

THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL STUDIES

Major Themes in Linguistic Stereotypes and Prejudices and Their Role in Fueling Ethnic Conflicts among Major Communities Living in Eldoret , Kenya

Dr. Martin Situma

Lecturer, University of Nairobi, Eldoret Centre

Abstract:

This paper examines the major themes in linguistic stereotypes and prejudices among communities living in Eldoret and their role in fueling conflicts among them. Linguistic stereotypes and prejudices are common among the major communities living in Eldoret, Kenya. Although ethnic conflicts (tribal clashes) have been witnessed in Eldoret, especially during and after general elections, there has been no adequate attention accorded to this problem. The study embraced ethnographically qualitative research design against the backdrop of Relevance Theory by Daniel Sperber and Deidre Wilson. A purposive sample of five clusters of ethnic group concentrations from which a random sample of twenty five respondents, five from each group was chosen. The groups comprised of members of the Kalenjin, Luhya, Kikuyu, Luo and Kisii communities living in Eldoret. Respondents were randomly drawn from local leadership, education institutions, Jua Kali traders and religious organizations. The instruments for data collection comprised of oral face to face interviews, open ended questionnaires and observation schedules. According to the results of the study, there are ten main themes in linguistic stereotypes and prejudices in Eldoret, namely; women aggression and infidelity, violence, witchcraft, thievery, arson, cannibalism, backwardness, servitude, exploitation and childishness. It is anticipated that the results of this study will be beneficial to the policy makers, the general public and researchers in applied linguistics.

Keywords: Stereotype, prejudice, ethnic conflicts

1. Introduction

1.1. Language and Stereotypes and / Prejudices

Language is a technique in which people communicate with the aim of passing their opinion to the listeners. It is a strong tool for stereotyping (Baker, 2001). Language is the tool that can be used to convey ideas in several ways. Language is not only verbal communication but all methods of communication including the written one and sign language (Elmes, 2013). Stereotypes and prejudices represent conventional qualities which reflect how a group or individuals exist. Stereotypes provide answers on reasons why we perceive, process information about people and how we respond to them (Baldwin, et al. 2014). They are communicated via language discourse, socialization, and media. We therefore define stereotypes as beliefs, associations, and attributes of certain groups that define how group members think and behave towards certain groups (Colston & Katz, 2005). According to Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, language is a system of words and signs used by humans to communicate their thoughts and feelings to each other. Pennycook, (2014) argues that language is "a carrier of values fashioned by a people over a period of time".

Since people's concepts of the world find their way into communication through language, individuals must also have a shared way of interpreting meaning of the signs of language (Hall, 1997). Hall uses 'language' in its broadest sense to refer to a vast range of languages including, but not limited to the languages of speech and writing, electronic/digital languages and the use of the body or clothes for communicating meaning.

According to Hall, (1997), language is a system that provides meanings. The meanings are in a form that can be communicated from one person to the other. In other words, Hall regards language as that which "externalizes (makes available as a social fact/a social process) the significances that we are making of the world and events", without which meaning cannot be exchanged. Language, in the current study, presents language of dialogue, visual images and one that applies (uses) figures of speech. In that respect, this study is primarily concerned with language as a system used to communicate meaning.

Language functions as an emblematic system. In language, signs and symbols are used – building on sounds, formal written word, and images produced electronically, musical notes, and other objects which are symbolic representing human ideals, feelings and concepts (Steen, 2013). Language is one of the means through which views, ideas and emotional state are signified in a culture. Exemplification through language is as a result of central processes by which connotation is produced (Hall, 1997). It is debated that language is the social establishment above all others. In addition, language has a significant role to play during the spreading of stereotypes and prejudices. When communicating, people put emphasis on the traits observed as the most instructive (Schaller & Tanchuk, 2002). Because stereotype and prejudice traits are unique

