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ABSTRACT
               A study applied Relevance Theory to interpretation of texts
written in Ghanaian English, particularly those intended for reading by
multiple audiences. The nature of such "hybrid" texts is examined and key
principles of Relevance Theory are outlined. Relevance is defined in terms of
contextual effect and processing effort. Contextual effects are achieved when
new information interacts with a context of already existing assumptions in
one of several ways; the greater the effort required to derive contextual
effects (processing effort), the lower the relevance of the content. In
addition, however, the greater the contextual effect, the greater the
relevance. Analysis of several texts looks at contextualization,
lexico-semantic variation, and syntactic variation. Proverbs are also
considered, as a subcategory of hybrid text. It is concluded that two forms
of relevance emerge from processing of hybrid texts: mother-tongue relevance
and other-tongue relevance, and variation in assumptions that underlies this
process is particularly great between different cultures. Contains 22
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WHOSE RELEVANCE?
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Katalin Egri Ku-Mesu (DAL)

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Abstract

With particular reference to Ghanaian English-language texts, the present study examines, from a Relevance Theory perspective, the problems involved in different audiences interpreting so-called hybrid texts. After clarifying the concept of hybrid texts and a brief summary of some of the key assumptions of Relevance Theory, the paper proceeds to examine contextualization, lexico-semantic variation, syntactic variation and proverbs, and explains why differences of interpretation may occur.

1.   Introduction

Hybrid texts, i.e. texts written by authors of a particular cultural and linguistic background in the language of a different culture, often pose problems of comprehension (i.e. 'comprehension of a text of one variety of English within the context of situation of another variety'; Kachru, 1995:275), and hence interpretation (i.e. 'contextualization of the text within the variables which are appropriate for it within the context of its source language'; ibid.), for readers who do not share the author's cultural and linguistic background. Such texts have more than one interpretive context: (1) the surface meaning of the second language (in our case English); and (2) the underlying meaning of the first (or dominant) language of the author (Kachru 1986:166). Interpretation, then, is bound to be influenced by this underlying meaning, which Zabus refers to as 'the source language in filigree' (1991:155).

Although it is widely accepted that each individual and group should and will respond to a text differently, and that all responses are valid, communication between the Europhone African writer and his audience seems somewhat more complex than may be anticipated. This complexity is caused not only by the above mentioned nature of hybrid texts, but also by the general problem of (partial) lack of common ground between reader and writer. The African writer may claim to write for an African readership (which in itself is far from being uniform), but especially because he writes in a European language, he is likely to be conscious of a much wider multiple audience. The spatial, cultural, and perhaps temporal, distance between this multiple audience and the writer, combined with the already mentioned linguistic complexity, may lead to difficulties of interpretation that are usually not encountered outside this particular interpretive situation.

With examples taken from Ghanaian English-language literature, I shall here examine some aspects of this complex problem from a Relevance Theory perspective. The basic assumption of this theory is that human communication and cognition is governed by the search for relevance. Relevance itself is defined in terms of contextual effect and processing effort. Contextual effects are achieved when new information interacts with a context of already existing assumptions in one of three ways: (1) by strengthening an existing assumption; (2) by contradicting and eliminating an existing assumption; and (3) by combining with an already existing assumption to yield a contextual implication (i.e. a logical implication which can be derived neither from the new information, nor from the context alone, but only from these two combined.) Contextual effects cost mental effort to derive, which results in a trading relationship between mental effort and relevance: the greater the effort required to derive contextual effects is, the lower the relevance will be. At the same time, the greater the contextual effects are, the greater the relevance will be.

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The processing (or mental) effort needed to understand an utterance depends on (a) the effort of memory and imagination required to construct a suitable context; and (b) the psychological complexity of the utterance itself. Greater complexity implies greater processing effort. If the extra linguistic complexity of an utterance is not balanced by extra contextual effects, it will diminish the overall relevance of the utterance. The source of psychological complexity can be found not only in the linguistic structure of an utterance, but also in the degree of its familiarity to the receiver and in the frequency of its occurrence. Linguistically simpler utterances may nonetheless be psychologically more complex if they are rarely encountered or are not familiar to the receiver (summary based on Wilson 1994:44-47).

The investigation I propose to carry out relates to how *real* readers interpret hybrid texts. Accordingly, the examples of contextualization, lexico-semantic variation, syntactic variation and proverbs examined here have been part of questionnaires I have used to research this problem area. Although in the body of the text no direct reference is made to specific findings of these questionnaires, it is partly these findings that form the basis of the conclusions reached here.

