’ which is a diminutive of ‘mwanga’, synonymous to mchawi’ (witch) and the diminutive, ‘kichawi’ (small repulsing witch). In Kiswahili, and also Kikamba language, the morph {ki} when prefixed on the root of a noun can mean small. It also has the meaning of endearing or repulsing. In the context of the above extract, the word means, a hated and destructive witch. This renames the
woman, ascribing to her more negative attributes: or even semantic features: + witch + hated. This kind of naming discursively distinguishes her from other witches.

Of interest also is the strategy of relexicalization, where the woman is now referred to in more transitive material terms such as: ‘kimaliza ukoo’ (making whole clan perish); in which the woman is positioned as an Actor, giving her more agency in negative action. Further, the pastor reiterates the woman’s destructive and manipulative character by metaphorically referring to her as the second Jezebel. It is also notable that the credibility of the Pastor’s assertion is further developed through the strategy of narrativization. The story of Jezebel and how she persuaded Ahab to fraudulently take Naboth’s property and later murder him is recounted in the context of this excerpt (Unaitwa Nani? (P. 60). Through this story, the narrator manages to portray the woman (Kasekesi) as an adversary. Linking her with Jezebel positions her as an Actor, projecting her as more immediately responsible for her husband’s death. This legitimizes the family’s act of violence against Kasekesi (she is physically and verbally attacked (Unaitwa Nani? Pp.58-60). Instead of the family in this case being depicted as an agent of violence, its culpability is dissimulated and its action is portrayed as a punishment or corrective measure for Kasekesi’s destructive power.

It is also worth noting that the pastor’s utterance is significant in the way readers come to define women, given his position in religious leadership. His biased evaluation of Kasekesi is likely to be generalized as the truth for all women. Further, it can be argued that his words religiously bind Agusto’s family to exercise repressive power on Kasekesi. What is even more interesting is the naming of Kasekesi’s grandfather: He had the powers to change
himself into a crow. While both witchcraft and power to turn oneself to a crow involve magic, the power and identity ascribed to the grandfather is positive as opposed to Kasekesi’s which is negative. This portrays the narrator’s stereotypical categorization of men in the class of innovative and adventurous people who use their brain to perform powerful deeds, a notion further amplified in the following excerpt relating to this same grandfather:

I feared my grandmother. One day I heard people saying that her young brother was a crow. That long time ago he was annoyed by people who were despising him because he was a witch doctor. They said that he was a fake witch doctor. So as to show them that he really had the powers of a witch doctor he turned himself into a crow, flew and went.

The excerpt constructs the man as an Actor of a material process that completely transforms his life; he assumes the personality of a crow. The narrator as a Senser in the mental process of affection: nilimwogopa (I feared), is overwhelmed by the magic power that his grandmother may have through association with her brother. The grandmother gets this kind of identity through kinship ties with the witchdoctor; hence part of the grandmother’s identity in this case is described in reference to her brother. What is more interesting is that Wamitila obfuscates any magic power the woman may have inherited from her brother, seemingly locating this power exclusively in men. The dominant reading in the novel therefore is that women are witches and men are performers of positive magic. This kind of
depiction is in concordance with wa Mutiso’s argument (2005) that concepts of superior value are categorized as masculine while those of inferior value are categorized as feminine.

Turning back to example 1 of excerpt 21, the reader is referred to the material processes used to name Kasekesi’s actions. The lexicon: *iliyeyuka* (dissipated) *niliyezikung’uta* (who squandered), *kuzifuta* (finished it completely) and *mchuna ngozi* (a person skinning) in which Kasekesi is inscribed as an Actor emphasizes Kasekesi’s cruelty, underscoring her supposedly responsibility in the death of her husband. This further discursively links women’s identity with evil magic, greed and mercilessness. Men on the other hand are discursively positioned as Goals of women’s destructive material processes. Men are also cast in an agentive position as providers, as evidenced in the metaphor: *He was our vineyard*. The following text from *Unaitwa Nani?* further demonstrates this differential representation of gender identity.

Except 22

_Akakumbuka siku walipokaa kochini... wakitazama filamu pamoja kama... ‘Pretty Woman’ na kufurahia muu ngano wa mfanyibiashara wa hadhi na mwanamke kahaba ambaye ana ndoto za kutoka kwende tope la umaskini._ (P.100)

She remembered the days they used to sit together on a coach… watching movies together such as… ‘Pretty Woman’, and getting delighted about the union between a respectable businessman and a prostitute who has dreams of getting out of abject poverty.

The naming, ‘mfanyibiashara wa hadhi’ (respectable businessman) ideationally positions the man in an agentive status, actively engaged in a material process (business venture), that builds his economic and social stature. The woman however, although in essence in business
(prostitution), is constructed as not only sexually immoral, but also as a Beneficiary of the man’s material processes. The woman’s identity is therefore objectified, as a tool for satisfying man’s sexual desire, as also alluded to in chapter two of this work. This kind of identity is what Magalhães (2005) terms as commodified feminine identity which imposes on women a concern about having a body which suits male ideals. It constructs women’s representations as bodies with a market price *(ibid)*. It is also notable that it is only the woman who is named as a prostitute, while the man is seemingly inscribed as an Actor engaged in the material process of saving the woman from poverty and also moral degradation. This confirms the patriarchal notion discussed in chapter two of this work; that men are symbols of perfection and superiority and women are the causes of imperfection.

The excerpt further foregrounds women’s dependence on men. The woman’s poverty is foregrounded as the reason why she marries the businessman. It is interesting to note that this depiction of women as imperfect, and as dependants of men is not remarkably different from what Habwe (2000) demonstrates in the following example:

**Excerpt 23**

> Leo alilia. Si kwa sababu Kim kafa la! Bali kwa sababu utegemeo wake haupo tena... Farida hakutaka kuolewa kwa Kim kwa sababu ya sura yake. Lakini alitaka aoelewe naye ili zile pesa akazipopoe na kustaladhi nazo. Panya ana raha zaidi akiyenga ghalani kuliko kufanya safari za kila siku za kwenda kuiba. *(Maisha Kitendawili P.104)*

She cried. Not because of Kim’s death. No! But because the source of her livelihood is no more. Farida did not want to get married to Kim due to his looks. She wanted to get married to him so as to squander his money and to benefit from it. A rat is happier when it builds in the granary instead of having to make trips to the granary everyday to steal.
Just like Kasekesi in extract 21 example 1, and The Pretty Woman in excerpt 22, Farida is cast as an Actor and Goal in the material processes that not only depict her as dependant upon man, but also as greedy. She is negatively evaluated by being metaphorically referred to as a rat. The man on the other hand is positively named as a benefactor of the woman as demonstrated by the metaphorical reference to him as source of livelihood, and also as granary. Through this excerpt, Habwe not only manages to subtly depict the gender ideology of male dominance and female subordination, but he also perpetuates the stereotypical view about women alluded to by wa Mutiso (2005), and indeed Wamitila in extracts 21 and 22 of this section, that women are gold-diggers. What is evident in the analysis of the lexical choices in this section is that they classify men and women differently. For instance, kujigeuza kunguru (turning himself into a crow), mganga (witch doctor) and shamba letu la mzabibu (our vineyard) signify industry and quality. Indeed, turning oneself to a crow classifies the man as a legend, belonging to a category of people who the society has celebrated for long. He is constructed as having accomplished, something that is not only significant, but also extraordinary. However, the labels given to the woman; e.g. witch, ‘destroyer of clan,’ ‘prostitute’ relegate women to the category of performers of evil magic, which, although one can argue it is extraordinary, it is a threat to life, hence lacks positive agency. Further, labelling the woman a prostitute depicts women negatively as agents, acting intentionally on men, who are depicted as Goals, to ‘rob’ them of their money.

3.4.1 Metaphors
This analysis makes a major claim that analysis of metaphor is one way in which ideological motivations about gender identity, that would otherwise be implicit or concealed, can be
brought to surface for interrogation. A metaphor is a linguistic representation that results from the shift in the use of a word or phrase from the context or domain in which it is expected to occur to another context or domain where it is not expected to occur, thereby causing a semantic tension (Charteris–Black 2004:22). This definition encapsulates the use of common conceptual metaphors such as, “Akili ni nywele kila mtu ana zake (Knowledge is like hair, everybody has his or her own type), personification and other metaphorical expressions such as simile and metonym. In this thesis proverbs and idiomatic expressions are classified and analysed under metaphor since most of them are metaphorical expressions. Metaphors and metaphorical expressions are significant in realizing speaker’s or narrator’s goal of persuading or manipulating the reader to form a specific perception about male or female characters in the selected extracts. As Charteris-Black (2004) notes:

The advantage of using metaphors – especially those that have become the conventional ways of expressing certain points of view, is that this taps into an accepted communal system of values. This has the effect of making a particular value system more acceptable because it exists within a socially accepted framework. (p. 14)

Examine the following examples from Unaitwa Nani?.

Excerpt 24

1. “Inavyoelekea kuna mengi ambayo huyajui. Hujamsoma Desmond Morris wewe katika chake cha The Naked Woman na kutambua kuwa kinywa cha mwanamke ni uwanja wa vita ulioko usoni?”
2. “Unachekesha aisee!”
3. “Hamna ucheshi hapa! Huu ni ukweli yahe!”
4. “Uwanja wa vita ulioko usoni?”
5. “Ehh, maneno yanayotoka pale huwa ni kama vita hasa na ukiyatia mambo yao akilini utakufa kwa kihoro au shtuko la moyo!” (P. 21)
1. “It seems there is a lot that you do not know. You have not read Desmond Morris in his: The Naked Woman to realize that a woman’s mouth is a battle field on her face?”
2. “You make one laugh!”
3. “There is no humour here. This is the truth!”
4. “A battle field on her face?”
5. Ehh, the words that come out of there are usually like war and if you take their words seriously you will die of depression or heart attack!”

The speaker is the male doctor (Dr. Homo) addressing his colleagues (the nurses). He uses the female patient to evaluate the corporate identity of women. The modulated opening statement: inavyoelekea kuna mengi ambayo huyajui, (it seems there is a lot that you don’t know), discursively calls the addressee to mind that there is a gap in his knowledge about the identity of women, and positions him to listen to this new knowledge from his addresser. It would appear that by using: inavyoelekea (it seems), the doctor is indicating uncertainty about his evaluation of his interlocutor. However, inavyoelekea kuna mengi ambayo huyajui, (it seems there is a lot that you don’t know), as a stance value (Adendorff: 2004:206) in this context, discursively serves to relegate the doctor’s interlocutor to a less powerful position in this interaction, discursively making it easy for him to be manipulated. Stance values are linguistic resources such as, “I believe that”, and “perhaps” which are markers of modality. They are, in the words of Adendorff (ibid) construed as indicating certainty/commitment or uncertainty/lack of commitment to the truth value of a speaker’s proposition. Through them, a speaker or writer interpersonally negotiates a position for himself or herself, and his or her listeners or readers. It is notable that in the above excerpt, by positioning his interlocutor as lacking some knowledge, the doctor is indeed overtly suppressing any divergent opinion about the identity of the feminine gender. Further, given that the doctor wields power interpersonally as the addressee and professionally as a doctor, he is in a position to control
the addressee’s perception about the woman (Van Dijk 1995; 2001). Presumably, what he states about the woman will be taken as authoritative.

Notice that the metaphor used to describe the Woman: *Uwanja wa vita ulioko usoni’*, is a war metaphor. The speaker’s use of the metaphor ascribes to the woman the attribute of a fighter. However, she does not fight using physical strength but verbal strength. In transitivity terms, verbal processes construct the Sayer as acting verbally on a direct participant, in this case a Target. The speaker casts men as victims of women’s verbal action. The subjunctive clause: *If you take their words seriously you will die of depression or heart attack*, is indeed an imperative. It performs the speech act of warning men about the destructive nature of women’s utterances and hence telling them that women’s words may not necessarily hurt if men choose to ignore what women say. Notice also that the speaker intertextually draws upon scholarly discourse (*Naked Woman*) to present his claim as authentic and unchallenged. Indeed his proposition is realized as an interrogative, presenting the woman’s capacity to harm through verbal action as a proven or given information which the listener ought to have known. This transforms the statement that would otherwise have been taken as his own subjective opinion to an objective one. The excerpt is therefore a case of a powerful person (the doctor) controlling the properties of text and talk in such a way that they are able to monitor the mind of recipients about the identity of women in their own interests as also alluded to by Bloor & Bloor (2007:69-70), and Van Dijk (1995:23). If the addressee’s and by extension the reader has no alternative representation about the woman, then this is the evaluation they will have of a woman. Examine the following example from *Unaitwa Nani?*: 
Excerpt 25

1. “... Hujasikia methali?”
2. “Methali gani?”
3. “Isemayo kuwa mwanamke na mbingu ni sawa; haeleweki mwanamke na mbingu nayo ni vivyo: haieleweki!”
4. “Eeeh?”
5. “Exactly! Na kwamba mwanamke ni moto uutakapo kuuota lazima udumishe umbali fulani.” (P. 24)

1. “You have not heard the proverb?”
2. “Which proverb?”
3. “That says that a woman and the sky are the same; a woman cannot be understood and the sky is also like that: it cannot be understood!”
4. “Eeeh?”
5. Exactly! And that a woman is fire, when you want to warm yourself you must maintain some distance!”

The addresser, the same doctor in excerpt 24, uses the metaphors to convey negative judgments and evaluation about the woman. The use of rhetorical question at the beginning is significant. Firstly, it positions his interlocutor as lacking information which the doctor has to provide. Secondly, it helps the doctor to develop the topic in favour of his point of view, hence control his interlocutor’s mind about the identity of the feminine gender. And thirdly, it casts the proverb he gives, and what it says about women as given information which his interlocutors ought to have known. *Mwanamke na mbingu ni sawa* (The woman and the sky are the same.) is a weather metaphor (Charteris – Black 2004:231). The sky is unpredictable in that dark clouds for instance, do not necessarily translate to rain. The speaker, by referring to the woman metaphorically as sky, he classifies her in the category of people who are never understood; hence unpredictable and unreliable, and calls upon his readers to share in the same interpretation. As Charteris-Black (2004:12) points out, when employing a metaphor, the speaker invites the hearer to participate in an interpretation act.
Wamitila further emphasizes this identity by metaphorically naming the woman as a gourd of milk that one knows what is inside when they shake it (Unaitwa Nani? P.154). In the same vein, the fire metaphor: *Mwanamke ni moto* (the woman is fire) covertly ascribes to the woman, both positive and negative attributes or agency. Traditionally fire is a symbol of emotion (Charteris Black 2004). It is also a symbol of warmth. However if not properly managed, fire can bring destruction. The metaphor constructs women in an agentive position, as Actors having latent destructive material power on men who are implicitly cast as Beneficiaries or victims of the women’s material processes. The reader is therefore warned not to trust women; they can benefit and hurt at the same time. The following utterances from female speakers in *Unaitwa Nani?* are investigated.

Excerpt 26

1. *Mwone anavyoutoa ulimi wake...”*
2. “*Unaofanana na singe va nyoka!”*
3. “*Ehh, bafe!”*
4. “*Huyu ni mbaya kuliko nyoka!...”*
5. *Au labda kama lumbwi!”*
6. “*Ni Kinyonga huyu pia!”*
7. “*Hivi amenusa harufu ya chakula?”*
8. “*Kama mbwa!’”*
9. *Anasubiri kulishwa?!”* (P. 119)

1. “See how he is removing his tongue…”
2. “Which looks like a snake’s fang!”
3. “Ehh, a puff-adder!”
4. “This one is worse than a snake!”
5. “Or may be like a chameleon!”
6. “This one is also a chameleon!”
7. “Has he smelt food?”
8. “Like a dog!”
9. “Is he waiting to be fed?”
The interlocutors, the female doctor (Dr. Thetis) and her colleagues (nurses) are evaluating the male patient. They metaphorically refer to him as snake, puff-adder, chameleon and dog. Interlocutor 2 classifies the man in the class of snakes: (his tongue looks like a snake’s fang). This intertextually links him with practices of a snake, ideationally representing him as dangerous. Speaker 3 uses relexicalization to reconstruct the identity of man, classifying him in the category of a puff-adder. Puff-adder is a hyponym of the superordinate, ‘snake’. It can be argued that the man acquires the attributes: ‘capable of biting,’ and ‘poisonous’, implying that he can cause pain and death. Notice however that unlike in excerpt 24 where the woman is depicted as causing harm through her verbal actions, the man in excerpt 26 causes harm through the material process, ‘biting’, which can be recovered through associative meaning (Yule: 1996: 114-115). It is notable that utterance 4 of excerpt 26 further recontextualizes the reader’s earlier knowledge and classification of the man (as snake) by ascribing to him another attribute: worse than a snake. This narrowly structures men in terms of their aggressiveness and negative physical strength. As an Actor, the man in this context has more material power than the snake, to negatively affect the lives of women who are cast as the Goals. It can be argued that utterance 4 performs a speech act of warning the reader about men’s destructive behaviour.

Further, utterance 5 raises a topic that evaluates the man as a chameleon and utterance 6 develops the topic by claiming the truth to the proposition of utterance 5 through the use of relational clause: “This one is also a chameleon.” Here again relexicalization has been used to promote a new perspective about men. Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (2010:231) describes a chameleon as a person who changes their behaviour or opinions according to the
situation. By classifying the man in the category of chameleon, the female speakers are laying claim to the unreliability of men; an attribute which was also ascribed to women in excerpt 25 through the metaphor ‘mwanamke ni mbingu’. Utterances 7, 8 and 9 are again cases of relexicalization where the man is categorized as a dog. What is however important is the rhetorical question, ‘Anasubiri kulishwa?’(Is he waiting to be fed) in which the man is inscribed as a Goal, and the women implicitly as Actors. Arguably the interlocutor is contesting the social role signification that relegates the woman to a position of servitude. It is however important to compare excerpt 26 with the following example from Unaitwa Nani?:

Excerpt 27

“Ni kama bafe... anapolala unaweza ukamdharau na hata kumwita gogo, hasa kwa kuiangalia rangi ya ngozi yake. Lakini thubutu kumshika kwa mikono yako, atakung'ata umlilie babako! Atakuachia makovu ya milile!” (P. 154)

“She is like a puff-adder... when it sleeps you can take it for granted and even confuse it with a log, especially by looking at the colour of its skin. But dare to touch it with your hands, it will bite you, causing you to cry for your father! It will leave you with lasting scars!”

The speaker, a father addressing a son about marriage, is by extension discursively evaluating the identity of the woman. Like in excerpt 26 where the man is metaphorically referred to as a puff-adder, the woman here is also categorised in the class of puff-adders. However, it is significant to note the extended development of the attributes of puff-adder in this excerpt which are silent in excerpt 26. Extended development as Remlinger (2005:126) posits, is a conversational or discursive strategy in which speakers in an interaction facilitate
talk by expanding and developing ideas or claims. Interlocutors in a conversation can
develop each other’s ideas by affirming what others have said, like in excerpt 26 where
utterance 3 and 4 expand the idea (man being a puff-adder) encapsulated in utterance 2, by
even adding more qualities (worse than a puff-adder). In excerpt 27 however, the speaker
expands his topic by claiming a long turn which makes him dominate the floor space, thus
adopting a ‘report talk’ (Tannen 1993) which enables him to topicalise the negative
attributes ascribed to the woman.

A reader analysing excerpts 26 and 27 notices that he or she is called upon to mind the
destructive character of men and women. What is more interesting is that in excerpt 27 the
woman’s character is overtly constructed through the lexical choices: *bafe* (puff-adder),
*atakung’ata* (she will bite you) and, *atakuachia* (she will leave you). However in excerpt 26,
the reader has to know the character traits of *bafe* (puff-adder) and use analogy to infer the
intended meaning (Brown and Yule 1983). This backgrounds men’s destructive power while
excerpt 27 foregrounds that of the woman. It is worth noting that in excerpt 27 apart from
being classified in the category of puff adders, the woman is more overtly constructed as a
hypocrite through the material process: *anapolala* (sleeping) (here, sleeping is taken as the
material process of lying down and not the behavioural process: *sleep*. Notice that in these
processes, the woman is inscribed as an Actor intentionally inflicting pain on the man who is
depicted as a Goal. Of more interest is the circumstantial element of extent or duration:
*milele* (Halliday 1985:137-138). This depicts the negative effect of the woman’s material
process on man as permanent and hence reinforces the negative evaluation of the woman.
When such discourse is reproduced, its readers will be persuaded to believe that it is natural
for women to be involved in destructive material processes. As Charteris – Black (2004:29) notes, certain ways of talking about events and people become frequent, some ideas are formulated, circulated over and over again through media such as literary work, such that although they are conventional, they come to be seen as natural.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter examined the role of transitivity and lexicalization in the signification and re-signification of gender roles in selected representative texts in *Unaitwa Nani*?. The excerpts analysed demonstrated asymmetry in gender role prescriptions. Two identities for women are dominant. Firstly there is the traditional identity of a mother and that of commodified female whose body is the Phenomenon of man’s gaze. Transitivity patterns and lexical choices investigated portray women’s physical attractiveness as a Phenomenon which impinges upon men. This positions women as objects of male sexual desire and entertainment. Women are also discursively represented as evil, manipulative, greedy and having an inherent physical weakness. On the other hand, transitivity patterns link male identity with physical strength, aggressiveness, adventure and innovativeness. Further, the processes analysed link men’s identity with institutional leadership and social control, implicitly relegating women to a subservient position in this sphere. Moreover, the woman is inscribed in processes that figure her not only as the source of life, but also the one responsible for its sustenance. The chapter has also demonstrated that while men are cast as action oriented, women are largely portrayed as carriers of attributes, most of which are negative. Further, while men are identified with their profession and accomplishments, women tend to be identified with their kinship. The chapter also vividly depicts women’s
high dependence over men, an identity that men and women themselves reproduce through their linguistic choices. What is therefore evident in this chapter is that the target text uses discourses that signify and perpetuate the gender ideology of male dominance and female subordination. The chapter has also demonstrated that female interlocutors contest the kind of gender identity socially ascribed to them, and interactionally negotiate other gender identities.

Bloor and Bloor (2007:86) contend that language classifies people with respect to their place in power structures, with powerful groups, sometimes with the tacit ‘cooperation’ of the less powerful, sometimes using language to maintain inequality. This kind of categorization or role signification is what Bloor and Bloor (ibid) call institutionalized identity. Gender identity partly falls under this category. From the above description, it can be argued that there exists a dialectical relationship between gender identity and gender power relations. The identity one holds allows him or her to exercise power and control over the specific sphere that defines his or her capacity. Moreover, as noted in this chapter, those who control discourse may influence how we perceive or identify ourselves and others through the linguistic choices they expose us to (Van Dijk 1995). This is the notion that I seek to further interrogate in chapter four.
CHAPTER FOUR
LINGUISTIC REPRESENTATION OF GENDER POWER RELATIONS IN 
UNAITWA NANI?

4.1 Introduction
This chapter develops the argument advanced in chapter two and three that gender ideology and gender identity influence the kinds of power enacted by female and male participants. The concept of power is defined, and transitivity patterns, as well as lexical choices interrogated. This is aimed at unpacking the types of power institutionally ascribed to each gender, as well as how each interlocutor in the selected representative excerpts interactionally asserts power over his or her interlocutors. Finally a reflective summary of the issues addressed in the analysis is presented. Three arguments underpin analysis in this chapter. Firstly, individuals may accrue power emanating from the institutional and social roles they are ascribed by the dominant gender ideology. Secondly, although individuals may be constructed as powerless or less powerful by the dominant gender ideology, they can gain interactional power through their use of language in verbal interactions. Thirdly, individuals may also contest and restructure the kind of power socially ascribed to them through their language use.

4.2 Conceptualising power
This study is largely guided by Foucault’s concept of power who noted that power in social sciences has to do with who does the speaking, the positions and viewpoints from which they speak, the institutions which prompt people to speak… and which store and distribute
what is said (1980:11. The study also argues that power is productive and not primarily repressive. That is the most effective use of power occurs when the more powerful are able to get the less powerful to interpret the world from the point of view of the more powerful. The study also argues for Holmes’ (2005) notion that the locus of power is systems of shared meaning that reinforce mainstream ideas and silence alternatives. Holmes further notes:

CDA provides a framework to explore ways in which systemic power is constructed and reinforced in interaction, to identify how the dominant group determines meaning and, more specifically, to describe the processes by which the more powerful person in an interaction typically gets to define the purpose or significance of the interaction and influences the direction in which it develops. (P. 32)

This notion guides in explicating the different ways in which power is manifest in communicative events in the selected extracts from Unaitwa Nani?. As Fairclough (1989), Van Dijk (1995) and Holmes (2005) note, power is dynamically constructed and exercised, both explicitly and implicitly in different aspects of a specific interaction; different participants manifest power in diverse ways as they construct their own identities and roles in response to the behaviour of others.

From the foregoing, it can be pointed out that there are different ways in which power can be conceived or even held, depending on the resources employed to exercise the power. There is coercive power or power achieved through domination whereby the powerful controls the less powerful in such a way that the less powerful serves the interests of the powerful. Similarly, as noted in section 1.8, the capacity to influence other people’s minds or opinions is itself a power resource (Van Dijk 1995). Van Dijk notes:
Discourse is not limited to verbal action, but also involves meaning, interpretation and understanding. This means that preferential access to public discourse or control over its properties (e.g. specific preferred topic) may also affect the minds of others. That is, powerful social actors not only control communicative action, but indirectly also the minds of recipients (P. 21).

This study benefits from this concept since it guides in interrogating the linguistic choices that not only underpin asymmetrical gender power relations but also tend to influence the minds of the participants and by extension the reader towards the point of view of the speaker. The analysis seeks to reveal how interlocutors in the selected excerpts express and manage the knowledge given to the listener or reader. It analyses transitivity patterns and lexical choices to establish for example, what kind of knowledge about the power of the masculine gender the reader is exposed to and what kind of knowledge is withheld and for what purpose.

4.3 The role of transitivity

Discussing the role of transitivity in exploring relations of power, Burton (2004:187) notes:

If the analyst is interested in ‘making strange’ the power relationships that obtain in the socially constructed world – be it the ‘real’ world of public and social private relationships or the spoken and written texts that we create, hear, read, and that ultimately construct us in that ‘real’ world – then, crucially, it is the realisation of processes and participants (both the actors and the acted upon) in those processes that should concern us… Once it is clear to people that there are alternative ways of expressing reality, then people can make decisions about how to express ‘reality’; both for others and themselves. By this means, we can both deconstruct and reconstruct our realities to an enabling degree.
Transitivity is significant in the analysis of gender power relations since as O’Halloran (2003:19) notes, comparative tracing of transitivity patterns in different texts is necessary so as to highlight different ideational biases (including gender power differentials). As discussed in section 1.8, transitivity is about agency or power. Participants in a clause hold varying degrees of power depending on the process type and where they occur in the clause. Actors in a material process for instance, are depicted as more powerful since their actions affect either self or other entities who are Goals. It is therefore significant to investigate transivity patterns to uncover for example, which gender is presented as always involved in material processes, what type of material processes are attributed to which gender, which entity is presented as carrying which attribute and the role of specific attributes in the gender power relations matrix.

4.3.1 Material Processes

Material processes highlight the agent-action-affected semantic structure (Fowler and Kress 1979; Simpson 2004). Material processes construe an entity (Actor) which acts on another entity, (Goal, Patient or Beneficiary). Depending on the kind of action, different degrees and types of power are signified as evidenced in the following excerpt from *Unaitwa Nani*?

Excerpt 1

1. *Mambo yao ni ya kushangaza. Ikiwa unasomasoma magazeti lazima umekisoma kisa cha yule mwanamke wa Uchina aliyemchoma mumewe kwa shuka za kitanda kwa sababu ya kijinga tu! Na unajua ilikuwa nini?*”
2. “Nini?”
3. “Alienda kulala bila kunawa miguu, utafikiri kitanda ni kile kichaka cha Musa!”

(Kicheko cha muda).

4. “Kwa ufupi, hawa ni viumbe wa kututegemea. Ndiyo maana hata huko Asia waume zao wakifa walipaswa kujitosa kwenye tanuru la kuchoma mwili wachomwe na wao… Kuuchoma uwepo wao!” (Pp. 21-22)

1. Their issues amaze. If you usually read newspapers you must have read the story of that Chinese woman who burnt her husband with bedsheets due to just a silly reason! And you know what it was?”
2. “What?”
3. “He went to sleep without washing his feet, you would think the bed is Moses’ bush!”
   (Laughter for some time)
4. “In short, these are creatures who depend or us. That is why even in Asia when their husbands died they were supposed to plunge themselves in a pyre for cremating. To be cremated also… To burn their existence!”

The speaker of utterances 1, 3 and 4 is the male doctor, (Dr. Homo) addressing his colleagues (nurses) in reference to the female patient they are attending to. Although this section analyses material processes, it is worth commenting on other processes and discourse strategies employed in this excerpt. Utterance 1 opens with an attributive relational clause: *mambo yao ni ya kushangaza* (their issues amaze) which constructs the woman as a carrier of an attribute and not a doer of an action. The clause is not just conveying information about the woman’s issues but rather it is evaluating the identity of the woman; that what she does is not in conformity with normal human behaviour. This also sets the stage for the speaker to control the minds of the listeners to position women in his

---

*Kichaka cha Musa* relates to ‘the burning bush’ in the Bible. Moses was asked by God to remove his shoes since that was a holy ground.
line of thought. It is also worth noting that there is already an asymmetry of interactional power between the participants in this communicative event by the virtue of the speaker being interpersonally the author as well as the transmitter of information. Further, despite the fact that all the participants are male and they can be argued to fairly occupy the same subject positions as medical practitioners, the speaker of utterance 1, 3 and 4 holds more power in the professional hierarchy since he is the doctor. Further, he is the one holding the floor; hence he not only controls the topic but also the entire interaction. He determines what is said about the woman and how it is said.