to a group, persons are mostly expected to utilize them in group dialogue (Cho, 2000). Stereotypical and prejudicial traits are largely from top to bottom on communicability (viewed as interesting and informative), causative to tireless use. As noted by Lakoff (1993:79), tribal stereotypes are aspects related to metonymy - wherever the subcategory has a socially familiar status that signifies the category as one piece. This is frequently for the purpose of quick judgments about people. By using a mother prototype, Okoro, (2013) notes that housewife-mothers are viewed as enhanced examples of mothers than non-house wife mothers. This is a condition of metonymic model in which one sub grouping, the house wife-mother, stands for the complete category in outlining cultural potentials of mothers. Within the dialogue of ethnic stereotypes, it is also imperative to reference the presence of ethnic humour and ethnic jokes that imply the incidence of stereotyping in ordinary language (Ogechi, 2013). Jokes are viewed as invasive, though they silently remain prevalent. Several researchers: (Ritchie 2004, Norrick, 2001; Chiaro, 1992) claim that tribal jokes have a foundation, "a grain of truth." They may reveal real national standards which might emerge from actions which are historical. Ethnic jokes and humour are agents of ethnic stereotyping and prejudice. They are used frequently and everywhere demonstrating the presence of stereotypes and prejudices in a number of speeches of certain communities (Zinken, 2004). This kind of ethnic humour is felt in everyday language use within communities.

Language is viewed as a form of collective practice. It is regarded as a socialization process within a social system (Windisch, 2004). Language plays a vital role in with regard to a social set up. Language being part of a social system, it cannot be delinked from social roles. According to Jaspal (2008), language exists within a society, having meaning when placed within its social context and thus meaning cannot happen in isolation. Any meaning occurs inside the communal structure and the significances are guarded by social setting. People learn language not only for the structural or linguistic system, but also for meaning in social situations (Harris, 2006). According to Dieckhoff (2004:187-200), the meaning of what people say is relative to the social situation which is determined socially and culturally. The way in which people act and behave is influenced by the larger social-cultural climate. According to Snell (2013), language use is a behaviour that is socially and culturally meaningful. Whether in social domain or within individual domain, language is viewed as language within activity.

In conclusion, research on linguistic stereotypes and prejudices has been carried out by several scholars but very little research has been done on linguistic stereotypes and prejudices in relation to interethnic harmony. To the best of my knowledge, no such research has been carried out on linguistic stereotypes and prejudices and their social impact communities in Eldoret. Therefore, the manner in which linguistic stereotypes and prejudices are used among the majority and minority in Eldoret, Kenya, may not be similar to the manner in which the same linguistic stereotypes and prejudices are used elsewhere. This is because in Eldoret, linguistic stereotypes and prejudices have led to ethnic animosity resulting to tribal clashes before and after general elections.

2. Methodology

Kenya being a multilingual society has Kiswahili and English languages which serve as lingua franca. These languages are official with Kiswahili being the national language. Linguistically, the indigenous languages in Kenya are categorized in three groups: Bantus, Nilotes, and Cushites. Kikuyu, Meru, Kisii, Luhya, Embu, Mijikenda and Kamba, form the Bantu group. The Nilotes comprise of the; Luos, Maasais, Turkanas, Samburus and Kalenjins. The Cushites are; Somali, Borana, Orma, Boni, Gabbra, Wata, Yaaka, Galla, Rendille and Daholo. All these communities express their ethnic identities in form of the languages they speak.

The sample for the study was drawn from members of the Luhya, Kisii, Kalenjin, Luo and Kikuyu communities living in Eldoret. A purposive sampling of five different ethnic based clusters from which twenty five respondents were randomly chosen from the five major communities living in Eldoret. The sample comprised five respondents each from the five major communities of Kalenjin, Luo, Kikuyu, Luhya and the Kisii. Each group of the five respondents from the cited ethnic communities was drawn from any one of the following areas: local leadership, education institutions, Jua Kali traders and religious organizations.

The respondents comprised of those aged between 16 and above 55 years old. This age bracket was put into consideration because linguistic stereotypes and prejudices are used by both the young and the old. The collected samples of linguistic stereotypes and prejudices were assigned an entry on a master list. The researcher settled for a number of linguistic stereotypes and prejudices suitable for the study.

3. Theoretical Framework

The Relevance Theory is a perceptive method to communication projected by Dan Sperber and Deidre Wilson (1986/1995). According to this model, communication is an ostensive inferential process that makes adjustments by comparison. Relevance Theory centres on the position of purpose in every act of communication.

In their discussion on intent, Sperber and Wilson came close to the ideas of Grice (1975:72) that communication is centred on the addressee's acknowledgment of communicative purpose underlying utterance or stimulus. When one's intention becomes an explicit manifestation to the hearer, then this intention becomes an ostensive communication action, and therefore satisfies the following requirements (Sperber and Wilson 1986: 153-154):

- Attracts the listeners' attention.
- Speaker deliberately gives a hint to the listener, ('ostensifies'), as to what he or she wishes to communicate. That is clue to her/her intention.
- The listener deduces the goal from the tipoff and the circumstance interceded information. The listener must clarify the hint, compelling into justification the setting and summarize what the speaker aimed to put across.