2. Contextualization

'The salient, visible traces [of the African mother tongue] with which the West African writer does sprinkle his text, as if to spice it up, are African-language words or phrases describing culturally bound objects or occurrences' (Zabus 1991:157). When the writer chooses not to translate or, to use Zabus's term, relexify these words and expressions, one method he can use is 'contextualization'. Providing areas of immediate context is 'heir to the burdensome informational digression verging on anthropological description' (Zabus 1991:158) whereby the African writer attempts to clarify the meaning of the African-language words for the non-African reader, and also for the African reader who possesses a different linguistic background, either by explaining the meaning in a dialogue using the ignorance of the local culture demonstrated by one of the characters, or by having the reader infer the meaning from the context. Involving the reader in such a guessing game, however, may pose problems.

In the following analysis I wish to take a closer look at contextualization and will try to explain why 'contextualization by inference' (Zabus 1991:162) as a means of conveying 'Africanness' may eventually prove ineffective.

The following passage is from the Ghanaian Akan-speaking Ama Ata Aidoo's *A Gift from Somewhere*:

> But do you know, this child did not die. It is wonderful but this child did not die. Mmm. ... This strange world always has something to surprise us with ... *Kweku Nyamekye*. Somehow, he did not die. To his day name Kweku, I have added Nyamekye. Kweku Nyamekye. For, was he not a gift from God through the Mallam of the Bound Mouth? And he, the Mallam of the Bound Mouth, had not taken from me a penny, not a single penny that ever bore a hole. And the way he vanished! Or it was perhaps the god who yielded me to my mother who came to my aid at last? ... was it not him who had come in the person of the Mallam?

(p. 81; my emphasis)

The story is about a woman, Mami Fanti, who has already lost two babies soon after they were born. The text leading up to the above passage tells us that she is desperate as her third baby is about to die. She is called upon by a Mallam who is looking to earn some money so that he can buy food for himself. Sensing the tragedy about to happen, the Mallam tries to comfort Mami Fanti by promising her that this child will live. He helps to resuscitate the baby but has little, if any, faith in succeeding, so he disappears before Mami Fanti can give him money for his services.

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Our interest in the above passage lies in what is communicated to the reader by the name Kweku Nyamekye, which, in turn, will depend on the implicit contextual assumptions the reader can recover and on the implicit conclusions he can derive. Some implicit assumptions can be expected to be recovered by all readers, but as we shall see, there is considerable variation in potential assumptions between the Akan-speaking Ghanaian reader and the non-Akan-speaking western reader.

To find out what sense the name Kweku Nyamekye makes to the reader, i.e. how relevant it is, we have to consider the processing effort required to understand it and the contextual effects achieved. As we have seen, the processing effort depends on two main factors: a) the effort of memory and imagination needed to construct a suitable context; and b) the psychological complexity of the utterance (Wilson 1994:45). The Akan-speaking Ghanaian reader immediately knows that implicit assumptions about the concept and practice of giving personal names must be used to process this utterance. The name Kweku Nyamekye gives him access to his encyclopaedic information about day names or soul names derived from the name of the tutelary god of the day of the week on which the child is born (Egblewogbe 1987:190), Kweku being the name given to a boy born on Wednesday, and, more importantly, about names suggesting exceptional circumstances. Nyamekye means 'god has given', and this name is given to a much awaited child who is believed to be the gift of God. In addition, a child who has no father to be named after either because the father refuses to accept the child, or because the mother is reluctant to name the father, or because the father is no longer present physically (dead or left the mother of the child forever), may be named Nyamekye by his mother or uncle. Since the Akan-speaking reader has immediate access to all this information, the effort needed to construct the suitable context is minimized. The psychological complexity of the utterance is also limited not only because the linguistic structure of the utterance is fairly straightforward, but also because both words, Kweku and Nyamekye, are frequently encountered ones, which makes the full name fairly easy to process. Consequently, the relative lack of complexity of the utterance leads to no distraction from relevance.