Of significance in this analysis also is how the speaker in utterance 1 draws on his knowledge of history and Asian culture to influence how his listeners evaluate and position women in the gender power relations matrix. He draws the reader’s attention to newspapers to develop credibility over his claims about the character of women, casting his opinion as more accurate and factual. The meaning he presents to his interlocutors and by extension the reader is that there are such women because there is documented historical evidence. This makes his claim to knowledge more authoritative. Indeed, he positions himself as more certain of his evaluation of women and more authoritative by use of the modal: *lazima* (you must have). *Lazima* (You must have) is an example of what Adendorff (2004:206) calls stance values; as also discussed in chapter three of this work. It is argued here that ‘lazima’ (you must have) is a near synonym of “I believe” or “I am sure”. By this stance value, the doctor indicates commitment to the truth value of what he says about the character of woman, casting it as a shared opinion with his interlocutor, hence closing the topic, and leaving no possibility of an alternative viewpoint from both his interlocutor and the reader.
Turning back to material processes, it is interesting to note the material processes in which both women and men are inscribed. The material processes: *aliyemchoma*, (who burnt) *kujitosa* (to plunge themselves) *wachomwe* (to be burnt), *kuuchoma* (to burn) are directly linked to the woman. They are all transitive material processes or what Burton (2004:191) calls material-action intention. *Kujitosa and kuuchoma* are self engendered: they construct the woman as acting intentionally on self while *aliyemchoma* depicts her in a more agentive position, acting intentionally upon the man who is cast as the Goal or victim. In transitivity terms, the woman as an Actor is both grammatically and ideationally construed as having the most power; the power to act on herself and the man in order to change the course of their lives. However, one notices that the woman is cast as an Actor in negative material processes which construct her as having ‘unproductive’ power or power to destroy lives. She **burns** her husband. What is even more intriguing in utterance 1 where *aliyemchoma* (who burnt) occurs is the circumstantial element of manner which comprises the instrument she uses to burn her husband (*kwa shuka za kitanda*-with bedsheets). Halliday (1985:139) notes that this kind of circumstantial element denotes the concept of instrumentality, and hence not a distinct category; it is simply a kind of means. Using this kind of instrument (in place of perhaps a knife) not only downplays the agency of the woman’s act but also trivializes her intellect, portraying her as not only malicious but also engaged in idiotic actions. The same clause (utterance 1) has a circumstantial element of cause or reason: *kwa sababu ya kijinga tu* (just for a silly reason) which further foregrounds the woman’s stupidity. Notice also that the cause of the man’s burning is delayed intentionally so as to topicalise the woman’s negative agency first.
It is also notable that the material processes; *kujitosa* (to plunge themselves) and *kuuchoma* (to burn) discursively depict the woman’s desperate attempt to kill herself, seemingly because the source of her livelihood is dead. Notice also that in: *kuuchoma uwepo wake* (to burn her existence), the woman is inscribed as the Actor and her existence metaphorically as the Goal. She is also the initiator of her material processes; any other external Actor is concealed. The inference that can be drawn from these processes is that women did that on their own volition. This constructs the woman as an entity which lacks the material and symbolic power to exist without her husband. It is also interesting to note that the agent of the burning is concealed, because this is a regulation or norm, the agent can be retrieved from the shared background information, or what Fairclough (1989) would refer to as the Members Resource (MR). Utterance 3 outlines the material processes that made the man be burnt, going to bed without washing his feet. Although going to bed without washing one’s feet may be seen to contravene rules of hygiene, the speaker trivializes this by wondering whether the bed is a holy place (*kichaka cha Musa* – Moses’ bush). This backgrounds the man’s fault, portraying him as solely an innocent victim of the woman’s negative material process. The laughter (utterance 3) is arguably meant to emphasize the woman’s ridiculous act while de-emphasising the man’s contribution to this ridiculous act.

Analysis of utterance 4 reveals that the transitivity pattern used to describe man’s power is different. The relational clause: *Kwa ufupi hawa ni viumbe wa kututegemea* (In short these are creatures who depend on us) further depicts a power asymmetry where the woman is grammatically and ideationally cast as a Beneficiary of man’s actions. Notice the use of the conjunctive modal adjunct: *kwa ufupi* which in this case has been given a thematic position
(Francis and Kramer-Dahl 1992; Lassen 2004), making it the point of departure of the message of the clause. The speaker calls upon the listeners and by extension the reader to share in his opinion and evaluation about women rather than being just listeners or receivers of information (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999). It is argued here that this conjunctive adjunct has a summarising effect. Summarising is a very useful strategy for asserting and maintaining control of an interaction and determining the ‘official’ institutional interpretations of the proceedings [in this case, women’s identity and their position of dependence upon men] (Holmes 2005: 43). By ‘Kwa ufupi’ (in short), the addresser closes the topic that he himself initiated, suppressing any another contribution from his addressees which would present a different evaluation of the woman. The conjunctive adjunct is therefore a convenient way of constructing female dependence over male as natural and confirming male authority in the family hierarchy. It is also important to note that this subservient position of the woman in the said Asian community is institutionalised, hence reproduced in institutional discourse as exemplified in, ‘they were supposed to be cremated’. This is further exemplified in the following utterances from Unaitwa Nani?, which are a continuation of utterance 4.

5. “Wacha we!”  
7. “Kisha nini?”  
8. “Nini tena? Huyo kijana alimkamata na, kwa msaada wa wengine, kumiia motoni!” (P. 22)
“What? You have not heard su ttee? You have not heard the story of widows who sacrificed themselves to be burnt as a way of showing love to their husbands?.... Lets say not every time they voluntarily sacrifice themselves. There is an episode which happened in 1769, where one of them during rainy season ran away for fear of being cremated as it was supposed to be. The following day her male child, listen carefully, her-male-child-personally, reminded her that if she does not sacrifice herself to die, that boy would be demoted from his caste and be despised. That woman for fear of being burnt refused!”…

“What again? That young man grabbed her and, with the help of others, threw her into the fire!”

The conditional clause; asipojitolea kufa mvulana huyo atashushwa tabaka’ (if she does not sacrifice herself to die that boy would be demoted from his caste) underscores the powerful role of the woman in the sustenance and perpetuation of the caste system in the Asia of 1769 as indicated in Unaitwa Nani? (Pp. 21-22); her death has the agency of retaining her son in the caste. This role is further emphasized by the material processes alimkamata (he grabbed her) and kumtia motoni (threw her into fire) in which the son is inscribed as the Actor acting intentionally on his mother who in this case is the Goal. One can translate the son’s material processes as savage, but analysed in a CDA optic, they serve to reproduce the dominant structures of ideology (O’Halloran 2003:20; Lazar 2005). One can even say that grabbing and throwing the mother into the fire, though not verbal acts, perform a speech act (see Christie 2000; Austin 2006) of informing the mother and other women, “This is how it is supposed to be.” It is however significant to note the alternative discourse offered by the material clause: alikimbia kwa kuogopa kuchomwa kama alivyo takiwa (she ran away for fear of being cremated as was supposed to be). This clause highlights an exceptional case
where a woman tries to contest the dominant gender ideology that subjugates her interest to that of her husband’s. Examine the following example from *Unaitwa Nani?*

**Excerpt 2**

1. “*Basi tumsaidie...***”
2. “Swadakta!”
3. “Nini?”
4. “Hapo umesema!”
5. “Nini?”
6. “Anatutegemea sisi!”
7. “Mmm...!”
8. “*Ehh anekuwa akitutegemea tangu zamani; zama za kuhemera maporini. Umesomasoma kidogo bwana, au sio ulivyosema? (Anaitikia). Hata kuumbwa kwake ametutegemea. Unaweza kusema hivi, ni mfano wa mfungwa wa kuzaliwa...***”
9. “*Na kufa pia!...***”
10. “Labda hata anasumbuliwa na complex fulani... kitu kama bipolar disorder, maana huwasumbua sana hawa!”
11. “Dakta, unaweza kujua haraka jinsi hiyo?”
12. “Alaa, unashangaa, udaktari ni sanaa!” (Pp. 30-31)

1. Then let us help her…”
2. “Exactly!”
3. “What?”
4. “You are right!”
5. “What?”
6. “She depends on us!”
7. “Mmm...!”
8. “Ehh she has been depending on us since ancient times, the ages of gathering (food) in forests. Hey, you have read a bit or isn’t that what you have said? (He agrees). She has depended on us even in her creation. You can say she is an example of a prisoner of birth…”
9. “And also of death!”
10. “May be she is suffering from a certain complex… something like bipolar disorder because it greatly affects these ones!”
11. “Doctor, you are able to discern that fast?”
12. “Alaa, you are surprised, medicine is an art!”

188
The speakers in this excerpt are the same male doctor (Dr. Homo) and his colleagues (nurses). Before analysing this excerpt, the reader is intertextually referred to paragraph one, page 30 of *Unaitwa Nani?* where one finds that women have been victims of men’s negative material processes as evidenced in the material clause: *wameuliwa na waume zao baada ya kuwaletea vichwa vigumu…* (They have been killed by their husbands after being stubborn to them…). This material clause casts the woman as a Goal and the man as an Actor. What is more significant however is the circumstantial element of reason (*baada ya kuwaletea vichwa vigumu-* after being stubborn to them) attendant to the material process: *wameuliwa* (they have been killed). The circumstantial element of reason expressly links the killing to the woman’s lack of obedience to her husband. It is therefore evident that although the man is still the Agent of the killing, culpability is withheld from him and transferred to the woman. This makes the killing a result of the man’s efforts to discipline the woman, again naturalizing the dominant ideology that relegates the woman to a subservient position in marriage and institutionalizing man’s authority in the family.

Notice also that the clause, “*Wameuliwa na waume zao’* (they have been killed by their husbands) is passivisized. The active form would have been: *Waume zao wamewaua* (Their husbands have killed them). If the killing would have been reported in active voice, the husbands would have been put in a thematic position and construed as acting intentionally upon the victim (woman), hence being positioned as more immediately responsible for the killing, thus blamesworthy. The women’s death would therefore be seen explicitly as their (husbands’) responsibility. However, passivization weakens the link between the Actor and
the killing; it emphasizes the killing and de-emphasizes the Actor. The focus is no longer on the killer but on the act of killing. Man’s culpability is therefore defocused.

Turning back to excerpt 2, both speaker 1 and 2 are convinced that the woman needs assistance. However what is more significant in the analysis of utterances 1-7 is temporal aspects of the material processes: anatutegemea, amekuwa akitutegemea and ametutegemea (she depends on us, she has been depending on us, she has depended on us). This constructs the woman as a Goal or Beneficiary of man’s material processes in the past, present, and future. Anatutegemea (she depends on us) for instance, is in present continuous. As Fairclough (2010:286) notes, present continuous has both the meaning of inception and incompleteness (are depending on us) and a meaning of continuity (keep depending on us). This casts women’s subordinate position to men as natural. Notice also that utterance 7 intertextually refers the reader to the age of gathering, implying that the woman has been depending on the man since that time. This strategy is used to maximise the credibility of the addressee’s propositions. Moreover, Kuhemera (gathering), a material process in which the man is inscribed as the Actor, locates the role of ensuring the material well being of the family in the masculine gender and implicitly inscribes the woman as the Beneficiary of man’s actions. It is also significant to note that utterance 7 ascribes to the man the power or role in the creation of woman. This seemingly relates to the myth of creation in the Bible where the woman is said to have been created from the man’s rib. The woman’s identity and position in this case is defined in terms of man, and this, in itself communicates power asymmetry since the man lends identity to the woman. It is no wonder that utterance 7 metaphorically defines the woman as a prisoner (of the man) by birth and death, implicitly communicating that she is subservient to the man throughout her life.
It is also significant to note that interpersonally the woman is treated as the ‘other’. The doctor’s use of the exclusive pronoun: hawa (these ones) locates the bipolar disorder in the feminine gender. The doctor further authenticates his claim by saying that medicine is an art so he can diagnose that the female patient has the bipolar disorder which he generalizes to all women, further ideationally positioning feminine gender as being predisposed to mental instability and presumably needing protection from the masculine gender. Indeed in a later utterance he claims more authority by saying that he can know what a patient is suffering from, from his or her body odour (Unaitwa Nani? P. 31). Excerpt 3 below demonstrates a different manifestation of power.

Excerpt 3

1. “Labda anataka tumwimbie bembelezi!”
2. “Na kumwandalia uji!”
3. “Wa ulezi...!”
4. “Kumbeba kwenye mbeleko mgongoni!”
5. “Hatweze kuyabeba matumboni kisha na mgongoni... kwani sisi ni punda wa dobi?”...
6. “Na hii nywele yake nayo...”
7. “Ina nini?”
8. “Pana haja ya kumnyoa?”
9. “Sisi sio mkewe...!” (P. 139)
10. “Alaa! Usiniambie hujamsoma Desmond Morris katika The Naked Man, ukajua kuwa kumnyoa mwanamume ni njia moja ya kumdhalilisha na kumwaibisha kama kiombe. Ni kama wafany wavva mahabusu gerezani!”
11. “Eeh?”
12. “Kabisa! Hata wanasai moto kwa moja ya kumhasi”...
13. “Unamwona alivyo, alivyounja mkia wake kama mbwa. Sasa anatutegemea kama alivyotutegemea kuja ulimwengu huu...”
14. “Ehh, Msheshimiwa Ndugu Madevu inuka!”
15. “Eeh, kama wee ni mwanamume kweli inuka!”
16. “Eeh, Mr. Mwanamume... Inukaaaa!” (Pp. 140-141)

1. “May be he wants us to **sing** for him a lullaby!”
2. “And **prepare** for him porridge!”

191
3. “Of finger millet…!”
4. “To carry him on the back with a baby carrier!”
5. “We can’t carry them in the wombs then on the backs… are we donkeys?…”
6. “And this hair of his…”
7. “What about it?”
8. “Is there need to shave him?”
9. “We are not his wife…!”
10. Alaa! Don’t tell me you have not read Desmond Morris in *The Naked Man*, to know that shaving a man’s hair is one way of denigrating and embarrassing him as a human being? It is like what prisoners are done in prison.”
11. “Eeh?”
12. “Exactly. Even psychologists say that it is one way of castrating him.”
13. “You see the way he is now humble like a dog… Now he depends on us the way he depended on us to come to this world…”
14. Eh! Honourable Brother Beards Get up!”
15. “Eeh, if you are a real man, get up!”
16. “Eeh Mr. Man… Get up!”

If one was to analyse utterances 1-16 in terms of conversational interaction (for detailed analysis of conversational interaction see Tannen, 1993 and Remlinger, 2005), he or she would perhaps argue that the participants (female doctor -Dotor Thetis, and nurses) are collaborating to develop the topic of ‘male dependence over women’. However, a delicate analysis of the material processes would reveal that what the participants are actually doing is to signify and reproduce gender roles or the positioning of each gender in the gender power relations matrix. Clauses 1-5 locate the woman’s power in nurturing as evidenced by the use of material processes: *tumwimbi*⁴, (to sing for him) *kumwandalia* (to prepare for him) and *kumbeba* (to carry him) where the woman is cast as an Actor and man as Goal. The woman wields power in taking care of the man’s physical and psychological needs. She

---

⁴ Although *tumwimbi* (to sing to him) is a behavioural process, in this context it is treated as a material process since the participants (Behavers) are actually involved in an act, ‘singing’, and the man is the Beneficiary of this singing.
ensures food security by cooking for him, carries him (as a baby), and sings lullabies to soothe or console him. It is however worth noting that the women in utterances 1-5 do not necessarily subscribe to this particular traditional role signification. Indeed the utterances are employed to support an earlier notion that men are weak and they like being coaxed (Unaitwa Nani? P. 139, paragraph1). It is also notable that in trying to negatively evaluate men, the women reproduce the traditional gender role signification. As Mills (2003, 187), argues, caring, concern for appearance, emotional excess… have all been in the past seen as markers of femininity. This study however maintains that the women are not just signifying their traditional gender roles, but also asserting power as care takers.

Utterances 6-9 locate the role of grooming the husband to the woman. The Relational process, “we are not his wife” triggers a presupposition that women are obligated to hairdress or groom their husbands in the subject positions of wives. In the latter clauses, asymmetry of power is evident. The wife is inscribed as the Actor of the transitive material process of shaving while the husband is relegated to a less powerful role as the Beneficiary of this act, hence dependent on the woman. Further, the woman, by shaving the man’s hair, feels that she is negotiating and exercising repressive power on the man who is cast as a Phenomenon of the mental processes: embarrassing and denigrating. Utterance 10 even classifies men in the category of prisoners, implying that the man has little freedom.

It is worth noting that in utterance 10 the speaker draws upon professional discourse to make her proposition an unchallenged truth, hence dominating the perception of her listeners.
concerning the agency of her material process: *kunyoa* (to shave). By drawing upon Desmond Morris, the doctor projects her Verbiage and indeed evaluation of men as documented evidence rather than a subjective opinion. She metaphorically relates cutting man’s hair to castrating. Arguably castrating as a negative material process deprives the husband of his institutional authority as a man, hence a way of women exercising repressive power over men. In fact the speaker of utterance 10 is surprised that interlocutor 9 does not know that shaving a man is dominating him. In a similar vein, the use of *anatutegemea* (he depends on us) in utterance 13 constructs women as Actors and men as Goals. However, the addressrer’s use of the adjunct ‘now’ presupposes unusual role participation; implying that the man is traditionally not dependent upon women; perhaps the woman is. It is also worth noting that utterances 14-16 locate power accrued through physical strength in the masculine gender. The conditional relational material clause: “If you are a real man get up!” presupposes that men are usually endowed with physical strength, and failure of this particular one to get up undermines this kind of power. The textual theme ‘*if*’, triggers the presupposition that ‘real’ men have the physical strength to enable them to get up even from their hospital beds. This again discursively distances women from the category of people who wield power accruing from physical strength.

What is even more interesting is that a comparative analysis of excerpt 2 and 3 would reveal that Wamitila depicts men in more enabling discourses than women. While in excerpt 2 the man is cast as participant in the very act of creation: (facilitating creation of woman), the woman in excerpt 3 is reproducing and nurturing (carry them in the wombs and on the
backs) what has already been created. This appears to confirm Dooga’s (2009) notion that African fiction writers seek not to change existing gender ideology but to entrench and perpetuate popular myths of female subordination. However, it is also argued here that Wamitila does not just reproduce the discourse of male dominance, but he also critiques it through the linguistic choices made by the female interlocutors in excerpt 3. Examine the following example:

Excerpt 4

“Nikilidhani bado, maanake zama zetu walikuwa hawasomi kabisa. Wengi nilikwenda shule nao waliacha shule na kuolewa mara tu rumani zao zilipovimbiana au wengine kuwa mavaya, Wachache waloogopa maisha ya kijijini wakakimbilia mijini kutafuta kazi; walipoikosa wakaingilia ukahaba, biashara ya jadi, kuwakamua wanaume pesa zao walizozitolea jasho. Wengine wakaishia kujiuza kwenye utangazaji, kuyatangaza magari na simu za mikononi. Wana shida nyingi watu hawa!” (P. 16)

“I thought not yet; because our times they never went to school at all. Many of those I went to school with left school and got married immediately their breasts started showing or others became housemaids. A few who feared village life ran to towns to look for jobs; when they missed they got into prostitution, traditional business, to milk men of their money that they worked very hard to get, others ended up prostituting themselves in advertising, to advertise cars and mobile phones. These people have problems!”

Analysis of this text reveals gender power asymmetry. Firstly, there is asymmetry in symbolic power accruing from education. Going to school allows one to gain access to educational or even scholarly discourse (Van Dijk 1995, 2001, 2003). The existential clause “Wapo wasomao” (There are those who go to school) presupposes that not all women go to school, although one can also argue that not all men go to school. Excerpt 4 also foregrounds power asymmetry through the use of the declarative material processes:
Walikuwa hawasomi kabisa (They never went to school.). The speaker is not just informing but stating an unmitigated fact about this power imbalance. Of interest is the voice of material clause: Waliacha shule na kuolewa (They left school and got married). The active voice,” waliacha’ (they left) removes the attribution of causality to any external agency of this material process of separation, constructing the girls as the initiators as well as Actors of the process; and casting them as having left school on their own volition, hence as responsible for their lack of this symbolic power (education). One also notes that the passive voice, “kuolewa’ (got married) construes some external agency (somebody married them) which in this case is concealed. The choice of the coordinating conjunction: na (and) however discursively indicates that both processes: leaving school and getting married, were on the girls’ own volition, hence the speaker discursively puts the burden of lack of access to education to the Goal (woman).

This study draws on Van Dijk’s (1995, 1998, 2003,) concept of power to analyse the remaining processes in this text. The study views having power as presupposing privileged access to social resources, in this case material and symbolic. It can be argued that although the woman in this excerpt may have lost symbolic power through leaving school, she gains power through being employed as a house maid. In transitivity terms mayaya (house maids) constructs women as Actors in the material process of care giving. What is however more interesting is that instead of the interlocutor using material process as in the previous clauses, he uses attributive relational clause: wengine kuwa mayaya, (others became house maids) which is a process of ‘being’ rather than doing. The speaker could have recorded it as, ‘worked as maids’. This would have grammatically accrued the woman more agency as a
performer of an act. As stated in section 1.8 relational processes represent the qualities or attributes assigned to entities as static, and difficult to refute. While the clause may simply be informing the reader that the girls became house maids, the study maintains that the choice is a strategy employed in the expression and manipulation of power or position. “Mayaya” is constructed as an unchallengeable attribute of the feminine gender, discursively relegating women to the role of nurturing, hence depicting wielding power in that domain as natural for girls or women.

Of significance is the material processes in which the woman is inscribed as an Agent actively involved in changing her life. *Waliingilia ukahaba* (got into prostitution) depicts the woman as actively involved in this narrative incident. However, what is more interesting in this kind of representation is that the ‘co-agents’ (men), seem to be discursively detached from the act despite the fact that in prostitution both the woman and the man should be treated as co-participants with mutual investment in the act. Indeed men in this extract are represented as Goals or victims of women’s negative material process as amplified in the material clause: *kuwakamua wanaume pesa zao walizozitolea jasho* (to milk men of their money that they worked very hard to get), in which women are discursively represented as greedy and exploitative, a notion also alluded to in chapter 3 of this work. Further, men as Actors are constructed as very industrious whereas even where women are Actors, they are depicted as entities engaging in promiscuous acts that make them dependent on men. Notice also the material clauses: *kujiuza kwenye utangazaji* (prostituting oneself in advertising) and, *kuyatangaza magari na simu za mikononi* (to advertise cars and mobile phones). *Kujiuza* (selling oneself), in this context connotes prostitution. *Advanced Learner's
Dictionary (2010:1172) defines ‘to prostitute oneself’ as to use skills, abilities, etc, to do something that earns you money but that other people do not respect because you are capable of doing something better. Although, the woman metaphorically does some material action, advertising\(^5\), the juxtaposition of ‘kujiuza’ (selling oneself) with utangazaji (advertising) gives the process, ‘advertising’ some derogatory meaning. Arguably, it is not that the speaker thinks the woman can do better, but rather he implies that advertising cars and mobile phones is not a respectable job, perhaps it is not suitable for a man; that even women result to it when they have failed to gain access to symbolic power such as education. The possessive relational clause: wana shida nyingi watu hawa (these people have a lot of problems) emphasizes this power differential. The exclusive, ‘watu hawa’ (these people) has a distancing effect, treating women as the ‘other’, designating them to another category, perhaps a category of those who wield power through performing jobs which are less paying. Consider the following example from the target text.

Excerpt 6

Mbele huko kulikuwa na wanawake waliokuwa wakicheza juu ya meza, nusu uchi, wakiyachezesh{	extstyle\underline{a}} matumbo yao…; wakijinvonganyonga kama mtu mwenye maumivu ya tumbo… Wanaume waliokuwa ndani, umati mkubwa wa wanaume, wengine vinywa vinawatoka udenda kama mbwa wanaowasimamia wachingaji waliokuwa wanashangilia kila minengu{	extstyle\underline{o}} hiyo ilipozidi,… wengine wanatoa noti za pesa, wakazipepeza kama vibendera… na kuzifutika kweny{	extstyle\underline{e}} kanchiri za wanawake waliokuwa wakichezacheza mbele zao… (P. 227)

In front there were women who were dancing on top of a table, half naked, shaking their stomachs…wriggling themselves like a person with stomach pains… Men who were inside, a big crowd of men, some, saliva coming out

\(^5\) Advertising is a verbal process
of their mouths like dogs standing near butchers were cheering every time the shaking would increase... some removed notes, flying them like small flags... then inserting them in the brassieres of women who were dancing infront of them.

The context of the excerpt is a club (Avocado Wasp), where Truvessa (Sir Pipo’s wife) and other women are entertaining men. This account is full of actions (material processes) in which the women are inscribed as Actors who not only control themselves but also their audience. Of significance in the analysis of the above excerpt however is the type of material processes in which the woman is inscribed as an Actor. A careful analysis reveals that they are material processes which have no Goal (intransitive), since, her audience can neither be called Goal nor Beneficiary. Her processes, though material, are metaphorically mental; they do not necessarily portray her as an Agent intentionally acting upon a Goal, but a Phenomenon which is an object of men’s gaze. The men are Sensers or Experiencers of the woman’s wriggling and shaking. To paraphrase Jichova’s (2007:49) words, the person of the woman portrayed is a decorative object that fits in nicely with the surrounding objects, she is not only a feast for men’s eyes, but also a consumable item – objectified and capable of being exploited as such. Indeed, the women can metaphorically be likened to any commodity such as ‘meat’ as exemplified in the clause: Wengine vinywa vinawatoka udenda kama mbwa wanaosimamia wachinjaji (Some, saliva coming out of their mouths like dogs standing near butchers).

This commodification of women is further exemplified by the men’s act of putting money in the women’s brassieres to buy this service. One can thus argue that the women’s
performance has a potent effect on the behaviour of their audience. The excerpt construes
the woman as having some level of control over men since she is the central participant in
this activity. In transitivity terms, she is bringing about transformation or change to men by
arguably arousing their sexual desire (some salivate). However, it is evident that the
woman’s power is relegated to the affective domain. Her performance and the response of
her audience portray her as an object of excessive male emotion (Mills 1992:191). Therefore
the commodified category of the woman as a sexual object is not only reinforced through the
women’s performance but also through the men’s response to the performance. Excerpt 7
below depicts another dimension of power in Unaitwa Nani?.

Excerpt 7

1. “Ha… wa eee .h...i...vi... umbe...”
2. “Ndio maana hata kuongoza hawawezi...!”
3. Uongozi hawawezi! Umenikumbusha jambo muhimu!”
4. “Kweli eeh?”
5. “Unajua nini?”
6. “Sema!”
7. “Katika imani ya Confucious, yule msomi wa Uchina, mwanamke kutawala
   ni kama kuku kwika alfajiri...!”
8. “Ile siku imeharibika!”
9. “Kabisa!”
10. “Ushirikina huo?”
11. “Ushirikina gani wewe nawe?”
12. “Lakini nasikia kuwa huko Uchina kwenyewe kuna mwanamke
    aliyetawala...”

   (Kicheko kikubwa)

13. Kumbe wapo wenye fahamu nzuri?
14. “Labda katika fasihi simulizi...!”
15. “Hizo ni ngano na ngano, kama hujui haziaminiwi!” (P.35)
1. “The...se eee. Crea...tures...”
2. “That is why even they can’t manage leadership...!”
3. “Leadership they can’t manage! You have reminded me of an important issue!”
4. “Really eeh?”
5. “You know what?”
6. “Say!”
7. “In Confucious faith, that scholar from China, a woman to rule is likened to a hen crowing at dawn...!”
8. “That day would be ominous!”
9. “Exactly!”
10. “Isn’t that superstition?”
11. “What superstition even you?”
12. “But I hear that in China itself there is a woman who ruled...”
   (A big laughter)
13. So there are those who are in their right minds?
14. “May be in oral literature...!”
15. “Those are oral narratives and oral narratives if you don’t know are not credible!”

The speakers in the above excerpt, the male doctor (Dr. Homo) and his colleagues (nurses) take turns to evaluate the female patient after she reiterates that she is a woman. Utterance 2 portrays the woman as lacking agency in the material process kuongoza (to lead) implicitly locating this capacity to men. Of significance is the thematisation of the modal adjunct of presumption: ndio maana (that is why). This makes the adjunct, and indeed the woman’s lack of capacity in leadership the point of departure of the clause, a given information (Lassen 2004) that the listener and indeed the reader is called upon to believe. The adjunct presupposes some weaknesses or flaw that excludes women from the domain of active political or state leadership. The assertion of speaker 2 is further developed by speaker 3 who uses uongozi (leadership) which is again thematised. Notice also that in utterance 2 ‘kuongoza’ (to lead) is in the Rheme. This Rheme is repeated in utterance 3 as Theme,
arguably making it no longer possible to challenge the interlocutors’ propositions that women lack the ability to lead.

It is significant to note that utterance 7 seeks to develop credibility by intertextually making reference to the philosophical discourse of Confucious. Referring addressees and indeed readers to Confucious faith is a strategy of rationalization. Rationalization is a strategy of legitimation whereby an argument is advanced to justify a proposition; in this case, ‘women cannot be successful rulers’. In this utterance, women’s leadership is portrayed as negative, unsuccessful and harmful. This stereotypically constructs the feminine gender as lacking the necessary skills in leadership, discursively excluding women from the discourse of governance and suppressing their inclusion in political or state leadership, and in essence persuading readers to believe that male leadership is legitimate, successful and beneficial.

It would appear that utterance 7 presupposes a possibility of women being leaders. However their agency in good governance is downplayed through the metaphorical expression that a woman ruling is like a hen crowing at dawn; it heralds a bad day. This metaphorical expression is significant in the analysis of power. In Kiswahili ‘kuku’ refers to both male and female chicken (Kamusi ya Kiswahili Sanifu 2004:198). In some cases it refers to female only, especially when it collocates with kutaga (to lay eggs). In Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (2010) hen refers to female only. Kuku (hen) in this excerpt refers to female only, specifically when one considers the co-text or linguistic context (See Brown and Yule 1983 for an in-depth discussion of linguistic context), for instance utterance 12, which mentions a female ruler in China. Further, the behavioural process, ‘kuwika’ (to crow) is collocated with
the cock and not the hen. The juxtaposition of *kutawala* (to rule) and ‘*kuwika*’ (to crow) locates political or state leadership in the masculine gender. In fact *kuwika* (to crow) can be taken as a synonym of *kutawala* (to rule) since in Kiswahili, ‘*wika*’ (crow) as metaphorically a material process, means to rule (*Kamusi ya Kiswahili Sanifu* 2004:482). The claim utterance 7 makes to the readers is that women’s leadership is indexed by lack of success as emphasized by speaker 8 and 9. Notice also that although speaker 12 constructs women in active leadership, his proposition is mitigated by the use of ‘*nasikia*’ (I hear), a hedge which renders his proposition tentative. This hedging is heightened by the laughter that follows utterance 12. The laughter, which is arguably a form of ridicule or disapproval, is aimed at discursively deconstructing the notion on women’s involvement in leadership encapsulated in utterance 12, hence implicitly claiming that women are not suitable for political leadership. The laughter further implicitly positions men as in charge of political control.

