

Hybridity in the Communicative Genre of the Funeral Sermon

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Abstract. With focus on local-level discursive practices (Gumperz 1982), the present study investigates the verbal and non-verbal devices used in the funeral sermon performed shortly before burial. Based on cosmologies underlying the Christian understanding of death, the funeral sermon is situated within the Bukusu funeral event that is characterized by a number of performances based on cosmologies underlying the traditional Bukusu understanding of death. With principles from communicative genre analysis (Günthner and Knoblauch 1995), interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz 1982) and ritual analysis (Van Gennep 1960; Turner 1967) the study examines how and why during the performance discursive heteroglossia invoked in the funeral sermon.

The study falls within the studies in communicative practices (Günthner and Knoblauch 1995; Hanks 1998; Gumperz 2003). The study is also part of the discussions on how and why discursive heteroglossia is drawn into discourse (Bakhtin 1981; Leppänen 2012) and particularly the funeral sermon. The assumption I make is that as ‘semiotic devices’ verbal and non-verbal devices reveal two belief systems that are either ‘juxtaposed to one another, mutually supplement one another [or], contradict one another’ (Bakhtin 1981).

Five video and audio recordings of the performances of the funeral sermon collected from Bungoma district of western Kenya in 2011 and 2012 constitute our data which is supplemented by 4 two-hour interviews with the priests. Being attentive to the verbal and non-verbal devices, we examine the data to ‘isolate sequentially bounded units’ (Gumperz 2003:223) that reveal discursive heteroglossia.

Preliminary investigations reveal that with verbal and non-verbal devices such as reported speech and gestures, the communicative genre of the funeral sermon incorporates, illuminates and then criticizes aspects of traditional Bukusu religion with the aim of urging participants (mostly members of the Bukusu tribe) to discontinue practicing traditional Bukusu religion. This study adds to discussions on firstly, the determinative features of communicative genres and secondly, hybridisation in Bukusu funeral performances.

1. Introduction

1.1 The Bukusu People and the Bukusu Funeral

The Bukusu people live the western Kenya region on the border between Kenya and Uganda. They number about 1.5 million people and speak Lubukusu, one of the Bantu languages and one among 41 indigenous languages (Nabea 2009:127). In Kenya, Kiswahili, spoken by many people, is used as a national language (Ogechi 2000:186). Thus, Kiswahili is used in many social occasions that bring

people from different tribes together. Mostly sermons in the Bukusu funeral are delivered in Kiswahili.

The Bukusu funeral is made up of a collection of communicative events and speech activities based on different religions such as traditional Bukusu religion, Christian religion, Islam and so on. These constitutive communicative events and speech activities are socially situated at different times and places within the funeral event. The sermon, examined by this study, is embedded in mass that comes shortly before burial of a baptised Christian. In this paper I argue that the sermon draws a lot from traditional Bukusu religion. In particular, I argue that the sermon incorporates verbal and non-verbal devices that index a mixture of cosmologies.

1.2 The Background

Engagement between Christianity and traditional African religions dates back to the period before colonialism, and as Lado (2006) observes the second wave of Christian missionaries set foot in sub-sahara Africa before 1800s. The history of the engagement of the Christian missionaries and traditional African religions can be looked at under: colonial Christianity, inculturation and ongoing dialogue (Lado 2006).

Within the catholic church, inculturation, the fruit of the second Vatican council (1962-65), divides the church history into two halves: the period before the second Vatican council (that coincides with colonialism and is characterised by cultural intolerance) (Wagenaar 1999:365) and the period after the second vatican council (that is characterised by a pluralistic approach to culture) (Masuku 2007:39). Inculturation proposes the ‘insertion of the tradition of Christian faith into non-Christian culture and subsequent ongoing dialogue’ (Shorter 1987:6).