Contextual effects, on the other hand, are 'achieved when newly presented information interacts with a context of existing assumptions in one of three ways: by strengthening an existing assumption, by contradicting and eliminating an existing assumption, or by combining with an existing assumption to yield a contextual implication: that is, a logical implication derivable neither from the new information alone, nor from the context alone, but from the new information and the context combined' (Wilson, 1994:45). The name Kweku Nyamekye is especially relevant to the Akan-speaking reader because it interacts with his existing assumptions about the world, i.e. it has contextual effects. It not only strengthens his existing assumptions, but combining with the assumption concerning a 'fatherless' child it may yield, or at least forecast, the contextual implication that Kweku Nyamekye is a child not very much favoured by his father, a fact that we learn only towards the end of the story.

As we have seen, the Akan-speaking reader has immediate access to his encyclopaedic entries for personal names, which then triggers easy and quick processing of the information. Therefore he is distracted from relevance if the name Kweku Nyamekye is explained explicitly. It is unnecessary for him to spend time processing the contextualization in which the assumptions needed to understand the name are made explicit. By contrast, for the non-Akan-speaking western reader, for whom the name Kweku Nyamekye may prove to be entirely incomprehensible, the rewards for processing the contextualization following the name may be great. It may be assumed that the non-Akan-speaking western reader's cognitive environment, i.e. the set of assumptions that are manifest to him, does not include implicit assumptions about 'talking' names. For him Kweku is a first name, a string of sounds used to identify a particular person, whereas Nyamekye is taken to be a surname indicating this particular person's kinship with the father. Because of his unfamiliarity with the structure and functions of Ghanaian personal names, the non-Akan-speaking western reader, and for that matter, the non-Akan-speaking non-Ghanaian African reader who may be familiar with the concept of 'talking' names but who, due to his lack of knowledge of the language involved, cannot understand

the meaning of this name, is sure to welcome the contextualization which makes explicit the assumptions necessary to understand the importance of the name and the reasons behind giving it to the child in the story. The contextualization, then, becomes informationally useful (i.e. achieves relevance) for the non-Akan-speaking reader not only because the explicitness of the information considerably reduces the processing effort, but also because the newly presented information interacts with the context of his existing assumptions about the structure and meaning of personal names by contradicting and eliminating them, i.e. it has contextual effects.

In a literary text contextualization proves to be a highly relevant way of providing information especially because of its unintrusive nature. However, the above example seems to suggest that contextualization in hybrid texts does not fully achieve its aim of explaining or clarifying meaning. As has been shown, for the Akan-speaking reader the contextualization is superfluous, may halt the flow of reading, distract from relevance and consequently create the impression of the text being dull. On the other hand, though the non-Akan speaking reader benefits from the contextualization in that it may be his only source of information that can lend some kind of relevance to the name Kweku Nyamekye, because his cognitive environment does not contain assumptions about the concept of Ghanaian personal names, the new information is not able to combine with an existing assumption to yield a contextual implication. It means that the non-Akan-speaking reader will lose out on recovering the subtle details that lead to a full(er) understanding of the story. In short, though contextualization has advantages for the reader who does not share the author's sociolinguistic background, it ultimately proves inadequate because of the shortcomings it represents both for this reader, and especially for the one who possesses the same background as the writer.

3.   Lexico-semantic variation

In his discussion of the lexico-semantic variation found in Nigerian English, Bamiro summarizes Bokamba's (1982:91-92) observations relating to the sources of lexical innovations in African English as follows:

> Bokamba quite correctly points out that the sources of lexical innovations in African English are mother tongue interference, analogical derivation based on English and the milieu and conditions under which English is learned and used in Anglophone Africa.
>
> (Bamiro 1994:48)

While the reader who shares a particular author's sociolinguistic background will have no problem in processing and understanding such innovations, the reader who does not is likely to miss out on the meaning of the majority of them. Consider the following few examples:

(i) coinage

... we were defeated before we went, for we had heard that some people employed secondary school students to sit the exams for them, while others bought exam papers from the right quarters, and yet others knew the people who marked the papers! True enough, many of us bombed (Duodu, *The Gab Boys*, p.120; added emphasis)

to bomb (an examination): schoolboy slang for 'to fail' (Sey 1973:75)

Young push-babies with frowning faces broke through hedges behind different kind of carriages ... Another black push-baby passed, pushing a white and pink carriage. (Armah, *The Beautyful Ones*, pp.125-126; added emphasis)

push-baby: a maid servant employed to mind babies in the house and take them out for rides in prams (Sey 1973:88)

(ii) lexical items with semantic restriction

But I'd never thought I was an 'adolescent'. I usually thought of myself as a '<u>guy</u>' (Duodu, *The Gab Boys*, p.73)