What is even more interesting in this utterance is that women’s agency in leadership is discursively realized in the remote past tense which makes it not recoverable in the immediate context, covertly communicating that women’s identity cannot be linked with political leadership. One also notices that utterances 14 and 15 are also hedged. Like most hedges, *Labda* (may be) is ostensibly an indicator of uncertainty. The speaker shows that he is unsure of the facts, and further trivializes the notion that women indeed could have been rulers by suggesting that this could have been in oral literature, a notion which is further developed in utterance 15. It is significant also to note the recontextualization of the notion of female agency in leadership in utterance 15. Female agency in leadership is located in oral narratives and hence fantasised. Since truth in oral narratives is questionable, what
utterance 15 does is to contest the notion that women were rulers as well as control the minds of the readers to believe that women were not really rulers (in real world), and hence, lack the capacity to lead. Indeed the same can be said about the following utterance in which the woman is depicted as a leader in a historical narrative (legend).

Excerpt 8

1. “Wanawake walikuwa hata watawala!”
2. “Watawala mama?”

1. “Women were even rulers!”
2. “Rulers mother?”
3. “Ehh, there is that story of Wangu wa Makeri... were you not told that story in school?”

Utterances 1 and 3 cast women as Actors in the material process of ruling. However, the reader’s attention is drawn to the choice of the modal adjunct: hata (even) ‘Even’ makes explicit something that is not obvious, given or taken as read or that has not already been made explicit or been conveyed by an earlier assertion (Macleod 1992:139). ‘Even’ in this context presupposes that although there was an instance of women being rulers, it was not normative then, and it is not even normative now. This locates ruling more in the masculine gender and presents an asymmetry in power relations in the field of leadership. This depiction is akin to the following extract from another literary text by Wamitila.
Excerpt 9


Person 1: Listen you prostitute! Stop doing this from today, you hear? Do not try to oppose Mzee (the leader). A woman cannot sit on Pango’s stool, you hear? It has never happened in the history of this place and it cannot start with you, do you hear?

The speaker, a man is talking to Katango who wants to take up the leadership of her country, metaphorically referred to in the play as Pango (Cave). It is notable that the speaker’s Verbiage distances feminine gender from social control. This kind of position has been legitimized in institutional discourse, since the speaker makes reference to history to authentically assert the claim that women cannot be political leaders. It would appear that it is only Wamitila, or for that matter male writers who depict women in less agentive positions in political leadership. However, examination of the following examples from Raya Timmamy’s “Uteuzi wa Moyoni” and Margaret Ogola’s The River and The Source reveals a similar scenario.

Excerpt 10

“Na watakaompa yeye wamekosa kazi! Hebu yeye aweza kufanyani? Wanaume hawakuweza kufanya lolote, ataweza yeye?” (“Uteuzi wa Moyoni” P. 15)

“And those who will give her (their votes) will have missed something to do! Tell me, what can she do? If men could not do anything, how about her?”

The speaker, a woman, constructs her fellow woman (Zena) in disenabling discourse that ideationally limits women’s access to positions of social control. What is significantly
evident is that the speaker seems to acknowledge men’s capacity in leadership by positing that if men as Actors in the material process of leadership were unable to transform the lives of their Goals (citizens), then women cannot. This kind of depiction does not remarkably deviate from the following extract from *The River and the Source*.

Excerpt 11

“*Bwana* DC, Sir. The chiefdom is hereditary and passes from father to his eldest son. If there is no son, the closest male relative. If the son is not yet of the age of marriage, then the chiefdom is held in custody by the closest male relative with the council of elders.”(P. 92)

The excerpt construes a gender ideology that institutionalizes social control in the masculine gender. Evidently this gender role signification is reproduced through discourses such as the above which portray only men as institutional leaders and exclude female leadership from such discourses.

4.3.2 Mental Processes

As noted in chapter one and three, mental processes ideationally construct an entity which experiences and reacts to other entities or situations. Although mental processes do not describe actions, and hence participants may not be seen to possess the kind of power possessed by participants in material processes, they are significant in analysing power. It is through the different way that people feel, think and perceive things that language users may be classified in a dominator- dominated division (Gallardo 2006: 745). The Phenomenon for instance, can be viewed as being more powerful than the Senser since it is the one that
impinges upon the Senser to cause some reaction or change, Examine the following example from *Unaitwa Nani*?

Excerpt 12


When I woke up I saw an extremely beautiful woman… Yes, a woman, really beautiful. She moved slowly towards where I was. Fear began to grip me. A woman or a genie? I remembered my grandmother’s words long ago, that there are women who were found in spirit worship places. And that when one of them loves you, when your eyes meet, you can’t escape; it is like your destiny. This must be one of them. No. I did not believe my grandmother’s words.

The narrator is a man, narrating his encounter with the woman who later becomes his wife. In the mental clause of perception: *I saw an extremely beautiful woman*, the man is a Senser and, *an extremely beautiful woman* a Phenomenon. What is however significant about the Phenomenon in terms of analysis of power relations is its capacity to invoke another mental process in the Senser. She invokes a mental process of affection or as Simpson (2004:23) terms it, mental process of reaction, which is represented by the nominalised form ‘*woga*’ (fear). A close analysis of the clause in transitivity terms reveals that metaphorically, the man is a Goal or victim of the woman’s beauty, which can be metaphorically interpreted as an Agent that acts on the man to cause fear. Notice also the kind of recontextualization of the concept of woman signified through relexicalization where the woman is classified as a Genie (*jini*), through the rhetorical question: *Mwanamke au jini?” (A woman or a genie?).*
This classification ascribes another dimension of power to the woman. *Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* (2010: 624) defines a genie as a spirit with magic powers. As a Phenomenon, the woman with these characteristics possesses the power to influence the course of life of the Senser. The man is therefore metaphorically cast as a victim of the woman’s destructive power.

The reader is referred to the mental process of cognition: *kumbuka* (remember), where the man is inscribed as a Senser and the Phenomenon is his grandmother’s warning about the power women (in spirit worship places) have to determine the destiny of men. Metaphorically this is the Senser’s evaluation of the identity and position of women; they have the power to determine men’s future, as is further exemplified in the mental clause of affection: *mmoja akikupenda... huwezi kuepuka* (when one loves you you can’t escape) where the woman is inscribed as a Senser and the man the Phenomenon or the object of the woman’s love. Metaphorically, the woman can be construed as an Agent acting intentionally to subdue the man to do whatever she likes. Notice that although in transitivity terms the Phenomenon may be construed as having more agency since it is the one that triggers the process on the Senser, in this case the man (Phenomenon) casts himself as the victim trapped by the woman’s love which ideationally positions him as the Senser of the Phenomenon (woman’s love). In other words, love accrues the woman capacity to dominate the man by transforming his course of life. Indeed even her gaze (*macho yenu yakikutana*- when your eyes meet) which is a behavioural process has enough power to cause a complete change in the man’s destiny. Perhaps that is why the man uses the mental process of affection: *sikuamini* (I did not believe), to show that the grandmother was right about the woman.
It is notable that while the man is cast as a Senser in mental processes of perception (saw), affection (fear, believe) and cognition (remember), the woman is a Senser in only one mental process of affection (love). The man however does not seem to affect any entity even when he is a Senser, but the woman does. This reinforces the negative image of women controlling men through feelings and men as helpless victims of that control. Consider the following examples from excerpt 13.

Excerpt 13

1. “Na kwa kuwa napenda sana hadithi za mashujaa nikaamua kuandika kisa kinachomhusu mmoja!” (P. 23)
   “And because I love hero stories very much, I decided to write a story about one!”

2. Yeye anajua kuamua kuhusu masuala ya jamaa yake kwa sababu ndiye anayemiliki kila kitu. (P. 90)
   He knows to decide about the issues concerning his family since he is the one who owns everything.

3. Wenzangu wakaiogopa njia kwa kusema inatisha, nami nikaipenda na kuitwa shujaa. Na hilo lilinivutia. (Unaitwa Nani? P. 146)
   My colleagues feared this route, saying that it was scary, on contrary I liked it and hence was called a hero. And that pleased me.

All the mental processes in (1-3) relate to men. The speaker of utterance 1, Dr. Homo, is a Senser of the Phenomenon: hadithi za mashujaa’ (hero stories). He is ideationally represented as being concerned with Phenomena or processes that call for not only physical strength but also courage and wit. To understand the kind of power implicitly signified by the Phenomenon, it is important to interrogate three meanings of ‘hero’ as analysed by Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (2010: 703). Firstly, a hero is a person, especially a man, who is admired by many people for doing something brave or good. Secondly, a hero is a
person, especially a man, that you admire because of a particular quality or skill that they have. And thirdly, when one is heroic he or she shows extreme courage and determination and is admired by many people. Definition 1 and 2 are sexist. They locate heroism largely in the masculine gender through the use of the circumstantial element: especially man. The third definition is non-sexist since it defines ‘heroic’ as an attribute of people with courage and determination, their biological sex notwithstanding. This is similar to the definition of the Swahili synonym of hero (shujaa). The Senser (man) in the excerpt, by admiring hero stories, he identifies himself with them, hence depicts men as wielding power through possessing attributes such as courage and determination. Although the mental process, ‘love’ is associated with feelings, what the man admires are individuals who act on the world to transform it through their quest character. Indeed the Phenomenon can metaphorically be referred to as an Actor; it transforms the Senser in example 1 positively and he writes a story about a hero.

Example 2 employs a mental process of cognition ‘anajua’ (knows). The man (Kamene’s father) is the Senser in: deciding issues concerning his family, which is cast as the Phenomenon. It is important to note that the Phenomenon the man senses, ‘deciding issues concerning his family’ links man’s processes with practical matters. He does not just feel as the woman in excerpt 12 does, he is actively involved in cognition and consequently executes a decision (kuamua) on what is best for his family. Significant also is the circumstantial element of reason: kwa sababu anamiliki kila kitu (because he owns everything). Ownership does not only ascribe material power to the man, but it also gives him the subject position to influence the life of his family. In this context the man (the father to Kamene) decides that primary school education is sufficient for his daughter.
In example 3 the narrator largely uses mental processes of affection: *wakiogopa* (fearing), *inatisha* (scaring), *lilinivutia* (it pleased me). The negative mental process ‘fear’ (*ogopa*) is due to a natural phenomenon; the route he follows is surrounded by trees, and hence his colleagues fear. However, the narrator is constructed as wielding more power than his colleagues since, although the route is scaring, as a Senser to the mental process of affection: *nikaipenda* (liked it), he demonstrates the capacity to withstand the scaring environment. This is contrary to his colleagues who as Sensers in the mental process of affection: *inatisha*, show no capacity to withstand the fright. The male narrator is thus constructed as adventurous and brave. Indeed he is happy when he is called a hero.

### 4.3.3 Relational Processes

As demonstrated in chapter one and three, relational processes show relationship between two entities. A relational process does not acknowledge any external energy or actions that may have brought the participant’s identity or position into being (Simpson 2004). The identities and positions are simply claimed to be true; constructing the speaker’s or writer’s opinion as a fact that is not explained or justified, but simply stated (Halliday 2004). Analysing relational processes is significant in interrogating power relations since they serve to index, legitimize and hence reproduce specific positions. Examine the following example from *Unaitwa Nani?*. 
1. “Doc, huyo rafiki yako anafanya nini?”
2. “Ni daktari na mwandishi wa riwaya! Kikazi ni Gynaecologist... Anasema alijiwa na msukumo wa kuandika alipokuwa kazini, akitibu hasa! Hapo ndipo alipojiwa na ilhamu ya kuandika!”
3. “Husemi!”
4. “Kabisa! Akaandika riwaya nzuri, ikasifiwa sana na wasomaji wake...”
5. “Eehh! Wajua tuliambiwa kuwa zamani mungu wa sanaa alikuwa mwanamke! Na kwamba hata sehemu ya kike katika akili ya mwanamume, yaani anima ndiyo inayachochea utunzi... Labda ndiyo sababu daktari wako akajiwa na ilhamu akiwa kazini!”
6. (Kumbe wanajua hili?) (Anapuuzwa!)
8. “Nikawapelekea wachapishaji. Mhariri alikuwa mwanamke... hakuwa na jina, mlangoni palikuwa na herufi mbili kubwa, “MM.”
9. “Labda Mama...Senior Mother.”

1. Doc what does that friend of yours do?”
2. “He is a doctor and a novelist.” Professionally he is a Gynecologist... He says he got the impetus to write when he was working, specifically when he was attending to his patients! That is when he got the inspiration to write!”
3. “You are not serious!”
4. “Exactly! Then he wrote a good novel which was highly praised by his readers...”
5. Eehh! you know we were told that long time ago the god of art was a woman! And that the part of a woman in the brain of a man, that is anima, is the one that provokes creativity. May be that is why your doctor got the inspiration when he was working.”
6. (So they know this?) (She is ignored)
7. “He is a good writer. He was a good doctor before being accused by these same ones with allegations that he abused his patient – I don’t even know what this means! Poor him, they made his business to close down...He even motivated me. I tried one...”
8. “I took it to publishers. The editor was a woman... She had no name. On the door there were two letters, “MM”.
9. “May be Mother...Senior Mother.”
10. “Or just Mother!”
The male doctor (Dr. Homo) narrates to his colleagues (nurses) what motivated him and his friend to write. It is however evident that what the doctor and his colleagues are doing is to emphasize the negative attributes of women and de-emphasize those of men. Utterance 1 is an interrogative material clause in which the man is inscribed as an Actor of the process, *anafanya* (he does). However, notice that the response elicited in utterance 2 takes the form of a relational clause and not a material clause. Speaker 2 could have said: *anatibu watu na kuandika riwaya* (he treats people and writes novels). *Anatibu watu* (He treats people) would have accorded the doctor agency by positioning him as affecting animate entities, his patients, who in this case would have been Goals. However, the relational clause: *Ni daktari na mwandishi wa riwaya* in this context grammatically ascribes to him even more agency, positioning him as having static unchangeable attributes. Further, the choice of attributive relational clause in place of a material clause is significant since it realizes the proposition in habitual aspect, making it more authentic and further claiming permanence in the man’s professional competence. *Daktari* (doctor) and *mwandishi wa riwaya* (novelist) not only classify the doctor, but also identify him, distinguishing him from any other category of medical practitioners, perhaps clinical officers, and other writers, hence discursively ascribing him more power. The relational clause therefore describes the man in terms of profession, instead of what he did, or what he may be in a specific incidence. It is also worth noting that a doctor and a novelist presuppose knowledge in those specific fields, and knowledge and access to knowledge, as Fairclough (1989) ,Van Dijk (1998); and Holmes (2005) posit, is in itself power. Notice also that the identifying relational clause: *kikazi yeye ni gynaecologist* (professionally he is a gynaecologist) grammatically accrues the doctor more
power by further classifying him as a member of a more specialized field: gynaecology. This constructs him in terms of his capacity to act upon women as Goals to change their lives.

Significant to this analysis is the clause: *alijiwa na mkusukumo wa kuandika akiwa kazini* (he got the impetus to write when he was working). The clause consists of a cognitive mental clause: *alijiwa na msukumo* (he got the impetus, and a material process: *kuandika* (to write). The clause positions the man as a Senser of some Phenomenon, in this case the women he is attending to. The Phenomenon (women) is metaphorically constructed as an Actor that impinges upon the man’s consciousness in such a way that his life is transformed; he becomes a novelist. The man’s transformation is a consequence of his interaction with women. Women in this context therefore ideationally wield power as Initiators (Halliday 1985) of the art of writing in which the doctor is an Actor-Executor (Williams 2007). Indeed utterance 4 shows the productive nature of the woman’s power, she transforms the man to a good novelist. The novelist engages in a creative material process (Halliday 1985:104), hence grammatically and ideationally accrues power through bringing into being another entity (in this case a novel.

The reader’s attention is drawn to the identifying relational clause: ‘*Mungu wa sanaa alikuwa mwanamke* where *mungu* (god) is the identified and the identifier is the woman. This actually defines god of art (the identified) with reference to the woman (the identifier). It can be argued that *mungu wa sanaa* (god of art) and *mwanamke* (woman) are co-referential (Halliday 1985). The woman in the above clauses accrues two types of power:
firstly as the benefactor and originator of skills in artistry, and secondly as having that quality or skills and being able to influence others. However what is more interesting is the clause: *wajua tuliambiwa kuwa* (you know we were told that), in which *wajua tuliambiwa kuwa* (you know we were told that) is thematised. The passivised form: ‘*Tuliambiwa*’ (we were told) does not only interpersonally distance the speaker from the proposition that the god of art was female, but it also makes the proposition hedged, hence tentative. The speaker does not lay any authoritative claim to his proposition; he projects it as a subjective personal claim of the Sayer who in this case is even concealed. This hedging covertly depletes women’s agency in art, implying that they are not necessarily the origin of art.

Utterance 6 (So they know this?) is a rhetorical question from the woman (patient) which seems to authenticate the claim that women are better skilled in art than men. However, her utterance is ignored by the male participants. This act of ignoring backgrounds this agency of women so that readers are not cultivated to perceive the woman as powerful in this kind of discourse. It is notable that utterance 7 categorises the man in the class of competent professionals through the relational clauses: *Ni daktari mzuri* (he is a good doctor) and *alikuwa mwandishi mzuri* (he was as good novelist). Of significance however is the circumstantial element of time attendant to the second clause; *alikuwa daktari mzuri* (he was a good doctor). In, *kabla ya kushtakiwa na hawa hawa* (before being accused by these ones), women are implicitly positioned as Sayers of the verbal process kushtakiwa (to be accused). However it is notable that although when one accuses, he or she says something, in this context the women are not just saying, they are metaphorically structured as Behavers or Actors, performing an act. Women are thus figured as acting intentionally upon the doctor
who in this case can be said to be a Goal, Target or victim of the women’s accusation. What is more interesting is that the cause of this accusation is not only backgrounded up to the end of the sentence, but also mitigated. The use of the circumstantial element of reason: *kwa madai kuwa*, (with allegations that), casts the accusation as allegations which cannot be proven, further backgrounding the doctor’s culpability.

Notice also the sympathetic naming of the man through the choice of the adjunct, ‘*maskini*’ (poor him) and the material process: *akafungishwa* (they made his business to close down). This further depicts the man as a Goal of the women’s negative material process and consequently absolves him from any responsibility for his negative material process towards women; his sexual abuse is justified. Indeed, the man’s negative material process is dissimulated through euphemism. Instead of using *Kuwanyanyasa kimapenzi* (sexually abusing them) the author uses *kuwadhalilisha*, which can just mean denigrating. The woman on the other hand is cast agentively as acting intentionally to have the doctor’s business closed. Utterance 8 reveals gender bias through the relational clause: *mhariri alikuwa mwanamke* (the editor was a woman). The topicalisation of the fact that the editor was a woman indexes power imbalance. The clause presupposes that in the field of publishing, most editors are men. Notice that, although the woman can be said to hold power by having access to editorial discourse, the narrator seems to trivialise this power by obscuring her identity or name. Indeed he even conceals her agency further by interpreting *MM* in non professional terms: *Senior Mother*, when indeed the translation should have been: *Senior Editor* which is the English synonym for the contracted Kiswahili word: *Mhariri Mkuu*. The
speaker’s interpretation ideationally locates women’s identity and power in procreation and care giving, obfuscates her agency in editorial discourse, and excludes her from publishing profession. This reveals power differential in public and political domains, confirming Wodak’s (2005) words. She notes:

> Although more women have achieved higher status in their professions, there still exists subtle (and also manifest) procedures of discrimination, mainly due to the fact that organizations are still characterized by a male culture of domination … Attitudes, values, stereotypes and role-images, however, are still severely encumbered by patriarchal traditions, and inequalities of treatment in professional and public life can be found everywhere… men dominate political life and the world of politics. (Pp .94-95)

### 4.4 Lexical choices

Lexical choices name activities or processes, people and things associated with these activities or processes, and characteristics or attributes of these activities or processes, people and things in ways that are culturally salient (Fairclough 1989; Ndambuki 2010). Lexical choices include vocabulary which is not metaphorical as well as metaphorical expressions. As demonstrated in chapter three, the names given to people or events serve to assign particular roles and status (power) and specific aspects of identities by emphasizing certain qualities and de-emphasizing others, as demonstrated in the following example from *Unaitwa Nani*:

**Excerpt 15**

1. “*Wewe hujasikia chanzo cha jina la Kiingereza la mwanamke?*”
2. “*Woman*”
3. “*Eeh, hilo!*”
4. “*Ni nini?*”
5. “*Sikiza kuna rafiki yangu aliyeniambia asili yake ni: woe unto man! Lakini alitokea mtu, labda mshairi…. akazifuta silabi nyingine na kubaki na woman ambalo… unaweza kuligeuza ‘omen!’*”
6. “Wow!”
7. “Ehh ni hayo... Wewe nadhani bado umo kwenye hatua za ujana za ‘wow man... woman...’” (Pp. 22-23)

1. ‘You have not heard the origin of the English name of “mwanamke?”’
2. “Woman?”
3. “Eeh, that one!”
4. “What is it?”
5. “Listen, there is a friend of mine who told me it is: ‘Woe unto man!’ But there came a person, perhaps a poet... who deleted some syllables to remain with woman which... you can change to ‘omen’!”

6. “Wow!”
7. “Ehh that is it... I think you are at the youth stages of ‘wow man... woman...’

The speakers in this excerpt are the male doctor (Dr. Homo) and his colleagues (nurses) evaluating the female patient and by extension the woman. Although this section analyses lexical choices, it is significant to comment on the choice of the interrogative form: Wewe hujasikia chanzo cha jina la Kiingereza la mwanamke? (You have not heard the origin of the English name of “mwanamke? (woman)). The use of rhetorical question at the beginning is significant. Firstly as also noted in chapter three, it positions his interlocutor as lacking information which the doctor has to provide. Further, it helps the doctor to develop the topic in favour of his point of view, hence control his interlocutor’s mind about the social roles ascribed to the feminine gender. And lastly, it positions his evaluation of the personality of the woman as given information which his interlocutors ought to have known.

The choice of: *woe unto to man* in place of *woman* (utterance 5) is a case of relexicalisation. This kind of relexicalisation is arguably what Fowler and Kress (1979) term as neologism.
Fowler and Kress (1979: 210) note that neologism is the invention of lexical items which by being visibly new, force the reader to work out the new concepts they signify. Although *woe unto man* may not actually be a new phrase to the reader, its usage here involves reorientation of meaning, ascribing to the woman another attribute or even semantic feature (see Palmer (1976) for Semantic features), +evil. ‘Woe unto man’ gives the woman negative agency or power to affect the life of man. ‘Woe’ according to *Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* (2010:1710) denotes troubles and problems, great unhappiness or misery. The woman is therefore implicitly depicted as an Actor with inherent negative power to act intentionally to bring destruction to men who are constructed as Goals or even innocent victims of women’s destructive material processes. The speaker in this utterance casts this as a shared opinion with his colleagues (his friend told him) rather than a subjective personal evaluation. He draws his interlocutors or controls them to share in his evaluation of the woman by use of the adjunct ‘sikiza’ which in terms of Halliday’s textual metafunction is a textual Theme (Halliday 1985), hence topicalised or foregrounded.

It is also worth noting that interpersonally the interaction largely takes the form of interrogatives which aim at directing the interlocutors’ evaluation of the woman, and allowing for extended development of the topic on the destructive power of women. The interlocutors contribute in turns to the development of the topic (see Holmes 2005; Remlinger 2005 for extended development). Notice also the use of relexicalisation through the choice of *omen* (utterance 5). Omen is a sign (good or bad) of what is going to happen in the future (*Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* 2010:1024). Although *omen* can be ascribed the qualities of good or bad, it is argued here that given the phrase: *woe unto man* that is
juxtaposed with omen, the meaning is restricted. The kind of agency accrued to the woman by this lexical choice is negative. She is a sign of destruction to the man. This kind of agency is further exemplified in following excerpt from *Unaitwa Nani*:

Excerpt 16


I was attacked. Do you know what its climax was? I am the one who killed my husband… They insisted that I must be the one who killed my husband so as to grab all his property. I was narrated to a story of a woman whom they claimed to be my relative. Isn’t that what she did? She waited until he got property. First she started by sitting on a chapatti she fed him with so that he can turn into an idiot who does not know anything. Finally she poisoned his drink and swept all his property. “Jiggers are the same.”

The narrator in the above excerpt is a widow (Kasekesi) who is accused of killing her husband, although he died of liver cancer. Her account of events does not only signify and reproduce discourses that reinforce negative evaluation of the woman, but it also critiques such discourses. The interest in the analysis of the above excerpt is not only on the type of lexicon used to name the woman but also the naming of the material processes in which the woman is inscribed as an Actor. The choice of material process is important in this context specifically when one recalls that to a CDA analyst, definition of power assumes that a powerful person has the capacity to act (or compel others to act on one’s behalf) in pursuit of one’s interests and/or intervene in a series of events to affect their outcome, and that a
speaker or writer can implicitly exercise power over his listeners or readers by controlling what knowledge they access about certain social actors. (Fairclough 1989, 2010; Van Dijk 2003; O’Halloran 2003; 2005; Lazar 2005). The excerpt is reflective of the woman’s negative actions. She is represented as an Actor intentionally acting upon her husband to transform his life, as evidenced by the material process: *niliyemwua* (who killed) where the husband is cast as a Goal of the woman’s ill intentioned action. Of interest is the circumstantial element of reason: *so as to grab all his property*, attendant to the material clause: *niliyemwua mume wangu* (who killed my husband). This casts the woman’s material process as driven by greed, further serving to reinforce the negative image of women. It also discursively positions the man as the property owner and the woman as trying to gain access to this kind of power through destructive material processes.

Notice how the narrator (of the story the woman tells) intertextually refers the reader to the woman’s (Kasekesi’s) relative. This is a case of legitimation through exemplarity (Vaara et al 2009:21). In this case, exemplarity involves retrospective reference to events in which the woman was involved in negative material processes. This strategy, as alluded to in chapter three of this work, is called narrativization whereby a story is constructed to unfold the consequences of the woman’s actions in ways that serve to justify the speaker’s evaluation of women. In terms of transitivity, the woman in the story is constructed as an Actor in the material process: *kuikalia* (to sit on) and *chapatti* as the Goal. The man on the other hand is the Beneficiary, or in this case, the victim of the woman’s action. *Kuikalia* (to sit on) discursively performs the speech role of bewitching. Turning the husband into a fool represents a transformative action or power in which the man is subjugated to the woman. It
puts the woman in a better stead to control the actions of her husband who is rendered powerless by being robbed of the ability to look at issues rationally. Being able to think rationally is a form of symbolic power. The temporal adjunct: mwishowe (finally) is equally significant. It ideationally constructs a participant who has been involved in several processes aimed at intentionally affecting the life of the other.

The material process: akamtilia sumu (poisoned) positions the woman as immediately culpable for her husband’s death, as well as the subsequent verbal and physical violence that the husband’s family inflicts on her (see Unaitwa Nani? Pp. 56-61). The choice of the conjunction na (and) in, na kuifuta (and swept) is also worth noting. Although one can argue that na (and) is a cohesive feature of extension (Halliday 1985: 304) which means ‘on top of that’, it is notable that in this context it is metaphorically a temporal conjunction which means, ‘then’ or ‘afterwards’. Poisoning his drink is a correlative (see Halliday 1985: 304 for more detailed discussion of conjunctions as a cohesive device) to: grabbing all his property; hence, the woman’s actions are portrayed as the central cause of the man’s death. Narrativization therefore develops the narrator’s credibility on the assertions he makes, hence calling upon the readers to interpret the identity and position of women in his point of view. Narrativization is also used in this context to rationalize the clan’s repressive action towards the woman (Kasekesi) who is seemingly falsely accused.

It is also notable that the naming of the woman further foregrounds negative material power. Through the relational clause: funza ni wale wale (jiggers are the same), the author makes a
categorical claim that classifies women in the category of *funza* (jiggers). A jigger is a small flea which lays eggs under a person’s or animal’s skin causing painful areas on the skin (*Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* 2010:243). *Funza* (jigger) therefore ascribes to the woman the destructive agency of jiggers while constructing the man as a victim (Goal) of her destructive acts. Further, the choice of relational clause: *Funza ni wale wale* has a summarizing effect, therefore closing the topic, and stating a fact about the addressee’s evaluation of the woman’s behaviour, and casting her as having repressive and destructive power over the man. What is even more interesting is that this negative discursive representation of the identity of women is evident even in one of Wamitila’s most recent literary texts as demonstrated by the following example:

**Excerpt 17**

*Tabitha la kusema likawa: ’Ikiwa wewe ni bafe, basi mimi ni bingwa wa kuitopoa sumu yake!’* Hata sisi tulisitikia kuwa yaliyofuatia yaliitokana na maneno hayo ya Tabitha. Kuanzia siku hiyo, Konzi hakuweza kwenda haja kubwa wala kufanya haja ndogo. (*Msichana wa Mbalamwezi* P.53)

The only thing Tabitha would say was: ‘If you are a puff adder, then I am an expert in removing its poison!’ Even us we heard that what followed was a result of Tabitha’s words. From that day Konzi was not able to go for a long call or short call.