Deduction will seal the breach amid the semantic depiction of statements and the communication that every statement in due course communicates (Sperber and Wilson 1987:125–130). They underline the starring role played by the communicators in displaying their communication and instructive target with the utterance, while the listener attempts to grind out diverse hypotheses as to what the right explanation is.

The current study employs Relevance Theory to explain the rational methods that lead to the production and comprehension of ethnic stereotypes and prejudices. Relevance Theory has been assumed to be a powerful tool for explaining interpretation of all kinds of verbal communication, stereotypes and prejudices included (Sperber and Wilson, 1986/1995). Sperber and Wilson stress the importance of deduction in their interpretive model, thus binding together new and old material earlier kept in the listener's mind. This is known as cognitive contextualization. The contextualization can yield contextual special effects. A contextual effect is created once the framework is changed in a definite manner by the fresh information. The following example of the stereotype will aid in explaining this.

A passenger in a public service vehicle was heard saying:

Hey, driver, drive very fast. The mother to my children comes from Nyeri

Nyeri is a county in Kenya inhabited by members of Agikuyu community. This stereotype and prejudice is against the Agikuyu women from Nyeri who are known as no nonsense towards their husbands. It is alleged that these women are cruel and would not hesitate to beat up their husbands when they engage in wayward behaviours. This stereotype and prejudice is used to warn those who have married women from Nyeri and probably those planning to do so. It can therefore be concluded that any man married to a Nyeri woman should be careful not to go home late as this would invite the wrath of any Nyeri woman. It is clear enough when the male passenger tells the driver to be faster because he is out to avoid punishment for being late.

Sperber and Wilson's theory is summarized into four sentences. (Wilson 1994: 44):

- Each utterance entails a range of conceivable interpretation, all harmonious with linguistically programmed information.
- Not all interpretations trail to the listener concurrently, a number of them take additional strength to reflect.
- Listeners are armed with a particular, broad interior for assessing explanation so that having created an explanation that fits the standard, the listener guesses no more.
- This is a standard that is influential enough to eradicate all but one solo understanding so that having created an understanding that fits the standard, the listener guesses no more.

Ritchie (1999:104–105) posits that in conceiving an expression by the speaker and choosing an explanation by the listener, both conversers keep an eye on a cognitive standard. This results into choosing the utterance for speakers and selection of interpretations of the identical utterance in the existing context for the hearers, who fulfil these two situations:

a) Assumptions are made relevant to individuals due to the fact that the made relevant to an individual in the sense that the affirmative rational effects are realised when it is processed optimally.

b) The effort required to attain positive effects is insignificant because an assumption is associated with an individual.

Generally, the main understanding that fulfils these situations is the one that the listener inevitably picks first, overlooking any other potential explanations of the utterance.

The following outlines show relevance theoretical comprehension procedure (Wilson and Sperber 2004: 15).

- The hearer takes the linguistically encoded sentence implication by following the path of list struggle.
- He ought to enhance it at the explicit level and supplement it at implicit level
- And stop when the ensuing elucidation attains the prospect of importance.

Speakers are expected to make their utterances as easy to understand as possible so that the hearers take the footpath of minimum exertion. The hearers should halt at the main understanding that fulfils their potentials of significance. Speakers should formulate their utterances in a way that they are easy to understand so that the first explanation to please the hearer's anticipation of relevance decides with the proposed significance.

The significance theoretic understanding technique offers simultaneous responses. These are the enquiries the hearer resorts to in creating a hypothesis about the speaker's denotation:

- What was the speaker's explicit denotation?
- What was the speaker's implicit denotation?
- What was the anticipated setting (set of contextual assumptions)?

The relevance theory, an elaborative summary of comprehension of a stereotype and prejudice can be summarized as; a teller of stereotype or prejudice produces utterance which a receiver processes in the usual way developing the maximum relative effect for the minimum processing effort. During the production of the utterance, the speaker works on presupposition that the hearer will retain his or her processing attempt. At the first valid explanatory hypothesis he works out at overlooking repeatedly the possible presence of other substitutes. For example, when the stereotype and prejudice continues, the speaker brings in a portion of incongruity which shocks the listener and cuts short the activity of processing in order to get used to this new information which is compared to the one that delivered the stereotype or prejudice.

