

**Corpus-based critical discourse analysis of the portrayal of body
parts in selected Zulu novels**

by

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Abstract

This corpus-based study examines female and male characters' body parts in selected isiZulu novels: *Indlela Yababi* (The path of the wicked; 1946) by RRR Dhlomo *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu* (The tycoon of Pietermaritzburg; 1961) by CLS Nyembezi and *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* (Who deserves to be forgiven? 2002) by NG Sibiya. The three selected novels are representative of the three periods that somewhat define South Africa: the pre-apartheid, the apartheid and the post-apartheid period. With a focus on gender variation, I look at the use and description of female and male characters' body parts in the selected texts. Using a combined Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis approach, I investigate the following questions: how do male and female characters use their body parts in the selected texts? Is the use of the body parts in the selected texts indicative of gender differences? How are body parts described in the selected texts? Could it be that the description represents male and female characters in a stereotypical way? Do the uses of and descriptions of body parts reveal aspects of power relations between women and men? Is there any development or change over time in the selected texts with regard to body parts and gender? The following body parts are examined: *isandla* and *izandla* (the hand and the hands), *amehlo* (the eyes), *ikhanda* (the head) and *ubuso* (the face). From the findings obtained, it is clear that the use and description of female and male characters' body parts are indicative of gender differences and gender stereotypes. However, such gendered patterns are less distinct in the novels selected. These findings would have to be measured on a larger corpus of isiZulu novels.

Key words

corpus linguistics; critical discourse analysis; gender; gender differences; gender stereotypes; isiZulu literature; *Indlela Yababi*; *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu*; *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?*

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Background and rationale

Gender analysis has been conducted extensively by different scholars in South Africa and internationally. This study thus attempts to add another dimension to gender analysis in isiZulu literature using a different theoretical approach. Combining Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Corpus Linguistics (CL), this study aims to analyse the body parts of male and female characters in three selected isiZulu novels, namely, *Indlela Yababi* (The path of the wicked; 1946); *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu* (The tycoon of Pietermaritzburg; 1961); and *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* (Who deserves to be forgiven? 2002) to discover if the use or description of the body parts reveal gender stereotypes and/or gender differences.

The field of gender is broad and includes aspects such as gender roles, gender identity, gender inequality, gender stereotypes, and gender occupations (division of labour). This study focuses only on gender stereotypes and/or gender differences to determine whether they are reflected linguistically in the selected isiZulu novels mentioned above. To contextualise gender stereotypes within CDA, I briefly reflect on CDA. CDA is concerned with relations of power, dominance and inequality within society which makes it fitting to be applied in this study because gender stereotypes contribute to fundamental power relations. Stereotyped representations of men and women may suggest that men have power over women, which is the very kind of power relationship that CDA examines.

Using CDA as a theoretical framework for an analysis of isiZulu texts selected seems also to be particularly suited for this kind of study because South Africa is known for its high levels of inequality (particularly race and gender inequality) which result from the impact of apartheid that remains evident up to this day. Amongst other factors of apartheid such as discrimination, injustice, power, etc. I particularly take interest in the inequalities of gender because gender stereotypes most often lead to inequality between the male and the female genders (Kwatsha 2009; Ndimande-Hlongwa &

Rushubirwa 2014). Though in 1994 there was a change of power in South Africa, issues of gender inequality and oppression towards women still remain to be addressed. This is due to the patriarchal nature of South Africa where both black and white women had an inferior position as opposed to men. Men were superior, taking all the major decisions both in society at large and within their homes (South African History Online 2011). For these reasons this research examines three isiZulu literary texts that represent three different eras in isiZulu literature that somewhat define South Africa.

The approach taken in this study has not been done before in isiZulu literature studies. Research done by scholars who have worked on isiZulu literature, including the selected novels, has often been to analyse theme, characterization, plot, style, narration, etc. These scholars have not kept pace with theoretical advances in literature studies. This study aims to analyse a topic of great relevance, namely gender representation, with the aid of the innovative use of CL and computer technology. At the present there is no research that has studied the body parts of male and female characters in isiZulu literature. However, a combination of CDA and CL has been applied in quite a number of disciplines internationally and in a few South African studies, which are discussed briefly in the literature review.

1.2 Research questions

This study aims to analyse the three novels on a word and sentence level in order to ascertain whether the use and description of the body parts of male and female characters is representative of gender differences and/or gender. The study aims to answer the following questions:

1. How do male and female characters use their body parts in the selected texts?
2. Is the use of the body parts in the selected texts indicative of gender differences?
3. How are body parts described in the selected texts? Could it be that the description represents male and female characters in a stereotypical way?

4. Do the uses of and descriptions of body parts reveal aspects of power relations between women and men?
5. Is there any development or change over time in the selected texts with regard to body parts and gender?

1.3 Research method

This study is corpus-based, making use of electronic corpora consisting of the electronic versions of three selected isiZulu novels, namely, *Indlela Yababi* (The path of the wicked; 1946) by RRR Dhlomo; *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu* (The tycoon of Pietermaritzburg; 1961) by CLS Nyembezi; and *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* (Who deserves to be forgiven? 2002) by NG Sibiya. This study combines CDA and CL tools to examine the occurrence of the body parts with reference to male and female characters in the selected isiZulu novels. The selection of the novels range in publication date from 1946 to 2002, covering a time span of 56 years which gives the study a diachronic aspect. A corpus-based approach is used because computer software renders additional linguistic information to the researcher that would take weeks or months to uncover manually. Therefore, it permits large scale grammatical and interpretative analyses to be carried out. It furthermore provides the researcher with examples of real language usage within context, and computational processing allows for the identification of patterns of use, which often escapes a manual analysis of data. Processing data computationally is an important complementary method to manual, introspection-based perusal of data, which is time-consuming as well as prone to human error.

The use of corpus-based research methods is not a recent phenomenon. It has been in existence for a very long time particularly in the English academic community and also in other international languages such as those from Europe and Asia (Masubelele 2007:3). There are a few corpus-based studies that have been conducted in the indigenous languages of South Africa. These studies, however, focus on linguistic research and not on literature, e.g. Taljard (2006) and Masubelele (2007). This corpus-based study thus breaks new ground in its application to the

study of isiZulu literature. Below is a display of the search results from the corpus software to briefly illustrate the methodology used. This is a concordance list with the occurrences of the search word *isandla* (the hand) in the corpus, which is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3 with other body parts. The examples below are sorted to the first word on the left of *isandla*.

N	Concordance	Set	Tag	Word #	Senti	Para	Para	Hea	Hea	Secl	Secl	File	Date	%
1	, yisimanga lesi." Ayisuse imoto, afake isandla esikhwameni, sibuye nephepha	F		33 84; 1 9 25'	0	50'				0	50'	Kuxolelwa ab 2016-Aug-15	50%	
2	abuye nalo, aphihlize ifastela, afake isandla, alivule nakhu kalinazo	M		66 07; 3 4 87'	0	97'				0	97'	Kuxolelwa ab 2016-Aug-15	97%	
3	le nto eyayibhenywa, kwathi akelule isandla naye ayiphisele emlonjeni. 73	M		17 48; 1 2 75'	0	26'				0	26'	Kuxolelwa ab 2016-Aug-15	26%	
4	ebeka. Enye inhliziyo ithi akelule isandla, azame ukumsiza. Kodwa awu,	F		59 23; 3 4 37'	0	87'				0	87'	Kuxolelwa ab 2016-Aug-15	87%	
5	UShabalala ulokhu csibambile bandla isandla somkakhe, ulokhu ezama	M		45 30; 2 4 77'	0	67'				0	67'	Kuxolelwa ab 2016-Aug-15	67%	
6	, esho ezama ukumamatheka, clula isandla exhawula kuSabelo.	M		45 90; 2 4 93'	0	68'				0	68'	Kuxolelwa ab 2016-Aug-15	67%	
7	yini nkosikazi?" ebuza ehleka ebamba isandla somkakhe. "Ungake ubaleke	M		12 31; 1 74 90'	0	18'				0	18'	Kuxolelwa ab 2016-Aug-15	18%	
8	madoda." NguSabelo ebambisisa isandla sikaLethiwe. "Kakukubi impela	M		45 63; 2 4 86'	0	67'				0	67'	Kuxolelwa ab 2016-Aug-15	67%	
9	nanxa kuwumqansa nje. Nango efaka isandla esikhwameni uLethiwe,	F		11 50; 65 22'	0	17'				0	17'	Kuxolelwa ab 2016-Aug-15	17%	
10	-uphonjwana oluncane uThabiso, egoqa isandla eshuka ugwayi omikhulu-			17 41; 1 2 85'	0	26'				0	26'	Kuxolelwa ab 2016-Aug-15	26%	
11	csasincdumbe. Ngenkathi elula isandla uSabelo, emukela umthunzi	M		17 56; 1 2 17'	0	26'				0	26'	Kuxolelwa ab 2016-Aug-15	26%	
12	ihlombe nangenkathi efbla, elula isandla emukela umklomelo wakhe,	M		13 66; 88; 41'	0	20'				0	20'	Kuxolelwa ab 2016-Aug-15	20%	
13	, esho egegetheka uSparks, elula isandla exhawula uThushu osalokhu	M		4 827 23; 50'	0	7%				0	7%	Kuxolelwa ab 2016-Aug-15	7%	
14	, kwakusho uShumi emamatheka elula isandla exhawula kunina. Wasondela	M		15 72; 1 0 82'	0	23'				0	23'	Kuxolelwa ab 2016-Aug-15	23%	
15	lona osebhonga endlini?" esho elula isandla, exhawula uShumi ngenjabulo.	M		47 84; 2 6 84'	0	71'				0	71'	Kuxolelwa ab 2016-Aug-15	70%	
16	iwindi, eldiipha ingalo uKarabo, elula isandla eshaya insimi esangweni.	F		61 89; 3 4 56'	0	91'				0	91'	Kuxolelwa ab 2016-Aug-15	91%	
17	kakhulu," kuqhuba udokotela elula isandla exhawula uNozopho osalokhu	M		33 68; 1 9 64'	0	50'				0	50'	Kuxolelwa ab 2016-Aug-15	49%	
18	, kunjani ndoda yamadoda?" esho elula isandla ebingelela kule nsizwa	M		32 13; 1 9 11'	0	47'				0	47'	Kuxolelwa ab 2016-Aug-15	47%	
19	s'handwa sami," esho elula isandla ephulula uThushu edolweni.	F		56 86; 3 4 19'	0	84'				0	84'	Kuxolelwa ab 2016-Aug-15	84%	
20	Kwaqhubeka eside isikhathi esibambile isandla sikaNozopho, esafunga	M		55 80; 3 4 11'	0	82'				0	82'	Kuxolelwa ab 2016-Aug-15	82%	
21	namuhla." kubalisa uDolly esibambisisa isandla sikaThushu. "Siyaxolisa	F		4 896 23; 52'	0	7%				0	7%	Kuxolelwa ab 2016-Aug-15	7%	
22	enikina ikhanda, esibambisisa isandla sikaLethiwe. Nampayana	M		66 93; 3 4 93'	0	99'				0	99'	Kuxolelwa ab 2016-Aug-15	99%	
23	sokuba kuphume isikhali esibulalayo, isandla esimnyamakazi sale ndoda			15 16; 1 0 47'	0	22'				0	22'	Kuxolelwa ab 2016-Aug-15	22%	
24	-bakithi lezo zingalo zibambe esinye isandla, hhayi esakhe, alizwe lele-			6 028 23; 82'	0	99%				0	99%	Kuxolelwa ab 2016-Aug-15	99%	
25	" Washo la mazwi waselula futhi isandla uShumi, wasibamba	M		41 98; 2 3 64'	0	62'				0	62'	Kuxolelwa ab 2016-Aug-15	62%	
26	futhi, wazama ukusibambisisa futhi isandla sikaNozopho esasesithwishikile	M		55 90; 3 4 12'	0	82'				0	82'	Kuxolelwa ab 2016-Aug-15	82%	
27	-izandla, iphakama embhedeni, yelula- I isandla ikhipha ugwayi iwugxumeka-			9 223 54; 63'	0	14'				0	14'	Kuxolelwa ab 2016-Aug-15	14%	

Figure 1: Example of concordance search results

The study will analyse the following body parts: *isandla* and *izandla* (hand and hands); *ikhanda* (head); *amehlo* (eyes) and *ubuso* (face) of female and male characters in the selected texts. The parts of the body are extracted first from the selected novels using Wordsmith Tools Version 6.0. Wordsmith 6.0 automatically provides the verbs and modifiers that frequently collocate with the search word and the data is recorded in the tables. The verbs and modifiers are manually selected and tagged with the number of times they refer to female and male characters. The verbs listed are the ones occurring more than twice to the first word on the left or right of the body part. The modifiers that collocate with body parts are all listed; there is no sequence to their listing. When a body part occurs in figurative expression, it has been omitted from the analysis by me. For example, the expression *ukubeka*

isandla literally means “to lay the hand” but figuratively simply refers to hitting someone. The same applies when the body part cannot be linked to a male or female character – it has been omitted from my analysis.

1.4 Summary of the novels

1.4.1 *Indlela Yababi* by RRR Dhlomo

Rolfes Robert Reginald Dhlomo (1901-1971), who is popularly known as RRR Dhlomo was born in Pietermaritzburg in 1901. He studied at Ohlange Institute based at Inanda in Durban and attended the Amanzimtoti Training College in Isiphingo south of Durban. He finished his schooling at Pholela Institution near Richmond obtaining a certificate in teaching. During his schooling RRR Dhlomo developed an interest in writing. His first novel titled *An African Tragedy* published in 1928 was written in English. After that he published novels on well-known isiZulu kings, making a great contribution to isiZulu history with *UDingane* appearing in 1936 and soon followed by *UShaka* in 1937, and *UMpande* in 1938; *UCetshwayo* in 1952, and *UDinizulu* in 1968. He also wrote *UNomalanga kaNdengezi* (Nomalanga daughter of Ndengezi; 1947) which is a love story and *Indlela Yababi* (The path of the wicked; 1946). RRR Dhlomo also contributed to journalism as an assistant editor of *Ilanga laseNatali* (The Newspaper of Natal). The newspaper became one of the best in South Africa. He also wrote short stories, sketches, and articles for the European (the English) weekly journal called *The Sjobok*, a journal whose aim was to fight the evil and corruption in the community (Dhlomo 1978:9). RRR Dhlomo passed away in 1971 at his birthplace in Siyamu, Pietermaritzburg (Khoza 2001:26-30).

The social post-historical novel *Indlela Yababi* (1946) focuses on the life of Delsie Moya. The story begins at Siyamu, a rural area near Pietermaritzburg where Delsie is brought up in a Christian home and grows up to obtain her Diploma in Teaching. She later gets a teaching post at Amanzimtoti where she falls in love with Reverend Gwebu. To avoid getting into trouble with the community which they serve, both Delsie and Rev. Gwebu elope to the big city Johannesburg where they are free from Christian limitations and enjoy their new life. In Johannesburg they experience a

completely different environment from that of Siyamu. They come across different people with different intentions and personalities and others with corrupt influences. Delsie falls in love with a number of men at the same time and she seems to betray her Christian values. In the midst of all this, Rev. Gwebu loses his life because of Delsie's behaviour. Delsie gets a chance to repent and return home although she has a grudge against her parents.

Indlela Yababi was published in the pre-apartheid era in 1946, a period known as the missionary period in which various missionaries contributed enormously to the life of African individuals as well as to their literatures. Their aim was to spread and promote the Christian faith (Ntuli 1993:139). In the novel *Indlela Yababi* it is evident that the factor of Christianisation contributed to it. The main character Delsie is brought up by her parents according to the Christian values which she assimilates but all that comes to a halt when she gets to the big city Johannesburg (Ntuli 1998:95). It is noted that this is one of the first isiZulu novels that deals with the "Jim-goes-to-Jo'burg" theme, or the so-called "prodigal-son" theme, which became very popular among Black writers in isiZulu literature and in other languages (Ntuli 1993:143). Gérard (1971:265) highlights that many writers used this theme as a way to warn their readers against the evils of the city life, tolerance, immorality, and crime.

1.4.2 *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu* by CLS Nyembezi

Professor Cyril Lincoln Sibusiso Nyembezi (1919-2000) was born on 6 December 1919 at Babanango situated near Melmoth. He studied at Vryheid and Driefontein near Ladysmith and later trained as a teacher at Natal Training College and Adams College. He was a writer best known for his novel *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu* which became a popular series on Radio Zulu currently known as Ukhozi FM and which was also adapted for television. He wrote over twenty books and several volumes of poetry. He was chief editor of African Languages in one of the notable publishing companies, Shuter & Shooter. He edited several anthologies and translated Alan Paton's *Cry the Beloved Country* into isiZulu. He was also a lexicographer who compiled two dictionaries *The Compact Zulu Dictionary* (1959)

and *Scholars Zulu Dictionary* (1969) with GR Dent. In 1992 he compiled a definitive isiZulu dictionary *Isichazamazwi Sanamuhla Nangomuso* (The Dictionary of Today and Tomorrow) (The Natal Society Foundation 2010).

Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu (The tycoon of Pietermaritzburg; 1961) is a comic classic novel that deals with fraud. The novel begins by describing Nyanyadu, a rural area distant from the cities and towns which makes it difficult for travellers to get there and for residents to receive their mail. One day a letter arrives for Mkhwanazi from a man unknown to him, signed "CC Ndebenkulu, Esq." In the letter Ndebenkulu announces that he will be arriving at Mkhwanazi's home by train to come and help the people "get rich." Ndebenkulu finally arrives after preparations for his arrival have been made. Ndebenkulu asks Mkhwanazi to arrange a meeting with the men of the community so he could state the purpose of his visit. Mkhwanazi does that and summons the men of Nyanyadu to a meeting with Ndebenkulu. Ndebenkulu poses as a man who is well connected with butchery owners and claims to have held huge amounts of money in his hands and goes on to manipulate the men that if they try to sell the cows themselves they will not get much whereas if they sell the cows through him they will get a substantial amount. Mkhwanazi is the one who is most taken by all this but because he is a well-respected man in the community, he manages to convince some of the men to give their cows to Ndebenkulu. Mkhwanazi's son Themba and his friend Diliza see right through Ndebenkulu on the day he has to travel with the cows and they give him a hard time on the way to the station. When Ndebenkulu arrives at the station a woman who was his victim in another area identifies him and he gets arrested by the police and the cows get saved.

This novel was published in 1961, during the apartheid period, a time when black people did not have much fortune but had cattle which was of great economic value (Ntuli 1998:77). This is characterised by Ndebenkulu in this novel when he tries to scheme the cattle from the men of the rural Nyanyadu in order to make a fortune for himself. Swanepoel (2012:609) argues that a number of factors characterised the condition of literatures in the African languages during the apartheid period. He identifies three central themes around which these factors revolved: firstly, the policy of so-called separate development and the controlling mechanisms instituted to

enforce it; secondly, the socio-economic conditions under which Africans lived in rural areas and on white-owned farms; and thirdly, the migration to the big cities in search of better opportunities – a movement which rapidly increased after 1948. However, in *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu* we find the reverse of this migration because Ndebenkulu moves from the city of Pietermaritzburg to the rural area to go and try his luck in making money. Other factors which influenced the literatures during this period include industrialization, urbanisation and acculturation (Ntuli 1998:71).

1.4.3 *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* by NG Sibiya

Nakanjani G Sibiya was born in 1967 at Gcotsheni which is located at Eshowe in KwaZulu-Natal. He holds a PhD from the University of Zululand and works at the University of KwaZulu Natal, Pietermaritzburg campus. He has contributed much in isiZulu literature particularly in the category of short stories. To date he has written over twenty books of short stories, plays, poetry, essays, and novels. His other novel *Bengithi Lizokuna* (I thought it would rain; 2008) won the JL Dube Award for Novels and the BW Vilakazi Shuter & Shooter Prize in 2008. He was again awarded the JL Dube Award for Prose for his debut collection of short stories titled *Ikusasa Eliqhakazile* (A bright future) (Groenewald 2012:53).

His novel *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* received the M-Net Book Prize in 2003 and was also awarded the BW Vilakazi Prize in 2004, the most prestigious award for isiZulu literature. *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* is a social novel written after 1994. This is the era that has seen a change in isiZulu literature where writers express their freedom of speech about life under apartheid; society and crime; love affairs across different races; homosexuality and so forth (Swanepoel 2012:620-624). The novel *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* is a good example because it focuses on HIV/AIDS (one of the biggest challenges facing the country), abuse of drugs, corruption, blackmailing and morality in light of the fact that there are quite a number of immoralities or crimes within this new democracy (Groenewald 2012:55). Moreover, HIV/AIDS contributes to gender issues because of its impact on gender roles. In South Africa the majority of people

affected by HIV/AIDS are young women due to unprotected sex and rape (Beers 2004:2).

The novel poses the question of whether one partner can or should forgive the other if he/she infects them with HIV during a relationship (Mathonsi & Mazibuko 2009: 307). The main character Shumi is married to Lethiwe and they have a good life together but Shumi starts an affair with an old love, Nozipho. This is where a series of crises begin. Nozipho feels obliged to confess her affair with Shumi to her husband Khumbulani since she has contracted HIV. Khumbulani gets furious and drives Nozipho away. On her way to Durban her car breaks down and she gets raped. On that very same night she contracts pneumonia and she loses her unborn baby. She gets admitted to hospital and later dies. After her death, Shumi confesses his infidelity with Nozipho to his wife Lethiwe and she drives him away from their house. He goes to his friend's house who also drives him away after telling the friend that he is HIV positive. Lethiwe loses her mother in a car accident, when both her parents were driving to go look for Shumi in order to confront him about what he did to their daughter. Lethiwe's brother Sabelo falls ill because of drug abuse, she finds out that he is HIV positive, he contracted it from Nozipho when they raped her. Lethiwe decides to forgive her husband Shumi after finding out that he is not HIV positive and they reconcile.

1.5 Literature review

1.5.1 Gender representation in isiZulu literary texts

A few studies have been conducted around gender representation in isiZulu literary texts, particularly novels. Their focus is on male and female characters and the gender stereotypes they are portrayed with. Gender stereotypes are traits associated with females and males that suggest many differences between them (Kwatsha 2009:132). Masuku (2005) analyses isiZulu folktales, proverbs and praises which contain gender stereotypes attached to women. She finds that females are associated with both positive and negative gender stereotypes. When female characters conform to the standards set by society (e.g. wife, mother) they are

portrayed positively, and when they do not (e.g. single, divorced), they are portrayed negatively; the same applies to male characters (Mncube 2007:83). The novels used are particularly schoolbooks. Buthelezi (2003) analyses primary schoolbooks in which she discovers that gender stereotypes are reflected both in words and in pictures. “Females are represented as mother/wife and also in limited professional roles of teachers while males are represented in a variety of professional roles where they have power to make decisions and control resources” (Buthelezi 2003:39).

In the same way, Mncube (2007) and Nkosi (2013) conducted their studies on a number of isiZulu novels prescribed for secondary school learners. They argue that literary texts are instruments that perpetuate gender stereotypes because they contain a number of stereotypical representations (Nkosi 2013:133). Their analyses show that both male and female characters are often stereotypically represented in the novels. However, there is a difference in the portrayal of female characters compared to male characters. Women are most often portrayed as emotional, weak, inferior and with occupations such as teacher, nurse, or waitress while males are portrayed as authoritative, brilliant, successful, strong, brave and active with occupations such as Doctor, Attorney, Heads of Departments or Police officer (Mncube 2007; Nkosi 2013). From the above research it is evident that gender stereotypes play a role in social inequality and making women feel inferior. Zondi (2013) explains that in both the novels (isiZulu and Shona) she examined, the inferiority of women and the authority of men over their lives spreads through in almost the entire chapters of the novels. She further explains that none of the women in both novels have been entrusted with power irrespective of their status (Zondi 2013:180). Above all, these studies demonstrate how literature is influenced by society as it reflects and reproduces social relations and practices.

1.5.2 Critical Discourse Analysis in practice

As mentioned in 1.1 this study employs CDA as its theoretical framework. This section highlights some of the studies that have used CDA as a theoretical model. CDA has a wide field of application. It has been used in analysis of a variety of texts and in a variety of disciplines. In the political domain, using Barack Obama’s

speeches, Wang (2010) aims to show that CDA can explore the connection between language, ideology and power. He applies the three meta-functions of Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (see 2.2), namely: ideational, interpersonal and textual function in order to find out how the power of Barack Obama's speeches persuaded the public to accept and support his policies. According to the SFG theory, Barack Obama used simple words and short sentences in his speeches. He referred to the process of doing (what the government has done, what they are doing, and what they will do) and he made use of first person pronouns and religious belief (Wang 2010:261).

In literature, Masubelele (2015) examines the use of code-switching in the isiZulu novel *Bengithi Lizokuna* (I thought it would rain; 2008) to determine its influence in the isiZulu speaking society. She uses CDA as an instrument to form the arguments central to the discussion and more so to find explanations of why discourses work in the way they do in particular contexts. She finds that the use of code-switching in the novel is an indication of social change. Ntombela (2016) analyses isiZulu *maskandi* song from a CDA perspective "to investigate the use of *maskandis'* musical expression to convey sensitive messages and to draw inferences on how this indigenous music genre can be a tool for reading or literary instruction among early readers" (Ntombela 2016:119). He finds that the song reveals sociocultural issues that relate to ways of communication such as repetition, metaphoric expressions, call-and-response patterns and indirection.

1.5.3 Combining Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics

This study does not make use of CDA alone but also applies CL (see 2.3). The combination of CDA and CL has been used by several studies internationally and by a few nationally. The aim is to reveal any imbalances or power relations that exist within literary texts, written media (magazines, newspapers) and so forth. Caldas-Coulthard and Moon (2010) analyse a number of tabloid newspapers in Great Britain. They find "hard evidence, at the start of the third millennium, for ways in which people are categorized in the written media, and thus the ways in which gender is construed, and sexualisation and discrimination are performed, through

lexical labelling” (Caldas-Coulthard and Moon 2010: 124). They look at the labelling of men, women, girls and boys. They find that the adjectives associated with them in the newspapers chosen reveal that there are differences in ways that newspapers categorize men and women. “Men are evaluated in terms of their function and status in society while women are evaluated in terms of appearance and sexuality”, which makes a clear difference in the labelling of the two genders posing obvious discrimination against women (Caldas-Coulthard and Moon 2010:124).

Another focus in the combination of CDA and CL is examining word frequencies and doing a CDA analysis of concordances or collocates of a particular text or set of texts within the corpus (Baker et al. 2008:295). For example, the study by Baker et al. (2008) analyses texts from articles published in 1996-2005 and in periods where there were many references to refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants, and migrants in the UK newspapers. In their study they observe that “the terms immigrant(s) and migrant(s) strongly collocate with fled and fleeing,” which they discovered to be an unlikely process as immigration is a process that is often planned (Baker et al. 2008:287). Similarly, Crymble’s thesis (2010) uses three South African newspapers to reveal the collocations of the terms immigrants, refugee and foreigner within the corpus of each of the newspapers selected. Crymble discovers that all three newspapers selected have “illegal” as the highest collocation when combined with immigrant which conveys “negative expressive value” (Crymble 2010:116). Furthermore, the “stereotypical perception of referring to migrants in metaphorical language pour, flood, flow, stream dehumanizes them and suggests that the process of migration is a disastrous one” which again expresses the negativity of the process (Baker et al. 2008; Crymble 2010).

The studies quoted above are all similar in that their focus is on media, particularly newspapers. The result is that the media plays a major role in constructing the readers’ perceptions and perspectives of the world. It contributes to the human beings’ perceptions of what constitutes appropriate for the society. Crymble (2010:44). Alegre et al. (2007:6) is of the opinion that the “use of language in media, for example its grammatical structure and patterns is what attracts linguists to critically analyse it.” Nonetheless, it can be argued that the media plays a role in perpetuating existing problems related to dominance, power, control, and

discrimination. “Media representations go hand-in-hand with power relations” (Crymble 2010:42).

1.5.4 Combining Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics in literary texts

Goatly (2004) uses *Harry Potter and the Philosopher’s Stone* as his case study to discover the ideologies in and behind literary texts via the integration of CDA and CL methodology. Goatly’s focus is on the representation of different things in the story of *Harry Potter and the Philosopher’s Stone* such as plants, trees, animals, women and men, food, and others. With regard to women, he discovers that “women are stereotypically associated with the expression of emotion. The words cry, tears, scream, and shriek occur most frequently with females than with males.” In another literary study Mahlberg & Smith (2010) compare the novel *Pride and Prejudice* to other novels by authors of the nineteenth-eighteenth century. Within those novels they select the keywords that occur more frequently and they discover the noun “civility” in the novel *Pride and Prejudice* to occur more frequently. From this it is evident that apart from looking at the representations, the CL approach can also be used to “compare patterns of the keywords in the text under analysis with the meanings that are found for that word” (Mahlberg 2010:296).

Hunt’s corpus-based study (2015) which I extensively draw on, has analysed the body parts of male and female characters in three books of the *Harry Potter* series to explore how agency (the state of being in action or exerting power) is “constructed” along gender lines. Hunt assesses the books and discovers that body parts of male characters dominate even when male and female characters are equally distributed as Hunt discovered in three of the *Narnia* books by CS Lewis. She then concludes that “this suggests that male bodies may be regarded as more prominent than females’ in some children’s fiction” (Hunt 2015:278).

Hunt (2015) distinguishes between three ways in which male and female characters use the body in the *Harry Potter* books. She discovers that the way they use it is

gendered and exemplifies power. For example, females click or snap their fingers to attract the attention of others while males clap their hands. The action of females is silent while that of males is loud. Both males and females use their hands to hold or carry things, however male hands carry important objects in the story line and females carry objects which are not central to the plot. Male heads, faces, arms and fingers get involved in danger and are injured and female faces, fingers, and heads come into contact with danger but are not injured (Hunt 2015:284-290).

Thus, the representation of agency is gendered in the *Harry Potter* books. Female characters generally hold objects from the domestic sphere with their arms and hands while male characters hold or carry much more dangerous and important things. Males also suffer far more numerous and serious injuries emphasising their physical identity, despite female characters also being involved in the dangerous quests and battles. Females in the world of *Harry Potter* are systematically excluded from acting on the world in powerful or meaningful ways and thus the message is clear that agency is not for girls (Hunt 2015:293-294).

1.6 Delimitation of the study

This study will only analyse the identified isiZulu novels, *Indlela Yababi* (The path of the wicked; 1946) by RRR Dhlomo; *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu* (The tycoon of Pietermaritzburg; 1961) by CLS Nyembezi; and *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* (Who deserves to be forgiven? 2002) by NG Sibiya. It will not examine any other genres (poetry, drama, short story, folktales, proverbs, idioms, etc.) of isiZulu literature. The description and use of body parts of female and male characters in the selected novels will be examined. The analysis of the research will only be focused on the results found with regard to the body parts; other aspects like characterisation, plot, narration and so forth will not be dealt with.

1.7 Format of the dissertation

Chapter Two provides a detailed explanation of the theoretical framework that guides this research and the tools used to analyse the selected texts. The chapter looks at gender studies, CDA and CL and outlines how these frameworks combine to direct the analysis of this research.

Chapter Three reports on the findings from the corpora. These include the frequent collocates of the body parts analysed. Each body part's data is presented in a table. Explanations of that data are also provided.

Chapter Four provides a critical analysis of the data presented and the discussion of the findings. The analysis focuses on gender difference, gender stereotyping and power relations.

Chapter Five concludes the dissertation. A brief summary of the results is provided. It also reflects on the contribution made by this study towards the body of research on isiZulu literature as well as the potential for future research within this area.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter situates the study within the following theoretical framework: gender studies, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Corpus Linguistics (CL). Gender is one aspect of power relations that is often studied in CDA. For CDA, gender and language interact, thus it aims to investigate how issues of gender are represented in language. This chapter also explains the corpus software used in this study and the corpus linguistics techniques this research makes use of, namely concordance and collocations. It concludes with the advantages of merging CDA and CL.

2.2 Gender, language and inequality

2.2.1 Definition of gender

The emergence of gender can be dated back to the late 1960s. “Second-wave feminism” triggered its development and that of gender inequality. However, it was during the 1970s that the differences and inequalities between men and women began to be observed and addressed, particularly by women sociologists (Pilcher & Whelehan 2004: ix). Prior to that, the focus was on men and what was significant for them such as “paid work and politics.” Women were invisible and were in their traditional roles of wives and mothers within families (Pilcher & Whelehan 2004: ix).

In the twenty-first century, various researchers have shared different views and definitions of gender. Giddens (quoted in Wodak 1997:3) states that gender “concerns the psychological, social and cultural differences between males and females.” Zinsser in Kwatsha (2009:128) defines gender as “a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, the knowledge that establishes meanings for bodily difference.” Njogu & Orchardson-Mazrui (2013:2) see gender “as a social construct which asserts that the

expectations, capabilities and responsibilities of men and women are not always biologically determined.” It is evident from these views that gender is based more on the social rather than the biological. It highlights the social differences between men and women such as the difference in the position of men and women in the family and society at large whereby women are normally dominated by men. Male domination over female refers to patriarchy which is prevalent in African society. Thus, patriarchy is very important in the discussion of gender issues (Kwatsha 2009:129).