Although the male participant metaphorically names himself as a puff-adder with the material power of subduing the woman, the woman classifies herself in a higher category through the relational clause: *I am an expert in removing its poison*. Tabitha’s Verbiage constructs women as evil entities who take pleasure in destroying men’s lives. Men on the other hand are cast as Goals of women’s destructive power. Notably, this destructive power
of women over men can be seen even in other works of African writers as evidenced in the following examples:

Excerpt 18

1. I have been accused of standing between my husband and marriage to other women by weaving a spell over him… *(The River and The Source*  P. 42)
2. The chief had not gotten over his fear of his brother’s terrible wife. He believed that she had powers, else how did she hold sway with his late brother? *(The River and The Source*  P. 90).

In the above examples, Akoko and by extension all women are discursively portrayed as exercising control over men (through witchcraft) who are ideationally positioned as Goals of women’s destructive material processes. Indeed in this excerpt, Akoko is inscribed as a Phenomenon that impinges fear upon her brother-in-law, who is depicted as a Senser. Examine how female characters discursively portray men in the following excerpt from *Unaitwa Nani*?

Excerpt 19

1. *Lakini mbona anashindwa kupata fahamu za kisawasawa Dr. Thetis*?
2. *“Unawajua wanaume wewe?”*
3. “Mmm…”
4. “*Una mwanamume nyumbani? Sitaki kukuuliza kama ‘umeolewa’ maana mimi siumini kwenye hiyo sarufi ya ‘kutendwa’.”*
5. “*Eeh, ninaye!*”
6. “*Halafu, au wako ni malaika?*”
7. “*Ni mwanamume, nyamanyama kabisa!*”
8. “*Eeh nyamanyama?*”
9. “*Nyama!!!!*”
10. “*Wako hivyo! Anataka abembelezwe kila watiki kama mtoto mdogo. Huoni kitu kidogo kama mafua (kitu cha kushangaza kama hicho fikiria) kinavyovafanya kupombojea kama watoto...? Ukimwona utadhani ameugua kwa miaka na mikaka!*”
11. “Katika saikolojia yao, kuna kitu kinachowafanya wabakie watoto, wapende kusifiwasiwa na kufanya matendo yanayohusishwa na watoto.... Kisaiikolojia ni Pathological narcissim... Usiwaone wakubwa; wanasumbuliwa na hisia za kitoto milele. Huyu ni mtoto kabisa, mvulana mtundu anayetupia watu mawe!”

(Pp. 138-139)

1. “But why is he not able to gain proper consciousness Dr. Thetis?”
2. ‘Do you know men?’
3. “Mmm…”
4. “Do you have a man in your house? I don’t want to ask if you are married because I don’t believe in that grammar of passivization.”
5. Eeh, I have!”
6. “Then, or yours is an angel?”
7. “He is a man, just flesh!”
8. “Eeh, flesh?”
9. “Flesh!!!!”
10. “They are like that. He wants to be coaxed every time like a child… You don’t see something as minor as a cold (come to think about it, something as surprising as this) makes them as weak as children? If you see him you will think he has been sick for ages!”
11. “In their psychology there is something which makes them to remain children, to love being praised everytime and doing actions related to children…. In psychology we call it pathological narcissim. Even though they are adults they forever suffer from childish tendencies. This one is a child completely, a naughty boy throwing stones to people!”

The female doctor, Dr. Thetis, and her colleagues evaluate the male patient’s failure to gain consciousness. Power differentiation is signified through the choice of material processes as well as the naming of the participants. The rhetorical questions in utterance 2 and 4 presuppose that men possess undesirable attributes; perhaps even pretence. Further, the choice of the mental process of affection anataka: (he wants) and verbal processes: abembelezwe (to be coaxed) constructs the man as dependant on the woman for nurturing. The circumstantial element of manner: kama mtoto (like a child) further downplays the man’s maturity, classifying him in the category of children, needing care.
Notice the possessive relational clause: *una mwanamume* (do you have a man?) instead of a material clause: *Are you married?* In transitivity terms, a phenomenon realized as material process construes Actors as possessing more agency (Fairclough 1989), and through a CDA optic, more power. The woman avoids using a material clause since it would seemingly construct the man as the Actor and the woman as a Goal, hence positioning her as holding less power in the marriage relationship. Her choice of possessive relational process grammatically ascribes her some power through ownership. She is actually construed as owning a man, and the man relegated to the less powerful position of what is possessed. Notice also the choice of the vocabulary: *mwanamume* (man) which is a neutral term, as opposed to a husband. As Coupland and Jaworsky (2006) note, titles and forms of address as part of lexicon can portray gender bias which in turn can reinforce sexual divisions and discrimination. Arguably the woman takes the word: *husband* to accrue more power to the man, making her subservient to him. However man (*mwanamume*) can mean only a male she is living with, without a commitment that may make him exercise more control over her. By refusing this kind of naming, the speaker is not only contesting the patriarchal gender power relations which support male dominance, but she is also restructuring her identity. Indeed she says that she does not believe in *kuolewa* (to be married) which is a grammatical transformation (see Fowler and Kress 1979) of *kuoa* (to marry). *Kuolewa* (to be married) is a passivized form which relegates the woman to a less powerful position, grammatically as a Goal, and being in reality backgrounded as one in need of man’s protection and direction. The choice of: *Nyamanyama* (flesh), *nyama* (flesh), and *kitu kidogo kama mafua kinawafanya kupombojea* (something as minor as a cold makes them weak) is significant. The lexical choices construct men as lacking the capacity to endure hardship. This is further
amplified by the conditional sentence: ‘Ukimwona utadhani ameugua kwa miaka na mikaka (if you see him you will imagine he has been sick for ages). The hyperbole in the circumstantial element of extent (duration): kwa miaka na mikaka serves to topicalise men’s inability to withstand pain, implicitly communicating that women are capable of withstanding pain. It is significant to note the relational clause in utterance 11 which identifies the man with a child. This defines men as persons who are strongly influenced by ideas and attitudes of other persons. It also classifies men in a category of adults who behave like children and are not mature and responsible (Advanced Learner’s Dictionary 2010:243). What is even more interesting is that the speaker emphasizes this kind of attribute through her choice of the circumstantial element of duration: milele (forever). This kind of classification discursively depicts men as perpetually lacking the capacity or power to direct their own lives, further underscoring men’s emotional dependence on women. It is also notable that the speaker presents men’s immaturity as an inherent attribute by drawing upon professional discourse which presents men’s weakness as a proven scientific fact. Through this discourse, the female interlocutor (Dr. Thetis) does not only lay authoritative claim over her proposition, but she also persuades her addressees and by extension the reader, to evaluate men in consistent with her world view. It is notable that male interlocutors also refer to women as nyamanyama (just flesh) (see Unaitwa Nani? P. 17). However, nyamanyama (just flesh) as a referent for women is aimed at discursively positioning them as devoid of physical strength. On the other hand, female interlocutors use nyamanyama (just flesh) to linguistically construct men as emotionally weak, hence needing nurturing. The reader is further referred to the following excerpt from Unaitwa Nani? where the woman is also evaluated by men:
And now tell me, why do you want her to remember that yesterday?

“Do that we know her!”

“Firstly may be it is better that way!”

“Alaa!”

“Yes, you think if this one remembers anything we will live here?”

“Really eeh!”

“Unending empty useless talk… You don’t know women?”

“I think I know them”

“You think. Do you have a wife?”

“I do!”

“Then?”

“Yes, eeh!”

“Or you married an angel?”

“No!”

“Have you really married a woman?”

Yes, eeh!”

“Then all of them are alike, even that one of yours!”

“Eeh that is it. Theirs is just one; annoyance, nuisance, nuisance annoyance, jealousy, disturbance, greed…” (Pp. 20-21).
The speaker, the male doctor (Dr. Homo) uses interrogative statements to make evaluation and judgments about the personality of women. Through questioning his interlocutor (a male nurse), he not only manages to use lexical items that stereotypically construct women negatively, but he also persuades his interlocutor, and the reader by extension to evaluate the woman in his point of view. The interrogative, “Why do you want her to remember that yesterday?” discursively functions as a reprimand. The speaker of utterance 1 is disapproving the previous speaker’s fear that the patient may lose her ability to remember. Utterance 1 presupposes negative attributes that the woman possesses which can be controlled by her not remembering anything.

It is significant to note that lexical analysis here does not necessarily entail analysis of names given to the woman but it also examines how words are used to describe the personality of the woman. Utterance 1 constructs women as having a disposition to cause destruction. What is interesting however is that the woman’s destructive nature in this context does not accrue from physical strength as one would argue it does for men, but rather it comes from her words. The choice of: ngebe ngebe zisizokwisha (unending empty useless talk) confirms the stereotypical notion that associates women with verbosity and triviality, as alluded to also by Eckert and Ginet (2003). It is however argued in this study that ngebe ngebe (unending empty useless talk) is a reflection of the ideological framework that defines what men do as serious, superior and important, conversely labelling what women do as inferior or less important. This notion is akin to Coates’ (2004) view. She notes:
The language women use when talking to each other has not traditionally been treated as serious linguistic data. By contrast, men’s talk is seen as ‘real’ talk and has always been taken seriously. (P.103)

The addressee in utterance 7 classifies women presumably in the category of idle gossipers whose Verbiage disarray other people’s lives. This can further be amplified by the following example from another context in Unaitwa Nani?:

Excerpt 21

“Akaja juu na ngebe zake, na wajua mwanangu, kinyua ni chungu kipikacho sumu… Mwanangu, kama hujui maneno ya mwanamke daima yanapinda.” (P.171)

“She was on the defensive with her empty useless talk (words), and my son, you know the mouth is a pot that brews poison…. My son, if you don’t know the words of a woman are always crooked.”

The speaker who is an old man talking to a young man, evaluates the character of women by referring to what his wife (the old man’s) did. The speaker not only categorizes his wife, and by extension the feminine gender, in the class of people who utter meaningless words, but also, by metaphorically referring to her mouth as a pot that brews poison, classifies women in the category of people whose material processes (which brews) bring harm or even death to others. It is also notable that the portrait of the woman represented in excerpt 21 is that of a person who is predisposed to doing wrong as exemplified by the proverbial saying,” the words of a woman are always crooked”. In this saying the woman is metaphorically inscribed as a Sayer of Verbiage that causes negative effects.
Going back to excerpt 20, the juxtaposition of *wanawake* (women) and *malaika* (angels) is examined. Metaphorically, ‘angel’ means a person who is very good and kind. When asked whether he knows *women* and whether, he has married an *angel* the man gives an emphatic ‘No!’ This overtly means that the woman cannot be categorized in the class of good people, where good in this context seemingly implies being submissive to men. The rhetorical question in utterance 15 of excerpt 20 is even more interesting. It presupposes that the woman has inherent evil character that the interlocutor is called upon to realise. Dr. Homo generalises evil power to the corporate identity of women by saying that they all have similar attributes. He further uses summarizing strategy (Ehh that is it) and overlexicalization (annoyance, nuisance, nuisance, annoyance, jealousy, disturbance, greed) in utterance 18 to authenticate his claim. In this utterance, women are ideationally portrayed as carriers of negative attributes such as jealousy and greed. This kind of depiction of women is akin to wa Mutiso’s (2005) notion that even in Kiswahili proverbs, women are portrayed as evil minded, quarrelsome, noisemakers and unreliable. The following Kiswahili proverb exemplifies this notion: *Mke mzuri hakosi kasoro.* (No woman lacks a flaw regardless of her beauty or good character).

4.4.1 Metaphors

As noted in chapter three, a metaphor is a word or phrase used to describe an entity in a way that is different from its conventional use by comparing it with another entity in order to demonstrate that the two entities have similar qualities. Metaphors have been used in *Unaitwa Nani?* to demonstrate power differentials as exemplified in the following excerpt:
Excerpt 22

1. “Listen Kasekesi, My WORD as your father. You must have been taught in school and in church that the man is the head of the family. A body without a head is not useful, it is just a useless mass: which convulses here and there like a chicken whose head has been slain, which after a while stretches itself and dies. Therefore I give advice as that head you were told!”

2. “Yes. Father, the head!”

Interpersonally the addresser in this excerpt is the father and the addressee is his daughter (Kasekesi). The excerpt uses body parts metaphors (Charteris-Black 2004): *kichwa* (head), *kiwiliwili* (body), and animal metaphor: *Kuku* (chicken). The head is metonymically associated with cognition or thinking. In the Kamba community (of Kenya), the context where most narrative incidences in *Unaitwa Nani?* are drawn, the head is associated with leadership or astuteness in a specific field. The identifying relational clause: *mwanamume ni kichwa cha nyumba* (the man is the head of the family), discursively legitimizes the man as the leader of his family, arguably conferring institutional power to him. The father being the head (leader) presupposes that the mother or wife, metaphorically referred to as *kiwiliwili* (body), and children are subservient to him in the family hierarchy. The central role of the man in the leadership of the family is emphasized through the metaphor *kiwiliwili bila kichwa hakifai* (a body without a head is not useful), which casts both the wife and children
as Beneficiaries of the husband’s leadership, ideationally locating the role of guidance and indeed sustenance of the family in the masculine gender. The dominant discourse presented here is that without the man, the family does not survive (hujifia).

It is interesting to note that the addresser discursively enacts authority by maximising on status difference. The I position communicated by the structure of the verbal process, natoa (I give), which would have been: Mimi ninatoa (I am giving) and Kichwa (head) are positions of authority from which it is seen natural for the man to be a source of knowledge and guidance. The man accrues himself interactional power by depicting himself as one whose duty is to moralize. Further, he emphasizes this notion by reminding his daughter of his subject position as a father. Occupying the subject position of a father ascribes to the man more power in the family hierarchy than the daughter whose subject position is that of a child. It is also significant to note how the father indexes power through proclamation by the use of: Basi natoa ushauri kama hicho kichwa (Therefore I give advice as that head). Proclamation, as noted in chapter two of this work, is a discourse strategy that positions the author as the explicit source of the utterance or information. By proclamation, the father asserts authority interactionally in two ways. Firstly, he lays authoritative claim to the information he transmits to his daughter and calls upon the daughter to share in his opinion. Secondly, this proclamation option closes the topic or dialogue, since, as Adendorff (2004:208-209) opines, proclamation options ‘close’ dialogue because they act in some way to limit the range of possibility of interaction with the diversity of voices. It is evident that proclamation in this excerpt locks out the possibility of the daughter to question the truth in
her father’s words. By using this strategy, the father presents his propositions as unchallengeable, arguably implying that if his daughter rejects or doubts his proposition she will be directly challenging his authority, not only as a Sayer, but more significantly as a father.

The reader is also referred to the symbolic institutional power held by the school and the church as moralising agents. The father draws upon the norms of his community of practice to control the mind of his daughter. When he says: *Lazima umefundishwa shuleni na kanisani* (you must have been taught in school and church), he calls upon his daughter to believe that his words are not simply his personal opinion but rather his position has been ideologically ratified; that this role signification is handed over from, and backed by key moralizing institutions. Indeed, by: *you must have been taught in school and in the church*, the father overtly suppresses any other voice than his, closes the topic, and positions his daughter and by extension the reader to associate social control with the masculine gender. It is therefore notable that the stereotypes that, men wield more power in the family institution are kept active through such discourses within the society hence implicitly legitimized.

Significantly, the excerpt reveals that the church and school mediates and reproduces the power asymmetry through instruction, which exerts pressure on social actors, and suggests possible persuasive positions for them to adopt (Mills 2003: 197; Fairclough 2010:65). As Althusser (1971:133-145) contends, the church and the school form the educational and religious Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) respectively, Althusser (*ibid*) notes that
Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) are concerned with the promotion of certain values and beliefs. He further argues that Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) function massively and predominately by ideology, and are unified by their common function; subtending the dominant ideology, and, thus the interest of the ruling class (or in the case of this study, dominant gender ideology). Simply put, Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) function to produce and reproduce dominant ideology, and hence sustain existing power relations. It is evident in this analysis that the church and the school are not just institutions of transmitting knowledge, but they also ensure that both male and female social actors are subjected to the dominant gender ideology. The father for example, says he is giving advice as the head that the daughter was told about. Notice also the use of the passive form of the verbal process: *ulichoambiwa* (that you were told). The father employs passivization to distance himself from the proposition he makes, and to make his opinion, which would otherwise be taken as subjective, more objective. This serves to persuade his daughter, and by extension the reader, to take his position as institutionalized and not self professed. Examine the following extracts from *Unaitwa Nani?*.

Excerpt 23

1. *Binamu yake aakuiza inapatikana wapi hiyo asali ya msituni...*
2. “*Tatizo lenu hilo, maana mnataka mke na mke ni cha mvunguni; sharti muiname... Lulu wetu kama hawa mnavyojua si kama wasichana wa pesa nane wa kijijini wanaokata kuni, kuchota maji na kula mapera... amesoma. Na tena kasoma sana, sio kusoma kwa kubabaisha kwa kuhesabu kwa kukanja vyanda vya mkono, ana digrii... na sio moja... Katika biashara yetu tunasema kuwa ng’ombe ndive anayeiizu. Nadhani huko shuleni mliambiwa habari ya chema kujiuza!”* (P. 203)
3. “*Lulu si mwega mnaouokota njiani kwenda kuishikilia mikungu walye kuchota maji na kula mapera... Katika biashara yetu tunasema kuwa ng’ombe ndive anayeiizu. Nadhani huko shuleni mliambiwa habari ya chema kujiuza!”* (P. 204)
4. Binamu yake akaruka juu. “Kwani tunanununa kichwa cha lori?” (P. 205)
5. “Mnachotaka kijana ni mke na thamani yake ni kubwa mno; mke si maparachichi mnayotunda kwenye shamba la jirani…”
6. “Hiki si kiserema ambacho kimeisha kazi yake, ni fuawe inayoweza kuchuma vyuma vingine!”.
7. “Ni mtambo hasa!” akachopeka mzee mmoja.
9. “Mneona hata ile shingo yake ambayo bado ina uteketeke wa kitoto?”
10. “Hiiyo mbegu mmeiona wapi?” akauliza na mwingine. (P. 206)

1. His cousin asked where that forest honey is gotten from.
2. “That is your problem because you want a wife and a wife is like something which is under the bed. You must bend. Our Lulu as you know is not like girls of twenty five cents (cheap girls) from the village whose work is to collect firewood, to draw water and eat guavas… she is educated. And indeed she is well educated, not low quality learning of counting using fingers, she has degrees… and not one…In our business we say that a cow sells itself. I imagine in school you were told the story of a good thing sells itself!”
3. Lulu is not a support stick which you collect on the way to go and support your banana branches; neither is she a mango which has been dropped by a pedestrian who is not keen…
4. His cousin rose up. “Are we buying an engine of a lorry?”
5. “What you want young man is a wife and her value is very high; a wife is not the avocados you pluck from your neighbour’s farm…”
6. “This is not an old worn down hoe, She is an anvil which can pluck other iron!”…
7. “She is a real machine!” One old man added.
8. “In addition she is as red as expensive tomatoes in the market!” another one added.
9. “Have you seen that neck of her’s which still has the softness of childhood?”
10. “Where have you seen that seed?” another one asked.

The social activity represented by the above excerpt is a dowry negotiation session. This analysis is based on the following assumptions. Firstly, that the dominant traditional mode of conducting dowry negotiations is adhered to. Secondly, this being a traditional dowry
negotiation session, it is a formal session, anchored on a formal context. The formal context presupposes what Fairclough (1989: 44) calls an unequal encounter. Asymmetrical power relations therefore exist between the family spokesmen and the groom to be (Sir Pipo) and his group, who in CDA terms, occupy different subject positions. The spokesman for instance, marks power overtly in utterance 2 where instead of answering the question posed in utterance 1 he tells them that that is their problem, implying that it is an obligation for them to bring the honey. This is a case of what Fairclough (1989:61) calls power behind discourse. The spokesman as a power holder in this negotiation exercises policing of conventions by enforcing and enhancing the groom’s compliance to the proposition he makes.

Turning back to the analysis of utterances 2-10, the reader’s attention is drawn to utterance 2 where the woman is metaphorically referred to as something which is under the bed. This proverbial expression is derived from the Kiswahili proverb: *Mtaka cha mvunguni sharti ainame.* (He who wants to pick something from under the bed must bend). Drawing an analogy between a wife and what is under the bed accrues the woman some agency in terms of value; one has to work hard to get a wife, since, she has inherent desirable attributes. Notice the use of the negative relational clause: *Lulu wetu si kama wasichana wa pesa nane* (Our Lulu as you know is not like girls of twenty five cents (cheap girls)). The choice of this clause is a case of re-signification or recontextualization (Fowler and Kress 1979; Caldas – Coulthard 2003:27) which categorises Lulu to a distinct class, giving her more power than other girls. This confirms Fairclough’s (1995, 2010) view that the exercise of power depends on resources or facilities which are differentially available to social actors. The speaker
further constructs Lulu in a more agentive position by distinguishing her kind of learning from that of other girls in the village, which is of inferior quality (counting fingers). Lulu’s capacity is further amplified by the material and relational clauses: *amesoma* (she is educated) ... *ana digrii* (she has degrees) ... *na sio moja* (and not one)... , in which Lulu is depicted in an agentive position both as an Actor of the material process: *amesoma* (she is educated) and a possessor of that knowledge (she has degrees). In addition, high level of literacy ascribes to Lulu yet another type of power: access to cultural capital or what Fairclough (1989:63) terms as access to (various) reading and writing abilities, which in this excerpt seems to be unequally distributed among the girls. Access to high level of literacy translates to power through access to prestigious education discourse, in this case, according Lulu a powerful subject position: a scholar or a teacher (Lulu is a teacher). This is why the speaker of utterance 2 publicly acknowledges her status and authority among her peers.

It is worth investigating the use of: *mwega* (support stick), *embe* (mango), *maparachichi* (avocados) and *kiserema* (old worn out hoe). The speaker uses the lexical items to deconstruct any perception that the listeners and the reader may have had about Lulu and indeed the corporate identity of educated women, hence emphasizing the agency or capacity that education has accrued to Lulu. Notice that this lexicon is put in apposition with the following: *fuawe* (anvil), *vyuma* (iron), *mtambo* (machine) and *kichwa cha lori* (engine of a lorry). Metaphorically referring to Lulu as *fuawe* (anvil) constructs her as an Actor with the material and symbolic power to act upon other entities. In Kiswahili when we say: *Yeye ni chuma* (He is iron), it means that he is strong, covertly implying that he has the latent
capacity to withstand hard situations or act on others. In the same vein, classifying Lulu in the same category with a machine (mtambo) arguably re-signifies her status. A machine makes work easier. *Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* (2010) also defines a machine as a person who acts automatically without allowing their feelings to show or to affect their work. Education has ascribed to Lulu another identity and hence capacity; a person who facilitates completion of tasks.

Notice also the speaker’s metaphoric reference to Lulu as an engine of a lorry. Among the Kamba, when one says something is being sold like a ‘kyongo cha ngali’ (engine of a lorry) he or she implies that it is expensive. Just as the head is involved in cognition, the engine is what drives the car. Referring to Lulu as the engine gives her agency, in this case accruing from her education. Notice that this utterance where *kichwa cha lori* (engine of a lorry) is derived is meant to contest the high bride price set for Lulu. However, it still backgrounds her value and by extension the value of an educated wife in the marriage relationship that is being forged. Utterances 8-9 are cases of what Fairclough (2010) calls promotional discourse, which in this context commodifies the woman. The woman’s power seems to be located in her beauty or physical appearance. The attributive relational clause: *she is as red as expensive tomatoes in the market*, ascribes to the woman the capacity to attract high bidders through her beauty (the colour of her skin is brown). What is even more interesting is that speakers 8 and 9 take turns to develop her physical attributes further by describing her body parts saliently (neck) and referring to her as a rare seed (*hiyo mbegu mmeiona wapi?*- where have you seen that seed?). The latter portrays her as an exceptional girl, accruing to her more power than her peers. This excerpt has therefore revealed that through
lexicogrammatical choices, the family spokesman exercises control over his audience by controlling how they perceive the personality of a woman. Gender power asymmetry has also been revealed even among participants of same sex (girls) through unequal access to symbolic capital such as education and education discourse. The following example from *Unaitwa Nani?* further demonstrates this asymmetry.

Excerpt 24

_Ulikuwako mvutano mkubwa katika akili yake – upande mmoja unataka kuasi mwelekeo huo wa jamaa za Lulu kumgeuza bidhaa ya mnada ambayo inauzwa kwa dau la juu kabisa; upande mwingine unataka kuonyesha kuwa ana uwezo wa kuweza kupata vyote walivyohitaji; kwamba yeye, kama mwanamume, hawezi kushindwa na kuyapata mahari – wa kuandaa mchango kusaidiwa kuoa mkewe kisha waliomsaidia waje baadaye kusema kuwa walimchangia ‘kumnunulia’ mke. Na huo ulishinda._ (P. 207)

There was conflict in his mind – one side wanted to rebel against that inclination of Lulu’s family of turning Lulu into a commodity in an auction which is sold to the highest bidder; another side wants to show that he has the ability to get all that they need; that as a man, he cannot fail to get the dowry – of organizing a fundraising to be assisted to ‘buy’ a wife, then those that help him later come to say they contributed for him ‘to buy’ his wife. And that one prevailed.

The above excerpt is an extension of excerpt 23. Sir Pipo (the groom to be) is expected to pay the stipulated dowry. The excerpt opens with a conflict or struggle metaphor (Charteris – Black 2004:91), lexicalized by the phrase, _mvutano mkubwa_ (big conflict). This metaphor presupposes a mental process, highlighting the cognitive struggle Sir Pipo underwent. The metaphor: _bidhaa ya mnada_ (commodity in an auction) confirms the argument in excerpt 23 above, and Mills (1992) notion of the commodified identity of women. This commodified identity is further amplified by the use of the material process: _inauzwa_ (is sold) in which
Lulu is cast as a Goal, reducing her and by extension other women to commodities. Notice the use of the relational possessive clause: *ana uwezo wa kuweza kupata vyote* (he has the ability to get all that they need). While *ana uwezo* (he has the ability) may construe an entity with a latent capacity to achieve, it does not really construe any active engagement in using that capacity to transform the interlocutor’s world. However, through the material clause ‘*kuweza kupata* (to be able to get), the man linguistically gives a categorical claim to his ability in transforming that latent capacity to action, constructing himself as an Actor in a transitive material clause. This casts him as more powerful since he affects two other participants: the inanimate (what was needed) and the animate (the family that demanded).

Notice the use of the metaphorical form: *Yeye kama mwanamume hawezi kushindwa kuyapata mahari* (as a man he cannot fail to get dowry). Textually, his being a man is thematised as the point of departure of the message of the clause, hence presented as shared information which is undisputable. This kind of topicalisation implies that being a man ascribes to a person some capacity or strength to achieve difficult feats. The negative form: *hawezi kushindwa* (he cannot fail) presupposes that failing to get dowry undermines one’s identity as a man. That is why he rejects the thought of being helped to get the dowry which would otherwise relegate him to a Beneficiary or a co-Actor of his friends’ material process (helping). Generally what the interlocutor does in the excerpt is to validate the gender ideology that institutionalizes male dominance and female subordination, an ideology which is also reproduced by female interlocutors in literary works of female African writers as demonstrated by the following excerpt:
Excerpt 25

My father demanded thirty head
And the son of Kembo did not demur
Paid up like a real man.
My friend, my husband (The River and The Source P. 70)

Akoko (a woman) in a dirge, which is in actual fact a panegyric, reproduces the dominant gender ideology of male dominance. Her Verbiage presupposes that being able to pay bride price, however expensive, makes a man respected and failing to pay compromises one’s position as a man.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has interrogated the transitivity patterns as well as the lexical choices that Wamitila employs in signifying and enacting gender power relations. Other forms of control such as knowledge control, as well as other discourse strategies salient in the selected samples such as narrativization and summarizing have also been highlighted. Analysis in this section has demonstrated that both women and men hold power in different domains. This power is exercised both overtly and covertly. The transitivity patterns investigated reveal a gender bias. Men are cast as Actors in material processes that denote physical strength and intellect. Women on the other hand are represented in a range of gendered tasks that emphasize their ‘other centredness’ as also alluded to by Lazar (2002:122). They are inscribed as Actors in material processes that ascribe to them power as central tools in giving birth to the society and sustaining it through nurturing. Although both men and women are ascribed negative power, women seem to be ascribed more negative attributes
such as witchcraft. While women are portrayed as using their empty talk and verbal power to hurt men who are sympathetically named as Goals of women’s verbal processes, men are on the other hand ascribed attributes that cast them in heroic ventures. Both men and women gain power through access to cultural symbolic capital such as education and access to the discourse of education. However, men are still more inscribed as Actors in education than women.

The transitivity patterns and lexical choices interrogated have further revealed that both men and women depend on each other. However, discursive construction of material and emotional dependence assumes a more centre stage for women than men in comparative extracts. This confirms what this study alluded to in chapter two and three that linguistic choices in *Unaitwa Nani?* represent women in reductive discourses which signify and reproduce the gender ideology of male dominance and female subordination, a power imbalance that some women have tried to content.

Further, the chapter has demonstrated that the commodified identity of women is emphasized. The woman’s body parts are saliently represented as a Phenomenon that affects men. She exercises control through her beauty and performance of her body parts. Further, through dowry, she is commodified as a source of wealth for her family. It has also been noted that while men have tended to be represented agentively in terms of their professions, women tend to be represented in terms of appearance (as mentioned above) and lineage, although a few gain high status profession. Further, institutional and political control seems
to be located largely in the masculine gender, with women being described with disenabling discourses that communicate their lack of facility in political and institutional leadership.

Moreover, interpersonally, men seem to wield more interactional power. Their propositions are largely supported with logical arguments that make them unmitigated; a feature that is not highly salient in their female counterparts. Further, interrogation of discourse strategies has revealed that the more powerful participants, either in terms of social or professional hierarchy, tend to hold longer turns, make more contributions in conversations than their less powerful interlocutors, and thus extensively develop their topics in favour of the gender ideology and gender power relations perspective they want to communicate to their addressees. One of the key findings of the chapter is that power has been more effectively exercised through hegemony where the more powerful and indeed the author use discursive strategies that position the less powerful to interpret the world from their point of view or the dominant ideology. In the next chapter, I use the interpersonal metafunction of Halliday’s SFL to further investigate gender power relations in *Unaitwa Nani*?
CHAPTER FIVE
MOOD AND MODALITY AND REPRESENTATION OF POWER

5.1 Introduction

This chapter employs Halliday’s (1985, 1994, 2004) interpersonal metafunction of language to analyse the kinds of power relations enacted through different modes of sentences and other features of modality. As noted in chapter one of this work, the interpersonal metafunction relates to the use of language in expressing social and personal relations (Halliday 1985). Interrogating mood and modality is particularly important to this study since the question of what people commit themselves to when they make statements, ask questions or make demands or offers is crucial to the construction of, and negotiation of relationships between the addressee and the addressee (Fairclough 1989, 2010; Francis and Kramer-Dahl 1992:78). The chapter also interrogates the discursive strategies employed by both male and female interlocutors to reconstruct and deconstruct gender power relations.