4. Results and Discussion

The following key themes in linguistic stereotypes and prejudices characterize ethnic conflicts in Eldoret:

4.1. Theme of Women Aggression and Infidelity in Marriage

Women aggression and infidelity in marriage was a common theme that dominated the stereotyped and prejudiced perception of women among the Kikuyu. Of the women from the five ethnic communities living in Eldoret no

other women get as much flak as Kikuyu women. It is alleged that Kikuyu women do all manner of vices. According to most respondents from the Kalenjin, Luhya, Luo and Kisii communities, Kikuyu women are not only domineering over their husbands but also cheat on them, beat them up, and kill them with a view of taking over their property. The stereotypes sometimes seem so bad that a number of parents, including those from the Gikuyu community warn their sons against getting married to these women. Although Kisii women are stereotyped as temperamental and violent when their husbands cheat on them or get home drunk it is only Kikuyu women who bear most blame for aggression and infidelity. See the following excerpt; Please driver, move fast. My better half hails from Nyeri.

4.2. Translation

Speed up driver, lest my wife (a Kikuyu from Nyeri reputed to beat husbands) accosts me if amlate.

4.3. Theme of Violence

Most people living in Eldoret can turn to violence when provoked according to a substantial number of respondents from this study. But most of the stereotypical and prejudicial violence has been heaped on the Kalenjin although Luos have also been equally stereotyped as violent to a large extent. In the Eldoret situation inter-community violence has been witnessed in the years 1992, 1997 and in 2007/2008 during and after general elections (KHNCR, 2012). The Kalenjins have been stereotyped as having fought Kikuyus, Luos, Luhyas and the Kisiis in Eldoret Township on all these occasions with little provocation e.g. Bosyanju (those who burn houses)

4.4. Theme of Witchcraft

Members of the Kisii community are stereotyped as those who practice witchcraft and sorcery. It is alleged that witchcraft among the Kisii people has led to deaths of not only own relatives and neighbors but also the communities with whom they live together. Those who lose their beloved are stereotyped to vent their anger on Kisii suspects whom they stereotype and prejudice as witches by lynching them and burning up their homes. In Huruma area, respondents from the Luo and the Luhya communities reported that members of the Kisii community are not only stereotyped as being night runners but they also practice witchcraft. One of the respondents at Mailinne in Eldoret during data collection exercise is alleged to have lost his dairy cow through death because of witchcraft from a neighbor from the Kisii community. A respondent from the Kipsigis community talked of the Kisii people feeding on the dead bodies of their victims killed through witchcraft. Respondents from Kalenjin community also stereotype the Luhyas of being night runners, a kind of witchcraft practice. The Luhyas also stereotype the Luos as people who practice witchcraft e.g. Bakisi balosi (Kisiis are witches) - By the Luhya.

4.5. Theme of Thievery

Theft is stereotyped as being common among all communities living in Eldoret The community most mentioned in stereotypes to do with theft are members of the Kikuyu community. According to most respondents, Kikuyus are stereotyped and prejudiced as pick pockets, bank robbers, "packers" and those who steal land. Such stereotypes and prejudices have in the past fueled enmity against the Kikuyu resulting to violence against members of this community. The fact that the term "thief" seems to be normal, it arose from the study that people such as the Kalenjins, Luos and Luhyas have terms that portray undesirable sensitive feelings when making reference to the members of the Agikuyunation. The Luo say, Jokwoye, Kalenjins say Chorindet and the Luhyas say Kimikondo in reference to stereotyped and prejudiced thievery among the Agikuyu. When this terminology is used in reference to the Agikuyu, it stimulates ethnic tensions.

4.6. Theme of Arson

During and after elections in Kenya, there were acts of violence such as arson. Reports by Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (2012) indicate that during inter-ethnic violence, acts of arson were witnessed in Rift Valley, Western, Nyanza, Coast and Nairobi. In this report, members of the Kalenjin community are stereotyped and prejudiced as the main aggressors in Rift Valley. According to respondents from the neighboring communities, they are accused as those who touch houses and property belonging to the members of the Agikuyu, Luhya, Kisii and Luo communities. In the same report, Luos are also linked to acts of arson in stereotypes such as; Bosyanju (those who burn houses)

4.7. Theme of Cannibalism

Apart from being blamed for witchcraft, the Kisii they are also associated with cannibalism. It said that buried bodies belonging to the witchcraft victims are exhumed by witches and eaten. It is alleged that witches in the Kisii community gain more powers to cast their spells depending on the amount of human flesh they consume. It is for this reason that the witches will fight to share human flesh whenever an opportunity arises. Another community rumored to be associated with cannibalism is the Bukusu (Luhya). This could have come about as a result of the Bukusu being the cousins to the Bagisu of Uganda who are said to be cannibals e.g. Bakisii balichanga babandu bafwile (stereotype by the Luhya)