2.2.2 Language and gender inequality

Gender issues are pertinent within a wide range of disciplines and continue to be of interest to researchers worldwide, particularly linguistic scholars as they argue that the role of language displays gender and power relations (Ezeife 2014:49). Prewitt-Freilino et al (2012) argue that as long as language exists, the difference between male and female is also within it. Language perpetuates gender differences, as it is a social practice and social practices are not created and treated equally (Heberle 2000:128). In her discussion of the relationship between language and gender, Buthelezi (2004) distinguishes between two views. “One is the sociolinguist’s view that gender differences in language are simply a reflection of the way society works. And the other, is the feminist’s view that language serves as a primary means of encoding ideas used in constructing and maintaining that society” (Buthelezi 2004:389). According to Buthelezi (2004) language also reflects the inequalities of power between men and women as it is a characteristic of culture. “Culture is the lived experiences of a society, therefore, it is not neutral, it reflects the power differences existing between men and women in society,” thus enhancing gender inequality (Buthelezi 2004:389).

Njogu & Orchardson-Mazrui (2013) define gender inequality as unequal treatment or differentiation between male and female. They further argue that “gender inequality is not only embedded through socialization or determined biologically but also derives from the glaring gaps in policy, legal frameworks, education, and investment

opportunities that lead to the creation of difficulties for women towards performing to their full potential in social, economic and political spheres” as active members of the society (Njogu & Orchardson-Mazrui 2013:2). Over the past twenty years it has become evident that gender equality is still a goal that eludes South Africa, despite the many legislative and policy instruments employed to drive the ideal of an equal society to achievement. Other issues such as gender violence, income disparity, disproportionate representation and participation in the active economy also remain some of the challenges that appear before the cohort of South African womanhood.

Dirven and Verspoor (1998) argue that a language might have words which are culture-specific and whose meaning reflects cultural facts, thus making language a central feature of culture (Dirven & Verspoor 1998 quoted in Buthelezi 2004:389). For example, in the case of this study, the language associated with the body parts of male and female characters in the selected texts might reflect the isiZulu speaking society’s view of male and female body parts.

2.3 Critical discourse analysis

CDA, which was initially referred to as Critical Linguistics was developed in the 1970s by a group of linguists and literary theorists at the University of East Anglia. The linguistic theory Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) by Halliday strongly influenced the group and is thus the main foundation of CDA was characterised by three functions: ideational (language represents events and so forth), interpersonal (language is used between speaker and listener, between writer and reader) and textual (language is organised into texts) (Sheyholislami 2001:1) (see 1.5.2). Over the years CDA has been developed and broadened. Amongst the scholars who have contributed significantly to its development are Van Dijk, Fairclough, and Wodak (Sheyholislami 2001:2).

CDA is governed by common principles outlined by Fairclough and Wodak (1997:258) as follows: CDA addresses social issues; power relations are discursive; discourse constitutes society and culture; discourse does ideological work and is historical; the link between text and society is mediated; discourse provides

descriptive, interpretative, and explanatory analysis of social phenomena; discourse is also a form of social action.

Van Dijk defines CDA as “a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power, abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context” (2001:352). From this, it is clear that CDA is concerned with relations of power (how they are produced, exercised and reproduced) within society – it investigates the representation and reproduction of unequal power relations such as political and social inequality, dominance and abuse. In line with this view, CDA aims to challenge all the negativity in society: injustice, inequality, unfairness and lack of democracy (Bhatia et al 2008:11).

According to Van Dijk (1995:17), work in CDA is distinguished by a number of criteria of which I highlight only the following four:

- CDA is part of a wide field of critical studies in the humanities and social sciences, e.g. political science, literature, sociology, psychology, law, and mass communication research.
- CDA focuses on relations of power, dominance and inequality and the ways these are reproduced or resisted by society through text and talk.
- Work in CDA is often concerned with the fundamental ideologies in the reproduction of or resistance against dominance or inequality.
- CDA attempts to uncover, reveal, or disclose that which is implicit or hidden.

For Fairclough and Wodak (1997) CDA pertains to the role of language. “CDA aims to show how language and discourse shape society on one hand, and how language is shaped by society on the other hand” (Fairclough & Wodak 1997:258). This draws back to Fairclough’s study (1989) of language and power. He emphasised that the role of language contributes to unequal power relations, thus, the realization of language and power needs to be increased “particularly how language contributes to the domination of some people by others” (Fairclough 1989:4). Baker et al (2008)

reckon that the expression of power in language is not only expressed by grammatical forms in a text, but also by a “person’s control of a social occasion, by means of the genre of a text, or by access to certain public spheres (Baker et al 2008:280). For CDA, “language is not powerful on its own, it gains power by the use people make of it” (Wodak 2002:10). In terms of this study, language may have sets of verbs, adjectives, nouns, etc. that are likely to be lexically gendered or to be stereotypically associated with the female and male body parts that reveal unequal power relations between these characters in the selected texts. Moreover, “language constructs the body through symbolic signs;” meaning the visual representation of body parts types, for example, female and male head shapes. Thus, the use of language also plays a significant role in gendering texts (Motschenbacher 2009:7).

Corresponding to language and analysing the relationship between texts, interactions and contexts, CDA is organised in three stages: description of text, interpretation of the relationship between text and interaction, and explanation of the relationship between interaction and social context (Fairclough 1989:109). All three stages are concerned with analysis, though analysis at the description stage differs from analysis at the interpretation and explanation stages. The description stage is an analysis of the formal features identified in the text which tend to be most significant to critical analysis (in this study: selection of body parts of male and female characters and their frequent collocates, e.g. verbs and modifiers). The interpretation stage involves the formal features of the text and the interpreter’s understanding of them or rather position of the interpreter. And the explanation’s stage objective is to demonstrate the text as part of a social process, showing how it is driven by social structures (relations of power) (Fairclough 1989:26,141,163). Relations of power are diverse. There are relations of power between social groupings in institutions, between women and men, between ethnic groupings, between young and old, and so on (Fairclough 1989:34), in the case of this research, between female characters and male characters’ body parts.

Janks (1997) adds the notion of interest, indicating that CDA should also ask questions about the different interests that are served in the discourse about power relations. Typical questions that could be asked in a CDA analysis are: Whose

interests are served by the position and positioning of the text? Whose interests are negated? What are the consequences of the positioning? (Janks 1997:329).

Wodak (2002) introduces the concept of ideology as of particular importance in CDA (see Goatly 2004). Various definitions of the term have been given in different contexts. For CDA, ideology is seen as a contribution to producing or reproducing unequal power relations (Wodak 2002:9). “The exercise of power in a modern society is achieved through ideology, and more particularly through the ideological working of language” (Fairclough 1989:2). By understanding ideology in terms of it being a means of maintaining unequal power relations is of particular significance to this study. Thompson (1990) recognises the study of ideology as a study of “the ways in which meaning is constructed and conveyed by symbolic forms of various kinds” (Thompson 1990 cited in Wodak 2002:9). CDA takes an interest in ways that language “mediates” ideology in various social institutions (Wodak 2002:9). Therefore for CDA, language, power and ideology are closely interrelated (see Wang 2010). This illustrates the different factors that are involved in the aims of CDA to make visible and transparent exploitative and negative social practices.

Furthermore, CDA does not have a unitary theoretical framework since it is not a specific direction of research. Bell and Garret (1998:7) refer to CDA as a shared perspective which consists of a range of approaches rather than a single school. This view is echoed by Van Dijk (2001:353) who sees CDA as consisting of many types that may be theoretically and analytically diverse. Fairclough, Mulderrig, & Wodak (2011:357) share the view that CDA is not a fixed set of research methods; it includes many approaches, frameworks, procedures with different theoretical models, research methods and agendas. Van Dijk (2001) explains his view by pointing out that a critical analysis of conversation would differ from an analysis of news reports, which would in turn be different from an analysis of a school lesson in a teaching context. However, most kinds of CDA will “ask questions about the way specific discourse structures are deployed in the reproduction of social dominance, whether they are part of a conversation or a news report or other genres and contexts” (Van Dijk 2001:353-354).

2.4 Corpus linguistics

Corpus linguistics properly developed in the 1960s (Teubert and Cermakova 2007). Mahlberg (2010:292) defines CL as a study of language “on the basis of samples of naturally occurring language.” These samples are easily demonstrated electronically inside a corpus. A corpus is a computer program that contains material in electronic format (Sinclair 1991) and Mahlberg (2010) points out that, that material may be written texts such as “newspapers, textbooks, leaflets, essays written by language learners, and also spoken transcriptions ranging from casual conversations to radio broadcasts, TV shows, lectures and so forth” (Mahlberg 2010:292).

The use of corpus linguistics in the analysis of prose texts like novels is fairly new. In this study, the selected isiZulu novels are a built corpus as these texts were first chosen and transferred into an electronic format in order to be used for CL to investigate linguistic patterns of the body parts of male and female characters displayed by the corpus software.

2.4.1 WordSmith Tools 6.0

Mike Scott’s WordSmith Tools 6.0 is a computer software program used for this research to collect the data and to aid the corpus analysis. It consists of a wide range of applications relevant for corpus linguistics investigation and is suitable for beginners and advanced users. “It can create concordances, frequency lists, collocate tables and perform keyword analyses. On the analysis of collocations, it provides a number of association scores (MI, z-score, MI3)” (Wiechmann and Fuhs 2006:111). The software is only available through purchase. It can be ordered on the website of Oxford University Press. I selected this corpus software because it is easily operated and offers a range of functions to work with.

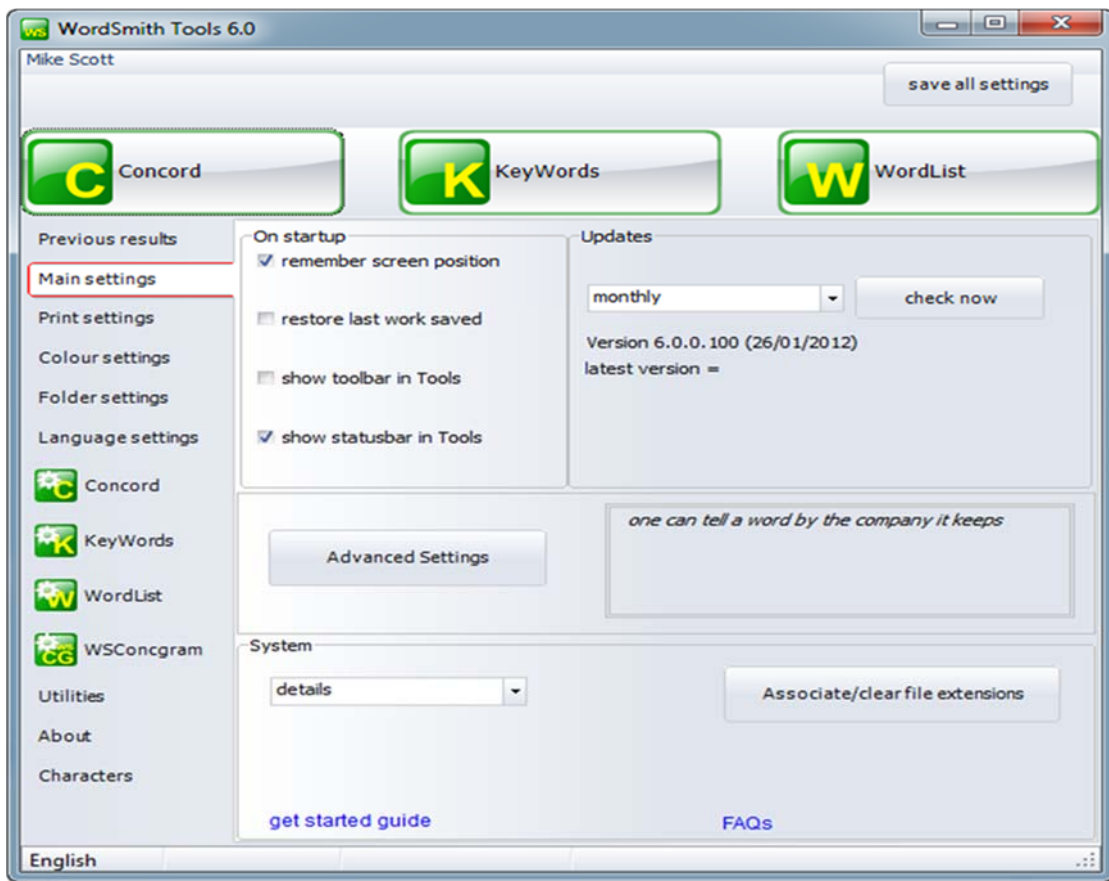


Figure 2: Illustration of the corpus software, WordSmith Tools 6.0 main screen

This research mainly makes use of the Concord function from the main/home screen, which allows the researcher to create collocates (see 2.3.3). Scott (2013:5) defines concord as a “program which makes a concordance using plain text or web text files.” When using it, you select the text file and specify a search word within that selected text file. The concord will quickly seek and present your results in a concordance display and also give you access to information about collocates of the search word. You can save the results for later use, they can also be edited, printed, and copied to your data processor (Scott 2013).

2.4.2 Concordance

When searching a corpus there are a number of techniques involved and concordance is one of those techniques applicable in this research. Within CL, a concordance or key word in context (KWIC) is a display of the search word with a number of occurrences to its left and to its right (Mahlberg 2010:292). A concordance

can be sorted in various ways in order to observe any repetitions which help in identifying patterns of language use or of the same word (Mahlberg 2010:293). It renders evidence of the most frequent collocates in a text (Wei 2015:81). In this study the concordance lines analysed are those associated with body parts of male and female characters, see Figure 1 for an example of concordance search results.

2.4.3 Collocations

Collocation is the frequency of words co-occurring nearer on either side of the search word. Focusing on collocation, this study describes collocational verbs and modifiers associated with female and male characters' body parts: *isandla nezandla* (the hand and hands), *ikhanda* (the head), *ubuso* (the face), *amehlo* (the eyes) across the corpus software to identify the gender discourses created within the selected texts. The idea of collocation is useful because collocations of the words do not only reveal the basic meaning of words but they are also able to reveal their implicit meaning (Baker et al 2008:278), when examining closely the relationship between these words and their co-occurrences. Moreover, when working with longer texts (as is the case with this study), it is important to support collocations with information from the concordance lines because words alone cannot describe meaning, the meaning is better understood over longer stretches of the text (Hunt 2015:274).

In summary, corpus linguistic research is guided by a number of routine procedures which were considered in this study such as, searching a corpus for a particular phenomenon (with a focus on words that reference body parts of male and female characters); counting (verbs and modifiers that co-occur with male and female body parts); organising (verbs and modifiers that refer only to female characters' body parts and those that refer only to male characters' body parts); and displaying the results (in a number of tables for each body part selected and its information) (Wiechmann and Fuhs 2006:107).

2.5 Advantages of merging Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics

Lee (2008:86) is of the opinion that the merging of the two approaches (CDA and CL) is the new way of doing old things. Corpus-based analysis was used primarily in the fields of lexicography and grammar. Its application to discourse analysis is a relatively recent approach (Baker 2006 quoted in Bhatia 2008:7). CDA and CL are two different disciplines but which are compatible as each can contribute to the other (Stegmeier 2012:93). While CDA practitioners are able to identify social issues, CL methods can support such identifications (Baker 2012:247). The potential of merging these two disciplines seems to be growing as there has been more CDA work using corpus linguistics; for example, the studies by Baker et al (2008); Kim (2014); Efe & Ozer (2015); and Potts & Kjær (2016) (see also 1.5.3 and 1.5.4). In using CL methods to carry out CDA, corpus technology assists in finding other examples of a phenomenon already noted, it reveals patterns previously overlooked and it revises the researcher's intuition (Baker et al 2008:285). CL allows CDA analysts to work with huge amounts of data than they can actually work with when using manual techniques, thus, making the analyst's task easier (Baker 2012:255).

Baker (2006) considers a few advantages of using a corpus-based approach to discourse analysis, which can be concisely expressed as follows: it reduces researcher bias, though not totally because "the interpretation and evaluation of quantitative patterns are still very much likely to be subject to human bias" (Baker 2012:255). It enables the analyst to have a close-up with the text or sentence to see a wider picture, thirdly, it offers examples of different types of discourses (corpus containing texts from different time periods), and it contributes to triangulation by allowing multiple methods of analysis on the data (Baker 2006:10-17). Another advantage of merging the qualitative theory of CDA with the quantitative CL methods, is a creation of both a qualitative and quantitative perspective.