5.2 Mood

As pointed out in chapter one of this work, investigation of mood entails investigation of speaker’s expression of his or her own communication role and the role which he or she assigns to his interlocutors. This study investigates the role of the declarative, imperative and interrogative mood in the manifestation of power asymmetry.
5.2.1 Declarative Mood

In a declarative statement, although providing information may explicitly seem a neutral act, covertly the provider of information holds power interpersonally as the addressee (Fowler and Kress 1979:28). He or she also holds power to direct the communicative event by deciding who talks, and what is said in the specific communicative event, and to influence the minds of his addressees in consistent with his point of view as demonstrated in following examples from *Unaitwa Nani?*:

Excerpt 1

1. “Ni watu dhaifu kabisa hawa! Wanyonge katika nyanja zote, na si kwa sababu nyingine, ni kwa sababu wana upungufu fulani…” (P.18)

   “These are very weak people! Weak in all fields, and not because of any other reason, it is because they have a certain weakness…”

The addresser, the male doctor (Dr. Homo) uses declarative statements to state a fact to his colleagues (nurses) about the physical weakness of women. Interpersonally he exercises power both as the originator of information as well as the transmitter of that information. His addressees on the other hand are consequently reduced to listeners or what Young and Harrison (2004:235) call processors of information, whose contribution in this exchange is just eliciting minimal responses as evidenced in the following utterances which are a continuation of example 1 of excerpt 1.

2. “Na kama hujui, alisema Aristotle, baba wa taaluma zote, zamani!”
3. “Kweli eeh?”
4. “Eeh, alisema hivyo! Na miaka mingine baadaye akaongeza Friedrich Nietzsche, yule mwanafalsafa stadi wa Ujerumani!”
5. “Eeh?”
6. “Kabisa!!”
2. “And if you don’t know, Aristotle, the father of all disciplines said that long time ago!”
3. “Really eeh?”
4. “Eeh, he said that! And some years on Friedrich Nietzsche, that great philosopher of Germany, elaborated further!”
5. “Eeh?”
6. “Exactly!”
7. “Mmm!”
8. “What dominates these ones are feelings, feelings and feelings, that is eros!!!”

In utterance 1 of excerpt 1, the speaker opens by evaluating women’s physical strength through the declarative statement, “These are very weak people”. Notice however that in the clause that follows, the doctor draws upon the circumstantial element of reason to claim authority to what he says by giving a reason as to why women cannot be said to accrue power through physical strength. This was also alluded to in chapter two and three of this work. It is worth noting that the doctor’s knowledge of the reason (it is because they have certain weaknesses) why the woman’s bones are weak makes him even more powerful as a participant. Notice also that in utterance 2 the addressee introduces two Sayers of the Verbiage: *Ni watu dhaifu kabisa* (These are very weak people) (utterance 1) in which he himself was a Sayer. Being cardinal philosophers, the two Sayers (Aristotle and Nietzsche) serve to authenticate the addressee’s evaluation of women. The addressee therefore casts this kind of information about physical weakness of women as cognitively proven truth and not his personal subjective opinion, making his dictums even more credible.
Of significance is the minimal response which is realized as a rhetorical question, “Really eeh?” in utterance 3, which in this context is a tag question (Coates 2004; Bloor & Bloor 2007). One can argue that the speaker’s use of this kind of hedging, to borrow Cameron’s (1985:55) words, is patronizing speaker 2, saying, ‘It cannot be the case, can it?’ However, this study maintains that this minimal response may also construe the participant as needing, and hence asking for more information on the subject, which the doctor gives in utterance 4. The doctor not only affirms his earlier proposition through the declarative, ‘Eeh, he said that; but he also foregrounds it further by referring his interlocutors to yet another authority in this kind of knowledge. The addressee’s responses in utterances 5 and 7 allow the addressee to further develop his topic. The choice of the circumstantial element of manner, ‘kabisa’ (exactly) is equally significant. It acts as a summarizing device which affirms his proposition as authoritative and unmitigated truth.

Analysing utterance 8 textually reveals that it has what Halliday (1985:41) calls ‘nominalization which serves a thematic purpose’. It is also a case of a marked Theme (Halliday 1985:44-45). Discussing the concepts of Theme and mood, Halliday (ibid) notes:

In a declarative clause, the typical pattern is one which Theme is conflated with subject. We (shall) refer to the mapping of Theme on to subject as the UNMARKED THEME of a declarative clause. The subject is the one chosen as the Theme… A Theme that is something other than the subject, in a declarative clause, we shall refer to as a MARKED THEME.

Making ‘kinachowatawala hawa’ (what dominates these ones) thematic also makes it marked. If the sentence was to have an unmarked Theme, it would read: Hawa wanatawaliwa na hisia (These ones are dominated by feelings). ‘Hawa’ (these ones) would
be both subject and Theme, hence not marked. The speaker’s thematisation of ‘kinachowatawala hawa’ (what dominates these ones) significantly foregrounds the addressee’s proposition, making it more authoritative. It is also notable that this kind of construction has a summarizing effect which is congruent with the purpose of the speaker in the excerpt; to present his proposition as unmitigated fact and persuade his listeners to accept his point of view. Being the point of departure of the message of the clause, it focuses women’s concern with feelings as shared knowledge and mutually agreed upon fact, not open to negotiation, as alluded to also by (Ward 2004 ) and Lassen ( 2004: 270). Notice also that the addresser, being the more powerful both as a doctor and the author of knowledge, has discourse options that are not available to his interlocutors. He not only holds longer turns but he also puts constraints on his interlocutors who are less powerful in the institutional hierarchy. This allows for extended development of his topic, providing the ground to trivialize women’s physical strength. Consider the following conversation by female interlocutors in Unaitwa Nani?.

Excerpt 2

1. ‘Huyu ni muana...’
2. “Muana?”
3. “Eehh, kuna mmea mmoja ambao mbegu zake ni mbaya... labda hata hatari!”
4. “Eehh!”
5. “Kuliko bangi!”
6. “Wacha we!”
7. “Unaota penye mbolea!”
8. “Nimeujua!”
9. “Una majani makubwa sana!”
10. “Yaliyokolea kijani kinachotamanisha!”
11. “Unafanana na mnyonyo!”
12. “Kijijini tulionywa tusiyakate majani yake!”
13. Eeh, nimeujua. Kuna mwanamke mmoja wa kwetu kijijini aliyechuma kimakosa, wajua tena shida za vijiji wanaakoachiwa kila kazi wanawake na viumbwe hivi, na lazima awalishe wanawake... Akautia kwenye chakula chao. Siku hiyo jioni jamaa nzima iliingiwa na wendawazimu...!”...
14. “Kwa sababu ya muana ume!”
15. “Eehh!”
16. “Ni kweli huyu ni muanaume huo!”
17. “Kabisa kabisa!”
18. “Na ndivyo walivyo wote!”
19. “Bila kumbakiza yeyote yule!”
20. “Wanautia ulimwengu wazimu!”
21. “Muana..ume!”

---

1. “This one is a muana...”
2. “Muana?”
3. “Eehh, there is one plant whose seeds are bad... may be even dangerous!”
4. “Eehh!”
5. “Than opium!”
6. “Stop it!”
7. “It grows where there is manure!”
8. “I have known it!”
9. “It has very big leaves!”
10. “Full of attractive green colour!”
11. “It looks like a Barbados pride!”
12. “In the village we were warned against plucking its leaves!”
13. Eeh, I have known it. There is one woman in our village who plucked it by mistake, again you know the problem in the villages where women are left to do all the work by these creatures, and she must feed her children... She put it in their food. That evening the whole family went mad...!”
14. “Because of muana ume!”
15. “Eehh!”
16. “It is true, this one is that muanaume!
17. “Exactly exactly!”
18. “And that is how they all are!”
19. “Without even one exception!”
20. “They bring madness into the world!”
21. “Muana...ume!”
22. “You are really a mua..ume!”
The speakers of utterances 1-22 of excerpt 2, the female doctor (Dr. Thetis) and her colleagues, (nurses) take turns to evaluate the negative power of a man. The choice of declarative statements instead of for instance interrogatives, constructs all of them as holding power by the fact that they are providers of information in specific turns. One can therefore argue that there is some kind of symmetry of interactional power. What is more significant however is how speakers realize their declaratives through the use of relational clauses. The relational processes for instance, *ni* (is), allow the speakers to authoritatively make their claims; constructing destructive power as a static attribute imbued in the personality of man. The naming of men is equally significant. Utterance 3 and 5 classify the man in the class of an entity more dangerous than opium, further emphasizing men’s destructive power. Utterance 11 is a case of relexicalization which re-signifies the man, casting him as a Barbados pride (plant) which has attractive leaves. The verbal process: ‘*tulionywa*’ (we were warned) presupposes that the leaves of the plant are dangerous and so is the man. It is worth noting that although I have alluded in this section that the interlocutors in the above discourse can be said to exercise interactional power equally, the speaker of utterance 13 has leverage over the others. Other than possessing knowledge about the plant, she intertextually refers her listeners and readers to an incidence which makes her proposition even more authoritative. The information giving she does through narrating the incidence is in itself a realization of power since only those who possess such information or knowledge can deliver the talk. Further, by referring her interlocutors to this past event, the speaker develops credibility of the evaluation she has of men.
Notice also that in terms of transitivity, the plant can metaphorically be referred to as an Actor whose material action causes madness. Since the plant in this context metaphorically refers to men, it is notable that the speaker of utterance 13 authentically claims that men have negative material power to bring negative transformation in people’s lives. Indeed, what the speaker of utterance 13 is doing is not just giving information and thus drawing attention to men’s attributes, but she is performing a speech act (see Austin 2006; Fairclough 1989; Wodak and Meyer 2001 for in-depth discussion of speech acts) of warning her listeners and readers about men’s negative material power. This proposition is further emphasized in utterances 15 and 16 which, in terms of modality (modality is discussed in the next section) are a categorical propositions, which impose certain obligation on the listeners to believe that men are as dangerous as a muana (plant like Barbados pride plant). Utterances 17-22 employ summarizing strategy to generalize this destructive power to all men. As noted in chapter four of this work, summarizing is a powerful strategy for asserting power and imposing one’s perspective over his or her interlocutors. The speakers take turns to rationalize and emphasize men’s culpability in bringing destruction to the world. These utterances are represented as categorical claims which position the speakers’ propositions as unmitigated truth, and overtly suppressing any other divergent voice about the personality of man.

Notably, the utterances analysed demonstrate that although the declaratives used in this section seemingly make no specific claims about power relations, (the giving of information seems a neutral act) (Fowler and Kress 1979: 28), this is in fact not the case. The declaratives not only construct entities who have power by virtue of being the holders as
well as transmitters of knowledge, but they also implicitly perform other speech acts such as warning, hence allowing speakers to exercise power covertly through persuading listeners to adopt their point of view. What is even more interesting is that looking at excerpt 1 and 2 of this section one notices that although the male doctor (Dr. Homo) and the female doctor (Dr. Thetis) may be said to hold similar kind of power, both of them having the same institutional role as doctors, the male doctor seems to hold more interactional power than his female counterpart. He not only holds longer turns, but he also makes his dictums more credible by making reference to authoritative discourse. Indeed, analysing excerpt 2 (utterances 1-22) one can dismiss the opinion of the female doctor and her colleagues about men as subjective personal attack on the personality of men which stands in sharp contrast with Dr. Homo’s statements in excerpt 1 which are presented as objective scientifically proven findings about the personality of women.

5.2.2 Imperative Mood

Analysing imperative clauses, Halliday notes:

The basic message of an imperative clause is ‘I want you to do something or, ‘I want us (you and me) to do something’. (1985:46).

An imperative statement therefore construes two participants; one who demands information, good or service, and the one who provides the information, good or service. Examples of imperatives include commands, for instance, ‘Sit down!’, requests, for example, ‘Can you shut the window?’, instructions such as, ‘Press twice’, permission, for instance,’You can take that one’, advice, for example, ‘Obey your parents’, warnings,
invitations, exclamations, encouragements and even threats (O’Connor 2003; Matei 2008:142-143). This study argues that although usually the surface structure of an imperative statement has no explicit subject, interpersonally an imperative may be realized even in clauses which have an explicit subject as demonstrated by texts containing rules and regulations and as exemplified by the following prototypical sentence: *Students are required to have registered by the end of this week.* As stated in chapter one of this work, interpersonally, the person demanding for information is constructed as the more powerful one. Consider the following examples from *Unaitwa Nani?*.

Excerpt 3

1. “*Kasekesi binti yangu, karibu hapa jikoni, tunakopaswa kukaa sisi wanawake kwashauri mabinti zetu kuhusu jinsi ya kuishi, kwa lugha ya jikoni… Lakini ikiwa utaolewa, uusikilize ushauri wangu.*”
2. “*Naam, mama!*”
3. “*Mtafute mwanamume ambaye anakuheshimu kama kiiumbe… Unasikia?*”
4. “*Ndiyo, mama!*”
5. “*Mtafute mwanamume asiyetawaliwa na utamaduni usiofaa.Utamaduni ni kitambulisho muhimu cha mwanadamu lako na utamaduni sio jabali linalokwama pale pale; hubadilika kama mmea unaokua.Mwanamume anayekuona kama kiatu si mzuri. Huyo ni wa kumkimbia kabisa!*”
6. “*Ehh…?*”
7. “*Mtafute anayejua kuwa kuna mambo yanayopaswa kuachwa nyuma kwa sababu yamepitwa na wakati…*”
8. “*Ndiyo, mama!*”
9. “*Mtafute anayekuthamini kama binadamu!*”
10. “*Ndiyo, mama!*” (Pp. 43-44)

1. “*Kasekesi my daughter, welcome here in the kitchen, where we women are supposed to sit to advise our daughters on how to live, using kitchen language*”… But if you will get married, listen to my counsel”
2. “*Yes, mother!*”
3. “*Look for a man who respects you as a human being… you hear?*”
4. “*Yes, mother!*”
5. “Look for a man who is not dominated by inappropriate culture. Culture forms an important identity of a human being, but culture also is not a rock that does not move; culture changes like a growing plant. A man who sees you as a shoe is not good. That one you must run away from completely!”

6. “Ehh…?”

7. “Look for one who knows there are issues which are outdated and therefore should be ignored …

8. “Yes, mother!”

9. “Look for one who values you as a human being!”

10. “Yes, mother!”

Van Dijk (1995: 21) contends that one of the ways in which individuals exercise control or power is through control of context which, as he further argues, consists of calling the communicative event, setting the agenda, decisions about time and location, who may participate in the event and in what role. It may also include what is talked about and how it is represented. Consequently if both participants agree on their role relationship, the application of power is unidirectional. Interpersonally, the above extract has two participants, the addresser (mother to Kasekesi) whose subject position in this extract seems to be that of a counsellor. The daughter (Kasekesi) is the addressee, and in this excerpt she holds a subject position of a counsellee. A delicate analysis of the discursive features of the excerpt reveals asymmetry from the onset. The mother decides the communicative event, in this case a counselling session. She also decides the location (kitchen), the topic (advice on how to exist harmoniously in a marriage), the style (advising discourse) and the variety (Lugha ya jikoni - Kitchen language).

The choice of advisory style is significant in this analysis. It allows the addresser to give instructions or suggestions for behaving in ways which will bring an intended or desired
state (Fowler and Kress 1979:26). This kind of style presupposes a holder of information who needs to transmit it to someone who does not have the knowledge. Kasekesi is a receiver of information or indeed directions on what kind of a man she should get married to. The opening statement: ‘Kasekesi my daughter’, calls Kasekesi into a position of subjecthood (Mills 1992); she is supposed to recognize her role or position in both the family hierarchy and also in this particular communicative event. The imperative style adopted is aimed at controlling Kasekesi’s behaviour in consistent with her mother’s world view. Further, in analysing the imperative: *mtafute mwanamume* (look for a man), one realizes covert use of obligatory clause, ‘you must’. The imperative backgrounds an obligational meaning; Kasekesi is not supposed to associate with a man whose attributes are not in harmony with her mother’s prescription. The addresser is in essence directing her daughter’s choice of husband without necessarily appearing overtly overbearing.

Notice that the style adopted (advisory) allows for direct address (Mills 1992: 197-198). This gives a chance for the speaker’s discourse (or views) to be dominant because it is unmediated by any other voice. The dominant reading therefore becomes that of the addressee, and indeed the reader, is encouraged to adopt the addresser’s view as natural. Indeed, Kasekesi is interpersonally reduced to an entity affirming what the mother says as evidenced in her use of: *Yes mother* throughout the session. It is also significant to note that the advisory style adopted allows the addresser to control the allocation of turns. She not only holds longer turns, but also she allows very few turns to Kasekesi and even influences her responses by raising questions such as: *Unasikia?* (Do you hear?), which are congruent with the purpose of her propositions; to influence the
addressee’s, and by extension the reader’s evaluation and world view about the attributes of a good husband. It is also notable that through this advisory genre, the mother does not only foreground the dominant gender ideology that denigrates women, but she is indeed critiquing and contesting it. She is in effect directing the daughter to contest this kind of ideology; she directs her not to get married to a man who is dominated by inappropriate culture. Consider the following examples from a male interlocutor in Unaitwa Nani?.

Excerpt 4

1. “Ehhh, mtafute mwanamume ambaye atakutunza vizuri kama mwanamke. Wanaume wa kwetu ni wazuri... waniifuata jadi ambayo ni nzuri kwa kuwa imekuwako kwa karne na karne. Hata ile tohara ya mwanamke, ambayo mababu na mababu waliitekeleza, na ishara muhimu ya utamaduni wenyewe, wanaithamini sana. Ni tofali muhimu la jengo la utamaduni wetu mwanangu. Na utamaduni ni urithi muhimu wa jamii; ni kitovu cha uhai wa jamii na kitovu kikiathirika ufu unafuata. Unasikia?”
2. “Nasikia baba!”
3. “Mtafute mwanamume anayeuthamini utamaduni...Usipumbazwe na gumegume ambalo linaukarambukia usasa; yaani gendaeka linalochupia matawi kwenye msitu wa kisasa ulioja mikoko ya majario, huku linachekacheka, na kuishia kuanguka...Jitu linalotaka kubadilisha mambo ya kijamii usiliandame, utaanguka nalo kwenye matope ya fedheha!”
4. “Ehh...?”
6. “Nasikia, Baba Kichwa!”
7. “Ehh... wala usimwandame mnyonge au mzembe...”
8. “Mmmm!”
10. “Eeh?”
11. “Ndiyo! Ukimpata mfanyibishara itakuwa bora zaidi... kufanikiwa katika biashara kunahitaji bidii na lazima atakuwa nazo....”
1. “Ehhh, look for a man who will take good care of you as a woman. Men from our community are good… they follow tradition which is good because it has been there. Even female circumcision, which our ancestors performed, and which is a significant symbol of culture itself; they (men) value it very much. It is an important brick in the building of our culture my child, and culture is an important heritage of society; it is the umbilical cord of the society’s life and when the umbilical cord is spoilt, death follows. Do you hear?”

2. “I hear father!”

3. “Look for a man who values culture…” Don’t be fooled by a worthless man who runs after modernity; that is a baboon who hops on branches in modern forest which is full of mangroves of trials, laughing, and ends up falling… A monster that wants to change issues of the society don’t follow it, you will fall with it in the mud of disgrace!”

4. “Ehh…?”

5. “It is true my daughter, neither should you listen to the words of instigators who claim that our society denigrates the woman. Especially your mother. Do you hear?”

6. “I hear father. The head!”

7. “Ehh… neither should you follow a lazy person…!”

8. Mmmm!”…

9. “Humble yourself to your husband so that your life may be smooth my child. I think you have read the Epic of Mwanakupona which was composed by a woman and how it talks about these issues! Take good care of him completely”…

10. “Ehh…?”

11. Yes! If you get a businessman it will be much better… To succeed in business needs hard work and it is a must that he will be hard working…”

12. “Yes father!”

This excerpt, just like excerpt 3 is an advice giving session. Interpersonally the father is the addresser and Kasekesi (daughter) the addressee. The advice is given in form of imperative statements and declarative statements which are actually commands or manipulative regulatory texts. The analysis of this excerpt, just like the previous one, is guided by the thesis that as part of social process, language use is an instrument by means of which people not only manage their own behaviour, but also influence and control that of others (Fowler and Kress 1979: 26; Lemke 2003:132). The study also suggests that the communicative
relationship in this counselling session is asymmetrical in the sense that the father holds authority, not only as the author of information or instructions and a person asking of a specific behaviour of the daughter, but also he holds authority accruing from his subject position as a father. His knowledge and institutional status discursively give him the authority to issue commands. It also confers upon him the rights to raise a topic and ask questions structurally designed to allow specific information, hence continuously evolve his thoughts, and consequently allows him to control the knowledge his daughter and indeed the reader should have. In the same vein, Kasekesi, being an addressee, and occupying the subject position of a daughter, and interactionally as a counsellor seems only to have the right of agreeing to her father’s imperatives. Indeed in this excerpt the only instances where Kasekesi seems to contest her father’s information is utterance 4 and 10 in which she is portrayed as questioning her father’s propositions.

Analysis of utterance 1 reveals what Fairclough (2010:105-112) calls self promotional property of discourse. Apart from the imperative: *Mtafute mwanamume* (Look for a man), the addresser makes a series of claims which are categorical in their modality. He employs attributive relational clause: *Wanaume wa kwetu ni wazuri* (Men from our community are good) to positively evaluate men who follow tradition. What is significant however is that he is not just evaluating men, but directing the daughter’s thinking on what type of man she should deem valuable. Utterance 3 is a case where the addresser controls the mind of his daughter, not only through imperatives but also through lexical choices. The choice of *gumegume*, (worthless man) *gendaeka* (baboon) and *jitu* (monster) serves to code experience in ways that are consistent with the kind of perception about men who ignore culture the
addresser wants the addressee to have. This is a case of negative evaluation or representation of the ‘other’ (Fairclough 1989; Harrison and Young 2004). The addresser, by negatively constructing men who don’t follow their tradition, he discursively treats them as ‘other’ and calls for the addressee’s solidarity in alienating them. As Fowler and Kress (1979) argue, such naming conventions can hardly fail to lead to distance and alienation. Notice also that the addresser uses relexicalization to refer to men who leave their culture in different names. Relexicalization facilitates control through the one way flow of knowledge (Fowler and Kress 1979:33). Although the addressee may even show resistance to the direct interpersonal manipulation through imperatives such as *usipumbazwe* (don’t be fooled), she may find it difficult to evade control exercised through the choice of vocabulary *gendaeka* (baboon), and *gumegume* (useless man). The two words draw together the slightly different, but related attitudes of hostility towards men who do not exercise their culturally ascribed roles (Trew 1979:136). Arguably, unless an alternative lexicon is constructed to desensitize the addressee and by extension the reader from the concepts, this is how the addressee and indeed the reader will evaluate men who don’t follow tradition.

Further, the seemingly declarative statement; *Utaanguka nalo...* (You will fall with it) is implicitly an imperative, it performs a speech act of warning, implicitly commanding the addressee to avoid such men. It is significant to note that the naming of Kasekesi’s mother as an instigator is equally alienating (Utterance 5). It is a counter discourse aimed at negatively representing the mother so that the daughter does not agree with her point of view. The verbal clause: *who claim*, serves to mitigate the assertion: *there is gender*
discrimination. Arguably, the proposition: who claim that there is gender discrimaton is a case of dissimulation, aimed at sustaining the dominant gender ideology. Dissimulation, as Thompson (1990) opines, occurs when relations of dominance (e.g gender inequality) are denied, hidden or obscured, as is in the above statement where the addressee denies existence of gender discrimination. This statement therefore deconstructs whatever knowledge the addressee may have had about the status quo, and suppresses or backgrounds the fact that the society discriminates against women, or perhaps men are responsible for this discrimination. The addressee seems to be persuaded to accept her social positioning as natural.

In utterance 11 the addresser seems to enact power more covertly by using subjunctive mood through the conditional statement: ukimpata…( if you get…). This statement expresses that which the addresser regards as desirable about a good husband. It is however notable that the statement ideationally allows the addressee to feel that it is a suggestion which she may accept or refuse. However, the statement that follows this proposition presupposes that being a businessman is the addresser’s preference. The nominalized clause: Kufanikiwa katika biashara. (Being successful in business) thematizes success, making it the focal point of the proposition. The addressee’s attention is therefore refocused to the benefit she will get by getting married to a businessman. Notice also that the nominalization of the proposition allows the addresser to universalize his opinion on the ideal husband, making it difficult for the addressee to challenge it, since it is now verbalized as an objective, rather than subjective opinion.
Analysing utterance 9, one realizes that the speaker does not only seek to direct the specific behaviour of the daughter in marriage but also he assigns roles to both men and women. The clause: *Mnyenyekee Mumeo* (Humble yourself to your husband) presupposes a power imbalance in favour of men. The subject position occupied by the wife is therefore that of subservience to her husband. The circumstantial element of cause or reason: *ili maisha yako yakunyookee* (so that your life may be smooth) is significant in the analysis of power. Overtly it hints to the merits of being submissive (to have a smooth life, perhaps without conflicts or to be provided for). However, the concern of this study is the covert indication of dangers that accompany lack of submissiveness. Notably, the circumstance attendant to the woman’s failure to submit to her husband is the opposite of smooth life, that is unhappy life, and this is what the speaker warns the listener about. Notice also how the addresser invokes *Utenzi wa Mwanakupona* (*Epic of Mwanakupona*) to support his propositions. This is a case of exercising power through closeness and distance (Tannen 1993:166). By intertextually referring his daughter to the epic which is written by a woman, he distances himself from the proposition he has made, constructing it as emanating from women. Drawing the addressee’s attention to the epic is a manipulative strategy. As noted in chapter two of this work, the addresser hopes to make the addressee identify with the proposition; after all the author of the proposition is a fellow woman hence she may not feel that submitting to her husband is repressive.

Turning back to *Utenzi wa Mwanakupona* (*Epic of Mwanakupona*), I agree with Lemke’s (2003:132) that texts and other material semiotic artifacts are useful windows of social
organization, regulation and control. I view *Utenzi wa Mwanakupona* as an example of what Lemke (ibid) terms as sacred traditional texts that helped to ensure the stable repetition of rituals and formulas as guides to action over timescales of centuries. Lemke (ibid), further notes that unique texts and unique institutions regulate particular acts. Lemke’s view is akin to Althusser’s (1971) concept of Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA). It is argued here that *Epic of Mwanakupona*, being a literary text, is an integral part of the cultural Ideological State Apparatuses which are concerned with promoting certain beliefs and values while suppressing others. Althusser’s and Lemke’s view is not significantly different from Mosha’s view (2013:196) that *Utenzi wa Mwanakupona (Epic of Mwanakupona)* as a traditional marriage instructor particularly for a bride, its main function is to control the behaviour of the bride by teaching her how to live in the matrimonial family and how she is expected to treat her husband. By emphasizing on the wife’s submission to her husband, the epic, as a regulatory text that uses imperatives, relegates the woman to a subservient position in marriage further reproducing the dominant gender ideology of male dominance and female subordination. Since the teachings in the epic do not offer a different perspective, some readers may believe that this is how the status quo is meant to be. It is evident that Kasekesi’s father, reproduces this discourse of subservience by intertextually referring his daughter to the teachings of the epic.

The dominant reading in the entire excerpt is that the father’s utterances are manipulative and regulatory. The father, representing the patriarchal view of gender power relations

---

6 King’ei (2000) notes that the Epic of Mwanakupona has served as an authoritative source of moral teaching for youth; especially girls of marriageable age. Commenting on the epic, Mosha (2013:196) posits that it is a famous poem among the Waswahili which has drawn attention among scholars. She further contends that some scholars argue that it encourages submissiveness and subordination.
draws upon the imperative mood to construct both the masculine and feminine gender in line with the normative traditional gender ideology of his society, His statements, just like those of Kasekesi’s mother in excerpt 3, are predominantly prescriptive. The text achieves its role of controlling behaviour by enforcing a set of attitudes of what it means to be a good man (follow tradition) as well as what the society expects of the woman (submissiveness). If no alternative discourse is availed to the listener or reader, he or she will internalize these as cultural expectations, further reproducing unequal power relations. It is also significant to note that in both excerpts 3 and 4, both the mother and father to Kasekesi can be taken to represent the dominant group which reinforces dominant ideas and silences alternatives (Van Dijk 2003; 1995). They have the power, in the words of Fairclough (1989), to create the ideal. Interpersonally both of them make their propositions authoritative by supporting them (see Unaitwa Nani? Pp. 43-49). However, the father seems to position himself more authoritatively as the one transmitting societal edicts. His propositions are supported with statements that give him more interactional power than his wife. His claim to traditional knowledge makes him control not only what the daughter is likely to believe, but also what she says in this session. It is also notable that the father holds longer turns by providing more information than the mother does. Such discursive representation of differential power between male and female interlocutors with largely similar institutional roles was noted between the male and female doctor in chapter three and four, as well as section 5.2.1 of this work.
5.2.3 Interrogative Mood

The typical function of an interrogative clause is to ask a question; and from the speaker’s point of view, asking a question implies that he or she wants to be told something (Halliday 1985:47). Halliday (*ibid*) argues that the basic function of a question is to request for an answer. It is argued in this study that some questions can carry meanings of reprimands, accusations and even commands. For instance, “Why do you want her to come?” is a reprimand, while, “Why do you disobey your husband?” is an accusation. These questions may or may not elicit any response, depending on the background information between the speaker and the hearer. This study therefore argues that there are interrogatives which, although structurally call for an answer, they do not necessarily require an answer, but are aimed at interrogating some phenomena. These are rhetorical questions and are analysed in this section to unpack their ideological content.