4.8. Translation

4.8.1. Kisii People Eat Dead Human Bodies

4.8.1.1. Theme of Backwardness

Tribal stereotypes by the Luhya and Kikuyu portray the Kalenjins as backward. The word "bekamarandule" (those with torn ears) used by the Luhya is derogatory, very annoying and provocative to the targeted group. The metaphor "bekamarandule" refers to foolishness and backwardness. Anybody with mutilated ears is assumed to be foolish because he/she cannot understand anything taught. This stereotype results in avoidance of Kalenjin women by other communities living in Eldoret or openly abusing them e.g.

Lekhana nende bekamarandule bano babe. Sebalinende kamakesi tawe (Leave alone the people with tone ears; they are fools characterized by mutilated ears)

4.9. Theme of Servitude

Luhya men and women are stereotyped as best suited for the jobs of watchmen and nannies respectively. These stereotypes are used to demean the Luhya community on several fronts especially to gain political mileage. These stereotypes and prejudices are not only used to demean the Luhya community but also discourage them from contending for better job opportunities and the political offices such as presidency of the country. In the following excerpt from one of the respondents, Luhya men and women are stereotyped as fit for menial jobs:

Teacher: Wasike (name of a male Luhya person), what would you like to become when you grow up?

Wasike: I would like to be a watchman who wears uniform

Teacher: What about you Nekesa (name of a female Luhya person)?

Nekesa: I would like to be a maid who wears uniform.

It is said that members of the Luhya community are the most trusted domestic workers and security guards and that people from other communities may not be employed as watchmen and nannies respectively, especially Kikuyus because of being associated with thievery traits. In turn members of the Luhya community are discriminated against or avoided in serious jobs in the belief that they are only fit for menial jobs. This outcome agrees with levels 2 and 3 of Allport's scale of prejudice.

4.10. Theme of Exploitation

In this stereotype, Kikuyus are referred to as Sangari (couch grass weed, unwanted plant species.) Sangari is a type of weed that is not required by farmers especially in maize fields. This weed is dangerous to the survival of a crop and it is upon the farmers to uproot it before it suffocates the crop. Since weeds are problematic, they choke the healthy plants. Therefore, they usually uprooted by farmers. The soil is however useful, so all one does is to shake off soil from the weed and then burn the weed. If a farmer does not weed them out then the yield will be very low. In this stereotype, Kikuyus in Eldoret are like sangari (couch grass weed).

The Kalenjins have always felt that Kikuyus are domineering in business and farming, denying them opportunities in their own land. In the years 1992, 1997 and 2007/2008, the Kalenjin community in Eldoret campaigned for "this dangerous weed" to be uprooted, soil shaken off it, put together and burnt – all in reference to the Kikuyu people. This is why occasionally they would rise up against the Kikuyus, fighting them fiercely to remove them from their land. In this stereotype Kikuyu women bear the brunt of violence, especially the spoken abuses for giving birth to Kikuyus. They are seen as agents of this pervasive weed (the Kikuyu tribe). There have been reports of communal rape of Kikuyu women during conflicts or even splitting open of tummies of pregnant Kikuyu women to kill their fetuses in the hope of removing this sangari (couch grass)

4.11. Theme of "Childishness"

This term "childishness" is frequently used in reference to men from the Luo community because they do not undergo circumcision as a rite of passage from youth to adulthood. According to several respondents, 'childishness' is a terminology that portrays men from the Luo ethnic group as not mature. In reference to Luo men who are not normally circumcised, members of other communities stereotype and prejudice them as children. In this regard the Kikuyus use the term Kihii, the Kalenjins use the term Ngetik, while the Kisii use the term abachabu and the Luhya use the term Kimisinde in reference to Luos as "children".

Ethnic terms stereotyping Luo men as uncircumcised and hence not fit to be considered adults are very common in Eldoret. The term is therefore used negatively by various communities to portray all the men in the Luo community as children, premature and not fully developed. The Luo ethnic community culturally does not use circumcision to initiate the boy child into manhood.

See the following excerpt:

"Jaluo zote ziko Eldoret zitoke polepole. Sababu lazima mtahirishwena mabati ata hamutaanza fujo. Iyo niku imepangwa vizuri.

("Luos in Eldoret, Kenya should start moving out of there because you will be forcefully circumcised using iron sheets even if you don't cause chaos. This is something that has been well planned.")