Despite being in existence for about half a century, inculturation has not been very successful because of a number of reasons. Firstly, Africa is both ethnic and multi-cultural, and therefore it is difficult to develop ethnic-based strategies for dealing with resistance to the Christian faith. Secondly the cosmological interstice between the Christian and traditional Bukusu religions is wide, and little attempts have been made to understand the African cosmologies. This coupled with the pragmatic nature of the African religion explains why at crises moments African believers relapse to African religious practices (Lado 2006:17). Thus, the dialogue between Christianity and African traditional religions can be described as superficial. However, inculturation creates room for dialogue and even influence, and the incorporation and appropriation of beliefs, ideas and assumptions from traditional Bukusu religion in the sermon results in a mixture of beliefs, ideas and assumptions or as Bakhtin (1981) observes *discursive heteroglossia* (Leppänen 2012). I examine verbal and non verbal devices that make discursive heteroglossia obvious.

1.2 Hybridity

In this paper, I share in Bakhtin’s view of hybridity as ‘double-voiced discourse’ (Drescher 2007, Leppänen 2012): discourse with ‘two voices, two meanings and two expressions’ (Bakhtin 1981:324). Viewed this way, hybridization in the sermon presents cosmologies, ‘each characterized by its own objects, meanings and values, juxtaposed to one another’ and the cosmologies ‘mutually supplement one another, or contradict one another and [are] interrelated dialogically’ (Bakhtin 1981:292). This paper examines the concurrence of Christian and traditional Bukusu cosmologies in the sermon and how they interact dynamically with the verbal and non-verbal devices.

1.4 The Funeral Sermon: Participants and Function

According to the *Order of Christian Funeral* (OCF), the participants in the funeral sermon include the bereaved family (those who have suffered loss of their dearly loved one), the community of christians (those who share in the loss by virtue of being members of the body of christ), the non-christians (those who mourn but belong to other religious persuasions) and the priest (the principal participant).

The dead is physically present too in the midst of the bereaved participants. The sermon serves to embed the deceased in the mystery of christ's death and resurrection and through the witness of christ in the deceased's life persuade the participants to change (from belief in traditional Bukusu religion to Christianity) and to commit their lives to god through christ. Since the sermon takes place within mass (understood in terms of the sacrificial body of christ), it is communion within the body of christ, communion that delivers the deceased to the invisible world and holds- for the bereaved- hope for reunion of the living and the dead in christ at the end of the world (Durrwell 2004).

2. The Sermon as a Communicative Genre

Within anthropological studies, funeral mass (and the sermon embedded in it) is considered as rituals (Van Gennep 1960), while in linguistics such activities are considered as communicative genres (Günthner and Knoblauch 1995). There are diverse studies on ritual and communicative genres and the differences are considerably deep. In this paper, I argue firstly that ritual and communicative genres are similar: they are prefabricated cultural activities through which members of the cultural group achieve specific goals (cf. 1.4, functions of the sermon). Yet the two are different. On one hand Turner (1967) considers ritual as performances that have links to religion, and on the other hand Günthner and Knoblauch (1995) view communicative genre as a paradigm through which cultural performances can be analyzed. The communicative genre theory not only proposes the internal, situative and external levels of analysis, but it also views the levels as interacting reflexively with the internal and situative features indexing the external features, and the external features determining the internal and situative features (Günthner and Knoblauch 1995:8). Internal features are verbal and non-verbal devices, situative features are features of the ongoing activity. The external features are the functional aspects and for this study the cosmological aspects. In this paper therefore ritual is considered as communicative genre.