2.5 Summary

This chapter has illustrated the different methodologies that come into play with regard to gender analysis. The literature above demonstrates that there is a strong relationship between gender, language and culture. Gender differences are perpetuated by language through words, phrases and sentences and some of those words may be culture-specific. In this chapter I also emphasise on the two linguistic approaches: CDA and CL which play a significant role in this study for the collection and analysis of my data as will be shown in the chapters to follow. The advantages of combining the two are also highlighted as they are evident in chapters 3 and 4.

Chapter 3: Corpus-based identification of male and female characters' body parts

3.1 Introduction

This chapter constitutes an analysis of the frequency and occurrence of body parts namely *isandla* and *izandla* (the hand and the hands); *ikhanda* (the head); *amehlo* (the eyes); and *ubuso* (the face) of female and male characters in the selected texts. These body parts were chosen because they present a reasonable amount of data to work with. As mentioned in 1.3, the selected body parts are first extracted from the selected novels using Wordsmith Tools Version 6.0. Wordsmith 6.0 automatically provides the verbs and modifiers that frequently collocate with the search word (note henceforth) and the data is recorded in the tables. The tables are based on the selection of data generated by the software that is relevant for this study. The verbs and modifiers are manually selected and tagged with the number of times they refer to female and male characters. Each part of the body has its own table with its own data. Moreover, the recorded data in the table is analysed by highlighting the similarities and differences between male and female characters' body parts in the selected texts in order to reveal the (possible) gendered nature of the texts.

The search for singular and plural forms is separate where applicable since there are often differences between singular and plural forms, e.g. the hand and the hands, the eye and the eyes. However, this study merely focuses on the plural form *amehlo* (the eyes) and not on the singular *i(li)hlo* (the eye). The search and the analysis does not include derivations such as *nesandla* (and the hand) or *ngesandla* (with the hand) etc. because the analysis is limited to the nouns of the body parts mentioned above. This study also does not analyse all the verbs which appear with each body part but only the verbs that occur twice or more times. However, in some cases exceptions are made (see the tables below). The structure of the tables is in the order of the publication of the novels, from the oldest to the most recent.

3.2 *Isandla* (the hand) and *izandla* (the hands)

Search word	Raw hits	Relevant hits	Frequent collocates						
<i>Isandla</i> (the hand)	19	9	Object of	-beka (to place)	Male ref	1			
					Female ref	3			
							-elula (extend)	Male ref	1
							Female ref	1	
						Subject of	-bamba (hold)	Male ref	1
								Female ref	1
			Modified by	-	Male ref	-			
					Female ref	-			
<i>Izandla</i> (the hands)	8	3	Object of	-elula (extend)	Male ref	1			
					Female ref	-			
							-fumbatha (clasp)	Male ref	1
								Female ref	-
							-bamba (hold)	Male ref	1
								Female ref	-
						Subject of	-	Male ref	-
								Female ref	-
						Modified by	-	Male ref	-
Female ref	-								

Table 1: Verbs occurring with female and male characters' *isandla* and *izandla* in *Indlela Yababi*

Table 1 shows that there are no frequent collocates for *isandla* (singular) and *izandla* (plural) of male and female characters in this text. The corpus of *Indlela Yababi* returned 19 occurrences of which 9 are relevant for the node *isandla*. When *isandla* is the object it appears with the verb stems –*beka* (to place) and –*elula* (extend), and

when it is the subject it appears with the verb stem *-bamba* (hold) for both male and female characters. There are no modifiers for *isandla* of male and female characters. For *izandla* of male and female characters, the corpus returned 8 occurrences of which 3 are relevant. When *izandla* are the object, they collocate with the verb stems *-elula* (extend), *-fumbatha* (clasp), and *-bamba* (hold) for male characters. The corpus returned no results for *izandla* of female characters. Also when *izandla* are the subject, the corpus returned no results for both male and female characters, and the same for the modifiers.

3.2.1 *Isandla* and *izandla* in *Indlela Yababi*

3.2.1.1 *-beka* (to place)

Isandla of male characters collocates once with *-beka* (to place) while *isandla* of female characters collocates three times with *-beka* (to place). In extract (1) the male character Moya places his hand on his wife's shoulder to say something to her. Also in (2) the female character Delsie places her hand on the shoulder of her boyfriend Dick. The female character Delsie also places her hand on the chest twice because she is shocked (3).

- 1) *UMoya abeke isandla sakhe ehlombe lomkakhe; bese ekhuluma ngomoya ophansi. "Uma ngineziphonsiso ungangisola nje sisobabili, hhayi phambi kwengane yethu."*

Moya places his hand on his wife's shoulder; and then speaks calmly. "When I am mistaken you can criticise me amongst the two of us, not in front of our child."

- 2) *UDelsie asukume athathe izingilazi ezintathu ezazihlezi ekhabhathini azibeke etebhuleni. Asondele kuDick abeke isandla sakhe ehlombe likaDick.*

Delsie stands up and takes three glasses that were in the cupboard and places them on the table. She comes near Dick and places her hand on Dick's shoulder.

- 3) *Athi **ubeka isandla** sakhe esifubeni abuye asisuse, kwazise sasivevezela sengathi ugodole.*

As she places her hand on her chest she again removes it, notably it was trembling as if she had been cold.

3.2.1.2 -*elula* (extend)

The verb stem –*elula* (extend) collocates once with *isandla* of male characters and also once with *isandla* of female characters. In (4) the female character Delsie extends her hand and holds the male character Ben on the chest as she speaks with him. In (5) the male character extends his hand and greets the female character Delsie.

- 4) *UDelsie **elule isandla** abambe uBen esifubeni ngaso athi: "Musa musa bo!"*

Delsie extends the hand and holds Ben on the chest with it and says: "Do not!"

- 5) *Angene uDelsie. Kulowo mzuzwana inhliziyi kaGwebu kubesengathi ishaya ngamandla, kodwa kubuye kuphele. **Elule isandla.** "Sawubona Nkosazana Moya."*

Delsie walks in. In that minute Gwebu's heart feels as though it is beating very fast, but again it stops. He extends the hand. "Hello Miss Moya."

This verb stem also collocates with *izandla* of the male character Ben. In extract (6) Ben extends his hands to take the female character Delsie into them.

6) *UBen athambe, **elule izandla** ethi uwolela kuzo uDelsie.*

Ben relents, extends the hands as he takes Delsie into them.

3.2.1.3 *-fumbatha* (clasp); *-bamba* (hold)

These two verb stems collocate with *izandla* of male characters only. In extract (7) the male character clasps his hands because he is angry that another male character disrespected him; and in (8) the male character Gwebu holds the hands of a female character Delsie to bring her closer to himself.

7) *“Uzongingenela endlini yami ngendelelo engakaya sengathi ungena endlini yengane yakhe.” Ahlanganise imihlathi, amehlo akhe avuthe umlilo.*

Afumbathe izandla.

“He entered my house with so much disrespect as if he was entering into his child’s house.” He compresses the jaws, his eyes blaze with fire. And clasps the hands.

8) *“Uthini, Mfundisi?” kubuza uDelsie. “Ngithi ngingeke ngiphile ngaphandle kwakho.” Asondele **ambambe izandla** zakhe zombili amsondeze kuye.*

“What are you saying, Pastor?” asks Delsie. “I am saying I would not be able to live without you.” He comes near and holds both her hands and draws her close to him.

The similarity in *isandla* of female and male characters as shown in the extracts above is that they both place the hand on the shoulder of another character. There is one instance where a female character places it on herself. The difference is that while they both extend it, it is often for different purposes. The female character extends it to hold another character (male) whereas the male character extends it to greet. No comparisons can be made with *izandla* because there are no results for female hands.

Search word	Raw hits	Relevant hits	Frequent collocates			
<i>Isandla</i> (the hand)	18	4	Object of	<i>-elula</i> (extend)	Male ref	2
					Female ref	-
				<i>-phakamisa</i> (raise)	Male ref	2
					Female ref	-
			Subject of	<i>xhawula</i> (to shake hands)	Male ref	2
					Female ref	-
			Modified by	-	Male ref	-
					Female ref	-
<i>Izandla</i> (the hands)	24	2	Object of	<i>-eneka</i> (spread out)	Male ref	2
					Female ref	-
			Subject of	-	Male ref	-
					Female ref	-
			Modified by	-	Male ref	-
					Female ref	-

Table 2: Verbs occurring with female and male characters' *isandla* and *izandla* in *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu*

Table 2 shows that the corpus of *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu* returned 18 occurrences of which 4 are relevant for the node *isandla*. When *isandla* is the object, it collocates with the verb stems *-elula* (extend), and *-phakamisa* (raise) for merely the male characters. When it is the subject, it collocates with the verb stem *-xhawula* (to shake hands); again, only the male characters. The corpus returned no modifiers for *isandla* of both male and female characters. Looking at *izandla*, the corpus returned 24 occurrences of it, of which 2 are relevant. When *izandla* are the object, they collocate with the verb stem *-eneka* (spread out) for male characters and they collocate with no verb stems for female characters. When *izandla* are the subject, the corpus returned no frequent collocates, and equally so for modifiers.

3.2.2 *Isandla and izandla in Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu*

3.2.2.1 *-elula (extend)*

Male characters in this text extend their hand two times while female characters do not extend their hand at all. They extend their hand only to shake the hand of other male characters as a form of greeting. The male character Buthelezi extends his hand and greets Mkhwanazi by shaking hands at the fields. Later Ndebenkulu extends his hand and also greets Mkhwanazi by shaking hands at his house.

9) *“Usuqedile yini ukulima usugegemuka ngehashi thina sisephansi kangaka nokulima?” washo ehleka uButhelezi **elula isandla exhawula** uMkhwanazi.*

“Are you done cultivating as you are departing with a horse while we are still not done?” said Buthelezi laughing extending the hand and shaking Mkhwanazi’s hand.

10) *“Ngibingelela yena kambe uMkhwanazi, umnumzane walapha ekhaya?” kubuza uNdebenkulu **elula isandla exhawula**.*

“Am I greeting Mkhwanazi, the head of this household?” asked Ndebenkulu extending the hand to shake hands with Mkhwanazi.

In this text the verb stem *-elula* (extend) is commonly followed by *-xhawula* (to shake hands) as seen in extract (9) and (10). This means that male characters in the text use their hand to shake the hand of other male characters when greeting each other. This action is not found amongst female characters in this text.

3.2.2.2 *-phakamisa (raise)*

The male character Ndebenkulu raises his hand to silence another male character Mkhwanazi so that he can speak and draw attention to himself. In extracts (11) and (12) Mkhwanazi keeps on being silenced by Ndebenkulu whenever he tries to speak;

this shows that Ndebenkulu is a person with power in this text because the male characters keep quiet and listen to him, particularly the male character Mkhwanazi.

11)“*Cha Ndebenkulu...*”

“*Ungangiphazamisi Mkhwanazi ngiyakucela,*” washo uNdebenkulu ***ephakamisa isandla***. “*Ngiyekele ngikhulume ngiqede.*”

“No Ndebenkulu...”

“Do not interrupt me Mkhwanazi please,” said Ndebenkulu raising the hand.

“Allow me to speak and finish.”

12)“*Mnumza...*”

“*Ngiyakucela Mkhwanazi,*” washo ***ephakamisa isandla*** futhi uNdebenkulu *ethulisa uMkhwanazi*.

“S...”

“Please Mkhwanazi,” said Ndebenkulu raising the hand again silencing Mkhwanazi.

None of the female characters raise their hand in this text or let alone in this manner. The corpus returned no collocates for the female characters’ hand.

3.2.2.3 -eneka (spread out)

This is the only verb stem that collocates with *izandla* in this text. Male characters spread out their hands two times in this text while female characters do not. *Eneka* (spread out) is not used as a gesture here (see 3.4.3.1), but the male character Shandu literally spreads out his hands for other male characters to see them as proof that he does have hands that have touched the cheque that is in question amongst the male characters.

13) "Ayikho leyo nto Baba, yinsumansumane."

"Mameshane! Unani lo mfana? Wathi ayikho leyo nto kanti thina imali siyibone ngala mehlo ethu, saze sayithinta ngalezi ezethu?" washo uShandu **eneka izandla** athinte ngazo imali.

"There is no such thing dad, it's a fairytale."

Mameshane! What is wrong with this boy? He says there is no such thing whereas we saw the money with our own eyes, we even touched it with our hands?" said Shandu as he spread out the hands he touched the money with.

14) "Mina-ke sengike ngaliphatha ngalezi zami lelo sheke," esho **ezeneka izandla** zakhe esezike zaphatha lelo sheke.

"Well I have held that cheque with these hands of mine," he said while he spread out the hands that have held that cheque.

A comparison between *isandla* and *izandla* of female and male characters cannot be made here because the corpus returned no relevant results for *isandla* and *izandla* of female characters.

Search word	Raw hits	Relevant hits	Frequent collocates					
<i>Isandla</i> (the hand)	70	57	Object of	- <i>elula</i>	Male ref	26		
				(extend)	Female ref	7		
						- <i>bamba/</i>	Male ref	9
							- <i>bambisisa</i> (hold/hold firmly)	Female ref
						- <i>faka</i> (put in)	Male ref	9
							Female ref	3
					Subject of	- <i>xhawula</i> (to shake hands)	Male ref	7
							Female ref	-
						- <i>bamba</i> (hold)	Male ref	6
							Female ref	3
		Modified by	- <i>qanda</i> (cold)	Male ref	1			
				Female ref	2			
<i>Izandla</i> (the hands)	58	42	Object of	- <i>eneka</i>	Male ref	18		
				(spread out)	Female ref	1		
						- <i>qhaqhazela</i> (tremble)	Male ref	3
							Female ref	2
					Subject of	- <i>ncenga</i> (plead with)	Male ref	3
							Female ref	-
					Modified by	- <i>fudumele</i> (warm)	Male ref	1
							Female ref	-
						- <i>gqikolo</i> (thick)	Male ref	-
							Female ref	1

Table 3: Verbs and modifiers occurring with female and male characters' *isandla* and *izandla* in *Kuxolelwa Abanjani*?

Table 3 shows that the node *isandla* (singular) in the corpus of *Kuxolelwa Abanjani*? returned 70 occurrences of which 57 are relevant. When it is the object, it collocates with the verb stems *-elula* (extend), *-bamba/-bambisisa* (hold/hold firmly) and *-faka* (put in) for both male and female characters. When it is the subject, it collocates with the verb stems *-xhawula* (to shake hands) for merely the male characters and *-bamba* (hold) for male and female characters. It is modified by the verb *-qanda* (cold) for male and female characters. However, for *izandla* (plural), the corpus returned 58 occurrences of which 42 are relevant. When they are the object, they collocate with the verb stems *-eneka* (spread out) and *-qhaqhazela* (tremble) for both male and female characters. When they are the subject, they collocate with the verb stem *-ncenga* (plead with) for male characters, and are modified by the perfect verb *-fudumele* (warm) for male characters and the noun *-gqikolo* (thick) for female characters. In Table 3 above, references to *isandla* and *izandla* of male characters predominate.

3.2.3 *Isandla* and *izandla* in *Kuxolelwa Abanjani*?

3.2.3.1 *-elula* (extend)

Male characters extend their hand twenty-six times as opposed to seven times of the female characters. Male characters extend their hand to shake the hand of another male character as a form of greeting and that of congratulating, and they shake the hand of female characters also as a form of greeting and congratulating just as frequently as they do with male characters.

15) “*Yithina mama, ungamangali,*” kwakusho uShumi emamatheka ***elula isandla exhawula kunina.***

“It is us mother, don’t be surprised,” said Shumi smiling whilst he extends his hand to shake his mother’s hand.

16) *“Zinjani kodwa izinhlungu baba?”*

*“Zingibambile khona mntanami. Kodwa sekungconywa-ke uma sengibone nina,” esho ezama ukumamatheka, **elula isandla exhawula** kuSabelo.*

“How are the pains though dad?”

“I am in pain my child. But it is better now that I have seen you,” he said trying to smile, extending his hand and shaking Sabelo’s hand.

In extract (15) above, the male character Shumi extends his hand to shake a female character’s hand (MaZungu, who is his mother) to greet her. In the next extract (16) a male character Shabalala extends his hand and shakes the hand of another male character Sabelo to greet him. In the extracts below, in (17) the doctor (male character) shakes a female character’s hand Nozipho to congratulate her on her pregnancy. In (18), the male character Sparks shakes another male character Thushu’s hand to congratulate him for receiving an award of being the best photographer and also reuniting with his long lost lover.