The above hate speech message in form of a threat was noted down by the researcher at one of the social places in Eldoret. It was said in both Kiswahili and English. It was a political warning calling for violence against members of the Luo community residing in Eldoret, Kenya before the 2017 general election.

5. Summary

The findings of the study proved that majority of linguistic stereotypes and prejudices carried negative expressions of contempt, insult and sometimes outright violence against members of the target communities. Linguistic stereotypes and prejudices play a significant role in inter-ethnic conflicts in Eldoret and the rest of Kenya. Most of the coded terms used in stereotypes and prejudices are historical and deeply rooted in the sense that they have been passed on from one generation to another.

6. References

- i. Baldwin, J.R., (2014). *Intercultural communication for everyday life*. Malden : MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- ii. Baker, C. (2001). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. New York: Multilingual Matters.
- iii. Chiaro, D. (1992) *The Language of Jokes: Analyzing Verbal Play*. New York: Routledge.
- iv. Cho, G. (2000). The role of the heritage language in social interactions and relationships: Reflections from a language minority group. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 24, 369–384.
- v. Colston, H.L., & Katz, A. (2005). *Figurative Language Comprehension: Social and Cultural Influences*. Erlbaum : Hillsdale (NJ).
- vi. Dieckhoff, A. (2004) Hebrew, the language of national daily life. In D. Judd & T. Lacorne (Eds.), *Language, nation and state: Identity politics in a multilingual age* (pp.187–200). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- vii. Elmes, D. (2013). The relationship between language and culture. National Institute of Fitness and Sports in Kanoya International Exchange and Language Education Center, available at: www2.libnifsk.ac.jp/HPBU/annals/an46/46-11.Pdf.
- viii. Grice, H.P (1975) *Logic and Conversation. Syntax and Semantics*. New York: Academic Press
- ix. Hall, S. (1997). *Representation: cultural representations and signifying practices*. London: Sage.
- x. Jaspal, R. (2008). *Exploring language and identity through the reflective accounts of second generation Asians: A qualitative approach*. Unpublished MSc dissertation, University of Surrey.
- xi. KNCHR (2012). *On the Brink of Precipice: A Human Rights Account of Kenya's Post 2007 Election Violence*. Accessed 2nd July at <http://www.kncgr.org/documents/KNCHR>
- xii. Lakoff, George (1993). The contemporary theory of metaphor. In A. Ortony (Ed.) *Metaphor and Thought*. (pp. 202-251) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press [second edition]
- xiii. Norrick, N. (2001) On the conversational performance of narrative jokes: Toward an account of timing. *HUMOUR: International Journal of Humour Research*. 14 (3). 255–274
- xiv. Ogechi, N. O. (2013). On language rights in Kenya. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 12(3), 277-295.
- xv. Okoro, E. (2013). International organizations and operations: An analysis of cross-cultural communication effectiveness and management orientation. *Journal of Business & Management*, 1(1), 1–13.
- xvi. Pennycook, A. (2014). *The cultural politics of English as an international language*. New York: Routledge.
- xvii. Ritchie, G. (2004) *The Linguistic Analysis of Jokes*. London: Routledge.
- xviii. Ritchie, G. (1999) Developing the incongruity-resolution theory. In *Proceedings of the AISBSymposium on Creative Language: Stories and Humour, 78±85*, Edinburgh, Scotland. Sgouros, N. M., G. Papakonstantino.
- xix. Schaller, C. & Tanchuk (2002) Selective Pressures of the once and Future Contents of Ethnic Stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*
- xx. Snell, J. (2013). Dialect, interaction and class positioning at school: From deficit to difference to repertoire. *Language and Education*, 27, 110-128. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09500782.2012.760584>
- xxi. Sperber D. & Wilson D. (1986/1995) *Relevance Communication and Cognition*. (2nd ed) Oxford: Blackwell
- xxii. Steen, J. G. (2013). *The contemporary theory of metaphor —now new and improved*. (F. P. González-García, Ed.) Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- xxiii. Windisch, U. (2004) Beyond multiculturalism: Identity, intercultural communication and political culture – the case of Switzerland. In D. Judd & T. Lacorne (Eds.), *Language, nation and state: Identity politics in a multilingual age* (pp.161–184). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- xxv. Zinken, Jörg. (2004) "Metaphors, stereotypes and the linguistic picture of the world: impulses from the Ethnolinguistic School of Lublin". *metaphorik.de* 7. 115-136.