3. Data and Methods

This paper is guided by data drawn from 5 audio (and 5 video versions) recordings collected from Bungoma district in 2011 and 2012. In addition, the study relies on recordings of 4 two-hour interview sessions with principal participants (the priests) and senior members of the church. The tool of analysis is data qualitatively analysed and enriched with ethnographic information. Paying attention to formal, prosodic and kinetic features, I identify discursive structures ('sequentially bounded units') (Gumperz 2003) and analyze them to determine the reflexive interaction between verbal and non-verbal devices and discursive heteroglossia. Verbal and non-verbal devices are examined in line with Goodwin and Duranti (1992) who view the relationship between talk and context as reflexive: verbal and non-verbal devices avail the context necessary for interpretation, and the context in turn determines them. As resources for the structuring of discourse, verbal and non-verbal devices act as contextualization cues that index the relevant context for interpretation of the sermon (Gumperz 1982, 1992, 2003)

4. Hybridity in the Sermon

My data shows many examples of the incorporation of cosmologies underlying the Bukusu understanding of death in the sermon. In the following I discuss three examples. The first two examples are drawn from one sermon.

Preceding example 1, is an exhortation to the participants to be ready at all times. Below the priest explains reasons why the participants should always be ready.

Example 1

01 TA-kuf-a; (0.8) HAta kama u-na-ring-a namna gani u-ta-kuf-a; (2.0)

fut-die-fv; (0.8) even when 2nd-prs-boast-fv manner which 2nd-fut-die-fv; (2.0)

you will die even if you boast; you will die

- 02 Opondo a-li-tu-ambi-a siku MOja^ˉ (--) ‘mungu w-a ma:jabu’; (1.4)
Opondo 3rd-pst-2ndpl-told-appl-fv day one^ˉ (--) 1-god 1-of 6-wonders; (1.4)
 Opondo told us one day. ‘god is a god of wonders’
- 03 ehem^ˉ (--)‘mungu a-me-pang-a kiLA ki-tu; (2.5) a-me-ki. a-me-ki-wek-a hapa
ehem^ˉ (--) 1-god 3rdsg-pf-arrange-fv each 7-thing; (2.5) 3rdsg-pf-7.3rdsg-pf-7-put-fv 16- here
 ehem ‘god has planned everything and placed it here
- 04 <<points down>>u-limweNGU-ni^ˉ(1.1) kazi i-ki-patikan-a binguni;; (--) NA wewe peke: ndio
 14-universe-18^ˉ (1.1) 9-work when-9.be-find-fv heaven-18; (--) and 2ndsg-you alone who
 On earth. When work is found in heaven and you, alone, have
- 05 U-NA HI-yo ki-paji a-na-kuchuku-a na wewe u-na-kufa’;(-)u-na-end-a <<points up>>;(--)
2nd-have dem-5 7-talent 3rd-prs-2nd-take-fv and 2ndsg-you 2ndsg-prs-die-fv;(.) 2ndsg-prs-go-fv; (--)
 That talent, he takes you and you die and go
- 06 ‘yesu a-na-tembe-a kwa ma-boma ze-tu’; (---) ni-ka-sem-a ‘look at this MP; (1.6)
Jesus 3rd-prs-walk-fv in 6-homes 6-ours; (---) 1stsg-pst-say look at this MP; (1.6)
 Jesus walks in our homes. I said ‘look at this MP’
- 07 a-li-kuw-a MP wa-ngu-MP wa-ngu siku ngine;(-)ni-li-kuw-a na-fany-a kazi hu-ko chini; (1.6)
3rdsg-pst-be MP 1st sg-poss MP 1stsg-poss 9-day another;(-)1stsg-pst-be1stsg-do 9-work 17-dem down; (1.6)
 He was my MP one day. I used to work down there
- 08 ni-ka-chek-a ni-ka-sem-a ‘look at this man’; (1.7) ati theology bwana- local theology; (1.1)
1st-pst-laugh-fv 1st-pst-say-fv look at this man; (1.7) that theology 5-master-local theology; (1.1)
I laughed and said ‘look at this man that theology mate local theology’
- 09 and it is true;; (1.1) HU-WEZ-I ku-kufa kama huja-maliz-a kazi ya-ko^ˉ (--)
and it is true; (1.1)neg-2nd-can 15-die before neg-2nd sg.pf-finish-fv 9-work 9-poss^ˉ (--)
 and it is true. You cannot die before you finish your work
- 10 haPA ulimwenguni; (1.4)
16-here 11-earth-18; (1.4)
 Here on earth.