> *guy:* a tough man; one who gives the impression of being fearless; one admired for defying popular authority (Sey 1973:94)

(iii) lexical items with semantic extension

It's only <u>bush</u> women who wear their hair natural. (Armah, *The Beautyful Ones*, p.129)

> *bush (adjectival):* unpolished, uncouth, rustic (person) (Sey 1973:98)

Though lexical innovations can be assigned a varying number of categories, depending on the criteria applied to the analysis of their origin - Sey (1973) works with six basic categories, Bamiro (1994) with ten - the reason behind the failure of the non-indigenous-language-speaking non-local reader to understand these lexical items seems fairly uniform. Such a reader's assumptions will be less than adequate about the author's physical, social and linguistic background, i.e. his cognitive environment will contain no, or only a very limited number of, assumptions regarding the author's physical, social and linguistic reality, which will impose a serious restraint on the achievable contextual effects. In addition, the so far unencountered lexical item, or an already known word used in an unusual context, represents psychological complexity which increases the processing effort, thus reducing relevance and eventually hindering understanding.

It has to be noted, however, that contextualization, which may fail to be effective in the case of African-language words, is likely to prove successful in the case of lexico-semantic variation because the context does, in many cases, help to determine the actual meaning of words resulting from lexical innovation.

4.   Syntactic variation

'The relexification of one's mother tongue, using English vocabulary but indigenous structures and rhythms' (Todd 1982:303) resulted not only in lexico-semantic variation in West African, hence Ghanaian, English, but also produced syntactic patterns that reflect the structure of indigenous languages. From among the examples described and analysed by Bamiro (1995) I would like to examine a) the thematization of complements and adjuncts, and b) the word order in nominal group structure.

a)   *Thematization of complements and adjuncts*

Bamiro observes that in the Ghanaian Ayi Kwei Armah's novels there is a 'preponderant use of marked structures which reflect the underlying logic of the authors' mother tongues' (1995:198). The following example is taken from Armah's *Two Thousand Seasons*:

> 'This is the white men's second wish,' Isanusi continued. ... <u>The elephants</u> they say they want destroyed, but only for their tusks. ... <u>Leopards</u> they want dead for their hides. ... <u>Land</u> they want from us, but not the way guests ask the use of land. ... <u>On this their cut-off land</u> they would like to have crops grow. But the white man are not accustomed to doing their own planting and it is not in their minds to get accustomed here. They would have the king give them men to work the land ...

> (p.82; emphasis added)

In his *Introduction to Functional Grammar* Halliday states that 'the Theme can be identified as that element which comes in first position in the clause' (1985:39). It is what the clause is going to be about; and from the point of information structure this is the 'GIVEN element, expressing what the speaker is presenting as information that is recoverable to the hearer from some source or other in the environment - the situation, or the preceding text' (Halliday and Hasan 1976:326; original emphasis). The rest of the clause is identified as the Rheme, that which tells about the Theme, the 'NEW element, expressing what the speaker is presenting as information that is not recoverable to the hearer from other sources' (ibid.). Halliday (1985:45) further posits that in the grammar of English it is the Subject that is chosen as the unmarked Theme of a declarative sentence, and anything other than the Subject in Theme position is identified as a marked Theme. A marked Theme is realized in the fronting of clause elements which would normally not occur in initial position: usually it is an adverbial group or prepositional phrase functioning in the clause as adjunct; very rarely is it a complement - a nominal group that could be functioning as Subject, but is not.

According to Bamiro, many West African languages are topic-prominent, therefore a preference for the thematization of complements and adjuncts can be observed in these languages, which, in turn, is reflected in West African English (1995:198). In the above example the complements 'the elephants,' 'leopards,' 'land' and the adjunct 'on this their cut-off land' are thematized. The reader's difficulty here is seen not in terms of contextual effects but rather in terms of processing effort. The reader who shares Armah's Akan background is likely to process the above utterances with absolute ease and may miss the point that is expected to be recovered from the extra contextual effects yielded by the greater processing effort required to process the marked Theme. Indeed, if the complements and the adjunct are fronted as a result of mother tongue interference and not as a result of a conscious choice on Armah's part, then there are no extra contextual effects to recover. On the other hand, if Armah consciously foregrounded these elements, then he surely intended to make his point salient about what the white man wanted to grab and destroy in his greediness. The non-Akan speaking English reader, faced with the extra linguistic complexity of the marked Theme, has to employ greater processing effort, but his effort is likely to be counterbalanced by the extra contextual effects mentioned above. If, however, Armah consciously fronted the complements and adjunct not because he wanted to convey an implicated meaning but simply because he wanted to retain the flavour of African speech, the Akan-speaking reader may merely overlook this subtlety, and the non-Akan speaking reader may read more into the text than it is supposed to convey.