17) *“Ngikuphathele izindaba ezimnandi kakhulu,” kuqhuba udokotela **elula isandla exhawula** uNozipho osalokhu enkemile nje. “Halala, ukhulelwe,” esho emamatheka ngenjabulo udokotela.*

“I have got very good news for you,” said the doctor extending his hand and shaking Nozipho’s hand who is still confused. “Congratulations, you are pregnant,” said the doctor smiling joyfully.

18) *“Okubaluleke nakakhulu, kufanele sibonge ukutholana kwezithandani ezedukelana kudalo,” esho egegetheka uSparks, **elula isandla exhawula** uThushu.*

“What is also very important, we have to be thankful for the reunion of the long lost lovers,” said Sparks as he bursts out in laughter, extending his hand and shaking Thushu’s hand.

Female characters also extend their hand but to only hold a male character as a sign of affection and support. Female characters do not extend their hand to hold other female characters in this text. In extract (19) below, the female character Lethiwe shows support to her depressed brother Sabelo by extending her hand and holding him, assuring him that they [the family] will not abandon him in his time of need. In extract (20), the female character Dolly extends her hand to hold her lover Thusu to show him affection in order to shift his attention to her because he looks distracted.

19) *“Thina siyobona ngezenzo kuphela,” wayelule isandla uLethiwe, wayibamba ingane yakwabo eyiqinisekisa ukuthi yayingeke ibanjelwe amagqubu ngamaphutha nobuthakathaka bayo.*

“We will only see by your actions.” Lethiwe had extended her hand, she held her brother assuring him that they will not hold any grudges against him because of his mistakes and weakness.

20) *Yelula isandla intokazi, yambamba yamgomoshela. Yasondeza izindebe, yamuthi manqa emlonyeni.*

The lady extended the hand and held him firmly. She brought her lips near, and kissed him on the mouth.

In the references to male characters the verb stem *-elula* (extend) is commonly followed by the verb *-xhawula* (to shake hands), and in the references to female characters *-elula* (extend) is commonly followed by the verb *-bamba* (hold). This suggests that male characters use their hand to shake other male and female characters' hand whereas female characters use their hand to hold male characters. So even when female characters and male characters extend their hand, they extend their hand for different purposes. There are no references where the female characters' hand co-occurs with *-xhawula* (to shake hands) with either male characters or female characters. This suggests that the shaking of hands is common amongst male characters in this text. Alternatively, female characters extend their hand to hold male characters but there are no references again where they hold other female characters.

3.2.3.2 -*bamba/-bambisisa* (hold/hold firmly)

When the verb stem –*bamba/-bambisisa* (hold/hold firmly) co-occurs with the hand, references to male characters predominate by occurring nine times while references to female characters occur only two times in this text. Male characters hold/hold firmly the hand of a female, mostly female characters that they have an intimate relationship with. Female characters in the text hold/hold firmly a male character's hand, of a male character that they have an intimate relationship with and also male characters they are related to. In the extracts below, in (21) the male character Shabalala holds his wife's hand when he hears her say that she is frightened that the house is so silent. In (22) Shumi firmly holds his wife's hand when he hears that his father nearly died in the fire. And in extract (23) the male character Sabelo holds firmly his sister's hand after finding out that their mother is in a critical condition in hospital.

21) *"Hawu, sengethukile baba, ngibona sekuthe nya," kusho uMaMtshali esondela. "Ubusuthi sengibalekile yini nkosikazi?" ebuza ehleka ebamba isandla somkakhe.*

"Hawu, I was frightened, I thought there was no one in the house, it is too silent," said MaMtshali coming near. "Did you think I had run away my wife?" he asked laughing, holding his wife's hand.

22) *"Hhayi, kangiyazi le nto mina," nguShumi enikina ikhanda, esibambisisa isandla sikaLethiwe.*

"No, I do not understand this," said Shumi shaking his head, firmly holding Lethiwe's hand.

23) *"Ubaba yena bakithi unjani?" nguLethiwe ebuza ngezinyembezi.*

"Hhayi, kakukubi kubaba."

"Awu, kwangcono madoda." NguSabelo ebambisisa isandla sikaLethiwe.

“How is father?” asked Lethiwe in tears.

“No, your father is not critical.”

“Awu, that’s better,” said Sabelo firmly holding Lethiwe’s hand.

In extract (24) below, the female character Lethiwe holds her father’s hand when he extends it, lying in the hospital bed. In extract (25), a female character Dolly firmly holds the hand of a male character Thushu who is her lover to show interest in him.

24) *Wanele wabona indodakazi yakhe wazama ukumamatheka kancane, welula isandla. Yasibamba isandla indodakazi, yamanga esiphongweni uyise.*

Immediately when he saw his daughter he tried to smile a little, and extended his hand. The daughter held her father’s hand, and kissed him on the forehead.

25) *“Kasisezwanga nokuthi yini lena ebaluleke kangaka egujwayo namuhla.” Kubalisa uDolly esibambisisa isandla sikaThushu.*

“We did not even hear what is it that is so significant that is being celebrated today,” said Dolly broodingly, holding Thushu’s hand firmly.

Both female and male characters hold/firmly hold human referents with their hand in this text and not objects. They specifically hold/firmly hold another hand, therefore – *bamba/-bambisisa* (hold/firmly hold) is commonly followed by the singular possessive concord *sika-* (of-) which is used with class 1a nouns (the possessors) as highlighted in extracts (22), (23), (25) above. The holding of hands implies that to hold another hand is an act of expressing emotion by the characters in this text.

3.2.3.3 -faka (put in)

References to male characters again predominate by occurring nine times and references to female characters occur three times in this text. Male characters in the text put their hand in the pocket of their jacket or shirt to take out something. Female

characters put in their hand in a handbag also to take out something. In extract (26) below, the male character Sabelo puts in his hand in the pocket of his jacket to take out a piece of a newspaper that he wants to show to his sister Lethiwe. In extract (27), a male character Thusu puts in his hand in the pocket of his shirt and takes out an envelope which he gives to another male character Sabelo.

26) Wake wathula umzuzwana uSabelo esetshisa amazwi kaLethiwe. Emva kwesikhashana waphakama kancane, wafaka isandla ephaketheni lejakhethe, wakhipha isiqeshana sephaphandaba.

Sabelo kept quiet for a minute while he carefully thought about Lethiwe's words. After a little while he got up slightly, put his hand in the pocket of his jacket, and took out a piece of a newspaper.

27) Wafaka isandla ephaketheni, sabuya nemvilophu, yayivula, yanika uSabelo.

He put his hand in the pocket, it came out with an envelope, he opened it, and gave it to Sabelo.

In extract (28) below, a female character Lethiwe puts her hand in the handbag and takes out a lottery ticket; she had played Lotto and she won. In extract (29) a female character Nozipho puts her hand in the handbag and takes out her ringing cellphone.

28) Nango efaka isandla esikhwameni uLethiwe, saphuma nalo ithikithi lezimanga elase liqala ukuba mnyamana ngenxa yokucumbazwa yizandla ezingakholwa.

There's Lethiwe putting her hand in the handbag, it came out with the ticket of wonders which was beginning to be blackish because of the fiddling with the hands that were in disbelief.

29) Wayesathi uyaphuma nje uya emotweni ngenkathi ikhala iselula yakhe. Wafaka isandla esikhwameni, wayikhipha, wayiphendula.

She was just about to leave to go to the car when her cell phone rang. She put her hand in the handbag, took it out, and answered it.

Here the female characters are portrayed as conforming to norms of femininity and male characters to norms of masculinity. Females often carry handbags in which they put in their belongings and males do not carry anything; rather they put their belongings in the pockets of their shirts, jackets and trousers.

The corpus shows that the singular form *isandla* and the plural form *izandla* of male and female characters do not collocate with the same verbs (see Table 3). *Izandla* of female and male characters co-occur with two verbs when they are the object of a sentence, namely, *-eneka* (spread out) and *-qhaqhazela* (tremble).

3.2.3.4 *-eneka* (spread out)

The phrase “*eneka izandla*” can be translated differently depending on the context as it can sometimes be a kind of gesture. Male characters spread out their hands eighteen times under different circumstances, especially when they do not know what to do or what to say regarding a certain situation (in other words it is their way of expressing a feeling or thought). The same applies for female characters, but they spread out their hands only once when they do not know what to say or what to do about the situation at hand. It is also their way of expressing a feeling or thought.

30) “*Uzobulala abantu abangenacala wena. Uphuzile yini?*” “*Lutho ngane yakwethu. Into nje...*” ***Weneka izandla*** uShumi.

“You are going to kill innocent people. Are you drunk?”

“Not at all my brother. The thing is ...” Shumi spread out his hands.

31) “*Ngeke nje mina kube khona engikuxoxayo ngoba ngisazisanganele nje.*” *NguShabalala enikina ikhanda futhi, **eneka izandla** ebabuka bonke endlini sengathi uthi kabasize bangamphikisi kulokhu akushoyo.*

“There is nothing that I can discuss because I am still confused,” said Shabalala shaking his head and spreading out his hands looking at everyone in the house as if he is saying they should please not disagree with him in that which he is saying.

In extract (30), the male character Shumi is driving at a very high speed and he fails to stop at the robot that has just turned red. When he tries to avoid causing an accident and bumping into other cars, his own car flies off the road. Before he knew it, the traffic cop arrived next to him and began questioning him but Shumi did not know what to say for himself because he realised that he was on the wrong side of the law, rather he just spread out his hands perhaps as an expression of remorse. In extract (31), the male character’s daughter wins the Lottery and she goes to deliver the news to her parents. Shabalala her father does not know what to say, instead he tells them there is nothing he can say because he is still confused and whilst he said that he spread out his hands. He spreads out his hands as an emphasis that he really does not know what to say or what to do about what he just heard from his daughter.

32) “*Kangiqondi Sabelo ukuthi...*” ***weneka izandla***, *wabuka uSabelo ngokumangala.*

“Sabelo I don’t understand how ...” she spread out her hands, looked at Sabelo in astonishment.

Extract (32) above is the only example in which *eneka izandla* (spread out the hands) collocates with female characters’ hands. The hand gesture is mostly common among male characters and is not accompanied by speech which implies that male characters depend on their hands to accomplish their communicative goals.

3.2.3.5 -*qhaqhazela* (tremble)

There is not much of a gap between male characters and female characters' hands when they co-occur with *qhaqhazela* (tremble), with male characters' hands trembling three times while female characters' hands tremble two times in the text. Male characters' hands tremble when they are nervous and when they are confronted by intense situations. In extract (33) below, Shumi's hands tremble when he takes the phone to call the Doctor about his blood test results, Shumi is nervous about what the outcome of the results will be. Whereas in extract (34), the male character Thushu is strongly beaten by another male character Rambo for having an affair with his girlfriend Dolly. Rambo therefore demands money from Thushu and Thushu gives it to him with trembling hands. It is obvious that Thushu is afraid of Rambo as he did not fight back or refuse to give him the money, the trembling of his hands exposes his weakness.

33)*Zaziqhaqhazela izandla nangenkathi ethatha ucingo, eshayela kwadokotela.*

The hands were trembling even when he took the phone, calling the Doctor.

34)*Zaqhaqhazela izandla, zagobhoza izinyembezi ngenkathi eyinika indoda yansondo imali.*

The hands trembled, the tears flowed when he gave the man money.

Female characters' hands tremble when they are fearful and guilty as a result we see in both extracts below when two female characters decide to drive off with trembling hands because of guilt and another because of fear.

35)*Zazigobhoza ngenkathi eqheluka, exoshwa ngukushisa kwamazwi okwakusengathi aqondiswe kuye ngqo, eyongena emotweni yakhe, eyisusa kuqhaqhazela izandla.*

Tears were flowing when she moved aside, driven away by the harshness of the words that seemed as though they were directed exactly to her, she got inside her car, and drove off with her hands trembling.

36) *Waqonda emotweni yakhe eyayimi egcekeni. Ngenhlanhla ukhiye wawukhona ephaketheni. Wawukhipha, wavula isicabha, wangena wayidumisa **ngezandla ezaziqhaqhazela**. Zazilokhu ziqhaqhazele lokho nasendleleni izandla zikaNozipho.*

She went straight to her car that was parked in the yard. Fortunately the key was in the pocket. She took it out, opened the door, got inside and started the car with hands that were trembling. Nozipho's hands continued trembling even on the way.

In extract (35) the female character Karabo has trembling hands because she feels guilty for swapping blood test results and is afraid that she might get caught. In extract (36) Nozipho fears for her life when her boyfriend threatens to kill her thus she flees with her hands trembling. Here both female characters are portrayed as fragile and powerless.

The verb stem *-eneka* (spread out) is commonly followed by the verb *-ncenga* (plead with) in the references of male characters which means male characters use their hands to plead with other male characters and female characters, however, this behaviour is not found amongst female characters.

37) *“Ya, ngakubamba doti, usufuna ukuhamba ungangikhokhele imali yami?”
“Kangihambi Menzi, into nje...” kusho uSabelo ebakaza, **echaya izandla encenga**.*

“Yes, I caught you rubbish, you want to leave while you haven't paid my money?”

“I am not leaving Menzi, the thing is ...” said Sabelo nervously, spreading out the hands and pleading.

38) “Engikwethembisayo manje ngukuthi sengizozimela ngezinyawo zami, ngiphile impilo esile, ngehlukane nawo wonke lo doti obungifathuzisa.” Waze **weneka izandla** lapho uSabelo, wam**ncenga** udadewabo ngamehlo agcwele izinyembezi.

“What I am promising now is that I am going to stand on my own two feet, and live a meaningful life, and leave all this rubbish that was misleading me.” Sabelo even spread out the hands, pleaded with his sister with eyes full of tears.

In extracts (37) and (38) above the male character Sabelo finds himself in trouble. He gets kicked out of the University’s residence because he does not qualify to write exams. As he was packing, the man he owes money Menzi storms in and demands his money, Sabelo uses his hands to plead with him by spreading them out. Menzi did not feel any pity for him; instead he took some of Sabelo’s belongings that were of value and left with them. Again in (38) Sabelo uses his hands to plead with his sister to give him a second chance after Lethiwe found out that he did not qualify to sit for his exams. Lethiwe feels pity for him, forgives him and accompanies him to their parents to go and plead with them also for a second chance. The female character Lethiwe is easily manipulated by Sabelo’s gesture whereas the male character Menzi is not.

3.2.4 The description of *isandla* and *izandla* of male and female characters in *Kuxolelwa Abanjani*?

The male and female characters’ hand is described with the same verb –*qanda* (cold), occurring twice for a female character’s hand and once for a male character’s. The female character Nozipho is dying in hospital because of HIV/AIDS. Shumi rushes to see her and he finds her lying in bed helpless. Her hand is described as very cold and lifeless.

39) Wasibambisisa **isandla** sakhe **esasiqanda mo**, zathi wohlo futhi izinyembezi.

He firmly held her hand that was very cold, and tears rolled down again.

40) Wasondela bandla, welula isandla, wasibamba **isandla** sikaNozipho **esasiqanda mo**, singenampilo.

He came near, extended the hand, and held Nozipho's hand that was very cold and lifeless.

Below, the male character Sabelo is lying in the hospital bed because he overdosed on drugs; the doctors are hopeful that he will recover because they suctioned the drugs from his blood. Also his hand is described as very cold.

41) Wasondela unina, welula **isandla**, wasibamba esendodana yakhe **esasiqanda mo**.

His mother came near, extended the hand and held her son's hand that was very cold.

The male character's hands are described with a perfect verb –*fudumele* (warm) whereas the female character's hands are described with a noun –*gqikolo* (thick).

42) Kakukhona ukuthi wayengamkhumbuli, wayemkhumbula impela, emcabanga qede aluzwe lubuya ngamandla lolo thando lweminyaka, ezwe esefisa ukumbona, esefisa ukuzwa iphimbo lakhe eliyisihoshwana nokuzwa **izandla** zakhe ezifudumele zimsingethe.

It is not that she did not miss him, she really missed him, she thought about him and felt her love for him of many years coming back so strong, wishing she could see him, even wishing to hear his voice that is a bit husky and feel his warm hands embracing her.

The female character Lethiwe is reminiscing about her husband Shumi and his warm hands.

43)“Musa ukungenza isilima wena mfana. Imali yami la.” Sasho sakhangeza **izandla** zaso ezingamaggikolo amnyama axhuthayo.

“Do not make me a fool boy. I want my money now,” she said, holding out her thick, black and moist hands.

The female character Lizzy is described as fat in the text therefore her hands are also described according to her weight as thick.