Questioning is not only a tool for eliciting information from an interlocutor, but it can also be an indication of power in the society (Balogun 2011:40). As a form of interactional control, questioning is used to exercise topic control as well as to constrain the contribution of participants in a communicative event (Fairclough 1992). Interrogative mood construes two participants, the person asking for information and the one providing it. In a communicative event, the person asking is interpersonally depicted as the more powerful. Examine the following examples from *Unaitwa Nani?*:

Excerpt 5

_Wanasema ninalokumbuka ni moja tu: kwamba ni mwanamke. Je, kwa nini wanaliona dogo hilo? Kwa nini wanadhani hilo dogo? Kuwa mwanamke dogo? Hawa vizuu walizaliwa na mwanamke kweli au walianguliwa?_
They are saying what I remember is only one: that I am a woman. Why do they find that small? Why do they think it is small? Is being a woman small? Were these witches really born by a woman or they were hatched? Or like Yunga Mwamba they perverted history, by favouring culture, were they born by a man? Is it not enough to them that I remember that I am a woman? Is there another better way of identifying oneself than this? Name, name, name! Am I an instrument or a tool? Why should a name be important to them? Don’t they know that a name is something you are given by another person?

The speaker is the female patient in hospital. The male doctor (Dr. Homo) and his colleagues have just said that she can only remember that she is a woman. Their laughter is what makes the woman engage herself in a monologue to contest their downplaying of her identity as a woman. Although the woman’s rhetorical questions are not necessarily aimed at eliciting any response, they construct her perception, as well as the author’s perception of the identity and status of women in the society. Through the interrogative material clause: 

Hawa vizuu walizaliwa na mwanamke kweli au walianguliwa? (Were these witches born by a woman or were they hatched?), which indeed is a reprimand, the speaker invokes her gender identity attribute as an agent of procreation and consequently locates power of procreation in the feminine gender. The naming of men: vizuu (witches), backgrounds her surprise or indignation that they can downplay this central role (procreation). Notice that Walizaliwa? (Were they born?) and Walianguliwa? (Were they hatched?) are put in

7 According to Kamba mythology on creation, it is narrated that Yunga Mwamba just suddenly appeared – cracked from a fig tree and started giving birth. (Sources:Author (Wamitila) and Maria, native speakers of Kamba)
apposition to each other. Although both are material processes, the speaker gives more agency to giving birth, alluding to the fact that giving birth requires more effort than hatching. It is also significant to note that the material process: *Walizaliwa* (were they born?) has an Actor: *mwanamke* (woman), while in *walianguliwa* (Were they hatched?), there is deliberate deletion of Actor. With the deletion of Actor, there is no longer any direct reference to who did the action. The agency of the one who facilitates the hatching is attenuated, leading to textual mystification, where the link between the action and the process is weakened. The Agent of *walianguliwa* (were they hatched), in contrast with *walizaliwa na mwanamke* (they were born by a woman), has to be retrieved by inference (Toolan 1992:208) from *anguliwa’* (hatch), relying on background information about the animate entity which does hatching. It can also be retrieved from the social context of the creation story of Yunga Mwamba.

It is significant to note that the discourse on the hatching of man among the Kamba, as the author of *Unaitwa Nani?* (Wamitila) when interviewed notes, is reproduced to sustain patriarchal ideology that dissociates the birth of men from the woman, casting them as if they just came into being, through their supernatural powers. It is evident that the woman’s intertextual reference to this creation myth not only demystifies the society’s view about the role signification of the feminine gender, but it also contests the discourse that entrenches and perpetuates the dominant gender ideology that upholds male supremacy. Indeed in the above excerpt, what deletion of Actor in *walianguliwa?* (were they hatched?) does is to direct attention to what is present on the surface structure: the Agent of *walizaliwa* (women) and away from what is not on the surface (the Agent of *walianguliwa*). The speaker
therefore manages to foreground women’s central role in procreation, casting it as indisputable, and contesting the implication that the woman may not have contributed to the procreation of man. Notably, the speaker wants men, and by extension the society to recognize this role as evidenced through her rhetorical question, which in this context serves as a reprimand, “Why do they think it is small (i.e. only remembering that she is a woman), and, “is there another better way of identifying oneself than this?”. She also contests the objectification of women through the relational clause, “Am I an instrument or tool?” Further she contests any other identity the male interlocutors may confer to her through naming, as evidenced in the rhetorical question, “Do they know that a name is something you are given by another person?”

It is notable that *Unaitwa Nani?* portrays a strong influence of this Kamba mythology (man having cracked from a fig tree), and generally Kamba culture on Wamitila’s depiction of female and male characters. He presents men as more knowledgeable and more courageous than women, as demonstrated in excerpts 1, 3, 4 and 5 of this section. Consider the following example from *Unaitwa Nani?:*

Excerpt 6

1. *Hatimaye nilifanikiwa na kuuinua mkono wangu... na kuutua kwenywe kitu kilichotoa sauti... Paap!*
2. “Ehh, wewe!”
3. “Alaaa!”
4. “Kumbe eeh?”
5. *Unadhani hapa kwako?”*
6. “Eeh, semaaal!”
7. “Hukufunzwa adabu?”
8. “Na mamako!”...
9. “Mwambie...”
10. “Anadhani 'si mkewe?’”
11. “Unatuonyesha nini?”
12. “Unajua tuna uwezo mkubwa juu yako sasa?”
13. “Kabisa!”
14. “Unamgongea meza nani?”
15. “Unadhani hapa ni mahali pa kujaribia testosterone yako?”

(Pp. 122-123)

1. Finally I was able to lift my hand… and landed it on something that produced a sound… Paap!
2. Ehh, you!”
3. “Alaaa!”
4. “Surprising eeh?”
5. “You think this is your house?”
6. “Eeh, say!”
7. “You were not taught good manners?”
8. “By your mother!”....
10. “He thinks we are his wife?”
11. “What are you showing us?”
12. “Do you know we have a lot of power over you now?”
13. “Completely!”
14. “To whom are you banging the table for?”
15. “You think this is a place for trying your testosterone?”

The narrator in utterance 1 is the male patient. His banging something elicits the rhetorical questions which are posed in turns by the female doctor (Dr. Thetis) and her colleagues (nurses). The women overtly exercise repressive power by rebuking the man for banging something. Banging something is construed as analogous to overt manifestation of aggression or power. The rhetorical questions presuppose pressure from the women for the man to behave in a constrained manner (they are contesting male aggression). Analysing utterance 5, Unadhani hapa kwako? (You think this is your house?), one realizes that it alludes to CDA’s notion that context limits the nature of power relations between participants (Fairclough 1989; 2010; Van Dijk 1995; Weiss and Wodak 2003), and that
power relations are always and everywhere contextual…. ‘power, along with structures of
domination is implicated in concrete situated social practice’ (Holmes 2005:33). The
women’s discourse implies that the man occupies position of power in his home,
presumably accruing from his subject position as a husband and a father and his socially
institutionalized identity as the head of his family. In this context however, his subject
position (a patient) limits his exercise of power.

It is significant to note the ideological import of utterances 7, 8 and 9. Notably, the speakers
are not just demanding a response on whether the man has been socialized on good manners,
but rather informing the man, and by extension the reader that the role of teaching good
manners in the society the novel depicts is socially ascribed to the woman, and that the
woman wields power as a moralizing agent as evidenced in the interrogative material
clauses. ‘Were you not taught good manners’ … by your mother?” In this clause, the woman
is inscribed as an Actor of the material process: taught, and the man as a Goal. Through this
rhetorical question, Wamitila again relegates the identity and power of the feminine gender
to nurturing since teaching is indeed related to bringing up or care giving. Perhaps this
explains the popular saying. If you educate a woman you have educated the world.
Utterances 10-12 again signify the role of context in constraining meanings and power
relations. The female hospital workers who arguably hold power at this moment, both as
experts in the medical discourse, and as the ones nursing the patient, reassert their power by
constraining what the man does and believes. The rhetorical question, ‘He thinks we are his
wife?’ presupposes that the patient, although a man, has no authority over the women
attending to him because the social relationship is different. This is further amplified by,”
What are you showing us, and, “Do you know we have a lot of power over you now?” These
questions covertly communicate that as a patient, the man has overstepped his discoursal rights by banging something, and also as a man he cannot exercise control over the interlocutors since they are not his wives.

What is even more interesting is that the women seem to acknowledge their largely subservient position as evidenced in the choice of the circumstantial element of time: *sasa* (now) which alludes to the notion that women are largely subordinate to men, and that this is the only context that these particular women exercise power over men. Utterance 15 is equally restraining to the patient. Testosterone is the one that causes men to develop the physical and sexual features characteristic of the male body (*Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* 2010: 1544). Metaphorically, *trying testosterone* means acting aggressively like a man (See Tannen 1993; Mills 2003 for gender and communication styles), which also means exercising control over the women. Interpersonally, the rhetorical question can be viewed as performing a speech act of commanding the patient to desist from such behaviour. Excerpt 7 examines another dimension of power in *Unaitwa Nani*?.

**Excerpt 7**

*Kwa hasira, Nyalgondho akaamua kumlaani Mwanamke wa Ziwa. Mwanamke gani huyu naye asiyejua kuwa yeye, Jatelo*⁸ *mwenye boma na kiongozi wa nyumba, mkohozi wa pekee anayekohoa hapo, mwanamume wa pekee aliyekumbana na wanga wanaokimbia usiku kwenye migongo ya viboko, amefika?* (P. 74)

Out of anger, Nyalgondho decided to curse The Woman of the Lake. Which woman is this who does not know that he the leader, the owner of the home and the leader of the family, the only person who coughs here, the only man

---

⁸ Jatelo is a Luo synonym for a leader (Source, Leonard a native speaker of Dholuo)
who jostled with witches who run at night on the backs of hippopotamuses, has arrived?

The excerpt is taken from the context of a home where the man, Nyalgondho, knocks the door and his wife: *Mwanamke wa Ziwa* (Woman of the Lake) does not open. Failure to open is the one which elicits this rhetorical question whose linguistic function is to inform his wife, and by extension the reader, of the subordinate subject position of a woman in marriage. In contrast with excerpt 6 where the man occupies the subject position of a patient hence his exercise of power constrained, here the subject position is that of a husband, and, as he adds in his rhetorical question, a leader. This enables him to exert verbal power overtly. Indeed the narrator calls Nyalgondho’s speech a curse, which in Hallidayan grammar is a verbal process in which Nyalgondho is a Sayer and his wife is cast as a Receiver or Target. The choice of this kind of speech is conditioned by the institutional power he holds as a husband, further presenting a case of how positions of power influence the linguistic behaviour of a participant. One can argue that Nyalgondho’s rhetorical question reveals that he interprets the speech act value of his wife’s failure to open the door using the frame of what a wife should do and how she should behave. He sees the illocutionary force (see Austin 2006; Brown and Yule 1983; Levinson 1983 for a detailed analysis of speech act) of his wife’s act as subversive of masculine authority; challenging his authority as the owner and leader of the home. The wife has claimed a false status for herself, hence the need for Nyalgondho to exercise repressive power through a curse.

Of interest is the type of processes in which the man is a participant in the rhetorical question: *Jatelo mwenye boma na kiongozi wa nyumba* (the leader, the owner of the home...
and the leader of the family). The possessive relational phrase: *mwenye nyumba* (the owner of the house) ideationally positions Nyalgondho in a powerful position as the owner of the home or family. Indeed, this phrase represents Nyalgondho as a carrier himself and his family as his attribute. In the same vein, the identifying relational phrase: *kiongozi wa nyumba* (the leader of the home) figures Nyalgondho as the Token or Identified and the circumstantial element: *wa nyumba*, as the Identifier or Value (Halliday 1985:116, 1994). The clause thus identifies the man in terms of his capacity in leadership and ownership. Moreover, the use of the mental process of cognition, *asiyejua*, (who does not know), which is encapsulated in a rhetorical question, presupposes that it is normative for men to be heads of their homes, and this should be given information to women. What is evident is that in these clauses, the discourses of male dominance and female subordination are co-articulated and reinforced in a manner that serves to normalize male dominance. Unless an alternative discourse is provided, readers may be inclined to accept the status quo. This power relation is further alluded to by the behavioural clause: *mkohozi wa pekee anayekohoa hapa* (the only one who coughs here). Halliday (1994:107) argues that behavioural processes represent outer manifestations of inner workings, the acting out of processes, of consciousness and physiological states. The man in this utterance, although a Bahaver, is metaphorically cast as an Actor in a material process. Coughing can metaphorically be a referent of power or exercising of power in marriage. By this utterance, the man asserts himself as more powerful. Of significance also is the material clause, *Mwanamume wa pekee aliyekumbana na wanga wanaokimbia usiku kwenye migongo ya viboko* (The only man who jostled with witches who run at night on the backs of hippopotamuses). This self description is action oriented as evidenced in the material processes: *aliyekumbana’* (who jostled with) and
**wanaokimbia** (who run). The utterance figures men as entities actively engaged in heroic actions that affect the lives of others. This notion is reinforced by the circumstantial elements attendant to the material process in which the man is a participant. *Usiku* (night) is a circumstantial element of time and *kwenye migongo ya viboko* (on the backs of hippopotamuses) is a circumstantial element of location. These circumstantial elements discursively portray the man as a hero, acting bravely even in dangerous circumstances. The circumstantial elements thus link the identity of men to the image of bravery. This kind of portrait of the masculine gender projected in this excerpt is in concordance with the dominant gender ideology that links male identity with, aggressiveness, courage and supremacy.

### 5.3 Modality

Modality, as argued in chapter one of this work, is the expression of speaker’s feelings, judgements and predictions. Examination of modality is significant in the interrogation of power relations since through modality, one can know for instance, which concepts about which gender are emphasized or de-emphasized. Further, modality is significant in demonstrating how people identify and position themselves. Modality can be demonstrated partly through mood as demonstrated in the foregoing discussion. It can also be demonstrated through other grammatical features such as modal verbs and pronouns as well as through voice, such as passive voice. For example in the sentence: *Niliambiwa kuwa nimeshinda* (I was told that I have won.), the speaker does not lay any authoritative claim to
his or her winning. The statement is cast as an unconfirmed rumour. Examine the following example from *Unaitwa Nani?*.

**Excerpt 8**

1. *Huo ndio utamaduni tunaambiwa kila siku. Kasekesi binti yangu, siku moja ijayo utaolewa...“ (P. 43)*

That is the culture we are told about every day, Kasekesi my daughter, one day in future you will get married.

The addresser in the above example is a mother and the addressee her daughter (Kasekesi). The relational clause: *Huo ndio utamaduni tunaambiwa* (That is the culture we are told about), refers to an earlier statement of the addresser that men are the ones who sit outside in the verandah, and women in the kitchen advising their daughters. Arguably ‘*tunaambiwa*’ (we are told) indicates the addresser’s low sense of commitment to the proposition. It also distances her from the proposition, constructing it as someone else’s (perhaps men’s). This kind of modality presupposes an alternative discourse meant to influence the addressee’s construction of the identity of male and female, seemingly even telling her that she should contest the status quo. It is also notable that the passive form: *tunaambiwa* (we are told) ideationally positions women as passive receivers of information whose Sayer is not identified. This constructs the addresser’s evaluation of the proposition as undesirable hence, needing to be contested.

Significant to this analysis is the use of future tense: *siku moja ijayo utaolewa* (one day in future you will be married). The modal auxiliary, *will*, encapsulated in the Swahili morph
{ta} marks futurity, plus high affinity epistemic modality (Fairclough 2010). The addressee makes a high level of commitment to the proposition that a woman has to get married. This is further amplified by the circumstantial element: siku moja (one day), which communicates the addressee’s judgment about the probability of the addressee getting married as almost unmitigated. Her proposition implies that marriage is a key determinant feature of a woman’s identity. However the following utterance shows that this is not a shared view.

2 “Sisemi ni lazima mwanamke aolewe. La! Lengo kuu la mwanamke maishani si kuolewa! Lakini ikiwa utaolewa, uusikilize ushauri wangu.” (P. 43)

I am not saying that a woman must get married. No! The main purpose of a woman in life is not to get married! But if you will get married listen to my advice.”

In this utterance, the same addressee (mother) seems to deconstruct whatever knowledge the daughter may have had about the identity of the woman and her purpose in life. (One day you will get married.). Although lazima (must) signals obligation, the negative form, sisemi (I am not saying) implies that it is not a requirement that she gets married; part of the woman’s identity, as also alluded to in chapter two of this work, should not be, getting married. Further, the subjunctive mood encapsulated in the conditional sentence: ikiwa utaolewa (if you will get married), presents the speaker’s proposition as a non-fact or as hypothetical; it underscores the fact that the addressee may or may not get married. The utterance thus portrays two contending discourses; the dominant traditional discourse that links the identity of women with marriage, and the alternative discourse offered by the addressee that reconstructs the woman’s identity, de-emphasizing the notion that the woman
must get married. Consider the following example from a male participant in Unaitwa Nani?.

3 “Kasekesi binti yangu, siku moja itafika utakapotaka kuolewa... Kumbuka heri ndoa mbaya kuliko ujane mwema!” (P.47)

“Kasekesi my daughter, one day will come when you will want to get married. Remember better a bad marriage than a good spinsterhood!”

The speaker of utterance 3 is a father and the addressee is his daughter (Kasekesi). Like his wife in utterance 1 and 2, he uses future tense to assert authority in what he claims or in this case, what he wants his daughter to believe. However, it is notable that his proposition is more authoritative than his wife’s. He emphasizes the validity of his claim by ideationally projecting the addressee as a Senser in the mental process: utakapotaka kuolewa (when you will want to get married), and getting married as the Phenomenon triggering the mental process. This discursively constructs marriage as a desirable and natural Phenomenon. It is evident that introducing, utakapotaka (when you will want) is a discourse strategy aimed at calling upon the listener to participate in the processing of this information, hence making it more ‘acceptable’ to her. Notice also the speaker’s use of: Kumbuka heri ndoa mbaya kuliko ujane mwema (remember better a bad marriage than good spinisterhood) which is ideationally realized as a relational clause. This, as also demonstrated in chapter two and three of this work, launches the addressee’s evaluation of marriage with more certainty. The thematisation of the modal adjunct: kumbuka (remember) is equally significant in foregrounding the addressee’s view. Kumbuka (remember) is used here as is both an assertive and validative modal adjunct (Halliday 1985:50). It serves to both emphasize and rationalize the addressee’s proposition. This calls upon the addressee to construe the
meaning of requirement and obligation; that she must get married. The paradox, in *heri ndoa mbaya* (better a bad marriage) is also significant. It positively constructs, and hence emphasizes a marriage, however bad, and casts spinsterhood, however good, as negative, hence de-emphasizing it. This proposition is thus behaviour regulating; it portrays getting married as an absolute condition for the woman. This is different from example 2 above where: *Sisemi ni lazima*... (I am not saying it is a must...) ascribes a right rather than an obligation.

5.4 Conclusion

Interrogation of mood and modality in this section has revealed the interplay between language, society and power. The social role occupied by the man as a father and the woman as a mother for instance, allows them to employ imperatives to manipulate the linguistic behaviour of their daughter in the interaction. Institutional roles ascribed to the subject position of the father and mother also allows them the discursive power to control the mind of their addressee in consistent with their world view. Imperatives, declaratives and interrogatives have also been used as strategies for controlling the knowledge the author instils in the readers about the role prescriptions and agency of both men and women in different social contexts. The study has revealed that the Wamitila, through mood and modality structures, emphasizes dominant discourses which affirm men’s supremacy and women’s subordination. Men are portrayed as having more agency in social control through family leadership, while women are required to submit to this leadership.
Further, analysis has revealed that mood and modality structures are employed in the positive presentation of self and negative representation of other. Men cast themselves in agentive positions, actively engaged in material processes that affect their lives and those of others. Women on the other hand are relegated to their traditional roles of procreation and nurturing. Further, the study has demonstrated that men seem to hold more interactional power than women. Male participants are discursively positioned as not only more knowledgeable than women, even when they hold similar professional status, but also as having better argumentative skills. Male participants interpersonally position their views as more authoritative by supporting their propositions with documented evidence which is largely lacking in the discourse of female participants. It was noted that while female interlocutors largely present their views about men subjectively as personal attacks to the personality of men, male interlocutors present their opinions as objective statements whose truth has been empirically proven. This makes men’s dictums more credible and women’s opinions tentative. Further, the analysis has demonstrated that context influences enactment of power; participants occupy different subject positions, hence varying degrees of power in different contexts. The analysis has also established that female participants use mood and modality structures to both signify and contest the dominant gender ideology which subjugates them to male authority. The next section interrogates the forms of action taken by both women and men to contest, re-negotiate or restructure the existing gender power relations.
5.5 Discourse and contestation of power

In chapter two, three and four, the study investigated the discursive representation of gender ideology, gender identity and gender power relations. Instances of contestation and re-signification of power relations were also examined. This section further develops the arguments advanced in the previous chapters, and indeed the previous section of this chapter. The hypothesis that guides analysis in this section is that relations of power and dominance can be discursively constructed, as well as counter resisted and transformed in a dynamic struggle over securing and challenging the interests at stake (Fairclough 1989; Wodak and Meyer 2001; Grant and Hall 2005:158; Lazar 2005). As Weiss and Wodak (2003) note:

In texts, discursive differences are negotiated; they are governed by differences in power which is in part encoded in, and determined by discourse. Therefore texts are sites of struggle in that they show traces of differing discourses and ideologies contending and struggling for dominance. (Pp. 14-15)

Special focus is on the linguistic and other discursive strategies used by interlocutors to challenge the existing status quo and negotiate new identities. The analysis draws on Halliday’s notion of transitivity (1985, 1994, 2004; Fairclough 1989, 2010; Weiss and Wodak 2003; Simpson 2004). It will also benefit from Ndambuki’s (2010:218) notion of forms of action. This notion guides in highlighting other strategies which are not necessarily linguistic in nature, and which are employed by both female and male interlocutors to challenge existing gender power relations and re-negotiate their identities in different communicative encounters.
5.5.1 Transitivity patterns

As stated in chapter one of this work, transitivity according to Systemic Functional Grammar has to do with the semantic roles ascribed to entities in a syntactic structure. Transitivity is about who does what to whom, who has what attribute, as well as who senses what. Transitivity patterns are interrogated to highlight the forms of actions taken by both women and men to negotiate, re-negotiate and contest power. Examine the following examples from Unaitwa Nani?

Excerpt 9

Ghafla kumbukumbu fulani ilinijia akilini. Kilikuwa kisa cha wanawake walionyimwa uwezo wa kuongea katika jamii fulani... Ni wanawake wa jamii ya Fuote... Wanawake hawa ni mafundi wakubwa wa kuumba vyungu na kutengeneza bunguu nzuri za vyungu vyenyewe. Wasanii hawa wanazitumia bunguu hizo kama ubao wa kuandika hisia zao za ndani; kusema ukweli ambao waume zao wanawakatala kusema... Wakati mwingine wanachora taswira kali za usanii kwenye bunguu hizo; taswira ambazo hufumbata hata methali na semi za jamii yao. Wakati wa kula, aghalabu waume pekee, mke huteua bunguu yenyewe ujumbe unamhusha mumewe. Kwa kawaida chakula hakipelekewa waume na bunguu zenyewe, kwa hivyo inaponekana inabidi ujumbe wenyewe uchambuliwe na anayehusika aleze na hata kushauriwa...Sanaa ya kupinda kimya. Usidhani mwanmke ni mjinga kiasi kile. (P. 25)

Suddenly a certain memory came into my mind. It was a story of women who had been denied the ability to talk in a certain society. They were women from Fuote society... The women are great artisans in pottery as well as making bowls from the same pots. These artists use these bowls as a board for writing their inner feelings; to say the truth that their husbands deny them. Other times they draw bitter artistic images on those bowls; images which include even proverbs and sayings of their society. During the time of eating, usually men alone, the wife chooses the message concerning her husband. Usually the food is not taken to the husband in the bowls themselves, so when it is seen, the message has to be analysed and the concerned (man) be explained to and even be counselled...The art of opposing silently. Don’t imagine the woman is that foolish.
The narrator who is the female patient in hospital has been named pejoratively by the male doctor (Dr. Homo) and his male colleagues, who metaphorically refer to her as a fire (P. 24). She wants to contest but she cannot talk. This is when she remembers this story that she narrates in her mind. Analysis of the above excerpt benefits from Fairclough’s notion of multimodality (Fairclough 1995; Paltridge 2006: 189). Paltridge notes that many texts are constructed, not just by use of words but by a combination of words with other modalities such as pictures, film or video images. This notion is akin to Lazar’s (2005: 13) notion that data from (Feminist) CDA includes contextualized instances of spoken and written language as well as other forms of semiosis such as visual images, layout, gestures and actions. Pottery in this study is taken as a form of gesture, action or multimodal discourse or discursive artefacts which contribute to social construction of knowledge (Fairclough 1989, 2010). In this excerpt, pottery has been used in indexing asymmetrical gender power relations as well as contributing to social change. The excerpt reveals that women are still inscribed as Actors in material processes that relegate their identity and power to the traditional domestic sphere engaging in economic activities in the private sphere such as pottery.

Further, the material processes: walionyimwa (who were denied) and wanawakataza (who were denied) construct women as victims or Goals of men’s repressive power. It is however worth noting that the women use their symbolic power as skilled artisans to contest the repressive male power. The women’s material process (pottery) confirms Yieke’s (2007:135) notion that participants in discourse participate in an ideological struggle where they compete (in this case with men) to shape the social reality in ways that serve their own
interests. The excerpt reveals that although women’s discourses have been marginalized (through verbal suppression) they have invented an alternative discourse and made themselves visible, as further demonstrated in the following example from *Unaitwa Nani*:

Excerpt 10

*I tried to open my mouth to correct them. To tell them that there was one woman. Wu Zeitan. She was a queen. No! Really a King of the kingdom of Tang between the year 625 and 705. That, although she started as a concubine (and maybe this is history which has been perverted by men, since they like that) of King Tai Tsung who was trapped and captivated by her extreme beauty, she ended up being the king of that regime. She opposed and went contrary to Confucius’ beliefs. More importantly she immersed herself in the struggles of uplifting women who, like important pillars lying down, were being oppressed by the society. Scholars were even required to write biographies of eminent women who ever lived in the country… And that she changed the location of the palace, removing it from where it was before… That male smell which had spread there because of many of them staying there for many years,… irritated her. And don’t’ think she is foolish, she depended heavily on professionals.*

The narrator in the excerpt above is the female patient in hospital. As noted in chapter four of this work, the male doctor (Dr Homo) has downplayed women’s capacity in political
leadership. One of his male interlocutors has responded that in China there was a woman who was a ruler and another has replied that may be a woman might have ruled in oral narratives (See *Unaitwa Nani?* P. 35), prompting the patient to want to tell the story intertextually referred to in the excerpt. Examination of transitivity patterns reveals that the excerpt combines relational and material processes which portray the woman as having agency in leadership. The relational clause: *Alikuwa Malkia! La! Mfalme hasa* (She was a queen. No! Really a king), classifies the woman in the category of leaders, positioning her as in charge of social control. However, the relational process that follows downplays her agency by asserting that she first started as a concubine to the king. Naming the woman a concubine not only downgrades the woman’s position in the marriage relationship (concubines and mistresses are rated lower in gender relations matrix as compared to legal wives), but it also undermines her capacity in leadership. Further, she is initially named as a female king (queen), seemingly to ideationally represent her as a king of lower status and hence lacking the kind of leadership capacity inherent in male leaders; ideationally linking successful political leadership, and indeed leadership in general to masculine gender.

It is interesting to note the material process in which the woman is cast as an Actor prior to her becoming a leader. *Aliyenaswa na kutekwa na urembo wake wa kupindukia* (who was trapped and captivated by her extreme beauty) casts the king as a Goal of the woman’s power. This material clause mitigates the woman’s capacity in political leadership. It portrays her strength as emanating from her beauty and not any specific skill in leadership. Rather than being a possessor of leadership skill, the woman is a Carrier of an attribute. In fact even trapping and captivating may not be argued to be action related, at least from this
context, since the man is just a Senser of the woman’s beauty and the woman is a Phenomenon; an object of the man’s gaze. Representation of the woman in terms of her ability to captivate and trap the king betrays the author’s intent – to portray women as lacking the kind of skill needed for leadership; and hence using her femininity to get leadership. This further portrays an objectified identity of the woman.

It is however significant to note that once the woman assumes office, she re-signifies her identity by being actively engaged in material processes that transform the lives of others. She is an Actor of the material process; *alipinga* (she opposed) which encodes her contestation of the existing ideology – Confucius patriarchal beliefs. Further, *alijitosa* (she immersed herself into), *kuwainua* (to uplift) construct her as what Williams (2007:136-139) calls Agent –principal who is responsible for, in control, or initiating an action. She is also Agent – Executor (*ibid*), who not only initiates the struggles for women empowerment, but also executes them. Other women are Goals or Beneficiaries of her positive material process (*kuwainua* – to uplift). Further, she enacts power as Agent- instigator (Williams *ibid*) in the material clause: *Wasomi hata walitakiwa kuandika wasifu*... (Scholars were even required to write biographies). In this clause, the woman wields power as the force behind the introduction of female discourses or women issues in literary discourse; she selects and initiates the action. Although scholars can be argued to be the direct Actors of the material process: *kuandika* (to write), in this context they are positioned as Agent -Executor, just responding to the demands of the king (woman). The woman’s identity is therefore re-signified, she asserts authority in leadership skill other than in physical attribute (beauty). Further, the material processes: *alibadilisha* (she changed) and *kuyatoa* (to remove) cast her
in an agentive position of initiating change. Her change of the location of the palace can therefore be construed as contestation and re-configuration of power relations and indeed the patriarchal ideology.