The reader certainly has a difficult task in trying to recover the intended meaning. In Armah's case one finds an indication in another of his novels, *The Healers*. While in *Two Thousand Seasons* the following marked structure is recurrent,

> Two girls tried to help the pathfinders: <u>Noliwe and Ningome</u> were their names. (p.54; added emphasis)

> There was a woman. <u>Idawa</u> was her name. (p.69; added emphasis)

> This woman - <u>Akole</u> was her name - said ... (p.78; added emphasis)

in *The Healers* a character who is a native speaker of English prefers to use the unmarked form:

> This queen - <u>her name</u> is Victoria - has ears that hear everything that goes on everywhere in the world ... (p.201; added emphasis)

This seems to suggest that the marked structure is Armah's conscious choice, but his reasons for this choice cannot be unambiguously recovered from the text.

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b)   *Word order in nominal group structure*

Just like in the case of thematization of complements and adjuncts, psychological complexity resulting from structural unorthodoxy stands in the way of smooth and effortless information processing in the following examples:

>The morning following, Densu was weak but his mind was peaceful. (*The Healers*, p.142; added emphasis)

>The day following, the travellers spent resting. (*The Healers*, p.152; added emphasis)

Bamiro suggests that this order within the nominal group, in which the head precedes the modifier in certain syntactic environments, reflects the syntactic structure of Kwa and Gur languages, to which many West African languages, among them Akan, belong (1995:201). He informs us that 'The day following' actually translates in Akan as

>*Eda*   *a etoso*
>
>The day   following.

It has to be noted here, that in Armah's case, though an influence of his mother tongue and possibly of other indigenous languages is the first logical explanation, his familiarity with and proficiency in French makes interference from French possible.

Whatever the source, the reader is faced with a non-standard form which, again, may, or may not, cause processing difficulty. Similarly to what happens in the case of thematizing complements and adjuncts, the Akan-speaking reader is likely not to discern the anomaly and may process the utterance at minimal effort. At the same time, the non-Akan-speaking reader's expectations will be influenced by the fact that in the grammar of English postmodification of the noun phrase is possible with the *-ing* participle, but the 'antecedent head corresponds to the implicit subject of the nonfinite clause' (Quirk *et al.* 1985:1263). From this follows that 'the morning following' and 'the day following' will be felt incomplete by the non-Akan-speaking reader, and he would probably spend considerable time and effort to look for structures like 'the morning following his sleepless night filled with nightmares' or 'the morning following their arrival' before sorting out the meaning of the noun phrase. Though finally not incomprehensible, this structure distracts from relevance because the reader's time and effort spent on processing it will not be rewarded by extra contextual effects.

5.   Proverbs

In hybrid literary texts, together with riddles, dirges, praise names and different forms of address, one relatively often encounters proverbs. All of these constitute what Zabus calls the ethno-text, 'which is grafted on the European-language narrative, in an attempt to recapture traditional speech and atmosphere' (Zabus 1991:133). As the relexification, defined by Zabus as 'the making of a new register of communication out of an alien lexicon' (1991:102) and operating 'from one language to the other within the same text' (1991:106), of proverbs and idioms is one of the devices of nativizing rhetorical strategies (see Kachru 1987), proverbs are part of the linguistic realization of distinctiveness, and, as such, are convenient for the study of how the reader makes sense of a text which has more than one interpretative context: 1) the surface meaning of the second language (English); and 2) the underlying meaning of the first (indigenous) language.

Understanding proverbs has a number of complications. First, most proverbs can be understood both literally and metaphorically. Second, proverbs are so-called echoic utterances echoing the thought, or if you like wisdom, of a people, so a proverb can achieve relevance simply by demonstrating that

someone finds it wise to quote in the circumstances. Third, by representing popular wisdom 'in a manifestly sceptical, amused, surprised, triumphant, approving or reproving way, the speaker can express her attitude to the thought echoed, and the relevance of her utterance might depend largely on this expression of attitude' (Sperber and Wilson 1995:239).