3.3 Amehlo (the eyes)

Search word	Raw hits	Relevant hits	Frequent collocates			
Amehlo (the eyes)	83	18	Object of	-vula (open)	Male ref	1
					Female ref	2
				-bona (see)	Male ref	1
					Female ref	1
			Subject of	-vuleka (open)	Male ref	-
					Female ref	2
			Modified by	-khulu (big)	Male ref	-
					Female ref	7
				-mnene (gentle)	Male ref	3
					Female ref	-

Table 4: Verbs and modifiers occurring with female and male characters' amehlo in *Indlela Yababi*

In Table 4, the corpus returned 83 occurrences of which 18 are relevant for the node amehlo (plural). When amehlo are the object, they collocate with the verb stems – vula (open) and –bona (see) for male and female characters. When they are the

subject, they collocate with the verb stem *-vuleka* (open) for merely female characters. *Amehlo* of female characters are modified by the adjective *-khulu* (big) while those of male characters are modified by the relative *-mnene* (gentle).

3.3.1 *Amehlo* in *Indlela Yababi*

3.3.1.1 *-vula* (open)

One male character Ben opens the eyes after regaining consciousness. The opening of the eyes shows that the male character is responding to life through his eyes.

44) *UBen avule amehlo abubule.*

Ben opens his eyes and groans.

A female character Delsie opens her eyes widely when her boyfriend Thomas tells her that he got stabbed because of her. She again opens her eyes when her mother asks her if she is not going to accompany her to the lamentation. She expresses astonishment through her eyes in both illustrations.

45) *“Ehene, igazi lami lelo. Ligobhoza nje kungenxa yakho.”*

“Uthini uThomas bandla?” kubuza uDelsie evula amehlo akhe athi nge

.

“Yes, that is my blood. It is flowing because of you.”

“What are you saying Thomas?” asks Delsie, opening her eyes wide.

46) *“Delsie, mntanami, kawuzukuhamba nami siye esililweni?”*

“Hhawu, Mama,” kuncenga uDelsie, evula amehlo akhe amakhulu.

“Delsie, my child, are you not going to accompany me to the lamentation?”

“Hhawu, Mother,” Delsie is pleading, opening her big eyes.

3.3.1.2 -*bona* (see)

The verb stem –*bona* (see) collocates once with the male character’s eyes and equally so with the female character’s eyes. The male character Thomas sees the beautiful eyes of a female character Delsie full of tears. The female character Dora sees her husband’s eyes blazing with fire. Both the male and the female character see the eyes that show emotion.

47) *Luphole ulaka lukaThomas lapho e**bona amehlo** amahle kangako esegcwele izinyembezi.*

Thomas’s anger subsides when he sees such beautiful eyes full of tears.

48) *Azinqume ulimi lapho e**bona amehlo** kaMoya evutha umlilo.*

She cut herself short when she saw Moya’s eyes blazing with fire.

3.3.1.3 -*vuleka* (open)

The female character’s (Delsie) eyes open when the male character Ben courts her. She acts surprised by it all and she uses the eyes to show that.

49) ***Amehlo** kaDelsie a**vuleke** athi nge lapho ezwa lokho.*

Delsie’s eyes open widely when she hears that.

50) ***Amehlo** ase**vulekile** sengathi wethukile. Kodwa eqeda nje uBen wasemphendula.*

Her eyes are opened as if she were afraid. As Ben finished, she then replied to him.

3.3.2 The description of *amehlo* of male and female characters in *Indlela Yababi*

In terms of describing the eyes, the male character's (Ben) eyes are modified by the relative *-mnene* (gentle) thrice and the female character's (Delsie) eyes are modified by the adjective *-khulu* (big) seven times.

51) *Amehlo akhe emnene, ethambile.*

His eyes gentle, and soft.

52) *Into eyayikuthatha kuqala ebuhleni bakhe amehlo akhe amakhulu, athambileyo.*

The first thing that attracted you to her beauty are her big soft eyes.

The similarity in *amehlo* of female and male characters is that they both open their eyes as an expression. The male character expresses his well-being through his eyes while the female character expresses shock and surprise.

Search word	Raw hits	Relevant hits	Frequent collocates			
<i>Amehlo</i> (the eyes)	39	11	Object of	<i>-phendula</i> (turn)	Male ref	3
					Female ref	-
				<i>-phakamisa</i> (raise)	Male ref	3
					Female ref	1
			Subject of	<i>-bheka</i> (look at)	Male ref	4
					Female ref	1
			Modified by	-	Male ref	-
					Female ref	-

Table 5: Verbs occurring with female and male characters' *amehlo* in *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu*

Table 5 shows that the node *amehlo* in this corpus returned 39 occurrences of which 11 are relevant. When *amehlo* are the object, they collocate with the verb stems *-phendula* (turn) for male characters and *-phakamisa* (raise) for both male and female characters. When they are the subject, they collocate with *-bheka* (look at) for both male and female characters. There are no modifiers.

3.3.3 *Amehlo* in *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu*

3.3.3.1 *-phendula* (turn)

Male characters turn the eyes three times in this text and this action is not found among female characters. Male characters turn the eyes to either look at something or someone or they see something or someone when they turn the eyes. In extract (52) the male character Ndebenkulu is wandering around, as he turns the eyes he sees Mkwanzazi's family. And in extract (53) again the male character Ndebenkulu turns the eyes and looks at another male character Themba as he is shocked at the response he got from him.

53) *Uthe lapho ephendula amehlo wawubona umuzi kaMkhwanazi uphelele wonke lapha.*

As he turned the eyes he saw all of Mkhwanazi's family present here.

54) *Le ndlela yokuphendula ayengayilindele uNdebenkulu yamenza waphendula amehlo wabheka uThemba.*

This kind of unexpected response made Ndebenkulu turn the eyes and look at Themba.

3.3.3.2 -*phakamisa* (raise)

Male characters raise the eyes three times while female characters raise the eyes once in this text. Male characters raise the eyes here also to look at someone when speaking to them and when they are alarmed. One female character raises the eyes to look at her husband when speaking to him.

55) *Waphakamisa amehlo wabheka uMaNtuli wathi: “UNdebenkulu ubethukuthele evutha umlilo ngezimpahla zakhe ezilimele.*

He raised his eyes, looked at MaNtuli and said: “Ndebenkulu was extremely angry about his goods that got damaged.”

56) *UMkhwanazi waphakamisa amehlo masinyane ethuswa wukusukuma kukaNdebenkulu engazi ukuthi usukuma nje uqondeni.*

Mkhwanazi immediately raised the eyes shocked at the way Ndebenkulu stood up as he did not know what he meant by it.

57) *UMaNtuli waphakamisa amehlo ebuka umyeni wakhe wathi: “Senize nafika BaBa!”*

MaNtuli raised the eyes looking at her husband and said: “You have finally arrived!”

3.3.3.3 -*bheka* (look at)

The verb stem –*bheka* (look at) appears four times with male referents and once with female referents. Male characters use their eyes to look at things and people as briefly discussed above while a female character looks at her husband (see extract 56).

58) **Amehlo abheka** umgwaqo phambili.

The eyes looked at the road ahead.

59) *Uthe lapho ephendula **amehlo ebheka** ngalapho uhleko luqhamuka ngakhona, wabona uThoko evela ngefasitele.*

As he turned the eyes to look at where the laughter was coming from, he saw Thoko at the window.

Search word	Raw hits	Relevant hits	Frequent collocates			
<i>Amehlo</i> (the eyes)	146	41	Object of	- <i>cikica</i> (rub)	Male ref	7
					Female ref	1
				- <i>gcwala</i> (become full)	Male ref	15
					Female ref	2
			Subject of	- <i>bukisisa</i> (look at carefully)	Male ref	2
					Female ref	1
			Modified by	- <i>bomvu</i> (red)	Male ref	4
					Female ref	2

Table 6: Verbs and modifiers occurring with female and male characters' *amehlo* in *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?*

In Table 6, the node *amehlo* in this corpus returned 146 occurrences of which 41 are relevant. The node is mostly used figuratively in the text, which explains the low number of relevant hits in the table. There are more references to the male characters' eyes than references to the female characters' eyes. The collocates of the male characters' eyes are similar with those that co-occur with the female characters' eyes. When *amehlo* are the object, they collocate with the verb stems – *cikica* (rub) and –*gcwala* (become full) for both male and female characters. When they are the subject, they collocate with the verb stem –*bukisisa* (look at carefully) for

male and female characters. They are modified by the relative –*bomvu* (red) for male and female characters.

3.3.4 *Amehlo* in *Kuxolelwa Abanjani*?

3.3.4.1 *-cikica* (rub)

Male characters rub their eyes seven times while there is only one reference where female characters rub their eyes. Male characters often rub their eyes when they wake up, whereas a female character rubs her eyes in order to see clearly.

60) *Walala wathi zwi okwengane encane uShumi waze waphazanyiswa nguLethiwe esemvusa ngakusasa ekuseni. Wazamula, wazelula, wacikica amehlo.*

Shumi slept like a baby until Lethiwe disturbed him when she woke him up the following morning. He yawned, stretched himself, and rubbed his eyes.

61) *“Hhayi bo, vuka Thushu, kufanele siyobamba indiza yasekuseni.” Athi gubhubhu uThushu, lisho ukumqeda ikhanda. Acikice amehlo, abalise, azamule.*

“Hhayi bo, wake up Thushu, we have to catch the morning flight.” Thushu jumped up, his head too painful. He rubs his eyes, complains, and yawns.

62) *Wethuka nokho uMaZungu uma esewubona ugandaganda uqonda ngqo uzongena ngesango. Wacikica amehlo wawubukisisa.*

MaZungu got surprised though when she saw the tractor coming straight to enter the gate. She rubbed the eyes and carefully looked at it.

3.3.4.2 -*gcwala* (become full)

The verb stem –*gcwala* (become full) is commonly followed by *izinyembezi* (tears) in the references of male and female characters in this text. Male characters' eyes become full of tears fifteen times and interestingly to note female characters' eyes become full of tears twice. In extract (62) the male character's eyes Shumi become full of tears when Nozipho dies. In (63) the female character's eyes Lethiwe become full of tears when she sees that her husband Shumi is crying for another woman.

63) *Wo, wabona engengane uShumi ukuthi kwase kumehlule ukufa uNozipho. Wo, wadazuluka wakhala zagcwala amehlo izinyembezi uShumi.*

Wo, Shumi soon realised that Nozipho had been overcome by death. Wo, he screamed and cried, his eyes became full of tears.

64) *Zazigcwele amehlo izinyembezi kuLethiwe, izandla zinamathele ezihlathini okomuntu ofelwe yizwe.*

Tears were full in Lethiwe's eyes, the hands cleaved onto the chicks like a person who lost everything.

There are other reasons male and female characters' eyes become full of tears in the text. Another male character's eyes become full of tears and cries in response to guilt about his bad behaviour and realising that he cannot survive the life of crime any longer. A female character's eyes become full of tears in response to uncertainty when she has to get married. It appears that male characters' eyes become full of tears more often than female characters' eyes. The male characters appear to be expressing emotion (tears) more than the female characters in this text, particularly the male character Shumi.

3.3.4.3 -bukisisa (look at carefully)

There are two instances where male characters carefully look at something. The male character Thushu buys a newspaper; he nearly faints when he sees that the headlines are about him, he carefully looks at the writing accompanied by a photograph and sees that the story is about him and his lover. Another male character Shumi buys a newspaper and carefully looks at the lottery numbers on it to compare them with the ones on his wife's lottery ticket; he also nearly faints when he sees that they are exact.

65) *Waphinde wawaphinqa **amehlo**, wawubukisisa umbhalo owawuhambisana nesithombe owayephume kahle kuso ebanjwe nguDolly ngengalo, sebeze bakhasa phansi bedansa.*

He widely opened his eyes again and carefully looked at the writing that was accompanied by a photograph in which he was nicely captured held by Dolly by the arm, doing the get downs.

66) *Kwakumnyama **amehlo** ngenkathi ezibukisisa eziqhathanisa nezazisethikithini likaLethiwe. Kwehla umjulukwana omncane, wazibukisisa, efifiyela, eshaywa yinzululwane.*

He was dizzy when he carefully looked at the lottery numbers comparing them with those on Lethiwe's ticket. A bit of sweat flowed as he carefully looked at them, screwing up his eyes, feeling dizzy.

Only one female character carefully looks at something. MaZungu carefully looks at the tractor approaching her home when she realises that it is not the one she thought she knew.

67) *Wacikica **amehlo** wawubukisisa. Hhayi, kwakungewona okaThusi ngoba lona wawumkhulu impela nje kubonakala ukuthi yilona omba imigwaqo.*

She rubbed her eyes and carefully looked at the tractor. Hhayi, it was not Thusi's because this one was really big. You could see that it is the one that digs the roads.

3.3.5 The description of *amehlo* of male and female characters in *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?*

The male and female characters' eyes are described with a similar relative –*bomvu* (red) occurring four times for male referents and twice for female referents. The male character's eyes are described just as red whereas the female character's eyes are described as red from crying.

68) *Washaya isikhwehlela uThushu waphinqela uShumi amehlo abomvu.*
“Kasixoxe-ke ndoda.”

Thushu coughed up a sputum and widely opened the red eyes at Shumi.
“Let us talk then.”

69) *Amehlo akhe ayebomvu kubonakala nje ukuthi umuntu lona kade kusile ekhala, ekhaliswa ngukushona kukanina nokuphoxwa nguShumi.*

Her eyes were red; it was clear that she had been crying all day, crying over her mother's death and being disappointed by Shumi.

When looking at *amehlo*, references to the male characters' eyes are more than references to the female characters' eyes in two texts: *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* and *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu*. However, in the text *Indlela Yababi*, references to the female characters' eyes are more than references to the male characters' eyes. In all three texts, the eyes collocate with different verb stems, there is no similarity between them.

3.4 *Ikhanda* (the head)

Search word	Raw hits	Relevant hits	Frequent collocates			
<i>ikhanda</i> (the head)	18	6	Object of	<i>-nqekuza</i> (nod the head)	Male ref	-
					Female ref	2
				<i>-phakamisa</i> (raise)	Male ref	1
					Female ref	-
			Subject of	-	Male ref	-
					Female ref	-
			Modified by	<i>-ncane</i> (small)	Male ref	-
					Female ref	1

Table 7: Verbs and modifiers occurring with female and male characters' *ikhanda* in *Indlela Yababi*

Table 7 shows that the node *ikhanda* returned 18 occurrences from the corpus of which 6 are relevant. When *ikhanda* is the object, it collocates with the verb stem *-nqekuza* (nod the head) for female characters and *-phakamisa* (raise) for male characters only. When it is the subject, it collocates with no verb stems for both male and female characters. It is modified by the adjective *-ncane* (small) for female characters.

3.4.1 *Ikhanda* in *Indlela Yababi*

3.4.1.1 *-nqekuza* (nod the head)

Female characters nod the head twice in the text while this action is not found among male characters. The female character Delsie nods the head at her friend Nosimilo as a confirmation that what she is telling her is the truth.

70) "Musa bo, Delsie! Uthini?" ngezwi elivevezelayo. **Anqekuze ikhanda** uDelsie.
"Ngqiqinisile, Nosimilo. Kasekho uGwebu."

“Do not, Delsie! What are you saying?” she asked with a trembling voice. Delsie shakes her head. “I am serious, Nosimilo. Gwebu is no more.”

Delsie again shakes her head at the male character Dick as if she is showing disagreement. The way she is shaking it shows that she is not certain or she is in doubt.

71) *Kubesengathi uDelsie kakuvumi lokho okukhulunywa nguDick ngoba wayede enqekuza ikhanda sengathi kavumi.*

It seems as if Delsie is showing disagreement to what Dick is saying because she kept nodding the head as if she is not certain whether to agree with it.

3.4.1.2 –*phakamisa* (raise)

In this text the male character Ben raises the head to look at the female character Delsie. Here the verb stem –*phakamisa* (raise) is followed by the verb stem –*bheka* (look).

72) *Aphakamise ikhanda lakhe abheke uDelsie amehlo abo ahlangane; kodwa akaDelsie awe phansi masinyane.*

He raises his head and looks at Delsie and their eyes meet; but Delsie’s eyes immediately look down.

3.4.1.3 –*ncane* (small)

The female character’s (Delsie) head is described as small.

73) *Intombazana enhle, empofu ebusweni sengathi ilawu. Ikhanda lilincane lihlezi entanyeni ende ngokwaneleyo.*

A beautiful girl, tan-coloured on the face like a Khoi-Khoi. The small head placed nicely on the neck that is long enough.