It is interesting to note the narrator’s assertion that the woman depended on scholars who, as the author confirmed when interviewed, are male. Although in transitivity terms the woman can be said to control the actions of scholars, perhaps by directing their actions, the material clause: *Aliwategemea sana wataalamu* (She depended heavily on professionals), construes her as a Beneficiary of the scholars, discursively emphasizing the patriarchal notion of women’s high dependence on men. This modulates her agency in leadership, seemingly insinuating that it is the scholars or professionals who were actually in control. This notwithstanding, the story of the female king serves to legitimize the notion that women have agency in political leadership, hence deconstructing the earlier notion of the male doctor (P. 35) that women cannot rule. The following excerpt reveals other forms of contestation in *Unaitwa Nani?*

Excerpt 11

*Tukio la pili lililoleta mtafaruku mkubwa kati yao, lilitokea Lulu alipojiunga na kikundi cha marafiki zake (walichokiita Chama) kwa ajili ya kwenda kuchanga bia kiasi fulani kila mwezi kwa zamu ili kuinuana kiuchumi... Muda si muda kikundi kile kiligeuka, kwa maneno ya Sir Pipo, “funza mdogo anayejizika mwilini, akasababisha mwasho mdogo tu, kisha akavimbiana humo na kuleta hasara kubwa sana”. Maisha ya Lulu valichukuliwa na kikundi chenyewe, akawa haonekani, safari za hata nje ya nchi zikaanza kwa, “ajili ya kuwekeza na kutatufa mikakati ya kibiashara...”* (Pp. 208:209).

The second incidence which brought a big conflict between them occurred when Lulu joined a group of her friends (which they called *Chama- Club*) for the purpose of contributing a certain amount of money every month for each
other in turns so as to *uplift* each other economically… Within no time the group turned, in Pipo’s words, into a “small jigger which buries itself in the body, causing only a minor irritation then swells from inside causing a big damage”. Lulu’s life was *taken* by the group, she became rare. Trips even outside the country started for the purpose of “going to invest and *looking* for business strategies…”

Interrogating the ways in which women negotiate power, Ndambuki (2010:218) argues that material processes are reflected in actions such as collectively saving money. Excerpt 11 is an example of a collective action undertaken by women to gain material power. Lulu, after feeling that she has been turned into a dependant of her husband (P. 208), she decides to join a merry-go-round with her friends. Ndambuki (2010: 232) argues that as a form of social network, the merry-go-round or self-help group helps women to support one another (see also Mwaniki 2011). This is the most basic activity that the women engage in (Ndambuki *ibid*). The role of the merry-go-round in the negotiation of power can be seen through the material processes employed in excerpt 11. *Alipojiunga* (when she joined) casts Lulu as an Actor, actively engaged in a transformative action; which ascribes to her agency. *Kuchanga bia* (contributing), construes a collective action by the women to support each other. It can be argued that members of the group are all Agent- Principal; they initiate and execute their action. Further, they wield power by gaining economic capacity (material resource) (see also Van Dijk 2003; Fairclough 1989), and subsequently economic independence from their husbands.

It is worth noting that the agency gained by women through the material process of joining a merry-go-round seems to upset the power equilibrium. This is evidenced by the way Sir Pipo names the group: *funza* (jigger) which causes destruction. The name: *jigger* is
contained in a material clause: *kugeuka funza mdogo* (to turn to a small jigger) which could be metaphorically construed as an attributive relational clause: *kuwa funza mdogo* (to be a small jigger), in which the women are cast as Carriers of the attributes of a small jigger. This kind of process represents class membership (Gouveia 2005). Notably, the clause confines these women as a social group to a set of negative characteristics, which are distinct from other women who don’t belong to this group. The merry-go-round is therefore construed as having negative agency; i.e subverting the gender ideology that upholds male supremacy. In transitivity terms, the group is cast in an agentive position as intentionally acting on men to cause pain.

Of significance in this analysis are the material processes in which the women group is inscribed as an Actor. *Kuwekeza* (to invest) and *kutafuta* (to look for) are cases of role re-signification where women as Actors assume identity related to entrepreneurship and investment, a position which stands in sharp contrast with the one alluded to in chapter three and four of this work, where business ventures were largely associated with men (see Kitonga P. 62 of *Unaitwa Nani?). This role re-signification is consistent with Cameron’s (2006:422) notion of instability and variability of gender identity, and gender power relations. In this excerpt, Wamitila constructs women as competitors with men in performing actions or material processes (investing and doing business), an identity he himself seems to contest through the pejorative naming of women as jiggers. This kind of representation confirms Magaelhães (2005:184) notion that identifying oneself with innovative actions in public domain can be highly indicative of changes in women’s identities. The following excerpt from *Unaitwa Nani?* further highlights this notion:
The language of his Lulu also started to change. She began to want space to do what she wants as a human being; she read about the struggles of women to liberate themselves since the times of burning brassieres in America until now when they said the Bible should be revised to reduce its inclination to patriarchy. She complained about the state of being turned into just a house ornament by her husband who had been possessed by the spirit of wealth which did not even allow him to settle in bed. She was disgusted by her husband’s jealousy… which was occasioned by his intention to control her like an instrument. “Pipo you have just married me, you have not owned me!” She complained one day…. Lulu did not also like her husband’s pressure to get a baby… Conflict after conflict… until finally… Lulu said this life is unbearable,… she wants to come out of the pool of this life which drenched her clothes and expose herself to the sun of honour and freedom. If it is trips to Dubai or Seychelles with her colleagues they go without being disturbed by a man’s words. She wanted separation… What Lulu did not say is that in that Chama (group) of theirs, she was the only member who still had a husband. Her colleagues had already shaken off their husbands (from their lives) like dust from a blanket which is removed when the blanket is hit against a post.
The above excerpt largely casts Lulu as a participant in material, mental and verbal processes which construct her as actively engaged in re-constructing her identity. The material processes: akabadilika (she changed), kujishasha (to do what she wants), akasoma (she read) and harakati (struggles) denote transformation: kubadilika (change) kusoma (read), and movement :harakati (struggles), ideationally ascribing to Lulu more agency, since they construct Lulu as an active player in the transformation of her life. Further, kujikomboa’ (to liberate herself) backgrounds an Agent of repressive power from which the women are saving themselves. It also denotes force, and force is a manifestation of power. Women’s agency is further amplified in the transitive material process: kuchoma kanchiri (to burn brassieres) which portrays women as Actors, acting intentionally upon the Goal (brassieres) to deconstruct the traditional view about the inferior position of women. Giving women the participant role of Actor puts the onus of liberation, as well as challenging of discourses which promote control and domination in terms of gender, on the women.

Of interest in this analysis are the verbal processes in which Lulu is inscribed as a Sayer. Verbal processes are ‘actions of saying’. In this excerpt the woman is a Sayer in the verbal process: waliposema (when they said). Although waliposema (when they said) may be said to ascribe less agency to the woman, what is most significant in this verbal clause is the Verbiage. Biblia ipitiwe upya ili kupunguza mwelekeo wa kumpendela mwanamke (the Bible to be revised so as to reduce the inclination to patriarchy). Mwaniki’s study (2011) reveals that Biblical scriptures are used to justify and sustain male dominance and female subordination. Revising the Bible implicitly means deconstructing the meanings imbued in the linguistic choices about what it means to be a man or a woman. This is a way of
challenging discourses with patriarchal societal values that portray women as subservient to men. Evidently, an alternative reading of discourse on gender relations through revision of Bible would challenge the dominant traditional discourses that perpetuate discrimination against women.

Notice also the verbal clause: *akalalamikia hali ya kugeuzwa pambo tu la nyumbani na mumewe ambaye alikuwa amepandwa na pepo wa mali* (she complained about being turned into a house ornament by her husband who had been possessed by the spirit of wealth). As a Sayer, Lulu is contesting the objectification of women as emphasized in the metaphorical naming of women as a house ornament which implicitly locates the woman’s position in the domestic sphere, as a tool for the husband to gaze at. Notice also that as a Sayer in another verbal process: *akalalamika* (she complained) whose Verbiage is: ‘*Pipo you have just married me, you have not owned me*’. Lulu offers yet another new reading to discourses of conservative gender power relations that project the woman as one of the material resources that a man owns. Seemingly, Lulu’s Verbiage is contesting the status quo, calling for what Lazar (2005, 145) terms as ‘egalitarian discourse or gender power relations of parity with an equitable, fluid and mutual access to ways of being.

It is interesting to investigate the mental process: *akachukizwa na wivu wa mumewe…. unaotokana na nia yake ya kumdhibiti.* (she was disgusted by her husband’s jealousy… which was occasioned by his intention to control her…) in which Lulu is cast as a Senser and her husband’s jealousy as a Phenomenon. Mosha’s study of discursive construction of gender-based violence in Kiswahili novels (2013:94) notes that men’s jealousy against women is related to men’s sense of possessiveness and control over women. This notion is
in this context highlighted by Lulu as one of the Phenomena that triggers her disgust. Disgust is not just a mental process of reaction to jealousy but a way of contesting this conservative gender power relationship. Lulu also contests her husband’s pressure to have a baby. The expectation of a woman to get a child is discursively constructed in this excerpt as a form of male dominance on women. Lulu’s discourse reveals that the sole purpose of a woman in marriage is not to procreate; a discourse which stands in sharp contrast with Kenzi’s discourse in chapter two and three of this work which depicts child bearing as a primary determinant of female identity. What is more significant is that although Lulu does not necessarily say that she will not get a child, she contests her husband’s overt marking of power and goes on to wield interactional power through argumentation (Unaitwa Nani? P.209). She uses her knowledge of the happenings in her society to present her option (of waiting) as authentic as evidenced by her rhetorical questions: Hajasikia kitu kinachojulikana kama post retirement child bearing? (He has not heard of something called post retirement child bearing?). Na kile kisa cha yule mwanamke aliyempata mtoto akiwa na umri wa miaka sitini ushei...? (And that case of that woman who got a child when she was sixty years plus…?) (p. 209). The above rhetorical questions, which act as reprimands, position the husband (Pipo) as lacking crucial information which Lulu provides, thus casting Lulu as more powerful in this interaction. In fact in the entire conversation (Unaitwa Nani? P. 209-210), Lulu employs the strategy of monologue; holds the floor for a considerable time and plays the expert (Coates 2004: 134). Her questions presuppose a vast knowledge of societal issues (which her husband seems not to have). She uses them to not only play the expert, but also to silence her husband’s opinion, and indeed the dominant gender ideology (discussed in chapter two of this work), and foreground her view that getting a baby is not a
significant marker of female identity. And it appears that she manages because her husband later remains silent about the issue throughout Lulu’s argumentation.

Of significance in this analysis is the corporate identity of this chama (group) of Lulu and her friends. Lulu is the only member who has a husband. Arguably, having a husband alienates Lulu from the group since she lacks one semantic feature (see Palmer 1976 for semantic features) pertinent to the membership of this group: + divorced or – husband. Separating from her husband ascribes to her two types of power: attaining full identity of her chama (group) and freedom from repressive power. Indeed her colleagues have already gained this kind of power as evidenced by the naming of the material clause: walishajikung’uta waume zao (they had already shaken –off their husbands), instead of: “They have separated from their husbands”. Walishajikung’uta (they had already shaken off) is a naming strategy aimed at negative representation. It is a negative material process which can encode three meanings. Firstly marriage is repressive as an institution (one shakes off something which is not desirable). Seemingly women feel that the only way they can wield power is by being separated from their husbands. Secondly men are victims of women’s selfishness. And thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, the narrator, and by extension the masculine gender, views divorce as a threat to men’s institutionalized power, hence the pejorative naming of divorce. It is interesting to interrogate what Lulu does later after separation.

Excerpt 13

alitoka kwenda kuwasaka wanyama, wakati mwanamke anawatunza watoto na nyumba, na kuisha kuwa ishara ya ufuaji na utumiaji na mwanamume awe kazini na kwa njia hii ave ishara ya uchumaji na utafutaji, imepita. “Siku hizi hata wanaume wanajifunga mbeleko na kubeba watoto majani.” akasema. (P. 211)

This time his Lulu had already entered into another phase of life. She continued with her campaigns of emphasizing the importance of women being able to sustain themselves. That, that era of a woman sitting at home like an idiot, or in her words, like a hen incubating eggs, to depend on a man as if she is living in the era of hunting where the man went out to look for animals while the woman was taking care of children and the house, and ended up being a sign of washing or consuming and the man to be at work and this way to be a sign of earning and looking for money or wealth is gone. “These days even men tie baby carriers and carry babies on the roads,” she said.

In excerpt 13, Lulu wields power interpersonally by being the addresser or transmitter of knowledge as well as being the carrier of that knowledge. She uses this knowledge to influence the perceptions of her addressee and by extension her readers on gender role re-signification. She expresses concern for autonomy and determination (for women) to take responsibility for their own life. The excerpt manifests the presence of two contending discourses: discourse of conservative gender relations and the discourse of egalitarian gender relations (Lazar 2005: 140) or what Magalhães (2005: 181) calls co-existence of old and new identities. Discourses of conservative gender relations emphasize gender differentiation and inequality. They perpetuate the stereotypical role of women as mothers and house makers (Sahragard and Davatgarzadeh 2010:69). This discourse also perpetuates the stereotypical role of men as heads of households and providers. Kumtegemea (to depend on) for instance, casts women as Beneficiaries of the husband’s material processes: going out and looking for animals; confirming Magalhães (2005:183) notion that traditional discourse constitutes women’s identity in the domestic sphere and that of men in the public
sphere. In the excerpt, only men identify with public sphere through working as evidenced in the circumstantial relational process: *awe kazini* (to be at work). The discourse of conservative gender relations thus portrays the man as the producer, actively involved in material processes that transform both his life and that of his family, as amplified by the relational clause, to *be a sign of earning and looking for money or wealth*, in which the man is inscribed as more of an Actor than a Carrier of attributes.

This excerpt also presents a discourse of parity. Notice the material clause: *Siku hizi hata wanaume wanajifunga mbeleko na kubeba watoto majiani* (These days even men tie baby carriers and carry babies on the roads). Interrogating the clause interpersonally, one can argue that in terms of modality it reveals a categorical assertion; an unmitigated fact that men are involved in roles that were traditionally performed by women. The present continuous tense in which the clause is cast represents this as usual. The use of the adjunct: ‘*hata*’ (even) presupposes that although it is not normative for men to undertake nurturing role, there are men who perform this role. This confirms Lazar’s (2005: 146) notion of father as an equal parent; a joint participant in the process of nurturing. Carrying the baby or cradling is expressive of care and emotion which traditionally were seen as a prerogative of women and motherhood. It should however be noted that this is the only discourse in the entire text which largely foregrounds men performing this kind of feminine gender. This makes it not normative for men to be active social actors in the domestic sphere, hence perpetuates the dominant ideology that makes men dominate women in the public sphere. It is however notable that Lulu’s discourse is consistent with Ndambuki’s (2010: 234) notion that the merry-go-round and women group emerge as a form of resistance to the patriarchal
system which locates a lot of power in the husband and prioritizes women for their ‘natural’ reproductive and nurturing roles as mothers (Lazar 2005:143). It can also be argued that, although Lulu’s Chama (group) may have started as a merry-go-round, it can be categorized as a feminist group actively engaged in championing women’s emancipation agenda. The excerpts below examine other forms of contestation in Unaitwa Nani?.

Excerpt 14

1. Akaambiwa hao wanaume wamejia moja pale; kumrithi “Hiyo nira siwezi kujifunga.” Wakachemkwa na nyongo... “Tunasikia unajiita Lilly, basi utuja sisi ni jua la kulikausha hilo ua. Sisi ni kiangazi kitakachopasua ardhi ulipoota mmea huo wa maua.” Bu! Matusi... Nyakor halegezi kamba... (P. 81)

She was told that those men have come there for one reason; to inherit her. “That yoke I can’t tie myself”. They became annoyed...” We hear you call yourself Lilly, then you will know we are the sun which dries that flower. We are the heat which will crack the ground where that flower plant grew.” Bu! Insults... Nyakor does not recede.

Analysis in chapter 2, 3 and 4 revealed that the dominant gender ideology in Unaitwa Nani? ascribes the power or identity of protection to the man. Women are therefore expected to submit to the protection of men. It appears that in the above excerpt, with the death of the protector, the power is conferred to another male through wife inheritance. However, Nyakor contests this socially ascribed identity through the Verbiage: Hiyo nira siwezi kujifunga (that yoke I can’t tie myself). Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (2010:1729) defines yoke as rough treatment or something that restricts one’s freedom and makes life difficult to bear. When two people are yoked together, they are forced into a close relationship. Nyakor’s response constructs the elders’ Verbiage (demand for her to be inherited) as
manifestation of repressive power. The elders’ behavioural process: *wakachemkwa na nyongo* (they were annoyed) contests Nyakor’s seemingly new formed identity. Of interest is the elders’ modulated declarative statement: *tunasikia unajiita* Lilly (we hear you call yourself Lilly), a proposition meant to mitigate Nyakor’s proposition that she is Lilly, casting her claim as not only hearsay, but also her identity as self professed. What is more interesting is the elders’ choice of Lilly to denote a flower and not the character Lilith9 in the novel. In CDA and SFL perspective, the choice made by an interlocutor within the context of other potential choices is significant (Young and Harrison 2004; Graham 2004); these choices, as Coates (2004:16) asserts, are particularly significant in our construction and re-construction of ourselves as gendered subjects. Lilly in the context of the excerpt is a contraction of Lilith, a name of a female character in a book that Nyakor read when she was in school. Lilith became Nyakor’s role model as shown in example 2 below:

2. *Kilimhusu mwanamke aliyejulikana kama Lilith. Alikuwa mke wa kwanza wa mwanamume fulani...Lilith alipoona mumewe anataka kumgeuza mtumwa, wa kumfanyia kila kitu wakati yeye anafurahia tu, kama alivyowaona wanaume wengi wanaafanya, akishiribishwa matunda yapukutike mtini, akamgomea. Nyakor akaona huu ni ujasiri wa kupigiwa mfano; ujasiri hata wa kuigwa na msichana mdogo aliyeshewa akiinukia kama ye. (P. 77).*

9 In Judaic and Hebrew mythology Lilith is believed to have been Adam’s first wife. Lilith refused to assume a subservient role to Adam, seeing herself as equal. One such argument occurred during sexual intercourse when Adam demanded he takes a recumbent structure while Lilith lay below. Lilith contested this. Adam claimed that Lilith is only fit to be in the bottom position while he was to be the superior one. Lilith invoked the name of God and took off from Eden, deserting Adam. Lilith today is considered as the first feminist, and male dominated religious institutions of the world are blamed for demonizing her (she is said to have mated with demons and given birth to countless demons (Graves & Patai, 1964) )
It was about a woman known as Lillith. She was the first wife of a certain man. When Lillith saw her husband wanted to turn her into a slave, who does everything while he is just enjoying, the way she saw many men doing, waiting for fruits to fall from a tree, she rebelled against him. Nyakor felt that this was an exceptional bravery; a bravery even to be emulated by a young growing girl like her.

The intertextual reference to this story is significant. The material clause: *kumgeuza mtumwa* (turning her into a slave) construes a relationship of dominance. The naming, ‘slave’ presupposes a relationship of owner-owned. A slave is a person who is owned by another one and forced to work for them (*Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* 2010:1396). Lilith’s husband and by extension men reproduce dominance by repeating acts of repressive power in their social activities. It is however significant to note that the Lilly (flower) which is chosen by elders as a referent of Nyakor, and by extension other women, and I quote Mills (2003), is soft, passive and non-threatening. This kind of naming arguably connotes vulnerability and power deficit or absence of power. Notice that the elders are also likened to parts of nature. However, the choice of *sun* and *heat* constructs them as Actors acting intentionally on a Goal (Nyakor or the woman) to subdue or dominate her. The material processes *kulikausha* (to dry it) and *kitakachopasua* (which will crack) ideationally construe asymmetry where the flower and ground are Goals and the sun and heat Actors. This discursively depicts men as aggressive entities who have repressive power over women.

Further, referring to Nyakor as Lilly (flower) can be said to locate women’s power in their appearance or beauty, while by the elders positioning themselves as the sun or heat, they are ratifying and reinforcing the notion that physical strength and aggressiveness is an attribute of men. It is therefore evident that the elders’ speech supports the dominance approach
which interprets linguistic variation in women’s and men’s speech in terms of men’s dominance and women’s subordination (Coates 2004:6). The elders cast themselves as more powerful than women through the kind of naming they give themselves. This notion is reproduced in other Kiswahili literary genres as exemplified in the following proverb; *Mume ni moto wa koko, usipowaka utafuka* (A man is like a jungle fire, if it does not burn it will smoulder) .This metaphorical expression underscores the aggressiveness of men.

### 5.5.2 Argumentation strategies

This section analyses how interlocutors use argumentation to justify their positions and hence represent themselves as powerful. Defining argumentation, Linde (1993:94), cited in Barât (2005:209) notes:

> Argumentation is an interactional means of explanation that establishes causality in narratives. The rhetoricity of argumentation consists in its use ‘not to arrive at the truth – the role that formal logic claims for itself- but… to demonstrate that propositions that may appear dubious, false, problematic, or stupid do in fact have justifications that should lead to their addressee’s believing them.

In the same vein, Barât (*ibid*) posits that argumentation is a relational linguistic device for establishing the truth of propositions about which the speakers themselves are not comfortable. Argumentation is the linguistic device for defending propositions whose validity the addressers feel their addressee has in some way challenged. Argumentation involves influencing addressees through reasoned discourse, to think, act or believe as we wish them to think, act or believe. Argumentation is significant in the analysis of power relations, since discursive strategies employed by a person or social groups to present ideas or persons can justify and legitimize discrimination of others. (Wodak 2001:73). They can
also suppress some ideas and amplify others. Analysis in this section benefits more from the following notions on argumentation adopted from Wodak and Meyer (2001:73), Bloor and Bloor 2007: 68-69), and Barât (2005: 205). First the speaker makes his or her case or proposition, then there is justification of positive or negative attribution, and finally the speaker positions his or her point of view through style and arrangement of speech. Examine the following examples from Unaitwa Nani?:

Excerpt 15

1. “Mambo gani haya?”
3. “Huoni aibu?”
4. “Uhuru hauna aibu. Kwa nini niyabanie mawazo yangu ndani yachipukizie kwenye ndoto tu kwa kuwa jamii jamii iliyogetwa pingu na mila imeyakataza? Wewe hapo nakwambia tuwe huru kuufurahia ubinadamu wetu, ... lakini.... Jiangalie, unajizika... kwenye mabuku yako.... Unaiishi kama kwamba utakuwa na nafasi nyingine ya kuishi... Unaishi wewe ni Pedro Jose Donoso wa EL Cuerpo del Deseo ufe na urudi tena kuendelea na maisha yako?”
5. “Truvessa lakini...?”
6. “Lakini nini? Wewe ni Profesa mzinga, na unavyodai umesoma sana; hujasikia wasemayo Wafaransa kuwa 'l'amour est l'enfant de la liberté'... Mapenzi ni zao la uhuru. Mapenzi si zao la kudhibitiwa” (Kama mtu anayejizungumzia.) Kinawapata nini wakuwa walisoma? Elimu inapaswa kukuflanya mzungu mwa mawazo kwa mtazamo tofauti na wa maeneo alaa! Uweze hata kuuelewa mtazamo wa mtazamo wa maeneo... Hukusikia kuna kisa cha profesa mwingine, profesora mzinga, tena hata profesora wa saikolojia – hata siwezi kuamini, aliyemfukuza mkewe kwa kuwa hajifungui watoto wa kiume?”
7. “Lakini hatuwezi tu kuyakimbilia mageni...”
8. “Hapana. Hibo ni chronological primitivism!... La. Profesa, hapo ulipo hujasoma Octavio Paz katika The Labyrinth of Solitude, na kutambua kuwa kuishi kwenye mawazo kwenye mawazo kwenye mawazo... Hata majina tunaitwa, hatujiiti!”

10. “*Mambo yamebadilika siku hizi Profesa... Hata watu wanaenda Swinger Clubs wanakobadilishana wake au waume ili kutia ili kwenye mahusiano yao yaliyokosa ladha. Ukale hauna nafasi tena katika maisha yetu!***

11. “*Truvessa... Hizo ni tabia za Ulaya na Marekani... Watu ambao wamekosa mwelekeo na kuyachoma maghala ya utamaduni... Na wala usidhani uhuru wao wa kujifanyia wanavyotaka umewasaidia... Ndoa zao zavunjika kila uchao... wanahitaji wanasaiikolaji kuishi... Unafikiri jamii yetu itaishi kwenye mahusiano yaliyokosa ladha. Ukale hauna nafasi tena katika maisha yetu!***


1. “What is this?”
2. “What?” I want the freedom of expressing myself and living my thoughts. I like enjoying my dreams without being restrained by expectations of institutions like marriage or culture.”
3. “You are not ashamed?”
4. “Freedom has no shame. Why should I suppress my thoughts and let them sprout in dreams only because the society which has been handcuffed by customs has denied them? I tell you we should be free to enjoy our being humanes!... but... Look at you, you bury yourself... in your books. You live as if you will have another chance to live... Do you think you are Pedro Jose Donoso of *El Cuerpo del Deseo* to die and come back to continue with your life?”
5. “But Truvessa...?”
6. “But what? You are a whole professor, and as you claim you are well read: you have not heard what the French say that, ‘*l’armour est l’enfant de la liberté*’: Love is a product of freedom. Love is not a product of control (Like somebody talking to herself). What gets into educated people? Education is supposed to make you see issues in a different modern viewpoint, ala! To be able to even understand another person’s viewpoint... You did not hear the case of another professor, a whole professor, and not just a professor, a professor of psychology – I cannot even believe it, who chased away his wife because she does not give birth to male children?”
7. “But we can’t just run after foreign issues...”
8. “No! That is Chronological Primitivism. No. No professor, haven’t you read Octavio Paz in *The Labyrinth of Solitude* and realized that living itself entails exaggeration, breaking conventions and rules, going to the climax to experiment with feelings themselves? May be we have lived for
many years in a state of being controlled to an extent of losing our ability to express ourselves in our own viewpoint… Even names we are called. We don’t call ourselves!”

9. Purupesa stared. Between them there is not only age gap but also a difference in viewpoint…

10. “Things are changing these days professor…. Even people go to Swinger Clubs where they exchange wives or husbands so as to spice their relationships which have lost taste. That traditional viewpoint has no place in our lives anymore.”

11. “Truvessa…. Those are habits from Europe and America…. People who have lost direction and burnt the reserves of their traditions… And don’t think the freedom they have of doing what they like has helped them…. their marriages are breaking everyday…. they need psychologists to live…. do you think our society will end up with those habits of having test tube babies….?”

12. “There is nothing foreign there.”…

13. Purupesa thought about those words. Some were heavy to an extent of even surprising him. But Purupesa decided to forgive her.

Before analysing the excerpt, it is significant to explain its context in Unaitwa Nani?.

Purupesa and Kogalo have gone to Avocado Wasp where women are entertaining men (see also chapter 4 of this thesis). Purupesa realizes, to his dismay, that Truvessa, his wife, is one of the women. When Truvessa finally gets home they argue; Truvessa blaming Purupesa for trailing her and Purupesa blaming Truvessa for deceiving him. Thereafter argumentation ensues, each one of them, specifically Truvessa, trying to defend her position. Weiss and Wodak (2003) argue that language is not powerful in itself but gains power through use by powerful people. Analysing Truvessa’s discourse, one realizes that she is not only expressive but she also employs various rhetorical skills to exercise interactional power as well as to impose her world view over her husband. Utterances 2 and 4 portray her as one who commands the communicative event. She gives an opinion and backs it up with well argued propositions. For instance, by saying that she wants freedom to express and live her thoughts without being constrained by tradition, she challenges her husband’s disapproval of
her dancing in *Avocado Wasp* and defends her identity as an entertainer. Her choice of rhetorical question: *Kwa nini niyabanie mawazo yangu?* (Why should I suppress my thoughts) acts both as a reprimand and an accusation to her husband for drawing upon the dominant gender ideology to control her. The question also metaphorically constructs her as actively involved in material process, through verbal action, to transform her life. Notice also how Truvessa navigates her argument, by narrowing the distance between her and her husband by using the inclusive pronouns: ‘we’ and ‘our’ in ‘*tuwe huru kuufurahia ubinadamu wetu* (to be free to enjoy our being humanes). By employing this strategy Truvessa shows Purupesa that she is speaking on behalf of herself and Purupesa. The reduction of distance between her and Purupesa is an argumentative strategy aimed at persuading him to embrace her point of view.

Of significance also is Truvessa’s evaluation of the husband’s material process of ‘reading’ (utterance 4). The mood of her proposition is not so much meant to reproach Purupesa for burying himself so much in books to an extent of forgetting to live, than to validate Truvessa’s involvement in entertainment. She even demonstrates further how well she can argue her case by intertextually referring Purupesa to a fiction character who died and came back to life, her aim being to show her husband that this can only happen in the world of fantasy. One can argue here that her speech is even more powerful; the quotation makes her claim unmitigated. Interpersonally, she is not only an addresser but also a teacher.

It is significant to note how Truvessa seems to call upon her vast knowledge of issues to assume interactional power. In utterance 6 she, projects her husband as lacking basic
knowledge about proper gender relationships in marriage, despite the fact that he is a scholar. The use of, “you claim” is meant to show the husband that there is some knowledge he needs to fill. She further refers her husband to how the French evaluate love, the dominant reading being, to change his world view about gender power relations in marriage. The relational clauses: *Mapenzi ni zao la uhuru’*, (Love is a product of freedom) and *Mapenzi si zao la kudhibitiwa* (Love is not a product of control) are given in apposition to each other. By these clauses, Truvessa negatively evaluates what she seems to construe as repressive power (*kudhibitiwa*—being controlled) and hence supports her statement or view that if her husband loves her he should set her free. In the same vein, she asserts power by seemingly drawing on what she presents as shared knowledge or given information about the identity of an educated person. This is highlighted by the choice of the interrogative: “What gets into educated people?” This presupposes a frame that the addresser has of educated men. She goes on to support her proposition by seemingly generalizing certain attributes for educated men. This can be seen as prescribing appropriate behaviour for educated men. Truvessa’s statements do not only show reproach for Purupesa for contravening the frame, but also they challenge the discourse of conservative gender power relations. Her stand on this appropriate frame of educated men is further justified by intertextually referring Purupesa to a professor like him who enacted and reproduced such conservative discourse through overtly exercising repressive power (he chases his wife because of not giving birth to male children). Here Truvessa uses the strategy of narrativization to legitimize her stand. As Fairclough (2003:99) argues, narrativization provides evidence of acceptable, appropriate, or preferential behaviour. Truvessa’s contestation of discourses of male dominance is further amplified through negative
evaluation of the professor who chased his wife, as evidenced through her Verbiage, “A whole professor, and not just a professor, a professor of psychology – I cannot even believe it.”