In example (1) the priest begins by quoting Opondo, a villager. In the speech report, the quote margin¹ *opondo alituambia siku moja* ‘opondo told us one day’ (line 2) is made up of the original speaker, Opondo, the addressee ‘we’ signalled by the first person pronoun (plural) morpheme *-tu-* and the tense indexed by the past tense morpheme *-li-*. The complementizer is left out. The quote content begins with *Mungu wa maajabu* ‘god is god of wonders’ (line 2) and ends in *maboma zetu* ‘our homes’ (line 6). The possessive pronoun *zetu* ‘our’ (line 6) refers both to Opondo’s addressees (the priest included) and the audience of the present moment (the priest included). It is therefore logophoric², and the speech report is therefore an instance of semi-direct speech (Aikhenveld 2003). The second speech report in which the priest quotes himself is a response to the first. The quote margin *nikacheka nikasema* ‘I laughed I said’ (line 8) contains two actions and one actor (the priest). The complementizer is also left out. The quote content contains code switching to English for the utterances ‘look at this man’, ‘theology’, and ‘local theology’ (line 8).

Opondo's account constitutes the Bukusu cosmology. The utterance *amekiweka hapa ulimenguni* 'he has place it here on earth' augmented by the gesture of pointing down (line 3-4) in reference to god demonstrates the fact that the visible world originates from the invisible world. The utterance *Kazi ikipatikana binguni* 'when work is found in heaven' (line 4) reveals that the invisible world is still under construction and by implication that the visible world is complete. By *na wewe pekee ndio una hiyo kipaji* 'and you are the only person with that talent' (line 4-5) shows that the visible world in its wholeness contains talents needed in the invisible world. That is why Opondo says metaphorically of those with exceptional talent *anakuchukua unaenda* 'he takes you and you go' (line 5). Note that within this enactment the priest uses the gesture of pointing above to hint that the invisible world is above visible world as is the case in the Christian cosmology. *Yesu anatembea kwa maboma zetu* 'jesus visits our homes' (line 6) reveals the role of jesus in Opondo's characterization of the cosmology: searching for talents.

By sharing the logophoric pronoun *zetu* 'our' (of the first person (plural) pronoun *we*) (line 6) with the participants in the funeral at present the priest effectively enacts the Bukusu cosmology. This is in line with the doctrine of incarnation in which christ enters the world of sinners (but retains his godly status) in order to elevate it to godliness.

By using code switching in the second quote the priest re-establishes his identity of a specialist and as a Christian priest, and distancing himself, the priest categorizes opondo's account under 'local theology' (line 8). This implies that the Christian cosmology is 'global' or 'universal'. With *HUWEZI kukufa kama hujamaliza kazi yako hapa ulimwenguni* 'you cannot die before you finish your work here on earth' (lines 9-10), the priest overturns opondo's cosmology. In the priest's account the visible world is the place of work set by the invisible world. Thus, through semi-direct speech, the cosmologies are not just mixed but they dialogue with each other. Opondo's account becomes a 'temporal object of laughter, classification and correction by the priest.

Prior to the enactment of example 2, the priest warns against persistence in the practice of traditional Bukusu religion. In the example the priest offers a strategy for dealing with embodiments of traditional Bukusu religion: husbands.