Search word	Raw hits	Relevant hits	Frequent collocates			
<i>ikhanda</i> (the head)	20	9	Object of	<i>-nikina</i> (shake the head)	Male ref	4
					Female ref	1
				<i>-phakamisa</i> (raise)	Male ref	-
					Female ref	1
			Subject of	-	Male ref	-
					Female ref	-
			Modified by	-	Male ref	-
					Female ref	-

Table 8: Verbs occurring with female and male characters' *ikhanda* in *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu*

Table 8 shows that this corpus returned 20 occurrences of which 9 are relevant for the node *ikhanda*. When it is the object, it collocates with the verb stems *-nikina* (shake the head) for both male and female characters and *-phakamisa* (raise) for female characters. It collocates with no verb stems when it is the subject and equally so with the modifier.

3.4.2 *Ikhanda* in *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu*

3.4.2.1 *-nikina* (shake the head)

The male character Ndebenkulu shakes the head in disapproval when people do not keep to time for a meeting. The female character MaNtuli also shakes the head when she hears that Ndebenkulu fell from the carriage.

74) UNdebenkulu sekubonakala nje ukuthi akayithandi neze le nto yokuba abantu bangasigcini isikhathi. Iwashile lakhe walibheka elibhekile, elokhu enikina ikhanda.

It was evident that Ndebenkulu was not liking it at all, this thing of people not keeping to time. He kept on looking at his watch again and again, whilst shaking his head

75) Wahleka engahleki uMaNtuli enikina ikhanda.

MaNtuli laughed sarcastically, shaking her head.

3.4.2.2 –phakamisa (raise)

The female character MaNtuli also raises her head to look at something.

76) “Uphi?” UMaNtuli waphakamisa ikhanda naye ebheka ngefasitele.

“Where is she?” MaNtuli also raised her head to look through the window.

Search word	Raw hits	Relevant hits	Frequent collocates			
ikhanda (the head)	216	74	Object of	-nikina (shake the head)	Male ref	37
					Female ref	10
				-phakamisa (raise)	Male ref	5
					Female ref	8
			Subject of	-	Male ref	-
					Female ref	-
			Modified by	-	Male ref	-
					Female ref	-

Table 9: Verbs occurring with female and male characters' ikhanda in *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?*

Table 9 shows that the node *ikhanda* in this corpus returned 216 occurrences of which 74 are relevant. Again here the node is mostly used figuratively in the text which explains the low number of relevant hits. When it is the object, it collocates with the verb stems –*nikina* (shake the head), and –*phakamisa* (raise) for both male and female characters. When it is the subject, it collocates with no verb stems. There are no modifiers also for male and female characters' head. References to male characters predominate references to female characters.

3.4.3 *Ikhanda* in *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?*

3.4.3.1 –*nikina* (shake the head)

Male characters and female characters shake the head for different reasons. Male and female characters may shake the head in response to disapproval, disbelief, disappointment and sometimes when unconvinced. Male characters shake the head thirty-seven times while female characters do this ten times in this text. Male characters shake the head in disapproval with other male characters. In extract (76) the male character Shumi disapproves when another male character tells him to steal some parts in the car. However, in (77) a female character Lethiwe shakes the head in disappointment when her father tells her that her brother is back home because he did not qualify to write his examinations.

77) *Ngithe cwiya uvale umlomo,” isho imkhomba ngomunwe imkhombisa ukuthi kufanele awuvale kanjani umlomo uShumi. “Ngiyicwiye kanjani imoto yami?” kubuza uShumi enikina ikhanda.*

“I said steal some parts and shut your mouth,” as he showed Shumi with his finger how he should shut his mouth. “How can I steal some parts in my car?” asked Shumi shaking his head in disapproval.

78) *“Usenzi manje uSabelo bakithi?” Wayebuza enikina ikhanda uLethiwe esecabanga isigilamkhuba sakwabo esasibaphathisa ngamakhandanda nsuku zonke abazali bakhe.*

“What has Sabelo done now?” Lethiwe was asking shaking her head thinking about her troublesome brother who caused a headache to her parents every day.

In (78) Shabalala shakes the head in disbelief when he gets a brand new Mercedes from his daughter. And the female character Nozipho also shakes her head in disbelief when she hears good news in one day, that she is pregnant and that she will be working where she has been yearning to work.

79) *“Ngiyokukhohlwa ngifile Lethiwe mntanami,” esho eyidumisa **enikina ikhanda**.*

“I will never forget you Lethiwe my child,” he said starting the car and shaking the head.

80) *“Awu, kakuvumi namanje ukuba ngikholwe,” nguNozipho **enikina ikhanda ekhuluma yedwa engakholwa namanje yilezi zindaba ezimnandi**.*

“Awu, I still cannot believe it,” that is Nozipho shaking the head talking to herself still in disbelief of such good news.

3.4.3.2 -*phakamisa* (raise)

Male characters raise the head five times and female characters raise it eight times. There are various examples where male and female characters raise the head to look at something. There are also examples of female characters raising the head when they want to say something to other characters.

81) ***Aphakamise ikhanda**, aphendule ubuso, abuke uKhumbulani ngamehlo agcwele izinyembezi.*

She raises the head, turns the face, and looks at Khumbulani with eyes full of tears.

82) *Wabuye waliphakamisa ikhanda, waphendula ubuso bakhe obabulusizana, wambuka wafifiyela umngani wakhe.*

He again raised the head, turned his distressed face, looked at his friend by screwing up the eyes.

83) *Kwaba sengathi ufuna ukukhuluma uNozipho. Waphakamisa ikhanda kancane, zanyakaza kancane izindebe zomlomo.*

It seemed as though Nozipho wanted to talk. She raised her head a bit, and her lips moved slightly.

84) *Ashaye isikhwehlela uKarabo, aphakamise ikhanda, aqale ngelinosizana.*

Karabo coughs up a sputum, raises the head, and begins with a sorrowful voice.

In extracts (80) and (81) above, *-phakamisa ikhanda* (raise the head) is often followed by *-buka* (look/watch) for both male and female characters. In (82) the female character Nozipho raises the head to look at the male character Khumbulani. In (83), the female character raises the head in order to say something.

Again here the male referents predominate the female referents in the two texts *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* and *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu*. In the third text *Indlela Yababi* the female referents predominate male referents. The verb stem *-nikina* (shake the head) is common in the last two texts and the verb stem *-phakamisa* (raise the head) is common in all three texts.

3.5 *Ubuso* (the face)

Search word	Raw hits	Relevant hits	Frequent collocates			
<i>ubuso</i> (the face)	22	10	Object of	<i>-phakamisa</i> (raise)	Male ref	-
					Female ref	2
				<i>-mboza</i> (cover)	Male ref	-
					Female ref	1
				<i>-sula</i> (wipe)	Male ref	1
					Female ref	-
				<i>-fihla</i> (hide)	Male ref	-
					Female ref	1
			Subject of	-	Male ref	-
					Female ref	-
			Modified by	<i>-hle</i> (beautiful)	Male ref	-
					Female ref	1

Table 10: Verbs and modifiers occurring with female and male characters' *ubuso* in *Indlela Yababi*

Table 10 shows that the corpus returned 22 occurrences of the node *ubuso* of which 10 are relevant. When it is the object, it collocates with the verb stem *-phakamisa* (raise), *-mboza* (cover), and *-fihla* (hide) for female characters, it collocates with the verb stem *-sula* (wipe) for male characters. When it is the subject, the corpus returned no collocates. It is modified by the adjective *-hle* (beautiful) for female characters only.

3.5.1 *Ubuso* in *Indlela Yababi*

3.5.1.1 *-phakamisa* (raise)

The verb stem *-phakamisa* (raise) collocates twice with the female characters' face. The female characters raise the face to the male characters when they talk to them. In extract (84) the female character Nosimilo raises the face to Ben when he asks

what is wrong. And in (85) the female character Dora raises her face to her husband Moya when he talks to her.

85) *Ethuke embona ekhotheme ubuso bakhe ebumboze ngezandla.*

*“Yini, Nkosazana Dhlomo?” kubuza uBen. “Ngathi ngizokuxoxela indaba ngakufica ukhala?” **Aphakamise ubuso** bakhe uNosimilo, alinge ukumamatheka.*

He got shocked when he saw her face bowed down covered with the hands.

“What is it, Miss Dhlomo?” asks Ben. “Just when I came to tell you something I find you crying?” Nosimilo raises her face, and attempts to smile.

86) *Umkakhe **aphakamise ubuso** bakhe obuhle ambheke ngobuso obumamathekayo. Kodwa angaphenduli.*

His wife raises her beautiful face and looks at him with a friendly face. But she does not respond.

3.5.1.2 -mboza (cover)

There is one instance where a female character covers her face in the presence of a male character Gwebu who is a Pastor as they have feelings for each other, perhaps because she is embarrassed.

87) *Bethuke maqede uDelsie ahlale phansi ngokuzintshinga nje esihlalweni bese **emboza ubuso** ngezandla. “Ngiyesaba, Mfundisi,” ekhizizela.*

They startle and soon after Delsie throws herself onto the chair and then covers her face with the hands. “I am afraid, Pastor,” as she weeps.

3.5.1.3 - *sula* (wipe)

The male character Ben wipes his face as if he sweating while he is not when waiting for Delsie to introduce him to Nosimilo her friend.

88)NoBen usethule nje akasakhulumi, ngoba phela engakaziswa kuNosimilo, isiko lesilungu phela lelo. Usede ethinta isikhohlela singekho, edane ezesula ubuso sengathi uyajuluka engajuluki.

Ben is quiet he is not even speaking, because he has not been introduced to Nosimilo, which is westernization. He is continuously coughing a sputum that is not there, continuously wiping the face as if he is sweating while he is not sweating.

3.5.1.4 - *fihla* (hide)

The female character Delsie hides her face in her hands when she realises that she also loves the male character Pastor Gwebu.

89)Ahlehle futhi uDelsie; ashaywe uvalo lapho ezwa amazwi amakhulu kangako. Sekukhanya nakuye manje ukuthi naye uyamthanda uGwebu. Khona lokho nje kumenze washaywa uvalo olukhulu. Afihle ubuso bakhe ezandleni zakhe, akhale.

Delsie recedes again; she gets nervous when she hears such big words. It was now also clear to her that she also loves Gwebu. That alone made her to be very nervous. She hides her face in her hands, and cries.

3.5.2 The description of *ubuso* of female characters in *Indlela Yababi*

The female characters' face is described as beautiful.

90) *Umkakhe aphakamise **ubuso** bakhe obuhle ambheke ngobuso obumamathekayo. Kodwa angaphenduli.*

His wife raises her beautiful face and looks at him with a friendly face. But she does not respond.

Search word	Raw hits	Relevant hits	Frequent collocates			
<i>ubuso</i> (the face)	7	3	Object of	-sula (wipe)	Male ref	2
					Female ref	-
				-geza (wash)	Male ref	1
					Female ref	-
			Subject of	-	Male ref	-
					Female ref	-
			Modified by	-	Male ref	-
					Female ref	-

Table 11: Verbs occurring with female and male characters' *ubuso* in *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu*

Table 11 shows that the corpus of *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu* did not return many results for the node *ubuso*. It returned 7 occurrences for *ubuso* of which only 3 are relevant. When it is the object, it collocates with the verb stems –sula (wipe) and –geza (wash) for merely male characters. When it is the subject, it returned no collocates. It also returned no results for *ubuso* of female characters, and the same for modifiers.

3.5.2 *Ubuso* in *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu*

3.5.2.1 -sula (wipe)

The verb stem –sula (wipe) collocates twice with the node *ubuso* for male referents. It does not co-occur with female referents. In extract (90) the male character

Mkhwanazi wipes his face amazed at the news he heard from Ndebenkulu. In extract (91) the male character Ndebenkulu pretends as if he is wiping his face when he wants to laugh at Mkhwanazi.

91) *Wakhipha iduku wazesula ubuso.*

He took out a handkerchief and he wiped his face.

92) *Kwathi ngquzu amadoda ehleka, noNdebenkulu imbala wehluleka naye ukuzibamba kodwa njengomuntu omkhulu wakhipha iduku wazifihla ngalo enza sengathi wesula ubuso.*

The men laughed, even Ndebenkulu could not hold himself but because he is a person of high status. He took out a handkerchief and hid himself with it pretending as if he were wiping his face.

3.5.2.2 -geza (wash)

This verb stem collocates once with the male character's face in this text. The male character washes his face from a jam tin when he wakes up in the morning.

93) *UThemba wakha amanzi ngekopi likajamu, waphumela phandle wageza ubuso, edamane echathazela amanzi esandleni bese egeza.*

Themba drew water with a jam tin, went outside, washed his face, continuously pouring the water in small quantities on his hand and then washing.

Search word	Raw hits	Relevant hits	Frequent collocates			
<i>ubuso</i> (the face)	23	12	Object of	<i>-phendula</i> (turn)	Male ref	1
					Female ref	1
				<i>-sondeza</i> (bring near)	Male ref	1
					Female ref	2
				<i>-mboza</i> (cover)	Male ref	3
					Female ref	-
				<i>-phakamisa</i> (raise)	Male ref	-
					Female ref	1
			Subject of	-	Male ref	-
					Female ref	-
			Modified by	-	Male ref	-
					Female ref	-

Table 12: Verbs occurring with female and male characters' *ubuso* in *Kuxolelwa Abanjani*?

Table 12 shows that the corpus returned 23 occurrences for the node *ubuso* of which 12 are relevant. When the node is the object, it collocates with the verb stems *-phendula* (turn) and *-sondeza* (bring near) for both male and female characters, and *-mboza* (cover) for male characters only and also *-phakamisa* (raise) for female characters only. When it is the subject, the corpus returned no collocates, and the same for modifiers.

3.5.3 *Ubuso* in *Kuxolelwa Abanjani*?

3.5.3.1 *-phendula* (turn)

Both the male and female characters turn the face towards the person they are interacting with. The male and female characters often raise the head first and then turn the face to look at either the male or female character. The female character

Nozipho turns the face and looks at the male character Khumbulani. And the male character Thabiso turns the face and looks at his friend Sabelo.

94) *Aphakamise ikhanda, **aphendule ubuso**, abuke uKhumbulani ngamehlo agcwele izinyembezi.*

She raises her head, turns her face, and looks at Khumbulani with eyes full of tears.

95) *Wabuye waliphakamisa ikhanda, **waphendula ubuso** bakhe obabulusizana, wambuka wafifiyela umngani wakhe.*

He again raised the head, turned his distressed face, and looked at his friend screwing up his eyes.

3.5.3.2 -sondeza (bring near)

The female character Dolly brings near her face towards her lover Thushu because he is doing what she wants.

96) *“Yikho nje ngikuthanda,” esho **esondeza ubuso** esiqabula isithandwa sakhe esisalokhu siqudule.*

“That is why I love you,” as she brings the face near, kissing her lover who is still sulking.

97) *Wanele wayiphatha nje eyomklomelo uSparks, enezela ngeyokundiza ngebhanoyi, kwasondela kakhulu manje okunguDolly kuThushu, kwamphuluphulula engalweni, kw**sondeza ubuso** kuyena, kwamgqolozela ngamehlo athambile.*

As Sparks mentioned the awards, and flying with an aeroplane, Dolly came near Thushu even more, rubbed him gently on the arm, and she brought her face towards him, staring at him with gentle eyes.

The male character Shumi also brings near his face towards his lover Nozipho because she is crying, and he kisses her.

98) Wasondeza ubuso uShumi, wasondeza izindebe ezaziqhaqhazela, waphakamisa izandla, nazo ezaziqhaqhazela, waphulula izihlathi zikaNozipho ezithofozelayo, kuzo okwakugingqika imichilo emibili yezinyembezi.

Shumi brought his face near, brought the lips that were trembling near, raised his hands, that were also trembling, rubbed Nozipho's soft cheeks gently, from which the tears were rolling.

3.5.3.3 -mboza (cover)

There are three instances in which male characters cover their faces. They either cover the face with a hat or hands or a cap. In extracts (98) and (100) the male characters Thabiso and Sabelo cover the face with a hat and a cap to disguise themselves. In extract (99) the male character Thushu covers his face with his hands to protect it from being beaten. This action of covering the face is found among male characters in this text.

99) Baphuma nje sebebambene ngezandla, nanxa uThabiso esalokhu esidonse lokho isigqoko sakhe esimboze ubuso.

As they walk out they are holding hands, even though Thabiso keeps pulling his hat that is covering his face.

100) Wagoqana uThushu ezimboza ubuso ngezandla esecabanga ukuthi kuzophuma isilimazo ephaketheni.

Thushu coiled up covering the face with the hands thinking that a weapon was going to come out of the pocket.