Notice also Truvessa’s employment of discourse strategy of extended development. Throughout utterance 2, 4 and 6, she dominates the floor by employing report talk (Tannen, 1993) in which she positions or reinforces her point of view and silences her husband’s view. Apart from stating her opinion about the need to reconstruct gender identity and gender power relations, she develops it by backing it up with what can be taken as authoritative quotations. Her long turns reduce her husband’s responses to short, seemingly rhetorical questions (see utterances 3, 5) which Truvessa rebutts with even stronger arguments as emphasized in utterance 8 and 10. In these utterances, Truvessa, in seemingly the subject position of a teacher, again appeals to her vast knowledge to re-shape her husband’s perception about gender identity. While the professor seems to want to sustain the discourse of conservative gender power relations (utterance 7) by resisting change, Truvessa is quick to rebutt his notion by dismissing it as chronological primitivism (utterance 8). She further draws on professional discourse to authenticate her claim on the need to restructure the existing gender power relations. Quoting Octavio Paz in The Labyrinth of Solitude projects Truvessa’s claim as a shared knowledge, which the husband ought to have, rather than her subjective opinion. She further discursively highlights re-signification in gender relations where people even exchange spouses. This to her seems to be freedom – which is a form of power.
Purupesa’s response to Truvessa’s proposition (utterance 11) is even more interesting. This is the only incidence in their conversation that he holds the floor for a longer time. In what can be termed as negative representation of ‘other’, he lays down the attributes of Europeans and Americans who wield power by doing what they like. His argumentation arguably links negative attributes such as failure to cope with challenge, and instability or insecurity of marriages with those who challenge the dominant or hegemonic discourses of masculinity and femininity. It is worth noting that labelling social actors negatively is an argumentative strategy (Wodak 2001:173), which in this case emphasizes Purupesa’s proposition, and hence de-emphasizes Truvessa’s. By this strategy, Purupesa uses, and I quote Coates (2004:216), conservative discourse which emphasizes values and meanings where the status quo is cherished. However, it is evident that in this communicative event Truvessa emerges as the most powerful. Her verbal and mental dexterity seems to accrue to her a lot of interactional power. Her extensive use of monologue, which has traditionally been viewed as characteristic of men’s talk (Coates 2004:134), ideationally ascribes to her the role of expert, interpersonally reducing Purupesa to a recipient of information. It is also notable that Truvessa’s ability to display knowledge argumentatively surpasses that of her husband’s (who is a professor) as evidenced in the way he is portrayed as a Senser in the mental process of reaction (affection): *kumstaajabisha* (astonished) where Truvessa’s strong arguments are inscribed as the Phenomenon which impinges upon Purupesa as a Senser. This astonishment implies that Truvessa has earned more respect from her husband and that makes Truvessa’s arguments seem indisputable, hence positioning her as more authoritative (powerful) in this communicative event. Indeed, she seems to have convinced her husband
to her point of view since he decides to forgive her. Excerpt 16 presents yet another type of argumentation in *Unaitwa Nani*?.

**Excerpt 16**

1. Sasi,... akaruka juu... “Mbona ulienda bila ya kunieleza? Kwa nini unanichunga? Ndiyo maana hata siku hizi unaangalia simu yangu kila wakati... Nilijua kuwa hukunipenda tangu zamani. Kumbe ni kweli alivyosema mama, kuwa wanaume si watu wa kuaminiwa?”
2. Kaminda Mwana’aa Pasta akamkumbusha kuwa kama kuna aliyemwendea kinyume mwenzake ni yeve aliyemhadaa...

4. ‘Kwa nini?’
5. Kigugumizi cha Kaminda Mwana’aa Pasta kinachompata awapo na hasira kikamjia na kumnyima kauli.

1. Sasi... jumped... Why did you go without informing me? Why are you trailing me? That is why even these days you go through my phone every time... I knew you did not love me from long time ago. So it is true what my mother said that men are not to be trusted?”
2. Kaminda son of Pastor reminded her that if there was anyone who had betrayed the other it was her who deceived him.
3. Sasi said that what she did was to give birth, what could she have done after she had been impregnated? “Did you want me to abort?” And about her? What she did was to hide information, and hiding information is not lying.
4. ‘Why?’ Kaminda son of Pastor’s stammering which gets him when he is annoyed, came and denied him speech. For every one word he uttered, Sasi returned with ten. He can’t compete with his wife in talking.

The above conversation is triggered by Kaminda Mwana’a Pasta’s (Kaminda son of Pastor’s) visit to Sasi’s rural home. He discovers that Sasi has a daughter she had not informed him about before their marriage. On return home, Sasi notices Kaminda Mwana’a Pasta’s change. Through singing a song that intertextutally refers Kaminda to the story of
Samson and Delilah (Unaitwa Nani? P. 172). Sasi manages to persuade him to tell her the cause of his anger. Sasi uses her verbal skill to defend herself and cast her husband and the father of her daughter as the ones to blame for her state. In utterance 1 Sasi uses rhetorical questions which cast her husband metaphorically as an Actor of negative material actions which affect her as a Goal. She shifts the blame (of not telling her husband about the daughter) from her to her husband through the following rhetorical questions which are both reprimands and accusations: Kwa nini ulienda bila kunieleza? Kwa nini unanichunga? (Why did you go without telling me? Why are you trailing me?). She further avoids talking about the issue of her daughter, and again shifts the blame to her husband through the mental clause: Nilijua kwamba hukunipenda... (I knew that you did not love me...), which is geared towards impinging upon her husband’s conscience so as to defocus his thoughts from his wife’s deceit. The rhetorical question: So it is true what my mother said that men are not people to be trusted?, generalizes on the negative attributes of men, locating lack of trust to the masculine gender and arguably absolving her of culpability in this situation.

Notice also the argumentative strategies Sasi employs in utterance 3 to defend her position. The thematic equative or pseudo cleft sentence (Halliday 1985: 42-43): Alichofanya ni kuzaa (What she did was to give birth.) allows Sasi to structure her message in such a way that she foregrounds the doing by presenting it as the Theme and backgrounds the action itself by relegating it to the Rheme. This trivializes her giving birth; it is now a non-issue, hence perhaps she should not be blamed. She further justifies her position through the rhetorical question: Angefanya nini baada ya kutungwa mimba? (What would she have done after being impregnated?), which acts as a reprimand to Kaminda.
Notice that this rhetorical question is a material clause where Sasi is inscribed as a Goal. Although the Actor is deleted, it can be retrieved through inference with reference to background knowledge that biologically it is men who impregnate. The man is thus construed as an Agent acting intentionally on Sasi. Sasi on the other hand construes herself as an innocent victim, hence exonerates herself from the blame. This metaphorically names the man as a fiend, underscoring his responsibility in Sasi’s present condition. Notice also the moral issue raised by Sasi’s rhetorical question: Did you want me to abort?, a reprimand which serves to act on Kaminda Mwana’a Pasta’s conscience, (he comes from a strong religious background), to remind him that abortion is immoral and hence persuade him to realize that Sasi was just a victim of circumstances, hence she should not be seen as culpable.

It is interesting to note how Sasi employs euphemism to dissimulate her agency in the act of deceit. Ndambuki (2010:109) notes that euphemism disguises unpleasant actions, events or social relations and re-describes them positively. The choice of: kubania taarifa (to hide information) in place of, kudanganya (to lie), is designed to suppress her husband’s negative evaluation of her action, and legitimize her deceit. Notice also that Sasi displays interactional power through the intensification of her verbal expressions. Sasi uses more words than Kaminda whose behavioural process: kigugumizi (stammering) acts as an impediment to verbal expression; hence portraying him as less powerful in this linguistic encounter. Notably, a delicate examination of excerpt 1 and 2 reveals that both Truvessa and Sasi hold power in their capacity in verbal skills. They use discourse strategies not only to justify their positions, but also to silence their husbands’ perceptions.
5.6 Conclusion

Analysis in this section has revealed that both men and women employ different discursive strategies to contest power and reconstruct identity. Two contrasting discourses are evident in this analysis: The dominant discourse of conservative gender power relations which seeks to sustain gender power relations which privilege men and under-privilege women, and the discourse of egalitarian gender power relations which emphasize parity. The study has established that transitivity patterns position men as institutional and political leaders and relegate women to subservient positions. Male participants position themselves in processes that communicate their traditionally ascribed identity of aggressiveness and courage. It was also noted that Wamitila offers an alternative discourse that portray women in powerful positions as in charge of social control. Further, women have used different forms of action to critique dominant discourses and societal practices that relegate them to less powerful positions. For instance, through women groups, women have offered alternative discourses which deconstruct their traditional gender identity, discursively positioning themselves as Actors engaged in material processes such as business ventures which were traditionally a preserve of men, hence subverting the patriarchal system that reduces them to Beneficiaries of men’s material actions.

A significant finding of this chapter is that the more powerful participants in a communicative event tended to negotiate more interactional power. They held longer turns, contributed more, constrained the contributions of the less powerful, and hence managed to emphasize their point of view while de-emphasizing that of their interlocutors. It was also
interesting to note that in some contexts women seemed to wield more interactional power than men through their verbal dexterity. This deconstructs some feminist linguists’ view that men have more capacity in argumentation than women, and that women avoid the role of expert in conversation (see Coates (2004) for a more detailed discussion on male and female communication styles). Further, the chapter has demonstrated that women seem overzealous in their contestation and enactment of power. This can partly be explained by the notion that in patriarchy, positions of power (material and symbolic) are generally more often held by men. Women are therefore more likely to contest so as to transform the social structures that subordinate them to men. What is even more significant is that it seems that the only way women can subvert male dominance completely is through engaging in radical actions such as formation of feminist groups, and more significantly getting divorced from the institution of marriage where patriarchal gender role signification that perpetuates male dominance and female subordination is enacted. Chapter six discusses the key findings of the study and offers suggestions for further research.
CHAPTER SIX
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

6.1 Introduction
This chapter summarizes the major findings of the study and further draws conclusions and implications from the research findings. The chapter commences with a summary of aims and methods that were adopted in the study and then proceeds to highlight the key findings of the research. Conclusions drawn from the study are then presented, and implications for further research thereafter given. The chapter closes with recommendations for further research.

6.2 Summary of Aims and Methods
The specific focus of the study was explicating how transitivity patterns, mood and modality structures and lexical choices relate to the socio-cultural environment of the target text by interrogating the kinds of gender ideologies, gender identities and gender power relations indexed through the said linguistic choices. Four overarching arguments guided this study. Firstly our words, written or spoken are used to communicate a broad sense of meanings, and that the meaning interlocutors convey through those words is identified by their immediate social, political and historical contexts. Secondly, speakers’ words are never neutral, but rather they are carriers of the ideology that reflects and supports the interests of the speakers. Thirdly, institutions and institutional leaders play a significant role in shaping and legitimizing discourses and social relations since the words of those in power are often taken as unmitigated truth. In other words, the discourse of the dominant ideology is
emphasized while that of the less powerful is de-emphasized. Fourthly, while discourses can be used for assertion of power and control, they can also be used to critique, contest and even subvert the same power relations. In line with the above arguments, the study sought to answer the following research questions:

i) How do the male and female characters in *Unaitwa Nani*? project their gender through their speech?

ii) What lexicogrammatical choices and discourse strategies do the male and female interlocutors use to enact and contest power in *Unaitwa Nain*??

iii) How do the lexicogrammatical choices and discourse strategies enhance gender inequality in *Unaitwa Nani*??

iv) Is power and gender identity always overtly marked in *Unaitwa Nani*??

Qualitative research design was employed in this study. Data was obtained from *Unaitwa Nani*?. The study also made reference to other literary works by Wamitila, as well as literary works by other Kenyan and non-Kenyan literary writers. The study was informed by the theoretical underpinnings of Critical Discourse Analysis; more specifically Fairclough’s (1989, 2000, 1995, 2010) model which views language as an important tool of reflecting, reinforcing and sustaining asymmetrical power relations. Halliday’s model of Systemic Functional Linguistics (1985, 1994, 2004) served as an adjunct theory that provided the linguistic tools for analysis. Three notions of Systemic Functional Grammar formed the basis of linguistic analysis: the transitivity patterns and lexical choices, mood and modality structures, and the thematic structure. Fairclough’s (1989, 2000 1995, 2010) three tier model of analysis was adopted to describe, interpret and explain the lexicogrammatical
choices and discourse strategies used in the target text and unmask the ideological assumptions about gender identity and gender power relations hidden in them. This means that the study was descriptive in nature, focusing on both micro and macro discourse analysis. At the micro or text level, analysis was hinged on investigation of transitivity patterns through the choices of process types and lexicon in order to interrogate the gender role significations ideationally represented.

Further mood and modality structures were interrogated in order to investigate the interpersonal representation of both male and female social actors. Analysis of mood and modality was done in order to investigate whose views were interpersonally represented as more authoritative and whose were mitigated by use of modal markers. At the micro level also, the thematic structure was investigated to a limited extent in order to reveal which notions about gender were foregrounded by being cast as the Theme of the clause and which ones were defocused by being the Rheme. Other discursive resources such as argumentation, narrativization, turn allocation, summarizing and extended development of topic were also discussed to a limited extent. This allowed for the interrogation of whose views were emphasized and whose views were suppressed. At the macro level, the study interrogated the types of gender ideologies, gender identities and gender power relations indexed and contested by the choices made at the micro level as well as how the gender ideologies acted as sanctions to specific gender’s linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour.
6.3 Key Findings of the study

Investigation of the linguistic representation of gender ideologies revealed two contending discourses: the discourse of male dominance and female subordination which are discursively co-articulated and mutually reinforcing in a manner that serves to legitimize and naturalize male dominance and female dependence over male. Transitivity patterns in the selected representative excerpts of the text also demonstrated that women and men have agency in different domains. Through the use of material, mental and relational processes, Wamitila has constructed men in agentive positions as in charge of social control. Men are largely inscribed as Actors in material processes which depict them as authoritative institutional leaders (both family and political). They are also Sensors of Phenomena which have to do with accomplishment of feats. In the same vein, through semantic encoding, men’s identity is ideationally linked with ownership. Men are also inscribed as Carriers of attributes such as physical strength and cognitive or mental capacity which depict them as in control of their environment. In the material processes where men are cast in positions of leadership, women are depicted as Goals who constantly need men’s leadership and protection, both in the domestic and public spheres.

Discourse in *Unaitwa Nani?* is characterized by linguistic choices that figure the personality of women as inferior, and reinforce their subordinate position in the society. Material processes for instance, cast the woman as devoid of leadership skills. She is depicted as, either unsuccessful in political leadership, or as a Beneficiary of man’s skills in leadership if she has to succeed in leadership. This kind of disenabling discourse ideologically excludes women from political leadership. Further, interrogation of material processes in which the
woman is inscribed as an Actor reveals that her identity is linked with the traditional roles of servitude, wielding power as an Agent of procreation, nurturing and sustenance of the family. Both female and male characters reproduce this identity through their linguistic choices. Indeed women seem to take pride in their culturally ascribed role of procreation and nurturing by intertextually referring their interlocutors to incidences where they have contributed to socio-political development by drawing on this identity. They even use linguistic features that lay authentic claim to men’s emotional weakness hence needing nurturing by women. Further, women and men reproduce their roles through transitivity patterns that display discourses of exclusion to those who do not act the culturally ascribed roles. For instance, the study has demonstrated that failure to give birth for women, and failure to provide for the family for men, undermines women’s and men’s identities, leading to discourses that construct them as ‘the other’.

Interrogation of transitivity patterns has also revealed that women are figured as Carriers of attributes that depict them as devoid of physical strength, a representation that forms a basis for their discrimination in tasks that call for physical strength. Further, the transitivity patterns emphasize on the objectified identity of the woman. Her beauty and body parts are topicalised as Phenomena that impinge on men’s feelings as Sensers hence controlling them. As a Senser, the woman is depicted as one who is concerned with feelings, although in specific discourses she uses this character trait to negotiate power by persuading the man to her point of view. She is also inscribed as an Actor of material processes that foreground idiotic and malicious actions that affect the man as a Goal. Naming analysis revealed that the woman is also portrayed as manipulative, exploitative and greedy. She is ideationally
positioned as an Agent of prostitution, acting intentionally on the man, who is cast as Goal or victim of her negative material actions, to rob him of his property. Man’s agency in the material process of prostitution is concealed, further reinforcing the dominant patriarchal ideology that male is the sex which is superior and perfect and so any imperfection in the world must be caused by the woman.

Further, Wamitila’s naming of participants in process types as well as the naming of the process types themselves legitimates patriarchal ideology and reproduces gender power differentials. The naming of the man for instance, as Samson, Adolf and Nikolae, and even Lion, re-emphasizes the traditional notion that locates physical strength, and bravery to the masculine gender. On the other hand, the naming of the woman for instance, metaphorically as a Lilly (flower) emphasizes and reproduces the traditional notion that links femininity with physical weakness. Further, the intertextual reference to Biblical scriptures links the identity of women with evil, deceit and manipulation, ideationally depicting women as exercising control over men through these attributes. The study has also revealed that while men tend to be discursively represented in terms of what they do, their physical strength and professional skills, women tend to be identified in terms of their family ties, and their physical attractiveness. This disseminates the ideology that men are more ‘serious’ actors than women. The study also revealed that Unitika Nani? links female identity with triviality, casting what the author calls their empty unending talk as an Actor that negatively affects men as Goals; and further entrenching the stereotypical social value which define what men do as superior and important, and what women do as inferior and less important.
Interpersonally, analysis of mood and modality has revealed that both women and men use different modes of sentences and modality markers to express power and assert their claims. Imperatives have been largely used as overt markers of power by directing and regulating the behaviour of addressees. Both male and female interlocutors have asserted power through declaratives by being the authors of knowledge and also the transmitters of that knowledge. Interrogatives have been used to assert power and perpetuate ideologies both overtly and covertly by directing the information the addressee is giving and also by representing the addressee’s notions as natural. One of the most significant findings about the interpersonal relations between male and female interlocutors is that in interactions, men largely seem to have more interactional power than women. They use their verbal dexterity to authoritatively assert their claims about their position and that of women in the gender power relations matrix. Their claims are largely supported with authoritative discourse which is largely lacking in women’s propositions even when they have the same professional stature. This can be said to confirm the Feminist Linguists’ (see Coates 2004) view that men’s speech is authoritative while that of women is full of tentativeness, further reinforcing the ideology of male dominance.

The study has also revealed that gender power differentials are hegemonic, that is structures of dominance are maintained through constrained institutional practices and discourses in which unequal gender power relations are represented as natural. The representative excerpts interrogated demonstrated distinct role significations for men and women. These role significations affect the type of power wielded by each gender. Analysis of relational processes and metaphors for instance, revealed that men as fathers are expected to offer
leadership and security and women are expected to submit to this leadership. Women as mothers are also discursively depicted as providers of food security and maternal care. These roles are institutionalized and hence reproduced in institutional discourses such as that of the school, the church and written poetry. The study has demonstrated that social institutions lay sanctions which police the individual actions in such a way that the status quo is not disrupted. For example, *Utenzi wa Mwanakupona (Epic of Mwanakupona)* has been intertextually referred to as a moralizing discourse that not only regulates women’s behaviour, but also legitimizes their subordinate subject position.

The study also revealed that those who disrupt the status quo are liable to repressive and other forms of power. For instance, the man who is unable to provide for his family undermines his power and the woman who cannot give birth not only undermines her identity as a woman but is also alienated by other women. The study has further demonstrated that institutional discourses implicitly socialize children into reproducing their gender roles. Through advisory style for instance, the girl (for instance Kasekesi), is socialized by her father to recognize the man’s authority in the home and to take her subservient position in marriage. This kind of discourse emphasizes and reproduces patriarchal gender relations. Further, through linguistic features such as euphemism repressive male power (through gender violence) is normalized. Gender violence has been linguistically represented as a punishment, or emanating from the woman’s negative material and behavioural processes such as practising witchcraft and being stubborn to her husband. The man is thus positioned as the legitimated Agent of instilling discipline even through violence.
Another key finding of the study is that power, and by extension identity is not just possessed; it is enacted, it is also not uniformly enacted in the target text. Different participants, even of the same gender, have demonstrated different kinds of power and identities which they exercise in varied ways. Linguistic analysis of the selected excerpts has revealed that even among women, there is power asymmetry specifically in terms of cultural privileges and symbolic capital. The dominant discourse of patriarchy for instance, ascribes more power to the woman who gives birth. Similarly the one who gives birth to male children is elevated even higher. In the same vein, women who gain access to education as a symbolic capital have more leverage over the ones who have no access to education discourse.

Further, the study has demonstrated that a participant can have socially ascribed or institutionalized power accruing from his or her institutional role; he or she can also negotiate circumstantial or interactional power through participation in communicative events. For instance, investigation of actual conversation encounters between participants demonstrated differential distribution of discursive resources. Participants with access to prestigious discourse for instance, achieved more interactional effects that are not available to their less powerful interlocutors. It was demonstrated that the more powerful participants in an interaction were not only the ones who decided on the topic, but they also tended to hold longer turns. He or she also directed the flow of information, both through constraining the contributions of the less powerful interlocutors, and also shifting the topic. Consequently, the more powerful participant was able to extensively develop his or her topic in favour of the perceptions about gender identity and gender power relations he or she
wanted to communicate to his addressees; hence managing to constrain the kind of perceptions his interlocutors and indeed readers may have about a specific gender. It was also found that context invariably affected how power is conceived as well as how it is exercised, by constraining the subject positions a participant can occupy in a certain context. For instance, while men exercised power over women in the subject position of husbands, in the hospital context the male patient was constrained by his subject position as a patient, while women exercised power over him in the subject positions of doctor and nurses.

Another major finding of the research is that power is not only enacted in discourse, but it is also restructured and contested through discourse. Linguistic analysis of the selected excerpts revealed that although the dominant discourse seems to authenticate male dominance, this has been challenged through counter discourses. In these counter discourses, women, and by extension the reader is offered an alternative subject position. For instance, through argumentation, the woman is able to challenge the man’s control over how she defines herself. Further, there are instances when the woman wields more interactional power through verbal control of discursive event, reducing the man to almost a passive receiver of the woman’s Verbiage. Further, the study has demonstrated that women are also portrayed as Actors in material processes that have been traditionally a prerogative of men. They are not only Agents of educating other women, and indeed the reader on the need for an alternative discourse that depicts women as entities who can exist without depending on men, but they also occupy subject positions of entrepreneurs and to some extent authorities in scholarly discourse. In the same vein, women are cast in agentive
positions in material processes such as formation of women groups, which, as argued in chapter 5, are not just women groups (their sole purpose is not sustenance), they later turn to feminist groups, a collective force used by women to contest patriarchy.

Finally, the study has established that the family and more specifically the institution of marriage is a major site of dominance and power struggle. As demonstrated in chapter 2, 3, 4 and 5, the dominant gender ideology ascribes more power to the husband and the woman is treated as one of the possessions of the man. That is why she is expected to be inherited on her husband’s death; a subject position some women contest. Discursive representation of narrative incidences in the text reveals that repressive power is exercised mostly by men. This explains why women contest these power relations and acquire freedom through divorce. Further, the study has revealed that women also exercise repressive power over men through verbal attack, psychological torture, and even attempted physical violence as demonstrated in page 176 of *Unaitwa Nani?*

### 6.4 Conclusion

The following conclusions can be drawn from the findings of the study: Firstly transitivity patterns, mood and modality structures, as well as the thematic structure can be used to make power asymmetries and differential portrayals of social actors appear commonsensical and natural when in essence they perpetuate inequality and injustice. This is done, as demonstrated in the analysis, through selective linguistic choices that communicate the concept that specific world views are more preferred, or more appropriate and legitimate. Unless readers unpack the hidden ideologies through Critical Discourse Analysis of texts,
they can be influenced into adopting the dominant view as an unchallenged truth. Secondly, texts can deconstruct the existing power relations by offering alternative discourses in which the less powerful challenge the dominant discourses of discrimination. For instance, although *Unaitwa Nani?* largely portrays a dominant discourse of conservative gender power relations where there is slant of power in favour of men, it offers an alternative discourse where women subvert male dominance and construct a more powerful subject position. Thirdly and most importantly, there is no monolithic gender identity or gender power relations. Identities and gender power relations, rather than being uniform to members of the same sex; they are performed by individuals in specific social contexts in mundane social interactions. This study therefore maintains that there is no powerless social actor; every individual has latent power which he or she can exercise in specific contexts. This view stands in sharp contrast with the view propagated by some feminist linguists’ (see Mills 2003) that women’s speech is powerless. The study also concludes that although individuals may exercise power in specific contexts, they do so within the sanctions, social or interactional, put by more powerful in those particular contexts, which, as the study has demonstrated, can be subverted by specific social actors.

### 6.5 Implications for further research

The research findings have implications for both CDA and SFL. The study builds upon previous studies on CDA by showing that linguistic choices in *Unaitwa Nani?* index and reproduce asymmetrical gender power relations. The study confirms both CDA and SFL view that interlocutors make systematic choices to realize preferred meanings or to position themselves as specific types of social actors. The study also confirms that one of the
significant issues contributing to asymmetrical gender power relations is the ways through which interlocutors are linguistically constructed in media; including fiction. The study has argued that literary texts, more specifically the novel, are a crucial vehicle of constructing social identities (including gender identities). They are also used to disseminate certain types of knowledge to learners (including what it means to be a girl, or a boy, who should wield what type of power etc). As demonstrated by the present study, fiction texts, just like any other communicative event, can be used as influential instruments to impose or legitimize, and emphasize certain identities and power relations that positively represent a specific group and negatively represent the other. When readers are exposed to this kind of discourse, their perceptions about reality can be shaped in line with the dominant ideology, and unless they contest, they further reproduce it in their texts. A study such as the present one makes an effort to demystify the inequalities in the fiction texts, making them more tangible and providing an alternative discourse for readers to evaluate themselves. The study therefore has implication for learners of language and literature who may read the target text, as well as other literary texts uncritically; disregarding that it may be imbued with a particular ideology which the author positions them to adopt. If learners and readers become fully aware of the subtleties involved, they may take appropriate precautions.

Further, the study has demonstrated that linguistic tools, and in particular transitivity, mood and modality, can be used to analyse a literary text. The study is pioneering in providing a comprehensive analysis of transitivity patterns as well as the mood and modality structures that code Wamitila’s world view about gender relations in Kenya. This further has implications on pedagogy, more specifically on the teaching of literature in secondary
schools where the teaching of literature has been largely based on theme and form. The study has established that a linguistic model can be used to interrogate social practices such as gender power relations in a literary text. The study also contributes to the existing literature on transitivity patterns of the Swahili clause structure.

One of the greatest contributions of this study, and indeed Wamitila’s discourse to the interrogation of gender is that it provides a heightened awareness about gender power asymmetries. While it is appreciated that Wamitila features women in stereotypical ways such as being evil, sexually immoral, greedy, agents of entertainment, entities involved in idiotic actions, perpetrators of witchcraft, and having extreme dependence over men, he also offers an alternative discourse that constructs them as not only intelligent, social actors who contest male dominance, but also as involved in material processes which are traditionally associated with the masculine gender. This accords readers, more specifically girls, the opportunity to see themselves in a greater range of subject positions and contexts. This is significant in reducing social stereotyping of gender identity.

6.6 Recommendations for further research

The study has demonstrated that linguistic theory such as systemic Functional Grammar can be used to study literary texts with a view of unpacking hidden ideologies. However, due to the scope of the present study, the analysis was only limited to transitivity patterns, more specifically the principal process types and participants. Little focus was given to other process types such as the verbal, behavioural and existential, despite the fact that each one of them ascribes varying degrees of agency to its participants. Further, although the study
focused on naming analysis or lexical choices in general, mood and modality, the analysis was only limited to the research questions. There is need to interrogate for instance, how the types of clauses, i.e. the paratactic and hypotactic clauses portray power dynamics in a text. Further, the textual metafunction of Hallidayan Grammar was analysed to a very limited extent, yet it is a significant tool in both the foregrounding and obfuscation of agency. There is therefore need for a study that analyses for instance, the thematic structure of a text in order to unpack the ideological import of certain recurrent thematic structures. Analysis of modality can also be applied in interrogating characterization in a literary text.

Secondly, the research was limited to textual analysis to examine how Wamitila employs lexicogrammatical features to construct gender identity and power differentials. There is need to conduct a study that combines textual analysis and empirical research into the audience reception or audience perception of the novel. This would perhaps offer readers a chance to examine the discourses of differential power relations critically and perhaps suggest different subject positions for characters that the author could have introduced. It would also be significant to explore, using Hallidayan Grammar, how cohesive devices are used to index and legitimize power relations. Equally significant is also investigating other literary genres in Kiswahili fiction such as speech and rhetoric, poetry, drama and short forms, so as to interrogate the discursive strategies used to index power. The present study has mainly focused on gender power relations. It would be significant to investigate other forms of power inherent in the target text or in Kiswahili fiction at large.
REFERENCES


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Title and Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyaosi, K. N.</td>
<td>Taswira ya Asasi ya Ndoa katika Riwaya mbili za Kiswahili: Kiu na Msimu wa Vipepeo.</td>
<td>Unpublished MA project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okot, M. B.</td>
<td>Acoli Song Performance: Gender Identity Construction and Gender Power Relations</td>
<td>Unpublished PhD Thesis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ooko, A.</td>
<td>Gender Discourse in Kenya Print Media: A CDA of Oyunga Pala of Daily Nation</td>
<td>Unpublished MA project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Publisher/Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Title and Details</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TUKI (1994)  

TUKI (2001)  

Vaara, E. *et al* (2009)  

Van Dijk, T. (1992)  
“Discourse and the Denial of Racism.” In, *Discourse and Society*, 3(1) (pg. 87-118).


Van Dijk, T. (2001)  


Pango. Nairobi: Focus Publishers Ltd.