Example 2

01 and ba-mayi E-NYWENYWE; (---) mu-lekhe khu-bola mbo o-mu-sakhulu

and 2-mothers 2ndpl-you; (---) 2ndpl-stop 15-say that 1-1-old man
and you mothers should stop saying that 'this old man

02 yu-no mu-tinyu mu-tinyu; (.) MU-TINYU khubela sina mala ewe oli

1-dem 3rdsg-difficult 3rdsg-difficult; (.)3rdsg-difficult because.of 7-what yet 2ndsg-you 2nd-be
Is difficult, is difficult. How is he difficult when you are

03 ne-naye; (1.3) s-'o-mu-bolel-a busa o-li mu-sakhulu e-we o-li

with him; (1.3) neg-2ndsg-3rdsg.om-tell-fv just 2ndsg-that 1-old man 2ndsg-you 2nd-be
with him. Why don't you just tell him that 'old man you are

04 mu-tinyu lakini se-ne-ny-a chi-soni ta ne e-we o-rangir-a; (.) E-SE

3rdsg-difficult but neg-1stsg-want-fv 10-shame neg and 2nd-you 2nd-lead-fv; (.) 2ndsg-I
Difficult but I don't want shame' and then you lead 'if

05 ne n-dangir-a e-we o-li bulayi; (--)-n-'o-rangir-a o-ra-n-der-er-a

when 1stsg-lead-fv 2nd-you 2nd-be 14-well; (--)- when 2nd-lead 2nd-fut-1st.om-bring-appl-fv
I lead you are better placed; if you lead you shame me'

06 chi-soni; (.)o-mu-bolel-a: (--)

10-shame; (.) 2ndsg.prs-3rdsg.om-tell-fv (-)

You tell him

In this example the priest quotes the ‘mothers’. The quote margin *bamayi enywenywe mulekhe kuboola* ‘you mothers stop saying’ (line 1) contains the original speaker *bamayi* ‘mothers’ and the introduction to the priest’s warning *mulekhe khuboola* ‘stop saying’. The complementizer is *mbo* ‘that’. The quote content contains what mothers are forbidden from saying *omusakhulu yuno omutinyu* ‘this husband is difficult’ (line 1-2). In the second speech report, the priest quotes himself. The quote margin *s’omubolela busa* ‘just tell him’ (line 3) is made up of the supposed original speaker (mother(s)), the addressee (the husband) indexed by the third person object pronoun –*mu-* ‘him’. The complementizer is *oli* ‘that’. The quote content is *ewe omutinyu lakini ese senenya chisoni ta* ‘you are difficult but I don’t want shame’ (line 4). The third speech report is a continuation of the second. It contains no complementizer. The quote margin comes at the end *omubolela* and it contains the original speaker ‘you’ signalled by the morpheme *o-* and the addressee signalled by the morpheme –*mu-* him. The quote content is *ese nandangira ewe oli bulayi n’orangira underera chisoni* ‘if I lead you are better placed and if you lead you shame me’ (line 4-5).

The utterance *mulekhe khuboola* ‘stop saying’ (line 1) and *khubela sina mala ewe oli nenaye* ‘why yet you are with him’ (line 2-3) reveal the priest’s rejection of mothers report, and it hints at the point that mothers had been commissioned to convince their husbands to come to church and to permit them (mothers) freedom to participate in church activities. With the adjective *mutinyu* ‘difficult’ the mothers declare their failure to convince their husbands. At issue here is an encounter between traditional Bukusu cosmology in which a man wields all social, political and economic powers and the Christian cosmology that recommends complementary existence between man and woman. To tackle resistance evidenced in mothers’ report the priest in the second and third speech reports prescribes a solution. The utterance *musakhulu ewe omutinyu lakini senenya chisoni ta* ‘my husband you are difficult but I don’t want shame’ (line 3-4) reveals alignment to husband’s position (*musakhulu ewe omutinyu* ‘my husband you are difficult’) and criticism of the husband’s position (*lakini senenya chisoni ta* ‘but I don’t want shame’). The husband’s position (the Bukusu cosmology) is according to the quote a source of shame. With *ese nandangira ewe oli bulayi* ‘when I lead you are better placed’ (line 5) the priest reveals that women are cooperative and they support christianity’, and that this is a ‘better position’. The priest’s recommendation is designed to depose the family structure in the Bukusu cosmology. By sharing the logophoric pronoun (and, therefore ideas) with women, the priest hints at the entry of the Christian culture in the traditional Bukusu culture through women, and through women some aspects of traditional Bukusu culture are to be overturned, thereby elevating Bukusu culture to the culture of Christianity.