- 101) *Kwasiza khona ukuthi wayefake ikepisi uSabelo, validonsa kakhudlwana enzela ukuba lithi ukumboza ubuso.*

It helped that Sabelo was wearing a cap, he pulled it more so that it could cover his face.

3.5.3.4 -phakamisa (raise)

There is only one instance where a female character raises the face. Lethiwe raises the face and kisses her husband Shumi.

- 102) *Waphakamisa ubuso, wasiqabula, wasibuka ngayegcwele uthando.*
She raised the face, kissed, and looked at her lover with eyes full of love.

3.6 Summary

With the aid of corpus linguistics this chapter presented the results of female and male characters' body parts, namely, *isandla* and *izandla* (the hand and the hands), *amehlo* (the eyes), *ikhanda* (the head) and *ubuso* (the face) in the chosen novels. The results obtained using the concordance and collocation processes differentiate between female and male characters. Chapter 4 will analyse in detail whether these differences indicate significant gender differences and/ or gender stereotypes.

Chapter 4: Interpretation of results

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the interpretation of the data of male and female characters' body parts in the selected texts and whether they are representative of gender differences and/or gender stereotypes. Specifically, this chapter will attempt to answer the research questions identified in chapter 1: How do male and female characters use their body parts in the selected texts? Is the use of the body parts in the selected texts indicative of gender differences? How are body parts described in the selected texts? Could it be that the description represents male and female characters in a stereotypical way? Do the uses of and descriptions of body parts reveal aspects of power relations between women and men? Is there any development or change over time in the selected texts with regard to body parts and gender?

4.2 Use and description of body parts

4.2.1 Use of body parts

The hand and hands

Male characters in *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu* and *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* use the hand (*isandla*) to shake hands with other characters (male and female) when they extend it, an action which is not common amongst the female characters in all the selected texts. There are various ways which guide the shaking of hands: In the novel *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu*, the male character Ndebenkulu shakes the hand of another male character Mkhwanazi as a form of greeting when they meet (see 3.2.2.1) to show that they appreciate seeing each other, while the male character (Doctor) in the novel *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* shakes the hand of the female

character Nozipho to congratulate her on her pregnancy (see 3.2.3.1) to show that he is happy for her. This act portrays the male characters as friendly and civil and also shows the way in which males interact with others socially in isiZulu culture. The shaking of hands is an action associated with male characters only in the selected texts probably because it is rare for women to shake hands with other women or to initiate a handshake. In contrast, female characters in *Indlela Yababi* and *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* extend their hand to hold male characters. In the novel *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* the female character Lethiwe holds the male character Sabelo to show him support when she sees that he is depressed. Another female character Dolly also holds a male character Thushu to show him affection (see 3.2.3.1). This loving, gentle and compassionate act coincides with the gender stereotype of women as nurturers, comforters and care-givers.

Another difference is that of the main male character Ndebenkulu in *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu* when he raises his hand to silence another male character (Mkhwanazi) so that he can speak and draw attention to himself (see 3.2.2.2). This action suggests that the male character Ndebenkulu is a man with power in this text because other characters keep quiet and listen to him when he speaks. This finding correlates with Hunt's (2015:283) findings that this action is done by powerful characters mostly and it is "never ignored or disobeyed" as seen with the male character Ndebenkulu. None of the female characters raise their hand in all the selected texts or in this way.

The way in which the hand is used is also gendered in *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* Female characters put their hands in handbags while male characters put them in the pocket of whatever that they are wearing, either a jacket or shirt (see 3.2.3.3). This is not surprising particularly in this contemporary society because it is more like a tradition for women to carry handbags containing various personal items for their daily activities. A handbag is also an accessory which is very feminine thus it is frequently associated with women and not men.

Holding hands is another use of the female and male characters' hand in the selected texts, which is a normative gendered behaviour. In *Indlela Yababi* and *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* the female characters' hand frequently hold the male

characters' while the male characters' hand frequently hold the female characters' (see 3.2.3.2). Normally, this is viewed as an expression of intimacy between couples, however in the selected texts this act is also seen amongst family members (brother and sister; father and daughter). Both male and female characters hold nothing else with their hands. There are no instances where male characters are holding other male characters' hands or where female characters are holding other female characters' hands. In the novel *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* the act of the male character Shabalala holding the hand of the female character MaMtshali when he hears her saying that she is frightened; and also that of the male character Sabelo holding his sister's hand Lethiwe when the nurse updates them about their father's health condition shows signs of bravery and power to the female characters implying that the male characters will protect the female characters. This contributes to a stereotypical portrayal of men as brave, in-control of emotions and as protectors. This again might suggest that strength is not a feature associated with female characters when they are faced with fear. Conversely, the act of the female character Lethiwe holding her father's hand in hospital as an expression of support and care portrays her stereotypically as caring, supportive and appreciative that her father is alive. These results correlate with Buthelezi's (2003:28) results that women often play supportive and appreciative roles in stories while men play active roles and are presented with strength, bravery and leadership skills.

According to Hunt, hands are also used to communicate. Such use particularly reflects power and strong gender differences. Hunt discovered this in the novel *Harry Potter* in which certain hand gestures of male characters have more power than those of female characters (Hunt 2015:285). There are two instances in *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* where a male character uses his hands to communicate. The male character Sabelo spreads his hands out to plead with the male character Menzi and again with the female character Lethiwe (see 3.2.3.5). This suggests that the male character is strongly relying on his hands to assist him in achieving his communication. This hand gesture may also be indicative of an alternative way of expressing remorse, thus reflecting a submissive action. This submissive action portrays the male character as disempowered or rather as lacking power probably because he is not a powerful character in the story. There are no examples of female characters using their hands like this in all the selected texts.

The face

The female face in *Indlela Yababi* is covered with the hands (see 3.5.1.2) while the male face in *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* is covered with a hat or cap (see 3.5.3.3). The male characters are probably covering the face with a cap or hat because they do not want to be noticed. In contrast, the female character is probably embarrassed by the situation she is faced with and thus covers her face to hide the tears. Her response to the situation depicts her as powerless and crippled by her fears and feelings. However, in *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* there is one instance where the male face is covered with the hands because the male character thought his face was in danger (see 3.5.3.3). This portrays the male character as protective of his face more than the other body parts when faced with danger.

Another difference is that of female characters in *Indlela Yababi* and *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* raising the face to the male characters when they speak to them. This behaviour is not found amongst male characters in all the selected texts. The female character Nosimilo is crying with her face down but raises it and tries to smile when the male character Ben comes in to speak with her. After being reprimanded calmly by her husband, the female character Dora raises her beautiful friendly face to her husband and does not respond (see 3.5.1.1). The fact that female characters raise the face to the male characters places the male characters in a position of power and authority and female characters as inferior to them. This presents the female characters in a stereotypical nature of a passive woman.

The eyes

One of the common uses of the eyes is to see although there is no similarity in what female and male characters see with their eyes in the novel *Indlela Yababi*. The male character sees emotions of sadness in the female character's beautiful eyes while the female character sees emotions of anger in the male character's eyes (see 3.3.1.2). This portrays the female and male characters stereotypically because women are normally associated with emotional behaviour and men with aggressive behaviour. In the novel *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* the male and female characters' eyes

are used to show emotion denoting sadness. Normally, emotions involving tears are known to be a stereotype of normative femininity. It is interesting to note that such an emotion is associated more with male characters than female characters in this text. This might present the male characters negatively because being emotional in general is traditionally considered a female characteristic.

The head

In all the three texts, the use of the head is not particularly gendered. The female and male characters' head collocates with the verb *-phakamisa*, which indicates that *ikhanda* is involved in making contact with others, which results in its combination with other body parts such as the face; the eyes; and the mouth. In *Indlela Yababi*, one male character Ben raises his head and looks at the female character Delsie but she immediately looks down (see 3.4.1.2), while in *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu*, the female character MaNtuli raises her head and looks through the window (see 3.4.2.2) (combination of the head and the eyes). In *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* the female character Karabo raises her head in order to speak, combination of the head and the mouth. The female character Nozipho raises her head to her lover Khumbulani for him to see that her eyes are full of tears, while the male character Thabiso also raises his head to his male friend Sabelo in order for him to see his distressed face (combination of the head and the face) (see 3.4.3.2).

4.2.2 Description of body parts

The hand and hands

In the novel *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* one male character's hands are described as warm. This modifier does not represent the physical state of the male character's hands as such, rather it signals the male character's lovingness and friendliness which refers to the behaviour of the husband (Shumi) towards his wife (Lethiwe). In contrast, one female character's hands are described as thick, which is followed by other two modifiers, black and moist, all describing one noun and they all denote a

negative meaning. This description triggers the stereotyped impression of overweight females being associated with negative attitudes (see 3.2.4). Moreover, in this same novel, the female and male characters' hand is modified by *-qanda* (cold) which indicates the physical state of the hand of the female character and that of the male character referring to their life and health (see 3.2.4). The modifier *-qanda* (cold) expresses a negative meaning suggesting that the characters are not in good health, it symbolises that they are in the verge of death.

The eyes

The female characters' eyes are described with the adjective *-khulu* (big) seven times in the novel *Indlela Yababi* (see Table 4). This is a description that evidently denotes the appearance of the female characters. When a woman has big eyes, she is normally associated with an attractive appearance such as beauty which is a positive aspect of appearance. On the contrary, the male characters' eyes are described as *-mnene* (gentle) which also denotes the appearance of the male character. Both these descriptions primarily denote visible qualities of the male and female characters and can be classified as expressing positive meaning.

On the other hand, in the novel *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* the female and the male characters' eyes are modified by the colour *-bomvu* (red). The male character's eyes are described as red from smoking while the female character's eyes are described as red from crying. This indicates physiological change and thus denotes a temporal state of the eyes. Further, the collocation *amehlo abomvu* (red eyes) is thus coloured by negative meaning suggesting that smoking and crying have a negative effect on the eyes of female and male characters (see 3.3.5).

The head

In *Indlela Yababi* one female character's head is described with an adjective denoting size *-ncane* (small) (see 3.4.1.3), which is also a domain of appearance or the visible quality of the female character, thus this description represents the outward aspect of the female character's head. It can also be classified as

expressing positive meaning because it is in the same sentence with “beautiful light-skinned girl” which denotes a pleasing appearance.

The face

Again in *Indlela Yababi*, one female character’s face is described with an adjective – *hle* (beautiful) (see 3.5.2), an adjective denoting good appearance. This suggests that the female character is described positively because good looks are also regarded as a positive attribute for women.

4.3 Diachronic aspects: change over time with regard to body parts and gender in isiZulu novels

This section highlights how collocates of male and female characters’ body parts have either changed or remained consistent over the period that this study covers (i.e. 1946-2002) drawing conclusions based on the three novels selected. The findings concerning diachronic variation of the use of female and male characters’ body parts in the selected texts is diverse, denoting both positive and negative conditions and also some stereotyped perceptions. A very small percentage of the collocates are consistent (they are frequent in all the selected texts) such as *elula isandla* (extend the hand); and *phakamisa ikhanda* (raise the head), which seems to confirm that the vast majority of collocates are inconsistent. This may imply that they are representative of the attitude of that period; are related to specific periods or are typical of a particular author’s style. For example, the novels *Indlela Yababi* and *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* have consistent collocates that do not appear in *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu*.

Gender is a great feature in this study, and there are a few significant results with regards to gender differences in the selected novels. The verbs that occur with female and male characters’ body parts result in gendered representations of women and men. The ways in which men and women use their hand and hands seems to be strongly gendered compared to the other body parts particularly in *Indlela Yababi* and *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?*. The descriptions, on the other hand, seem to be quite

neutral, seldom gendered. Female characters are often described according to their appearance in comparison with male characters who are seldom described. Moreover, the uses and descriptions of body parts both reveal a few significant gender stereotypes that are normally associated with women and men. Female characters are caring, comforting and emotional while male characters are protective, aggressive and authoritative. This suggests that the descriptions of body parts may function as alternative ways of describing the characters overall.

4.4 Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to present an analysis of the results of body parts selected in the three novels: *Indlela Yababi*, *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu*, and *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* The chapter revealed that the results of the body parts examined in the novel *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* suggest that the uses of body parts tend to display features considered to contribute to a stereotypical perception of characters. It also portrayed significant similarities between the description of female and male characters' hand and eyes in *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* in which there are none in the other two novels. It highlighted that female characters in *Indlela Yababi* are described with modifiers denoting appearance to a certain extent when compared with the other two novels selected. They are described with regard to their looks. This is expected since appearance is a domain traditionally associated with femininity. Moreover, the largest part of descriptions of body parts were found in *Indlela Yababi* when compared with the other two novels selected. The body part such as *izandla* (the hands) is more often used by male characters in *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* while *ubuso* (the face) and *ikhanda* (the head) are described for female characters in *Indlela Yababi*. Using three different novels from different periods, diachronic aspects were of great consideration and I identified that it was difficult to comment on diachronic variation because of the few texts selected. Gender also played an important role in this chapter with a few significant results on gender representation and gender stereotypes. An additional consideration was on the aspects of power relations between women and men, in which no significant results could be identified also.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

This corpus-based study focused on the critical discourse analysis of female and male characters' body parts in the selected isiZulu novels. By applying CDA and CL approaches, I was able to obtain data in which I further selected items for investigation on the basis of frequency. The classification of data into tables helped in highlighting the differences and similarities between the uses of body parts and the descriptions of body parts in the selected novels (see Chapter 3). An analysis of these results was discussed in Chapter 4 with a focus on gender. The aim was to answer the five research questions set out in 1.2 by using the three novels: *Indlela Yababi*, *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu*, and *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?*

5.2 Summary of main findings

I found that, regarding the hand, male characters connected socially with others through the shaking of hands and that they often used their hands to assist them in achieving their communication. Conversely, this was not common amongst female characters. Female characters used their hand to hold male characters which denotes the loving, caring and comforting nature of female characters which contributes to a stereotyped perception of women. On the basis of gender difference, it was identified that in the novel *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu* one male character frequently raised his hand to silent other characters. This suggested that the male character is a man of power in the text. In contrast, this action of the hand was not found amongst female characters in all the selected texts. In addition, female characters often putted their hand in a handbag while male characters often putted it in the pockets of their clothing in the post-apartheid novel *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* This is clear gender difference, women often carry handbags in which they put in their personal belongings for everyday use while men do not because carrying a handbag is not associated with masculinity but rather with femininity.

The descriptions of body parts made use of a limited number of adjectives; positive meaning occurred predominantly than negative meaning and the female characters reflected a traditional picture of femininity in which a pleasant appearance was frequently attributed to them. The description of body parts of female and male characters were more prominent in *Indlela Yababi* when compared with *Inkinsela yaseMgungundlovu* and *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* The female characters were often described according to their appearance in the novel *Indlela Yababi*. The head was described as small, the face as beautiful and the eyes as big, all denoting a positive meaning. There were descriptions also that denoted a negative meaning. In the novel *Kuxolelwa Abanjani?* the female and male characters' eyes were described as red. The female character's eyes were red from crying while the male character's eyes were red from smoking suggesting that crying and smoking had a negative effect on their eyes. These descriptions also functioned as gender stereotypes, female characters' body parts in particular were described in terms of traditional female stereotypes in *Indlela Yababi* where they were frequently associated with attractive appearance such as big eyes, beautiful face and small head.

There could be no significant results that were recorded on the diachronic aspects with regard to body parts and gender patterns. The aspects of power of gender relations between men and women were also of significance in this study and did not yield any results.

5.3 Limitations and possibilities for future research

The study has made a small but important contribution into the study of isiZulu literature. Due to time constraints, it is, however, limited and there is substantial scope for future research on the topic. To highlight a few possibilities: with a larger corpus this research could be replicated with many more texts in order to be able to trace diachronic change and gender differences in greater detail. My study focused on a few selected body parts and their uses and descriptions, future research could look into other body parts not included here, for example, legs, feet, shoulders, genitals, etc. It also focused on the three novels which debatably is a small reflection

within the field of South African literature, future research could look to incorporate a wider selection of South African literatures, such as comparing isiZulu literature with Xhosa literature, Setswana literature or any other. This research could also be expanded by using different genres such as isiZulu folktales, drama, and short stories. This could reveal further interpretations. In sum, there are more aspects to be explored than those covered by the present study.

5.4 Final comments

This study has shown that corpora and critical discourse analysis are compatible in the analysis of body parts in terms of their representation of gender. It has also shown that the language in isiZulu literature books offers an abundance of material for studies of linguistic aspects of characterisation. With more texts and other literatures, there is much more to be gained for the critical analysis of gender representation, gender stereotyping and gender differences.

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