However, what needs to be considered first is the relationship between the thought that is to be communicated and the propositional form of the utterance which is used to represent this thought. For the proverb **Hail has shown the strong man the way home** (Tshiluba, Zaire; oral source Betu Ku-Mesu) this relationship can be represented as follows:

Level 1: <u>The thought</u>

Misfortune will drive you to seek support from the very people (usually your family) whom you have ignored.

Level 2: <u>Representation of the thought in L1</u>

MVULA   WA   MABUE   WA   KALEJA   KALUME   KUABO.

rain   of   ice   has   shown   strong man   home

Level 3: <u>Relexification of Level 2 in English</u>

Hail has shown the strong man the way home.

According to Relevance Theory, an utterance is strictly literal if its propositional form (Level 2) is identical with the propositional form of the thought it is used to represent (Level 1). However, what a communicator often aims to achieve is not literal truth but optimal relevance, as is the case when quoting a proverb. In order to achieve optimal relevance, the utterance 'should give the hearer information about that thought which is relevant enough to be worth processing, and should require as little processing effort as possible' (Sperber and Wilson 1995:233). As illustrated above, this can be achieved if the propositional form of the utterance shares some, but not necessarily all, of the logical properties of the propositional form of the thought whose interpretative expression it is (see Sperber and Wilson 1995:233).

As shown by our previous examples, another important factor is the set of assumptions the hearer/reader can provide to arrive at the intended interpretation. The greater the number of assumptions provided, the closer to the intended meaning we get.

In hybrid texts, which are characterized by the absence of the original, the reader has to make do with the English version of Level 3 relexified from the indigenous language. However, the surface meaning of the European language does not always yield the underlying meaning of the first language. It seems that in addition to Relevance Theory, some semantic considerations may provide helpful insight into why this is so.

First of all, 'it seems to be an incontrovertible principle of semantics that the human mind abhors a vacuum of sense, so a speaker of English faced with absurd sentences will strain his interpretive faculty to the utmost to read them meaningfully' (Leech 1974:8). From this follows that an audience whose sociolinguistic context is different from the communicator's will, by rule, attempt to make sense of the communicator's utterance, and that in this attempt the members of this audience will inevitably rely on *their existing* assumptions about the world. These assumptions, as we have seen, may, or may not, coincide with the assumptions necessary to arrive at the intended meaning of the communicator. Even if the assumptions of the communicator are different from those of his audience, audience embarks on constructing a context in which the utterance becomes meaningful *to them*.

Second, it is assumed by semanticists that 'the same basic conceptual framework is common to all languages, and is a universal property of the human mind' (Leech 1974:15). Connotative meaning, however, is open-ended, embracing objectively and subjectively identified characteristics of the referent, and as such, may be considered, among other things, culture related. While the intended meaning of the proverb **Hall has shown the strong man the way home** may be guessed by the non-Muluba English-speaking reader, it is more likely that his interpretation will differ from the original meaning due to differences in connotative meaning. The Tshiluba word *kalume* connotes the rather negative image of a braggart boasting about his strength, success, achievements and victories over people. At the same time, the English collocation *strong man* tends to be associated with the positive values of determination and perseverance. Similarly, *home*, or *the way home*, can be associated with goal, success and achievement, a meaning that the Tshiluba *kuabo* (whose literal meaning is better represented by the French *chez eux*) does not have. Further modification of meaning may result from English being a second/foreign language for the audience, as well. It is not unlikely that the connotative meaning of an English word should get influenced by the connotations attached to the reader's mother-tongue equivalent of that word.

6.   Conclusion

On the basis of the above discussion it may be concluded that 'otherness', expressed through the medium of English (paradoxically, itself the 'other' tongue as opposed to mother tongue; see Zabus 1991:1-10) inherently possesses the potential for Janus-faced relevance: 'mother-tongue relevance' on one side and 'other-tongue relevance' on the other. 'Other-tongue relevance' results from the reader building up a context by providing assumptions derived from the propositional form of the (Level 3) other-tongue representation of a thought, violating the underlying meaning of the invisible but discernible mother-tongue original. This process of reading as construction by the non-indigenous-language-speaking non-local reader shows that 'variation in potential assumptions is especially great between different cultures' (Blass 1990:85), which may have implications for the reception and critical evaluation of Europhone African literature by a multiple reading public.

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NOTICE

REPRODUCTION BASIS