The priest first talks about the meaning of death. In example 3 below the priest explains why death can be considered as a ‘burden’ or a hindrance for a Christian to enter heaven.

Example 3

01 ba-mayi BA-NDU BA-LE-CHA-MO NENDE BI-NDU BI-LI BI-KALI; (1.2) mbo

2-mothers 2-people 2-fut-come-18 together with 2-things 2-be 2-many; (1.2) that

Mothers, people will come with a lot of ideas that

02 e-fwe o-many-e khwama khale khale (.) o-many-e ba-li-khw-iich-a mbo

2ndpl-we 2ndsg-know-fv from the past past (.) 2ndsg-know-fv 3rdpl-fut-15-come-fv that

We, you know from the remote past’ you know they will come saying that

03 khukhwaama khu-si-macha mache (.) n-gorw-a si-macha mache si-na; (-) o-nyol-a

from 17-7-the distant past (.) 1stsg-don’t.know 7-the distant past 7-which; (-) 2ndsg-find-fv

‘from the remote past’. I don’t know which remote past. You find

- 04 mbo fun-a Ku-mu-sa:la lu-suli` (--) si-ju-i bek-a li-chune
that prs-break 3-3-tree 11-central pole- (--) neg.1stsg-know-fv prs-shave 5-hair
 that break the stick, the central pole' I don't know that 'shave the hair
- 05 o-r-e khu-si-lindwa si-ju-i kusi-a bu-lime` (.) BI-LA-BE-SI-A
2ndsg-put-sub 17-7-grave neg.1stsg-know-fv prs-sell-fv 14-land` (.) wh-2-fut-2ndpl-return-fv
 And put it on the grave'. I don't know 'sell land'. Things that will push you
- 06 ENYUMA ni-bi-o Paulo a-kani-ang-a mu-maandiko wagalatia khataru kumi
behind which Paul 3rdsg-prohibit-hab-fv 18-6-scriptures Galatians third ten
 behind; things which paul prohibits in scripture the Galatians three, ten
- 07 na tisa` (.) tu-me-ANZ-A KIROHO, (--) tu-me-maliza kimwili; (--)
and nine` (.) 1stpl-pf-start-fv spirit-wise, (--) 1stpl-pf-finish-fv flesh-wise; (--)
 and nine: 'we have started spiritwise ; we have concluded bodywise

In the first speech report, the quote margin *BANDU BALECHA ANO NENDE BINDU BILI BIKALI* 'people will come here with many things' (line 1) contains the original speaker *bandu* 'people', and the future tense indicated by the morpheme *-le-* and the place where words will be uttered *ano* 'here'. The complementizer is *mbo* 'that'. The quote content begins with *efwe* 'we' and ends with *simache mache* 'remote past' (line 2-3). In the second speech report the quote margin has the addressee indicated by the second person pronoun 'you' shown by the morpheme *o-*, the future tense morpheme *-la-*. The complementizer is *mbo* 'that'. The quote content begins with *funa kumusaala* 'break the post' (line 4) and ends with *kusia bulime* 'sell land' (line 5). First person plural pronoun *efwe* 'we' in the first speech report refers both to the priest and the unspecified people (the original speakers). It is thus a logophoric pronoun. The phrase *simache mache* refers to the remote past which according to the Bukusu cosmology is the source of age old traditions. With *ngorwa simache mache sina* 'I don't know which remote past' the priest expresses his incredulity of the traditions. The phrase *Funa lusuli* 'break the post' refers to the symbolic removal of the central post, the symbol of the husband; the phrase *beka lichune* 'shave' refers to the communicative event of shaving and the phrase *kusia bulime* refers to the communicative event of relocation that happens many years after death of a family head. Thus the quote content in the second speech report demonstrates the communicative events based on the Bukusu cosmology. With *BILABESIA enyuma* 'that will take you behind' the priest invokes the Christian linear cosmological organization (in which the visible world is 'behind' and the invisible world 'in front', and places communicative events based on Bukusu cosmologies 'behind') to challenge traditional Bukusu beliefs. For the priest mass belongs to aspects in front' and communicative events based on Bukusu cosmologies (that focus on the flesh) are aspects 'behind'. For the priest it is unacceptable to begin with the 'spiritual matters' and end with matters that focus on the 'flesh'. With semi-direct speech the priest enacts the reported words as though they are his or he aligns to them and then in the spirit of incarnation criticise them.

5.0 Conclusion and Recommendations

Examples 1, 2 and 3 reveal the use of speech report in enactment of the sermon; while the speech report in example 1 conveys what was said in the past, examples 2 and 3 convey what is to be said in future. The examples also reveal that the kind of speech report used is semi-direct speech which indexes hybridity in the sermon. The three examples show that retaining the features of direct speech and more especially the logophoric pronoun enables the priest to align himself to the words of the original speakers making them his own. Sharing the logophoric pronoun signals the fact that the priest shares in the ideas of the original speaker. In example 1 and 3, the priest's alignment to the interpretation of the universe by members of the Bukusu traditional religion indicates the Christian doctrine of incarnation which is the basis of inculturation: the priest first aligns to- before challenging

-the traditional Bukusu beliefs. This implies then that semi-direct speech report becomes a ‘temporal’ ‘object of criticism or challenge (Bakhtin 1981; Bauman 1985). The priest’s alignment to a position to be taken by women (example 2) indicates firstly that women constitute a way for the penetration of Christianity into the Bukusu traditional religion, and therefore women are assigned a new role of challenging the traditional Bukusu family structure (the basis of traditional Bukusu religion). Thus, by way of women the priest aligns himself to the traditional Bukusu religion and by way of women he hopes to overturn it and transform it to the level of Christian faith. Clearly then the proposed dialogue between these two religions is aimed at the elevation of traditional Bukusu religion to the level of the Christian faith: to use the words of the priest in example, 1 from ‘local theology’ to ‘theology’.

The findings of this paper suggest the incorporation of beliefs ideas and assumptions based on traditional Bukusu religion in the Christian funeral sermon. Semi-direct speech together with gestures contextualizes not only the cosmological mixture but also the reasons for such mixture. Further examination of sermons delivered within Bukusu funeral events can yield novel findings of how other devices contextualize *discursive heteroglossia*. In the like manner examination of funeral sermons in different cultural settings can yield a mixture of Christian and different cosmologies.

Notes

¹ I use the terms ‘quote margin’ ‘complementizer’ and ‘quote content’ to refer to the introducer of the quote, complementizer and the quote itself.

² I take logophoric pronoun as an instance of “‘incomplete’ person shift’ so that ‘reference within a speech report is adapted to the perspective of the current speaker’ (Aikhenvald (2008:384). Thus, semi-direct speech reports ‘cast the current speaker as if the current speaker were also the original speaker’

Transcription Symbols

(-)	pause (to 0.4 sec)
(--)	pause (0.4-0.7 sec)
(---)	pause 0.8-1.0 sec)
(1.1)	Pause 1.1 sec
<< >>	comment
CAPITAL	loudness
˘	superscript level intonation
;	falling intonation
::	length

Interlinearization symbols

1,2,3	Noun classes
1 st , 2 nd ..	pronoun (first person, second person...)
Sg and pl	singular and plural
Pst	past tense
Prs	present tense
Fut	future tense
Pf	perfect verb
Appl	applicative verb

Fv	final vowel
Dem	demonstrative
Neg	negation
Om	object marker

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